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AUTHOR: _____ *Pablo Andrés Noguero Coll* _____

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UIB Master's Thesis Supervisor _____ *Cristina Suárez Gómez* _____

Abstract

This study deals with the presence of the two main Standard Varieties of English in the English classroom of a Secondary school in the context of the Balearic Islands.

As part of the theoretical background of this work, in the literature review we will develop the concept of English as a Global Language, from its spread and distribution across the globe to the concept of English as a *lingua franca*, and the different issues and attitudes that the presence of a Global Language implies for its speakers. We will get an insight on English Standard and Standard Language Ideology, and subsequently, we will review the morphological, lexical, grammatical and phonological differences between the two main English varieties: British English and American English. To finish with, we will consider how Global Englishes affect the field of English Language Teaching, the issues and attitudes towards English varieties in students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in different contexts, and to what an extent EFL textbooks in Spain in the last decades pay attention to English varieties.

Regarding our own particular study, we will develop a questionnaire to test the knowledge and attitudes of six groups of students from IES Arxiduc Lluís Salvador in Palma, one group per academic year, related to the distinction between Standard British and American English varieties. The test will involve a listening, a reading and a vocabulary exercise, followed by a brief survey intended to collect the students' perceived difficulties and their own preferences about the two accents, their attitudes towards them, and whether their English variety of choice may or may not be motivated by social or cultural factors and their exposure to these varieties through entertainment media, such as films, series or Internet content.

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1. Introduction

As we move towards a globalized world, where global markets and international businesses are becoming the norm and in which the advances in communication technology and the relative affordability of air transport allows us to be connected to most countries in the world, either physically or digitally, languages, as sophisticated and powerful tools for human interaction, are adapting to our lifestyle and have resorted to the creation of a Global Language: English is becoming the world's *lingua franca*, and approximately one third of the world population is currently capable of communicating in English, and nowadays, most of its speakers are not native. This has given way to the so-called 'New Englishes', which are as numerous and diverse as their speaking communities.

Even so, English Language Teaching (henceforth ELT) shows a resistance to change from its monocentric standard, which sets British English as the model to be followed, even though its learners will probably not use the language to communicate with British people but to get in touch with an international community, mainly for functional purposes, and which puts British Standard into a position of authority over the millions of English varieties that have arisen in the last few decades.

With this background in mind, our present study will analyze how English varieties are present in ELT in our local context: Secondary schools in Mallorca, in which the younger generations are developing the English skills that will enable them to become future members of the international community and the global market.

1.1. Justification

English Language Teaching in our national and regional Secondary school curriculum is typically centered around traditional learning dynamics, in which an English as a Foreign Language (henceforth EFL) textbook is used to develop

yearly didactic units and provides all or most of the contents and linguistic output the students will be exposed to throughout their academic year.

Due to a number of factors among which we could list geographical proximity, sociopolitical affinity or pragmatic reasons, most English textbooks used in Secondary School EFL learning in Spain are published in the UK, which results in Standard British English being the main (if not the only) variety that is presented to young learners in class throughout their academic period.

Given the importance of English in the linguistic environment that we described in the previous section, we believe it is important for the students to be able to understand and be understood in the diversity of English varieties that form our current multicultural and globalized world, and thus, our study will focus on whether students in a Secondary school in our local context are familiarized with English varieties and to what an extent they can discriminate Standard British and Standard American English, the two main varieties of English in our current global context.

1.2. Objectives

This study deals with the presence of the two main Standard Varieties of English in the English classroom of a Secondary school in the context of the Balearic Islands.

As part of the theoretical background of this work, we will review the current status of English as a Global Language (section 2.1), from its spread and distribution across the globe to the concept of English as a *lingua franca*, and the different issues and attitudes that the presence of a Global Language implies for its speakers. We will get an insight on English Standard and Standard Language ideology (section 2.2), revise the concept of language variation and change (section 2.3) and subsequently, we will compare the linguistic differences (morphological, lexical, grammatical and phonological) between the two main English varieties: British English and American English (section 2.4). To finish with, we will consider how Global Englishes affect the field of ELT, the issues and attitudes towards English varieties in students of

EFL in different international contexts, and to what an extent EFL textbooks in Spain in the last decades pay attention to English varieties (section 2.5).

Our own proposal is an empirical study whose objective is to explore the knowledge, discrimination abilities and attitudes towards the main English varieties –Standard British and American English– of six groups of students of *ESO* and *Bachiller* in the Secondary School Arxiduc Lluís Salvador in Palma de Mallorca (section 3). As part of this proposal, we will describe the features of our study, the methodology used to gather the data from our sample, and we will analyze and discuss the results to determine whether Secondary students in our sample are familiarized or not with English varieties, among other research questions (section 3.1).

2. Theoretical background

2.1. English as a Global Language

English has become omnipresent in our current world, a universal language that has permeated other languages and their associated culture. From political speeches given by politicians all over the world, signs and advertisements, to any hotel or restaurant in international cities, English has a relevant status all over the globe. But that is not to say that English is spoken by everyone, and it is not an official language in every country, so the assumption that it has become a Global Language must originate from different causes (Crystal 2003: 1-3).

In the following sections, we will review the notion of English as a Global Language. We will begin our study by defining its spread around the globe, we will discuss its speaking group models, analyze the process through which it became a Global Language and a *lingua franca*, and finally, we will take into consideration different attitudes towards the language and its worldwide status.

2.1.1 The spread of English in the world

From the last half of the twentieth century onwards, the use of English around the world has been increasing up to present day: English is one of the most demanded languages for Foreign Language Learning, being studied worldwide by more than 1 billion people, as estimated by the British Council, and due to the fact that nowadays “there are now more non-native English speakers than there are native speakers” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 14-15). Even if it is not the language with the most first-language speakers (English as an L1) - according to *Ethnologue*, English is the third language in that respect, with 372 million speakers, after Chinese, with 1,284 million, and Spanish, with 437 million, it is the language that is spoken in most countries, a total of 106 territories (Simons and Fennig: 2017). Crystal ventures out to say that “approximately one in three of the world’s population are now capable of communicating to a useful level in English” (Crystal 2012: 155).

As pointed out by Jenkins (2015: 2), “the total numbers of L1 and L2 English speakers amount here to 329,140,800 and 430,614,500 respectively, and together these speakers constitute almost a third of the total population of the above territories (2,236,730,000 in total)”.

Galloway and Rose (2015) mention one of the most common divisions of English speakers (first mentioned by McArthur (1998: 43-46)): those who speak ‘English as a Native Language’ (ENL), speakers of ‘English as a Second Language’ (ESL) and of ‘English as a Foreign Language’ (EFL). The first group (320-380 million people) comprises those who are native speakers, which are mainly the population of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. ESL speakers (300-500 million people) traditionally inherited the language as part of their colonial past, since they are mainly located in former British colonies such as India, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Singapore. Finally, EFL speakers (nearly one billion people) are located in countries where English is not widely used nor it is used internally. Some countries with EFL speakers are China or Japan (Galloway and Rose 2015: 14).

As the authors point out, this division is controversial and problematic, as it establishes boundaries that are, in many cases, blurry or hard to estimate, and it doesn't always adjust to reality. "For example, many people defined as ESL speakers in fact speak English as a native language" (Galloway and Rose 2015: 14). Crystal (2003) regards this kind of distinction as useful, although he suggests avoiding simplistic interpretations, such as considering ESL speakers more fluent than EFL speakers. It is worth reminding that these distinctions are becoming more and more blurred as linguistic needs and configurations are constantly changing for its speakers and their families: "children are being born to parents who communicate with each other through a lingua franca learned as a foreign language" (Crystal 2003: 6). We can also mention the case of New Zealand or Australia, which, at the time of their colonization, were ESL countries as English was the language brought by the colonizers. Today, their status has changed to ENL countries.

Jenkins (2015) adds a few more notes on the interpretation of the aforementioned three-way categorization, first mentioned by McArthur (1998: 43-46): Firstly, ENL speakers do not use a single variety of English, but as many varieties as territories where English is spoken, which additionally, have a different concept of 'Standard' English. Moreover, "there have always been large groups of ENL speakers living in certain ESL territories" (Jenkins 2015: 11), which contributes to blur the lines between these two categories. The opposite is also true: large groups of ESL speakers live in ENL settings due to phenomena such as immigration. Finally, this model doesn't take into account pidgins (the result of a multilingual situation in which monolingual speakers of different first languages need to communicate and solve their linguistic gap by improvising a contact language with the purpose of allowing mutual understanding) or creoles (pidgins which have evolved into a first language for a linguistic community) (Jenkins 2015: 36-37). These languages are very different from standard varieties. Additionally, this model does not account for

multilingualism and derived phenomena such as code-mixing and code-switching.¹ (Jenkins 2015: 11).

2.1.2. Models to describe the spread of English

Given the great diversity of English speakers around the world, different models have been created to represent the English-speaking population according to different variables, such as the historical relationship among English varieties, their geographical location or the use of the language made by its speakers. No model is entirely accurate, since categorizing speakers and English varieties into a single diagram that takes into account all the complexities of the English-speaking world is a difficult, if not impossible, task. In this sense, we will discuss the three most influential models, as well as highlight their strengths and weaknesses.

Stevens's World Map of English (1980) (Fig.1) takes into account geographical variables in order to represent the most prominent English standard varieties around the globe on a world map, although it pays more attention to the historical relationship existing between these varieties by aligning them into different branches. In that sense, one of its strengths is the illustrative depiction of parent and historically derived varieties while at the same time being geographically accurate. Its main weakness, according to some researchers such as Galloway and Rose (2015), is an "America-centric" point of view in the arrangement of the tree diagram, since it puts British and American English at the same level instead of recognizing American English's origins from British English, while at the same time "promotes a stereotype that American English and British English are somehow the fundamental central Englishes of the World" (Galloway and Rose 2015: 15)

¹ Code-switching can be defined as a linguistic phenomenon in which a multilingual speaker switches between different languages or varieties (Galloway and Rose 2015: 32). Code-mixing is a similar phenomenon in which the speaker mixes linguistic elements from different languages or varieties in the same sentence or phrase. (Galloway and Rose 2015: 32)

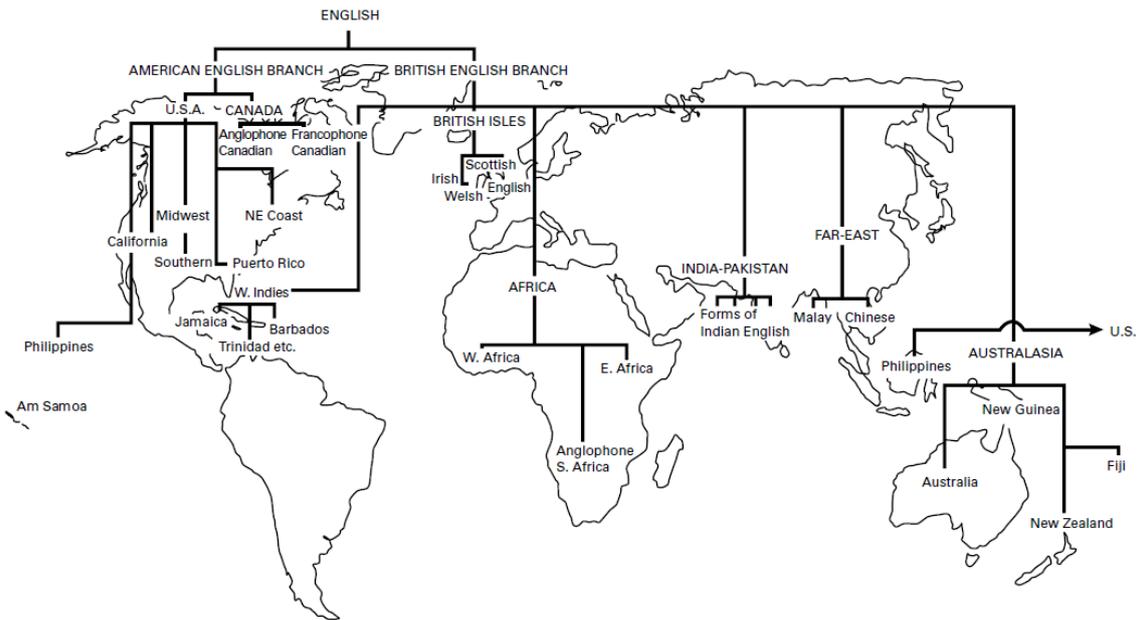


Fig.1: Strevens's World Map of English (1992) (Jenkins 2015: 12)

McArthur's Circle of World English (1987) is a circle model that places all standard varieties (Fig. 2), including African, American, Canadian and Irish varieties, around a central hub that includes World Standard English, whose existence is controversial and according to some researchers, it "does not exist in an identifiable form at present" (Jenkins 2015: 13). These varieties are geographically classified in eight regions, which include several regional varieties present at the more peripheral areas of the circle. For instance, East Asian Standard English variety includes Chinese, Japanese, the Philippines, Malaysian, Singapore, Hong Kong and East Asian English regional varieties (Galloway and Rose 2015: 15-16). While this model depicts an accurate distribution of geographically interrelated varieties, it does not reflect many other factors, such as "the true historic, political and linguistic ties that exist in the varieties of English represented" (Galloway and Rose 2015: 15-17).

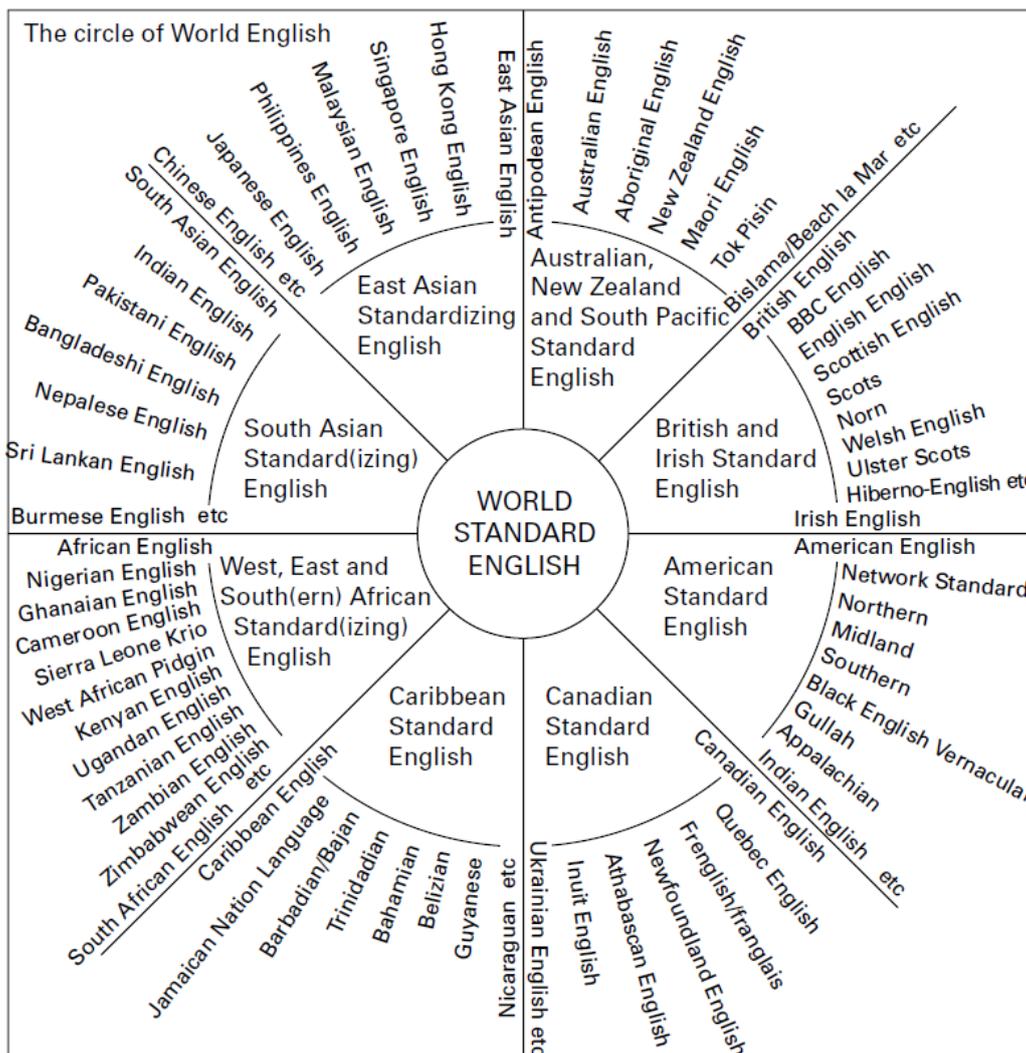


Fig. 2: Mc Arthur's Circle of World English (1987) (Jenkins 2015: 13)

The last model that we are going to describe is Kachru's Three Circle Model (1992), which presents a series of countries divided into three overlapping circles, namely the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle, as illustrated in Fig. 3.

The "Inner Circle" includes five territories (USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) that are home primarily to ENL speakers. In these territories English is the language that "operates as the default language for almost all domains of society" (Seargeant and Swann 2012: 31). According to Kachru's model, these countries are viewed as 'norm-providing', which means that, as English is learned as a Foreign Language in non-English-speaking countries, the variety of English spoken in the "Inner Circle" countries is a standard variety

(usually Standard British or Standard American) which learners aspire to acquire (Seargeant and Swann 2012: 31).

The “Outer Circle”, includes countries such as Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, Philippines or Singapore, “in which the current status of English is the result of colonisation, but with the difference that in these countries, the language did not displace the indigenous languages” (Seargeant and Swann 2012: 31). They are countries with a majority of ESL speakers, which use English as an additional language in institutional contexts such as the administration, education or literature. According to the model, these countries are ‘norm-developing’, meaning that they are developing their own norms independently from the “Inner Circle” standards, since English varieties in these countries “have their own local histories, literary traditions, pragmatic contexts and communicative norms” (Kachru 1992: 359).

In Kachru’s “Outer Circle”, English varieties that are the product of English as a Second Language develop linguistic norms independently from ‘norm-providing’ English varieties, this is why they are also referred to as ‘New’ Englishes, which, according to Platt *et al.* (1984: 2-3), need to fulfill a set of criteria: these ‘New’ Englishes developed in countries where English is not the primary language, which means that it is not spoken by the majority of the population. They developed through the education system, they are used to fulfill specific functions (for instance, by the government, the media or in literature), and they have become “localized” or “nativized”, which means they have acquired new, unique features (Galloway and Rose 2015: 97).

Lastly, the countries listed in the “Expanding Circle”, where English is not officially used but relevant to many EFL speakers, are essentially the countries in the rest of the world, where English is neither a first nor a second language. These countries “do not have the base of first-language speakers which would allow them to develop their own norms, and so they follow a UK or US standard English as their model” (Seargeant and Swann 2012: 31). Most countries in Europe, including Spain, belong to this circle.

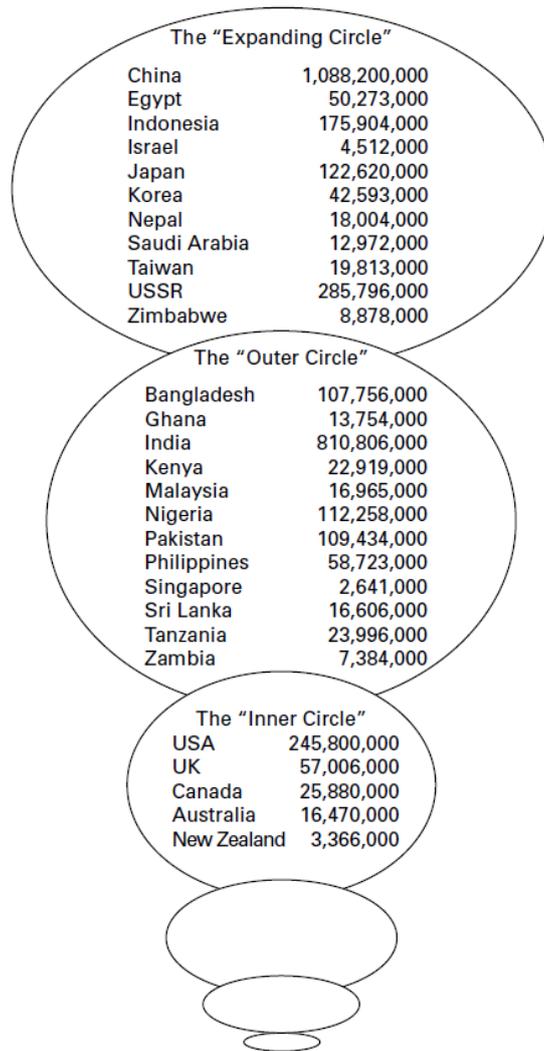


Fig. 3: Kachru's three-circle model of World Englishes (1992) (Jenkins 2015: 14)

Although it has been widely used and accepted by linguistic researchers, Kachru's model has been criticized for a number of reasons: Firstly, the model is too focused on geographical and historical events rather than on the sociolinguistic use of English. The distribution of ENL, ESL and EFL speakers is quickly changing, as a consequence of language evolution. Nowadays, with the increase of international mobility and international speakers, speakers of all types can be found all over the world, and furthermore, this model does not agree with the English as a *lingua franca* model that we will discuss later on (Galloway and Rose 2015: 20).

Secondly, Kachru's model does not recognize multilingual countries by categorizing them as ENL-speaking. The best example is Canada, which is considered a monolingual country, and by extension French Canadians or the Inuit community are ignored (Galloway and Rose 2015: 20).

Finally, this model assumes that the "Inner Circle" speakers, as a 'norm-providing' group, are a model of proficiency, wrongly associating native language only with communicative proficiency (Galloway and Rose 2015: 22). As explained by Jenkins (2015: 16): "The fact that English is somebody's second or subsequent language does not mean that their competence is, by definition, lower than that of a native speaker".

2.1.3. How English became a Global Language

The status of English as a Global Language is determined by its special role in every country in the world. English is the official language or is used as a means of communication in institutions such as the government, the media and the educational system "in over seventy countries, such as Ghana, Nigeria, India, Singapore and Vanuatu" (Crystal 2003: 4), and it is given a priority in the foreign language curriculum in schools "in over 100 countries, such as China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt and Brazil – and in most of these countries it is emerging as the chief foreign language to be encountered in schools, often displacing another language" (Crystal 2003: 5). Among the reasons for which English was favored as a foreign language, Crystal lists historical tradition, political expediency and desire for contact, either for commercial, cultural or technological purposes.

In fact, the reasons why English has been established as a Global Language have little to do with its linguistic properties. As pointed out by Crystal, the perception that English is so widely used because its grammar seems simpler –without major declensions and lack of nominal gender categorization, and thus easier to learn, is entirely wrong (Crystal 2003: 7). Evidence against this argument is, for instance, that French and Latin used to be internationally relevant at different periods of time, in spite of their

grammatical gender categorization and its multiple inflections, respectively. Moreover, it is clear that children learn to speak their own mother tongue at a similar pace regardless of what their language is (Crystal 2003: 8).

English, like other languages at their time, has become a world language exclusively because of extrinsic reasons, which are all, as pointed out by Crystal, related to “the power of its people – especially their political and military power” (Crystal 2003: 9), which made colonialism possible and made the British Empire (imposing their political power) a reality that established English all around the world (Crystal 2012:156). The Industrial Revolution was also proof of Great Britain’s technological and economic power, which brought more people to the main cities, making its population grow, which also meant more English speakers:

Over half of the leading scientists and technologists during the Industrial Revolution worked in English, and people who travelled to Britain (and later America) to learn about the new technologies had to do so through the medium of English. The early nineteenth century saw the rapid growth of the international banking system, especially in Germany, Britain and the USA, with London and New York becoming the investment capitals of the world. The resulting ‘economic imperialism’ brought a fresh dimension to the balance of linguistic power (Crystal 2012: 157-158).

The main historical events related to Britain’s political and military power which gave way to the current status of English as a Global Language have been listed by Galloway and Rose (2015), and account for the spread of English around the world through four channels. The first three are part of Britain’s colonial history:

- Channel one refers to the settler colonization that brought English to the Americas, Africa and the Pacific (Galloway and Rose 2015: 9). One example of this historical event would be the spread of English to convict settlements in Australia.

- Channel two is slavery, which these authors treat as a separate source from colonization, and explains, for instance, the spread of English to plantations in Jamaica.
- Channel three is trade and exploitation colonies, which helped Britain to empower its trading market and brought English to all British trade routes and ports, such as India, as a means of a mutually intelligible business language (Galloway and Rose 2015:10).

As the authors point out, the fourth channel is not part of Britain's colonial history and took place in an entire different context: the economic growth of the USA after the Second World War (Galloway and Rose 2015: 11):

A fourth channel of the spread of English has been the force of globalization, defined as the strengthening of worldwide interconnectedness in terms of society, culture, economy, politics, spirituality, and language (McIntyre, 2009).

As defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (revised edition, 2009), globalization is “the process by which businesses or other organisations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale, widely considered to be at the expense of national identity”. This definition hints the controversial nature of globalization, which is considered for some, as mentioned by Seargeant (2012: 178), as “a natural stage in the history of capitalism and thus a positive development in the social organisation of the world” as well as refused by others for its pernicious effects on cultural diversity, especially in less economically powerful countries, which adopt homogeneous cultural items, practices and values.

Even so, not all aspects of globalization are necessarily linked to homogeneity: “if we consider globalisation in terms of processes rather than end products, (...) it is the complex of processes by which the world is being transformed into a vast, interconnected global system” (Seargeant 2012: 181). In this way, given the recent advances in communication technology, the establishment of social networks and the Internet in developed countries fostered by the rise of smartphones and similar devices, and the advances and

affordability of air transport, people are no longer bound by physical barriers when it comes to connect, communicate and interact socially with individuals and communities all around the globe.

2.1.4. English as a *lingua franca*

As we have seen throughout this review, the amount of speakers of English as an L2/FL outweighs its total number of L1 speakers, which is particularly revealing: English is currently not the language of a single nation, as is commonly the case of many European countries, nor just the symbol of an Empire and its former colonies: it is a tool for communication that provides mutual understanding among countries with speakers of different languages.

In linguistically-mixed communities in which few languages are in contact, it is common to resort to bilingualism in order to facilitate communication, given that children can acquire them unconsciously, but in cases where many languages are in contact, as, for instance, in a big part of Africa and South-east Asia, a given language must be used as a “common language”, which is the case of pidgins. Most often, a foreign language can be chosen to act as a *lingua franca*, depending on “the political, economic or religious influence of a foreign power” (Crystal 2003: 11). This is exemplified in Latin, which was the *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire not because it was the first language of most of its speakers in the conquered territories, but because of the political, economic and military power of Rome (Crystal 2003: 12).

From the twentieth century onwards, with the birth of international organizations such as the United Nations, UNESCO or the World Health Organization, the need for a common language for the whole world started to emerge, since it was the only alternative to multi-way translation facilities (Crystal 2003: 12).

This is exactly what characterizes English as a *lingua franca*: “English as it is used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages” (Jenkins 2015: 44). Its status as a *lingua franca* means that speakers from Europe, or countries such as China or Brazil, “use English more frequently as a

contact language among themselves rather than with native English speakers” (Jenkins 2015: 5). Jenkins provides a more exhaustive definition of ELF (English as a *Lingua Franca*) taken by Seidlhofer (2011: 7): “any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option”.

Compared to EFL, in which non-native speakers of English learn the language to use it at a native competence, potentially with native speakers, ELF speakers do not have native-like competence as a goal when learning English, but “to communicate successfully in intercultural communication which may, but often does not, include NESs [Native English Speakers]” (Jenkins 2015: 45). For this reason, divergences from native English rules are not regarded as language mistakes, “but as evidence of linguistic adaptability and creativity” (Jenkins 2015: 45).

As for the reasons why English is the world’s *lingua franca*, we can list historical factors, such as British and American imperialism and its legacy; internal political reasons, such as those countries where a ‘New’ English variety is a symbol of national unity (and where the media contributes to spread the language); external economic reasons, exemplified in the powerful economy of the United States, which is a considerable force in international markets; practical reasons, such as English being the language of international air traffic control, international business, academic conferences and tourism; intellectual reasons, since most of the information related to scientific, technological or academic areas is stored in English; and finally, entertainment reasons, given the huge amount of entertainment media produced by the United States, including music, the Hollywood industry, performing arts, satellite broadcasting, computers and video games, or other less licit activities such as pornography or drugs (Jenkins 2015: 43-44).

2.1.5. Issues and attitudes

Attitudes towards the status of English as a Global Language change among countries and among people. English may have several advantages in different

fields, such as international relations, business, or even scientific advancement, but its influence on the remaining languages and, more importantly, on the culture that is tied to them is undeniable and unavoidable. In this section we will review the most common advantages and disadvantages of English as a Global Language.

1. Advantages of English as a Global *lingua franca*

a. Advantages for international relations

One of the most palpable advantages of having a Global Language is that it will benefit diplomacy and political gatherings. Having a common language for representatives of all nations in the world means that all the costs from interpreters and translators in such gatherings can be avoided, while at the same time obtaining all the linguistic and cultural subtleties that can be missed during translation processes. In the context of Europe, a common language is said to create a “pan-European space for political debate” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 54).

b. Advantages for business

Businesses and corporations will benefit from a common language. In fact, as of today, many international firms have switched to English as their only corporate language since it allows for an easier mutual understanding between their corporate branches, such as between its headquarters and other subsidiaries (Galloway and Rose 2015: 54).

c. Advantages for communication

English as a *lingua franca* can make international communication more efficient, since it is also the language of the Internet, from historical and statistical points of view. The Internet was an American development, and as such, if online information is in English, there is a perception that it can be reached by more

people. Statistically speaking, a 2009 UNESCO report showed that around 45% of the contents on the Internet were in English. A common language for the Internet also grants faster access to entertainment media, since it is easier to find films, series or video games in English than dubbed or localized into other languages (Galloway and Rose 2015: 54-55).

d. Advantages for education and scientific advancement

Before the press was invented in Europe, Latin was established as the *lingua franca* of culture and knowledge, and only those who understood Latin could have access to education. Today, English is the academic language for half of the world's international students, and is the universal language for many academic disciplines (Galloway and Rose 2015: 55).

e. Advantages for political unity

In many countries in the world, English can be used as a language that isn't politically-tainted, a neutral language beyond linguistic, cultural and religious boundaries. For instance, in Singapore, English can unite the different Chinese-speaking, Tamil-speaking and Bahasa-Melayu citizens as a mediatory language. Additionally, when it comes to global justice, English is used, for instance, in cases where citizens want to protest internationally against a totalitarian regime, since it can reach a wider international audience (Galloway and Rose 2015: 55-56).

f. Advantages for society

Broadly speaking, it can be said that English is a powerful tool to communicate with people across linguistic communities. One of the manifestations of this premise is the case of tourism, since English can be used as a common language that can help "fostering relations between mobile populations around the world" (Galloway and Rose 2015: 56).

2. The dangers of a Global Language

a. Language death

English can also be perceived as a threat to foreign languages. Among the 5000-6000 languages spoken in the world today, it is estimated that 3000-4000 will be lost by 2100 (Grenoble and Whaley 1998) or will have their number of speakers limited. The arrival of new languages is cited as the most important cause of language death, and English, a language that was once imposed over several local languages during the British colonization, and which is nowadays growing international relevance due to globalization, is increasingly seen as a “killer language”. As more and more students are taking up English as a foreign language, other languages are losing potential speakers: “in most of Europe secondary-level students learn English in their modern foreign language class instead of traditional neighbouring European languages” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 57).

b. Homogeneization of cultures

Because language and culture are closely linked, the worldwide spread of English is inevitably tied to a spread of a certain culture. Because of the economic and technological prowess of the United States in our current global scenario and the influence of USA cultural and entertainment products, as well as the spread of American companies as a consequence of globalization, American culture and lifestyle are reaching more and more parts of the world, and an “Americanization” of local cultures and the promotion of Western culture through English are becoming an increasingly common perception (Galloway and Rose 2015: 58).

c. Reduction in learning foreign languages

As stated by Galloway and Rose (2015: 58-59), “globalization and the importance of English is- also deterring native English speakers from studying

other languages". A side effect of the worldwide spread of English is that its native speakers have no motivation to learn foreign languages. Part of the proof is a reported decline of Secondary school students taking up a language as part of their GCSE grades in the United Kingdom. Native English speakers are no longer viewing learning other languages as a worthy effort because of the extended mindset that dictates that knowledge of English is enough for international communication, which is perpetuated and justified by globalization (Galloway and Rose 2015: 58-59).

d. English as a killer language

As much as there are attitudes against the spread of English as a Global Language because of its perceived threat against local languages, from another perspective, the problem lies in the speakers themselves, who are responsible of language death by giving their local languages up, among other reasons, because a perceived difference in prestige in one language or the other.

Opinion on the role of English in the destruction of other languages and culture is polarized. One camp views the international destruction of a language as a top-down decision by English-speaking powers, and others see it as a bottom-up decision by speakers turning to English for their own purposes and gains (Galloway and Rose 2015: 60).

2.2. Standard English and varieties

As we have discussed previously, English is by no means a uniform, homogeneous language, but an amalgam of varieties sorted by geographical, historical and social factors. But are they all treated equally in terms of use, prestige and recognition? In this section we will review the concept of English Standard Language Ideology and Standard English in order to narrow down the focus of our study: Standard British and Standard American.

2.2.1. Standard Language Ideology

Standard English is defined by Trudgill and Hannah as “the variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by ‘educated’ speakers of the language” (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 1). It is the variety that those EFL speakers in the “Expanding circle” are taught, according to Kachru’s model. It is a sort of referent, an ideal that functions as a yardstick to measure not only EFL competence, but the other varieties as well. According to Jenkins’ definition, a standard is both “a variety of a language that is considered to be the norm” and a “prestige variety” (Jenkins 2015: 21) whose prestige, like that of English as a *lingua franca* comes from its speakers’ high prestige: a standard language is spoken by a powerful and influential minority within a society.

Thus, Standard Language Ideology is that which presents a specific variety, typically chosen from speakers of powerful and prestigious social positions, as a model to follow and regards any deviations from it as errors that do not qualify as an educated, proper use of the language. That is to say, Standard Language Ideology stems from prescriptivism, which dictates how a language should be spoken by its users. In an attempt to preserve the standard variety as an ideal entity that is to be respected and unchanged, language academies or institutions such as the Queen’s English Society² impose certain *language standards*, the prescriptive language rules that constitute the standard (Jenkins 2015: 22).

Given that languages are dynamic and are constantly adapting to the needs of its speakers, its social changes and its time, among many other factors, Standard Language Ideology attempts to filter the changes and innovations introduced to the language by its speakers and to discriminate which are accepted within the standard, often through arbitrary, non-linguistic criteria.

² This institution, founded in 1972, aims “to improve standards of English, to encourage people to know more about our wonderful language, to use it more effectively and to enjoy it more”, as well as “exposing poor English standards” (Jenkins 2015: 22). See more at <http://queens-english-society.com>

For the aforementioned reasons, Standard languages favor the interests of specific social groups, which, in turn, are detrimental to other groups: “language standardisation has systematically worked against the underclass as well as women and minorities” (Parakrama 1995: back cover). From a linguistic perspective, standardization is detrimental to speakers from all other varieties, especially to speakers of New Englishes (Jenkins 2015: 22).

2.2.2. What is *Standard English*?

Jenkins (2015: 24-25) collects a comprehensive list of recent definitions of *Standard English*, which highlight some of their properties. These are included below:

- Trudgill (1984) adds the inclusion in Standard English of “colloquial and slang vocabulary as well as swear-words and taboo expressions” (Jenkins 2015: 24).
- Strevens (1985) notes that Standard English is not entirely an English variety, but only a part of it, since it includes “the grammar and core vocabulary of educated usage in English”. Similarly, Crystal (1995), reduces the scope of Standard English to vocabulary, grammar and orthography (Jenkins 2015: 24).
- Hughes and Trudgill (1996) define it in terms of its spread in society: Standard English is widely used in writing, in education (schools and universities), and by the media (radio and television, to which we could add official websites on the Internet). Trudgill and Hannah (2002) highlight its use by the ‘educated’ speakers of the language and by EFL students, but in a later edition (Trudgill and Hannah 2008), they clarify that Standard English is mainly a written variety, since most people do not speak it (Jenkins 2015: 24-25).
- McArthur (2002) sets Standard English usage by the upper and professional middle classes and educational institutions. The author also links Standard English to alternative denominations in Britain: “since the 1920s, [Standard English] has been called *Received Pronunciation (RP)*,

and [has been associated] with the phrases *the Queen's English*, *the King's English*, *Oxford English* and *BBC English*" (Jenkins 2015: 25).

Finally, Trudgill (1999), in his article "Standard English: what it isn't" defines the variety by what it is not, as follows:

- It is not a language: it is only one variety of a given English
- It is not an accent: in Britain it is spoken by 12-15 per cent of the population, of whom 9-12 per cent speak it with a regional accent
- It is not a **style**: it can be spoken in formal, neutral and informal styles (...).
- It is not a **register**: (...) register is largely a matter of lexis in relation to subject matter.
- It is not a set of prescriptive rules: it can tolerate certain features which, because many of their rules are grounded in Latin, prescriptive grammarians do not allow (Jenkins 2015: 25).

2.2.3. The process of standardization

Although Standard English is largely an artificial, social dialect (Jenkins 2015: 25) and not part of a geographical continuum, and as such, does not follow the natural process of evolution of English language, its consolidation as a standard variety was nevertheless the result of a complex development process.

Haugen (1966) proposed a model of standardization that describes a set of stages that account for English standardization from Early Modern English on:

- **selection** of a variety to be the standard
- **codification**, by which norms are elucidated and captured in dictionaries or grammars
- **elaboration**, which involves the extension of the standard to a wider variety of functions
- **implementation**, whereby norms are imposed and variability suppressed (Beal 2012: 68).

Milroy and Milroy (1985) adapted this model and expanded it with one extra step: **prescriptivism**, “by which judgements about the correctness and desirability of certain linguistic features serve to maintain the standard” (Beal 2012: 68).

Thereby, as noted by Hudson (1996: 32), standard languages have an “abnormal” development when compared to natural language evolution: “Whereas one thinks of normal language development as taking place (...) largely below the threshold of consciousness of the speakers, standard languages are the result of direct intervention by society” (Jenkins 2015: 22).

2.3. Variation in ‘Native’ Englishes

As we have seen in the previous section, during the evolution of the English language, a standard variety was chosen and established from Early Modern English onwards, but in the same way English spread around the world as a result of colonial expansion, economic power and globalization, the rise of ‘New’ Englishes has also given way to the creation of several standards:

Although originally emanating from (first England, and then) Britain, several “standard Englishes” may be said to be acknowledged today, British English and US English (often called “American English”) being without doubt the two foremost varieties in terms of number of speakers (Leech and Svartvik 1994: 28) and international influence (Bastida Rodríguez and Prieto Arranz 2008: 13-14).

2.3.1. Language change and language variation

As we have discussed earlier, languages are dynamic entities that evolve at the same pace as its speakers. Languages are thereby in constant change, either motivated by internal factors (endogenous change caused by the language system) or external factors (exogenous change caused by the speakers themselves). Language change is also subject to different attitudes, as some

speakers position themselves against it, thus leading to prescriptive standpoints that evaluate its usage as 'correct' or 'incorrect' (Galloway and Rose 2015: 30).

A different external factor affecting language change is linked to the social prestige and desirability of certain aspects of the language. An example of this is the New York accent change in the 1940s, which was non-rhotic. Rhotic pronunciations were, at the time, associated with prestige, therefore the accent was gradually changed following the 'Accommodation Theory', which states that the language was adapted to suit the preferences of the interlocutor (Giles and Coupland, 1991): "When speakers wish to increase the social proximity to their interlocutor, perhaps to ease communication, they often converge towards each other." (Galloway and Rose 2015: 31).

One of the most productive causes of linguistic variation is language contact: the more a language is in contact with speakers from various backgrounds or of different varieties, the more a language will suffer variation. As noted by Galloway and Rose (2015), this is particularly the case with English.

Some of the ways in which a language can change is when synchronic change takes place, thereby transferring linguistic items and structures from one language to another. Another source of change are neologisms, which help describe new realities achieved by society (Galloway and Rose 2015: 31).

Language contact has affected English thoroughly, to the point that nowadays, the term *Englishes* is common to describe the different varieties present all around the world, resulting mainly from language contact. Similarly, the paradigm of World Englishes regards the language as a "dynamic, multifarious and pluricentric entity" (Galloway and Rose 2015: 32).

This is way a number of English scholars and researchers have focused on the description of the so-called 'nativized' or 'localized' English national varieties, so as to see to what an extent they differ from native or 'standard' norms and to analyze their different degrees of nativization motivated by their development in specific contexts. These codification processes help provide a formal record of a variety, which helps legitimizing the concept of World Englishes (Galloway and Rose 2015: 32).

2.4. British English vs American English

After the appearance of 'standard' English varieties in different regions where English as a Native Language is spoken, much effort has been done to describe and distinguish the main differences in vocabulary and grammar in the different English Standards.

Jenkins (2015: 69) explains that, even though three of the recognized Standard Englishes (British, American and Australian English) have many characterizing features, it is worth noting that they are far outweighed by their similarities.

Vocabulary is the area where differences are more noticeable, given that it is the part of the language which changes faster, with thousands of terms that diverge especially between British English (BrE) and American English (AmE). Some of the items do not exist in the opposing variety, whereas other have different meanings (Jenkins 2015: 69).

2.4.1. Differences in spelling

Differences in spelling between BrE and AmE originated due to the efforts of linguist and writer Noah Webster (1758-1843), who believed that the recently independent United States should have its own standardized spelling, vocabulary and grammar rules as a way to promote a sense of national identity and to simplify the language orthography, bringing it closer to the etymological spelling (López Rúa 2008: 29). The following list of differences in spelling between BrE and AmE has been adapted from López Rúa (2008: 30-34):

- Nouns ending in *-our* in BrE end in *-or* in AmE: *colour* vs *color*, which also affects its derivatives: *favourite* vs *favorite*.
- Nouns of French or Greek origin ending in *b / t* and unstressed *-re* in BrE end in *-er* in AmE: *centre* vs *center*, even though some American names of places keep the ending in *-re*.
- The distinction between noun and verb in *-ce* and *-se* (*advice* vs *advise*) present in BrE has been lost in some nouns in AmE: *license* and *practice*

are used as noun and verb in AmE. Other nouns ending in *-ce* in BrE have shifted to *-se* in AmE: *defence* vs *defense*; *pretence* vs *pretense*; *offence* vs *offense*.

- Some nouns of Greek origin in BrE such as *catalogue*, *dialogue* or *analogue* have been changed to *catalog*, *dialog*, *analog* in AmE.
- Derived nouns of Greek and Latin origin which use the *æ / œ* ligatures in BrE (*ænenia*; *diarrhœa*) have been simplified to *anemia* or *diarrhea* in AmE.
- Doubling of word-final *-l* in examples such as *model* > *modelling* or *cruel* > *crueller* in BrE is restricted to stressed syllables in AmE: *travel* > *traveler* but *rebel* > *rebellion*.
- BrE tends to prefer the suffix *-ise* while AmE replaces it with *-ize*: *realise/-ize* vs *realize*; *criticise/-ize* vs *criticize*. The only exceptions are *advertise*, *circumcise*, *improvise*, *merchandise*, *supervise* or *televise*.
- Some other differences in spelling are the following: *aluminium* vs *aluminum*; *cheque* vs *check*; *grey* vs *gray*; *jewellery* vs *jewelry*; *plough* vs *plow*; *pyjamas* vs *pajamas* and *tyre* vs *tire*.
- Some other spelling differences have different meanings: *disc* (“compact disc”) vs *disk* (“hard drive”); *programme* and *program* (BrE: “computer program”) vs *program* (AmE: both).

2.4.2. Differences in vocabulary

Some of the differences in terminology between BrE and AmE sound familiar to speakers from the opposite side of the Atlantic, such as the BrE terms *lorry*, *chap* or *lift* and the AmE terms *sidewalk*, *gas* or *elevator*, and in some other cases, the meanings can be guessed. Other terms, such as the BrE *busk* or the AmE *two percent milk* are not understandable to speakers of opposite varieties (López Rúa 2008: 35).

- **Terms with primary and secondary meaning preferences.** They share the same list of meanings, but there are differences in the prevalence of such meanings: *blinkers* (mainly “leather flaps”, also “lights

on a car” in BrE); *spunk* (mainly “semen”, also “courage” in BrE); *squash* (mainly a sport, also a vegetable in BrE). The meaning preferences are opposite in AmE (López Rúa 2008: 35).

- **Terms with added meaning.** Some words have the same meaning in both varieties, but they include additional meanings either in BrE or AmE. Some examples are: *bill* (“beak of a bird”, “law”, also “request for payment” in BrE and “bank note” in AmE); *bonnet* (“hat”, also “part of a car” in BrE); *cheers* (“exclamation in toasts”, also “thank you” in BrE); *flat* (“level and smooth”, also “type of housing” in BrE); *gas* “volatile substance”, also “gasoline” in AmE); *hood* (“clothing”, also “part of a car” and shortening for *neighborhood* in AmE); *torch* (“stick with burning material”, also “hand-held device that emits electric light” in BrE); *vet* (“veterinarian”, also “war veteran” in AmE) (López Rúa 2008: 36).
- **Identical words with different meanings in BrE and AmE.** The following are some of the most common examples: *bathroom* (BrE “room with a bath”, AmE “room with a toilet”); *chips* (BrE “fried potatoes, eaten hot”, AmE “fried potatoes, eaten cold”); *fag* (BrE “cigarette” [slang], AmE “male homosexual [insulting slang]”); *pants* (BrE “underpants”, AmE “trousers”); *pavement* (BrE “footway area”, AmE “surface of a road”); *pissed* (BrE “drunk”, AmE “angry”); *purse* (BrE “women’s money container”, AmE “handbag”); *restroom* (BrE “staffroom”, AmE “public toilet”) (López Rúa 2008: 37).
- **Different words with the same meaning.** The following pairs of words, which share the same meaning, will be the most common examples. They are presented in “BrE vs AmE” order: *car park* vs *parking lot*; *carriage* (on a train) vs *car*; *dinner jacket* vs *tuxedo*; *drawing pin* vs *thumbtack*; *first floor* vs *second floor* (also *ground floor* vs *first floor*); *headmaster* vs *principal*; *holiday* vs *vacation*; *motorway* vs *highway*; *newsreader* vs *newscaster*; *post* vs *mail*; *post code* vs *zip code*; *railway* vs *railroad*; *roundabout* vs *traffic circle*; *rubbish* vs *garbage*; *spanner* vs *wrench*; *sweets* vs *candy*; *tights* vs *pantyhose*; *zebra crossing* vs *crosswalk* (López Rúa 2008: 38).

- **Unique words:** the following table shows nouns which are only present either in BrE or in AmE, with no equivalent in the other variety:

BrE <i>bed-sitter</i>	“rented room used as a bedroom, kitchen and living room”
BrE <i>Belisha beacon</i>	“orange light sign mounted on a post at a zebra crossing”
BrE <i>busker</i>	“street musician, street performer”
BrE <i>lollipop man/lady</i>	“person who stops the traffic as children cross the road”
BrE <i>white goods</i>	“electrical appliances like fridges or washing machines”
AmE <i>busboy</i>	“junior restaurant worker assisting waiting staff”
AmE <i>cookout</i>	“informal meal cooked and eaten outdoors”
AmE <i>diner</i>	“small restaurant with a long bar and fixed seats”
AmE <i>newsboy</i>	“newspaper deliverer”
AmE <i>sophomore</i>	“2 nd year undergraduate (university)”

Table 1. Adapted from López Rúa (2008: 39)

2.4.3. Differences in grammar

Grammatical differences between BrE and AmE exist, but they are few and have not been frequently documented. Furthermore, in formal written styles, differences in grammar between the two varieties are hardly noticeable, as opposed to informal spoken language, where “variation between BrE and AmE is considerable and especially marked” (Amengual Pizarro 2008: 90-91). The following selection of the most relevant grammatical differences has been adapted from Amengual Pizarro (2008: 94-102):

- **Use of present tense and past tense:** AmE favors simple past tense in cases where present perfect is commonly used in BrE, especially in sentences containing *ever*, *never*, *already*, *just* or *yet*:
 - BrE: *I **have** already **seen** that film.*
 - AmE: *I **already saw** that film.*
- **Verb agreement with collective nouns:** Whereas in AmE, collective nouns such as *government*, *staff*, *team*, etc. always take a singular verb, BrE can take either a singular or plural verb depending on whether the group is perceived as a single entity or a collection of individuals:

- BrE: *Which team **is/are** losing?*
- AmE: *Which team **is** losing?*
- **Use of light verbs *have* and *take*** In BrE, the verb *have* can be used with a nominal group to describe an action. In AmE, the verb *take* is commonly used instead:
 - BrE: *He'd like to **have** a quick shower.*
 - AmE: *He'd like to **take** a quick shower.*
- **Differences in the use of auxiliaries and modals:**
 - Use of *do* for an action already mentioned:
 - BrE: - *Are you coming with us?*
- *I might **do**.*
 - AmE: - *Are you coming with us?*
- *I might.*
 - Use of *needn't* and *don't need to*:
 - BrE: - *They **needn't** / **don't need to** come to work today.*
 - AmE: - *They **don't need to** come to work today.*
 - Use of *shall* to talk about the future and to ask for advice:
 - BrE: - *We **shall/will** phone you. / **Shall** I make the tea?*
 - AmE: - *We **will** phone you. / **Should** I make the tea?*
 - Use of *can't* and *mustn't* to express impossibility:
 - BrE: *There's no reply: she **can't** be at home.*
 - AmE: *There's no reply: she **can't** / **mustn't** be at home.*
- **Use of *have got* and *gotten*:** In AmE, the form *gotten* is used to express the result of an action and also meaning "become". It is not used in BrE:
 - BrE: *Her English has **got** better.*
 - AmE: *Her English has **gotten** better.*
- **Use of *have* as an auxiliary:** In negatives and questions with *have*, BrE resorts to *have* as an auxiliary, while in AmE the auxiliary *do* is preferred:
 - BrE: *We **haven't got** / **don't have** enough money.*
 - AmE: *We **don't have** enough money.*

- **Verbs *seem, look, feel*:** In BrE these verbs of perception can be followed by a noun phrase. In AmE they usually appear with expressions such as *to be* or *like* between the two:
 - BrE: *He **seemed (to be)** a good person.*
 - AmE: *He **seemed to be / seemed like** a good person.*
- **Irregular verbs in past tense:** Some irregular verbs also have a regular form for the past tense, which is generally preferred in AmE. The following table displays the distribution of simple past and past participle tenses of these verbs in BrE and AmE:

Infinitive	simple past (BrE)	simple past (AmE)	past participle (BrE)	past participle (AmE)
burn	<i>burned/burnt</i>	<i>burned/burnt</i>	<i>burned/burnt</i>	<i>burned/burnt</i>
bust	<i>bust</i>	<i>busted</i>	<i>bust</i>	<i>busted</i>
dive	<i>dived</i>	<i>dove/dived</i>	<i>dived</i>	<i>dived</i>
dream	<i>dreamed/dreamt</i>	<i>dreamed/dreamt</i>	<i>dreamed/dreamt</i>	<i>dreamed/dreamt</i>
get	<i>got</i>	<i>got</i>	<i>got</i>	<i>gotten</i>
lean	<i>leaned/leant</i>	<i>leaned</i>	<i>leaned/leant</i>	<i>leaned</i>
learn	<i>learned/learnt</i>	<i>learned</i>	<i>learned/learnt</i>	<i>learned</i>
smell	<i>smelled/smelt</i>	<i>smelled</i>	<i>smelled/smelt</i>	<i>smelled</i>
spell	<i>spelled/spelt</i>	<i>spelled</i>	<i>spelled/spelt</i>	<i>spelled</i>
spill	<i>spilled/spilt</i>	<i>spilled</i>	<i>spilled/spilt</i>	<i>spilled</i>
spoil	<i>spoiled/spoilt</i>	<i>spoiled/spoilt</i>	<i>spoiled/spoilt</i>	<i>spoiled/spoilt</i>

Table 2. Extracted from Amengual Pizarro (2008: 99)

- **Clause tags:** In BrE clause tags are used more often than in AmE, which favors expressions such as *right?* or *ok?* instead:
 - BrE: *You don't mind what I'm talking about, **do you?***
 - AmE: *You don't mind what I'm talking about, **right? / Ok?***
- **Adjectives and adverbs:** In informal speech, AmE has a higher tendency than BrE to substitute adverbs such as *really* or *certainly* for adjectives (*real, sure*):
 - BrE: *This juice is **really** good!*
 - AmE: *This juice is **real** good!*
- **Use of prepositions:** The following list accounts for some of the most relevant divergences between BrE and AmE in the use of prepositions:

BrE	AmE
<i>round/around the town</i>	<i>around the town</i>
<i>towards/toward the north</i>	<i>toward the town</i>
<i>from Monday to/till Friday</i>	<i>(from) Monday through Friday</i>
<i>different from/to anything else</i>	<i>different from/than anything else</i>
<i>at the weekend</i>	<i>on the weekend</i>
<i>write to me</i>	<i>write me / write to me</i>
<i>talk to her</i>	<i>talk to / with her</i>
<i>meet someone</i>	<i>meet with someone</i>

Fig. 4. Adapted from Amengual Pizarro (2008: 101-102)

- **Numbers and dates:** The following is a list of the most common differences in the way BrE and AmE use numbers and construct dates:

BrE	AmE
<i>six hundred and twenty</i>	<i>six hundred (and) twenty</i>
<i>13 July</i>	<i>July 13</i>
<i>the thirteenth of July (spoken)</i>	<i>July thirteenth / the thirteenth of July (spoken)</i>
<i>13.7.99 (in writing)</i>	<i>7.13.99 (in writing)</i>

Fig. 5. Adapted from Amengual Pizarro (2008: 102)

2.4.4. Differences in pronunciation

British and American accents are not hard to discriminate due to the number of divergences between them, which is why I decided to include a listening exercise in our practical study, as we will see later. The following list of differences between American and British speech has been adapted from Swan (2005: 43-44):

- Certain vowels in some AmE varieties are nasal, but not in most BrE accents.

- BrE has a rounded short <o> (/ɒ/) used in words such as *dog*, *stop*, *lost*. They are pronounced with /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/ in AmE.
- Some words containing <a> + consonant, such as *fast* or *after*, are pronounced with /ɑ:/ in BrE and with /æ/ in AmE.
- In words such as *home*, *go* or *open*, the diphthong is pronounced /əʊ/ in BrE and /ou/ in AmE.
- In BrE, the sound for <r> is only pronounced before a vowel sound (such as in *right*). In AmE, this sound is pronounced in all positions, including all those in which the consonant is silent in BrE (*car*, *turn*, *offer*), and at the same time, it affects the quality of the preceding vowel.
- In most of AmE, <t> and <d> have a light voiced pronunciation [d] in intervocalic position. Thus, words such as *writer* and *rider* can be homophones in AmE.
- In words in which <th>, <d>, <t> or <n> and in some cases <s> or <l> are followed by <u> or <ew> in written form, such as *enthusiastic*, *duty*, *tune*, *new* or *illuminate*, said vowel or diphthong is pronounced with /u:/ in most AmE (/ˈdu:ti/) and /ju:/ in BrE (/ˈdju:ti/).
- Some words ending in unstressed <-ile>, such as *fertile* or *missile*, are pronounced with /l/ in AmE (/ˈfɜ:rtl/), and with /aɪl/ (/ˈfɜ:taɪl/) in BrE.
- Some long words ending in <-ary>, <-ery> or <-ory>, such as *secretary*, are pronounced with an extra syllable in AmE: /ˈsekrəteri/ vs BrE /ˈsekrətri/.
- The suffix <-ough>, in words such as *borough* and *thorough*, is pronounced differently in BrE (/ə/) and AmE (/ou/).
- Words borrowed from French ending in a vowel sound are stressed differently, as the final vowel is usually stressed in AmE:

<i>paté</i>	AmE /pæ'teɪ/	BrE /'pæteɪ/
<i>ballet</i>	AmE /bæ'leɪ/	BrE /'bæleɪ/

2.5. English as a *Lingua Franca* in English Language Teaching

According to Jenkins (2015: 155), in the last decades, much research has been done about the nature of ELF but very little has been studied about the way English as a *lingua franca*, an international communicative tool, should be presented at school, in the field of English Language Teaching. Some researchers argue that “pedagogical decisions should be left to ELT professionals”, while others, such as Wen (2012: 372) believe that “traditional and native-speaker based concepts of EFL have been so deeply rooted and it takes time for them to be changed.” As we have seen in previous literature review, most ELT approaches have English as a Native Language, and specifically in the case of Europe, Standard British English, as a learning goal, instead of focusing on the kind of English that will offer students opportunities to communicate with other non-native Speakers all around the world. As stated by Jenkins, there continues to be “a huge mismatch between the kinds of English that are taught to NNEs [Non-Native English Speakers] at all educational levels, and the kinds of English they need and use in their lives outside the classroom” (Jenkins 2015: 155).

According to the studies conducted by Ranta (2010), who examined ELT models in Finland, the English curriculum has been centered on the native-speaker ideal “from the 1940s to the present day” (Ranta 2010: 159).

From the 1960s, curricula began to refer to the international usefulness and *lingua franca* function of English. But so far, this has not led to any changes in pedagogy, and English “continues to be taught from the native-speaker perspective in Finland” ([Ranta 2010:] p. 161). The only pedagogic development has been that American English was introduced in the 1970s and given equal status with British English from 1985 (Jenkins 2015: 155).

2.5.1. Attitudes towards Global Englishes in ELT

A number of attitude studies regarding the pedagogical context of ELT were conducted to test the beliefs and prejudices of English students towards different issues, e.g. the contents of their lessons, bilingual teachers or, more

importantly to our own study, the varieties used in class (Galloway and Rose 2015: 183).

The first study, by Prodromou (1992), was survey-based and investigated the aforementioned beliefs and attitudes of 300 EFL students in Greece. More than 150 of them thought that “native English-speaking teachers should know the learners’ mother tongue and the local culture” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 184). British English was preferred over American English, partly due to the “bad press” the Americans had in that country at the time, in a post-war context and due to US international politics (Prodromou 1992: 44). The author notes that BrE was perceived as “a ‘purer’, more ‘refined’ form of English” (Prodromou 1992: 44-45) among the Greeks and noted their interest in British life and institutions (60%), and the predominance of British-based Cambridge examinations in Greece (Galloway and Rose 2015: 184).

Another study, conducted by Dalton-Puffer *et al.* (1997), tested 132 Austrian EFL students’ beliefs towards choosing a voice for a fictional upcoming audio book in English. The most favored model of pronunciation was RP, followed by General American, and finally, and with most of the negative responses, an Austrian accent. It is worth noting that, in this study, most of the students that chose RP listed “familiarity” with the accent as a reason, given that 55% of those who chose RP had never been in a native English-speaking country. Conversely, “of those who preferred an American Model, only 34 per cent had not been on an extended stay abroad” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 184).

Similar studies were carried out in South Korea (Butler 2007) and Japan (McKenzie 2008), which tested the students’ attitudes towards British / American-accented and local-accented English teachers. South Korean students thought “the American English guise had better pronunciation, was more confident in using the language, would focus more on fluency, and also use less Korean when teaching” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 185), whereas in McKenzie’s study, while the results “suggested a favourable attitude towards standard and non-standard varieties of British and American English in regards to status (...), greater solidarity was expressed with the ‘heavily-accented’

Japanese English speaker”. This study also found gender, self-perceived proficiency in English, exposure to the language and attitudes towards English as significant factors that influenced the students’ attitudes (Galloway and Rose 2015: 185).

To summarize, as seen in these studies, native English-speaking models, either British or American, are favored by EFL students, since the results “highlight a strong attachment to native English-speaking norms. However, (...) many factors influence these attitudes, including the predominance of the native English-speaker episteme in ELT, familiarity, stereotypes, proficiency, and gender” (Galloway and Rose 2015: 185).

2.5.2. Are language varieties taught in EFL textbooks in Spain?

In this section, we will briefly consider whether EFL textbooks used for English lessons in Secondary school curricula in Spain, and specifically in the context of the Balearic Islands, present their contents in a monocentric, Standard British variety, or whether other varieties of English, mainly General American, are also present.

A diachronic study by Arqués Toro (2013) analyzed six EFL textbooks meant for 2nd BUP / 4th ESO courses,³ equivalent to an A2 level, from different publishing houses, “used in previous years in different high schools in Mallorca” (Arqués Toro 2013: 6). Two textbooks are from the 1980s, another two from the 1990s and an additional pair from the 2000s (Arqués Toro 2013: 6-7). This analysis took into account linguistic and cultural features, and aimed at “obtaining instances of linguistic variation and change” (Arqués Toro 2013: 7).

According to her results, textbooks in the 1980s, which are *Streamline English* (1979) by Oxford University Press and *The Cambridge English Course 2* (1985) by Cambridge University Press, offer very little vocabulary outside BrE, with an anecdotal USA-themed unit in *The Cambridge English Course 2* that shows specific divergences in BrE and AmE (with terms such as *collect call* or *area code*). Orthography is entirely British, with *colour* or *humour* cited as

³ Acronyms for *Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente* (1970s-1994) and *Educación Secundaria Obligatoria* (since 1994), which are both equivalent of the same level of obligatory Secondary Education in Spain.

examples, and they either have no pronunciation section, or offer a BrE pronunciation, with explicit guidelines for teachers referencing RP accent (occasionally mentioning divergences between BrE and AmE phonetics). Grammar is purely BrE, with the use of *have got* as an example, and finally, cultural features in the textbooks contain British and English landscapes, culture, symbols and traditions. *The Cambridge English Course 2* contains references to the USA by showing a map of the United States and mentioning American culture or the American Government (Arqués Toro 2013: 8-11).

Textbooks from the 1990s, which are *Hotline: Pre-Intermediate* (1992) and *World Class Level 4* (1994) show British vocabulary in instances such as *temperature* (meaning *fever*) or *shop assistant*. British spelling is portrayed in *World Class Level 4*, with *analyse* or *glamour* as examples, and pronunciation is, for the most part, British, with an exception in *Hotline: Pre-Intermediate*, which leaves the pronunciation of <-r> optional, or provides an AmE pronunciation of the word *often*. Finally, cultural features diverge from book to book. *Hotline: Pre-Intermediate* displays eminently British cultural items, such as locations, history of England, although with the appearance of the Australian singer Kylie Minogue, although not in as part of Australian culture. In *World Class Level 4*, however, there are cultural references from different countries, such as African music, an Italian musician, Chinese medicine, or Hollywood actors and films are mentioned, such as *Home Alone* or *Terminator* (Arqués Toro 2013: 11-14).

Textbooks from the 2000s, which are *United. English for ESO* (2005) and *Burlington Build Up ESO 4* (2009), present vocabulary with either little to no reference to a specific variety. The only lexis that favors BrE appears in *United. English for ESO* (*autumn, motorway*). BrE spelling appears in *Burlington Build Up ESO 4* (*apologise, realise*), but also the word *encyclopedia* is presented with an AmE spelling. Surprisingly, *United. English for ESO* spelling rules are closer to AmE (*emphasize, revolutionize*). In pronunciation, the first textbook favors a British accent in terms such as *potato* or *carpet*, but there are also instances of American pronunciation. To finish with, cultural features in these textbooks either mix British culture with European cities and cultural elements from other

countries (a Mediterranean event, Spain, France...) or, as in the case of *Burlington Build Up ESO 4*, which was published in Cyprus, British and American cultures are presented “at the same level” (Arqués Toro 2013: 16), with famous writers such as J.K. Rowling and Stephen King, and cross-curricular activities that reference cultures from all over the world (Arqués Toro 2013: 14-16).

In short, the textbooks analyzed by the author seem to reveal a pattern that transitions from a purely British focus to an international, although more European one, especially regarding cultural features. Even if BrE is still a default model, other varieties (especially AmE) are gaining relevance in the more modern textbooks: “As years go by, British English is still seen as the “prestige” variety, but American English is getting in the middle in a subtle way, just like its culture is doing in Spanish society through films and the Internet” (Arqués Toro 2013: 17)

As the author acknowledges, the role of Britain as a member state of the EU seems to favor a shift from Britain as a model to “an example of a national variety of European culture and civilisation” (Kirkpatrick 2007: 189).

3. Development of the proposal

As we mentioned at the beginning of this work, Secondary students in Mallorca are have little to no exposition to English varieties as part of their English language curriculum, since didactic units are designed around an EFL textbook which, as we have seen in Arqués Toro (2013), are traditionally monocentric and following a native-speaking model, typically British as many, if not most, of the EFL textbooks used in Secondary schools in Spain are published in the UK.

Given this situation, our proposal will explore the identification and discrimination abilities of several groups of students from a Secondary school in Palma in relation to English varieties, which, in an European context and due to the little insight into Global Englishes these students usually receive as part of

their English lessons, we have narrowed down to Standard British and Standard American English varieties.

Thus, our investigation will analyze the extent to which these students are capable of discriminating one variety from the other, according to the different grammatical categories we have reviewed in previous sections.

3.1. Objectives

As part of our empirical study, we will develop a questionnaire to test the knowledge and attitudes of six groups of students in a Secondary school in Palma, one group per academic year, related to the distinction between Standard British and American English accents in a listening exercise, and their ability to identify BrE and AmE spelling and vocabulary. This will be followed by a brief survey intended to collect the students' perceived difficulties and their own preferences about the two accents, their attitudes towards them, and whether their English variety of choice may or may not be motivated by social or cultural factors and their exposure to these English varieties through American or British entertainment media, such as films, series or Internet content.

Given the broad scope of our study, we will narrow down our focus to a series of research questions:

1. To what an extent Secondary school students in Palma are capable of discriminating British and American English varieties consistently (pronunciation, spelling and vocabulary).
2. Whether or not the students follow a specific variety as a native-speaker model and to what an extent it is consistent with the variety they identified as such.
3. To what an extent students are influenced by British or American entertainment media and cultural products when choosing their preferred variety.
4. Whether factors such as age or gender have an impact on the students' preferred variety.

3.2. Participants and setting

The participants involved in this study are six groups of students from each academic year in the Secondary School Arxiduc Lluís Salvador, in Palma de Mallorca. The questionnaire was designed and delivered to each group in mid-May 2017, and to be filled in during the last 10-15 minutes of their respective English lessons.

Groups with mixed-ability students were preferred, although, as it is customary in Secondary schools in our country, groups with the extension A or B are usually made of students with a higher level than those in the C or D groups, so in order to provide the most balanced sample possible, groups with A to D extensions were chosen in equal proportion. A total of 114 students from four academic years of *ESO* and two academic years of *Bachiller* (from 12 to 18 years of age) participated in this study. It is worth noting that 2nd *ESO* B had a slightly higher level of English than usual due to them being part of a *Secciones Europeas* CLIL (Content and language integrated learning) program, and that both 1st *ESO* and 3rd *ESO* were part of a split group, which had only half of the total amount of students in that academic year. Most students were born in Palma, although many come from other parts of Spain, South America, the Maghreb, Slavic countries and China. Their estimated level of English ranges from A1 to B1 (or B1+ for some of the 2nd *Bachiller* students) according to the Common European Framework.

Group	Age	Avg. level	Group size	Gender ratio
1 st <i>ESO</i> A	12-13	A1	12 (split group)	(50 - 50%) 6 male, 6 female
2 nd <i>ESO</i> B	13-14	A1-A2	26	(46 - 54%) 12 male, 14 female
3 rd <i>ESO</i> C	14-15	A2	16 (split group)	(63 - 37%) 10 male, 6 female
4 th <i>ESO</i> C	15-16	A2-B1	29	(48 - 52%) 14 male, 15 female
1 st <i>Bachiller</i> B	16-17	B1	20	(45 - 55%) 9 male, 11 female
2 nd <i>Bachiller</i> A	17-18	B1-B1+	11	(55 - 45%) 6 male, 5 female

Table 3. Academic groups, number of students and gender ratio

3.3. Methodology

The methodological approach chosen for this study relies on both quantitative and qualitative research. Due to the nature of the data collection procedure we have chosen, a questionnaire that will measure the students' ability to discriminate between one English variety and another, the default outcome of our analysis will be in the form of quantitative data, since we can obtain objective figures and percentages of success and failure in the students' choices.

Nevertheless, one must not forget that research methodologies usually lie in a certain point of a spectrum between quantitative and qualitative data, as in our case, since qualitative information is also necessary to account for the students' identification of variety-specific words and parts of speech in the reading test. Similarly, the second part of our questionnaire, as we will see in the following section, relies heavily on qualitative, more subjective data, as the students will have different attitudes and motivations towards none, one or both English varieties that we will describe.

3.3.1. Questionnaire

All students were presented with a questionnaire which consists on a first part designed to gather quantitative information about the students' identification of BrE or AmE varieties, and a second part in the form of a survey, designed to collect qualitative information about the students' attitudes, preferences between the two varieties, and the reasons for choosing them.

The questionnaire, which was delivered in paper form, is anonymous, and the students knew it would not affect their English grade. The instructions and each of the questions were written in Spanish, as this would ensure complete understanding and avoid comprehension mistakes. As part of the instructions on the header of the questionnaire, as well as my own instructions, the students were reminded to rely on their own intuition, and to avoid looking at their classmates' answers.

The first part of the questionnaire is made up of 3 test-type activities. The first activity (LISTENING) required students to listen to a series of three recordings extracted from the *IDEA (International Dialects of English Archive)* website, in which three native English speakers read out loud a fragment of a text (around 1 minute of each audio clip was played twice). Students had to pay attention to their accent and pronunciation instead of to the content, and had to decide whether the speakers had a British or American accent. No clues or cues were given about the nature of each accent.

The first recording was chosen as a model of Standard American English, since the male speaker has a neutral American accent that is easy to identify, especially due to the pronunciation of <r> in every context and the quality of the vowel sounds, which is more extreme in AmE than in BrE.

The second recording was chosen as a model of Standard British due to her Southern British accent, close to RP. Once again, the more central quality of the vowels and the restricted pronunciation of <r> are the most prominent features that allow her identification as a speaker of BrE.

The third recording was chosen as a more advanced test, since it displays a female speaker with a Northern British accent from Liverpool, which is strikingly distinct from the previous Standard BrE accent in features such as intonation, the slightly rhotic pronunciation of <r>, or a different distribution of vowel sounds. This is bound to be the most problematic one for our students.

No.	place of birth, variety	gender, age	source link
1	Philadelphia, AmE	male, 18	http://www.dialectsarchive.com/florida-2
2	Kent, BrE	female, 50s	http://www.dialectsarchive.com/england-67
3	Liverpool, BrE	female, 31	http://www.dialectsarchive.com/england-18

Table 4. Recordings used for Questionnaire, activity 1 "LISTENING"

The second activity (READING) consists on a reading identification exercise. It displays four sentences, each of them containing either grammatical features, spelling or vocabulary items exclusive to one of the two varieties (see Table 5), and the students were asked to identify whether they would be written

by a British or an American speaker, as well as to underline the word (or words) that helped them make their decision (see Annex). In this way, we can gather quantitative data about their correct or incorrect identification as well as qualitative information related to the grammatical features that they identified as belonging to a certain variety.

sentence (not highlighted on the test)	variety	grammatical features
<i>She found her neighbor in the elevator.</i>	AmE	spelling, vocabulary
<i>Trees change their colour in autumn, don't they?</i>	BrE	spelling, vocabulary, grammar
<i>We learned how to play soccer at the sports centre.</i>	AmE	grammar, vocabulary, spelling
<i>He's as mad as a box of frogs, that lad.</i>	BrE	vocabulary (idiom), vocabulary

Table 5. Sentences used for Questionnaire, activity 2 “READING”

The third activity (VOCABULARY) deals with English vocabulary, and it presents three pictures of items that have different words in BrE and AmE to express the same meaning (see section 2.4.2). The different words are displayed beside the picture, for instance “BISCUIT, COOKIE” as in the case of the first item. The goal of the students was to match these words with their corresponding English variety, by writing a letter *B* next to the British term and a letter *A*, next to the term in AmE. This mechanic was explained both in the written exercise description (see Annex) and orally to the students, for further clarification.

picture No.	word 1 (variety)	word 2 (variety)
1	<i>BISCUIT</i> (BrE)	<i>COOKIE</i> (AmE)
2	<i>GARBAGE</i> (AmE)	<i>RUBBISH</i> (BrE)
3	<i>HOLIDAY</i> (BrE)	<i>VACATION</i> (AmE)

Table 6. Terms used for Questionnaire, activity 3 “VOCABULARY”

The questionnaire includes a second part in the form of a survey, which is integrated in the same series of exercises, but it is intended to gather qualitative information about the students’ attitudes and preferences about the two English varieties.

The fourth activity (LISTENING COMPREHENSION) asks students to identify the recording that was easier for them to understand in the first “Listening” activity: “*¿Cuál de los acentos que has escuchado en el ejercicio 1 te ha resultado más sencillo de entender?*” Students are then prompted to circle or underline an option from Listening 1 to Listening 3. In this way, prior to asking about their variety of choice, we will learn about which English variety they feel they understood more clearly (Standard American, Southern British or Northern British), provided that they identified that variety correctly in the first activity of the text.

The fifth activity (PRODUCTION) asks students to reflect on the English variety they “use” or follow as a model when they are speaking the language: “*Cuando hablas en inglés, ¿crees que usas uno de los dos acentos? ¿Por qué crees que es así?*” This question is intended to be open-ended⁴ and students were reminded that one of the possible answers is “none”, provided that they justified their answer. This could potentially provide us with an insight on the students’ perception of native-speaking models and possible varieties used in Spain.

The sixth activity (PREFERENCE) aims to obtain information about the students’ favorite English variety (“*¿Cuál de las dos variedades del inglés que hemos visto te gusta más?*”), and about the reasons for their preference, either for possible acquaintances “*¿Crees que es por alguien que conoces?*” or due to the influence of entertainment media: “*¿Las películas / series / contenidos de Internet que ves en inglés utilizan alguno de estos acentos? Cuéntame cuáles son*”. Students were told that, as with the fifth activity, the more detailed their answer, the more valuable it would be, which, generally speaking, has provided us with interesting answers, despite the possibility of misunderstandings due to the questions’ wording.

⁴ Given the faulty wording of the question “*¿crees que usas uno de los dos acentos?*”, some students believed that the targeted answer was either *yes* or *no*. Students were nonetheless reminded that they were being asked about which accent they believe they use and to justify their answer.

3.3.2. Codification

Once the students filled in and submitted the questionnaires, the data was processed and codified by means of Microsoft Excel, which allowed us to label and store the data in both quantitative and qualitative form. Each academic group was stored in a different Excel sheet, and each participant in a group was identified by an assigned number and their gender. The data was labelled and codified in a different way according to the nature of each activity:

- The results of activity 1 (LISTENING) were labelled according to a successful (1) or unsuccessful (0) accent identification for each listening.
- The results of activity 2 (READING) were labelled according to student accuracy for each sentence:
 - 0 (*None*): Student did not match the sentence with the correct variety nor identified any terms belonging to a specific variety.
 - 1 (*Identified only*): Student did not match the sentence with its variety, but they identified terms that belong to a specific variety.
 - 2 (*Matched only*): Student matched the sentence with its variety, but they did not identify any terms belonging to that variety.
 - 3 (*Both*): Student matched the sentence with the correct variety and also identified terms that belong to that variety.
- As with activity 1, the results of activity 3 (VOCABULARY) were labelled according to a successful (1) or unsuccessful (0) identification of each pair of lexical items.
- Results for activity 4 (LISTENING COMPREHENSION) were tagged according to the accent displayed in the recording specified by the student: either *AmE* (American English), *SBrE* (Southern British English) or *NBrE* (Northern British English).

Activity 5 (PRODUCTION) and activity 6 (PREFERENCE) are more complex to analyze, since they are open-ended questions designed to reflect the student's attitudes and preferences, which translates to qualitative data. On the one hand, the variety specified by the students was classified into *AmE*, *SBrE*, *NBrE*, *none*

or *both*, and on the other hand, the reasons provided by each student were classified by means of a set of tags created from the most common answers:

Tag	Description
<i>acquaintance</i>	the student is exposed to this variety through relatives or friends.
<i>bad accent</i>	the student judged their accent as belonging to none of the varieties due to their own perceived inexperience.
<i>easy</i>	the chosen variety is perceived as easier to understand or to produce.
<i>frequent</i>	the student specified (s)he is used to hearing the chosen variety.
<i>geography</i>	commonly due to geographical proximity with the variety's country of origin.
<i>linguistic</i>	reasons related to the linguistic qualities of the chosen variety.
<i>media</i>	the student is exposed to the chosen variety through entertainment media.
<i>preference</i>	the student only specified they like the chosen variety.
<i>political</i>	reasons related to politics.
<i>school</i>	the student is exposed to the chosen variety as part of their formal instruction (this tag also includes references to the British Foreign Language Assistant working at their Secondary school).
<i>status</i>	reasons related to the social status of the chosen variety, commonly prestige.

Table 7. Tag list used to categorize the reasons provided by students in activities 5 and 6

Finally, the last part of activity 6 (PREFERENCE), which asks students about the type of entertainment media they consume in English, needs separate categorization: the variety in which said media is usually watched (*AmE*, *SBrE*, *NBrE*, *none* or *both*), and the types of media involved (*film*, *series*, *music*, *videogame*, *Internet content*, *Internet videos*).

3.3.3. Data analysis

First of all, we will analyze the results dealing with our first research question: *to what an extent Secondary school students in Palma are capable of discriminating British and American English varieties consistently (pronunciation, spelling and vocabulary)*. We will review the percentages of accuracy per group in each of the first three activities (LISTENING, READING and VOCABULARY), and we will then calculate the average percentage of

accuracy per group for each activity in order to obtain a mean accuracy percentage that is representative for the performance of the whole sample.

The results of the first activity (LISTENING) show that, in the worst cases, half of the classroom is capable of establishing a difference between different English accents. We see a gradual increase in accuracy as we move up in the academic year scale, with an astonishing performance by the 4th *ESO* C group, whose peak of 78.2% accuracy, is not reached by students of *Bachiller*. 2nd *Bachiller* A results are lower than expected, and we believe it is due to it being a very heterogeneous group with few (11) students.

As we can see in Table 8, the Southern British accent is generally the one the students identified most accurately, except by the students of 4th *ESO* and 1st *Bachiller*, which was more accurate with American. As predicted, the Northern British is consistently the accent that confused the most students for all of the groups, except for 1st *ESO* A, which had the exact same accuracy results for all accents (6 students succeeded and 6 students failed to determine each accent). As we can see, in the case of the most neutral varieties, a very high proportion of the students from 4th *ESO* onwards is capable of discriminating BrE from AmE in listening exercises.

Academic year	Recording 1 (AmE)	Recording 2 (SBrE)	Recording 3 (NBrE)	Avg. accuracy
1 st <i>ESO</i> A	50%	50%	50%	50%
2 nd <i>ESO</i> B	65.4%	76.9%	23.1%	55.1%
3 rd <i>ESO</i> C	62.5%	75%	50%	62.5%
4 th <i>ESO</i> C	96.6%	93.1%	44.8%	78.2%
1 st <i>Bachiller</i> B	85%	70%	65%	73.3%
2 nd <i>Bachiller</i> A	81.8%	90.9%	36.4%	69.7%

Table 8. Mean accuracy results for each academic group in activity 1 (LISTENING)

The second activity (READING), as we could see in the previous section, was more complex and required students to identify the variety of 4 sentences according to spelling, grammar and vocabulary cues, and to identify and mark such items. As a result, our results are not calculated for each of the sentences

but by the different degrees of accuracy by the average of each group in both matching the sentence with its corresponding variety and identifying linguistic traits belonging to a specific variety. It is worth noting that for granting accuracy 1 or 3, meaning a successful identification of linguistic items belonging to a specific category, students had to underline or mark only relevant items.

As we can see in Table 9, the performance of the students in this activity is generally lower than in the previous one, although from 3rd ESO C onwards, combined results for categories 2 (*matched only*) and 3 (*both matched and identified*) are equal or slightly higher than 50%. When it comes to category 3 only, the percentages are only slightly lower than 50% for 4th ESO onward, with very low rates of total failure (category 0). In order to provide an average of accuracy, we established an *Average success* column which added the results of both category 2 and category 3, which comprises students that matched each sentence with the correct English variety, regardless of their success at term identification.

Academic year	0 (<i>None</i>)	1 (<i>Identified only</i>)	2 (<i>Matched only</i>)	3 (<i>Both</i>)	Avg. success (2+3)
1 st ESO A	29.2%	22.9%	27.1%	20.8%	47.9%
2 nd ESO B	10.7%	42.1%	8.85%	38.3%	47.2%
3 rd ESO C	40.6%	9.38%	34.4%	15.6%	50%
4 th ESO C	17.6%	28.1%	5.3%	49%	54.3%
1 st Bachiller B	6.65%	31%	15.8%	46.5%	62.3%
2 nd Bachiller A	11.4%	31.8%	9.09%	47.7%	56.8%

Table 9. Mean accuracy results for each academic group in activity 2 (READING)

In the case of the third activity, (VOCABULARY), the accuracy percentages are generally higher, with the exception of 1st ESO, which had significantly low results (each term was identified correctly by 3 different students, with only one of them assigning the correct variety to all 3 pairs of terms). It is also worth noting that up to 4 students from 1st ESO did not understand how to fill this activity in.⁵ Conversely, 2nd ESO students had very

⁵ Students who failed to answer a section of an activity adequately were not counted as part of the sample in that particular section, as with every N/A answer in this questionnaire.

high accuracy results due to their high linguistic competence, whereas groups from 4th ESO to 2nd Bachiller follow the same dynamic of higher results than the rest, with 2nd Bachiller being lower than expected (see Table 10). Regarding accuracy rates per vocabulary item, the last pair was the easiest for the students to discriminate, while the first pair of items was the most problematic, although with the exception of 1st ESO, more than half of the class was consistently capable of differentiating them.

Academic year	<i>Biscuit/Cookie</i>	<i>Garbage/Rubbish</i>	<i>Holiday/vacation</i>	Avg. accuracy
1 st ESO A	37.5%	37.5%	37.5%	37.5%
2 nd ESO B	57.7%	96.2%	92.3%	82%
3 rd ESO C	50%	56.3%	68.8%	58.3%
4 th ESO C	86.2%	79.3%	79.3%	81.5%
1 st Bachiller B	80%	80%	85%	81.6%
2 nd Bachiller A	72.7%	72.7%	81.8%	75.7%

Table 10. Mean accuracy results for each academic group in activity 3 (VOCABULARY)

Regarding activities 4 and 5, in which we tried to raise students' awareness on the English variety they feel they use when they speak, we will try to answer research question number 2 (*whether or not the students follow a specific variety as a model and to what an extent it is consistent with the variety they identified as such*). Activity 5 (PRODUCTION) asked students about the variety they believe they use when they speak the language. As we can see in Table 11, 39% of the participating students believe they follow a BrE model when speaking English, 31.5% feel they follow an AmE model, and the remaining 29% do not use a specific English variety (or use a mixture of both). But the question of whether they know which variety they are referring to is still present.

By means of the results in activity 4 (LISTENING COMPREHENSION), we will try to provide an estimate percentage of students whose choice in activity 5 is consistent with the variety it was easier for them to understand in the recordings of activity 1 (LISTENING), which did not ask them for the name of a variety, but for the number of the recording they understood better. These

figures appear between brackets in Table 11 next to the percentages of use of BrE and AmE. As we can see, only an average 23.9% of the students in all groups chose BrE and consistently chose a British accent in activity 4, whereas only 17.3% of the students chose AmE variety and identified the recording with an American accent as easier to understand. The lower amount of students consistently identifying AmE is partly due to the fact that many students were confused by recording number 3, which was commonly mistaken for AmE.

Academic year	% Follow BrE model (and BrE recording)	% Follow AmE model (and AmE recording)	% Do not follow any model
1 st ESO A	0% (0%)	33.3% (33.3%)	66.7%
2 nd ESO B	43.5% (26%)	30.4% (13%)	26.1%
3 rd ESO C	33.3% (13,3%)	53.3% (13.3%)	13.3%
4 th ESO C	55.2% (41.4%)	31% (13.8%)	10.3%
1 st Bachiller B	47.4% (26.3%)	31.6% (21.1%)	21%
2 nd Bachiller A	54.5% (36.4%)	9.1% (9.1%)	36.4%
	39% (23.9%)	31.5% (17.3%)	29%

Table 11. Average from use of BrE and AmE variety models (and correlation with chosen recordings in activity 1) for each academic group

The following table shows the main results of activity number 6 (PREFERENCE), in which students were asked about the variety they liked the most. According to the results in Table 12, there is a slightly higher percentage of students whose favorite variety is AmE (49.7%), almost half of the students participating in this study, as opposed to BrE (39.7%), and the remaining 10.6% had no preferred variety or liked both. The highest discrepancy can be found in 3rd ESO C, where 75% of the class preferred AmE and the remaining 25% chose BrE, being the only group in which every member had a clear preference. In this respect, the students of 1st ESO A were the most impartial to English varieties (22.2%), since they were less aware of their differences up until now.

Our third research question dealt with the influence of entertainment media in the choice of a preferred English variety, as one of the most relevant sources of English in Spain. Given the popularity and diversity of American

entertainment and cultural products, such as series or Internet content, our prediction is that students who chose American English as their preferred variety would also watch entertainment in AmE. In Table 12, the percentages of students who chose a specific variety and also were reported to watch entertainment media in that variety are shown in between brackets. According to our prediction, the impact of American entertainment media in students who chose AmE is very noticeable, since 27.75% of the participating students chose AmE and also watched American media, as opposed to a 6.65% of participants who chose BrE and consumed media in this variety. A large number of students cite TV series such as *How I Met Your Mother*, *The Walking Dead*, *The Orange County* or *The Big Bang Theory* and video games from American development companies, such as the *Call of Duty* or *Grand Theft Auto* franchises. Most of consumers of AmE content also reported to watch *YouTube* regularly. Conversely, many of those who report to watch content in BrE cite music, films and TV contents as part of their regular media consumption.

Academic year	%BrE as favorite (and watch BrE media)	%AmE as favorite (and watch AmE media)	% Do not have a preferred variety
1 st ESO A	22.2% (0%)	55.6% (14.3%)	22.2%
2 nd ESO B	46.2% (3.8%)	42.3% (26.9%)	11.5%
3 rd ESO C	25% (6.25%)	75% (62.5%)	0%
4 th ESO C	41.4% (10.3%)	48.3% (37.9%)	10.3%
1 st Bachiller B	57.9% (10.5%)	31.6% (15.8%)	10.5%
2 nd Bachiller A	45.45% (9.1%)	45.45% (9.1%)	9.1%
	39.7% (6.65%)	49.7% (27.75%)	10.6%

Table 12. Average from preferred variety per group (and correlation with influence of entertainment media in each variety)

Several reasons account for the students' choice of a specific variety. In activity number 5 (PRODUCTION) and 6 (PREFERENCE) students were also asked about the reasons why they feel they use a specific English variety when they speak and why they like a certain variety. As open-ended questions, many reasons were provided for each of them, but we put processed the qualitative

data and developed a set of tags to categorize their responses, as explained in the previous section.

As we can see in Table 13, the main reason students use a specific variety is because they have received it in their formal instruction as part of their English lessons, followed by the influence of media and *bad accent*, which account for those students who perceive their competence as too low to use a specific variety. Many students also thought they used a certain variety because it was easier for them.

As for the reasons for choosing a variety as their favorite, most students chose entertainment media as their main influence, although a significant number like a certain variety because they feel it is easier for them to understand. This reason appeared more frequently on the first three levels of *ESO*. Other popular reasons include *acquaintance*, which involved having friends or relatives who also spoke English in a specific variety. This option was widely chosen by some of the students whose family comes from South America, where influence of AmE is much bigger than in Europe. *School*, as the variety used in formal instruction was also once again chosen, although many more references to the British Foreign Language Assistant were made in this section. Finally, linguistic properties of a variety were mentioned, such as liking the accent, or judging certain accents as “obscure”.

Tag	Reason for production	Reason for preference	Total
<i>acquaintance</i>	3	16	19
<i>bad accent</i>	10	0	10
<i>easy</i>	9	23	32
<i>frequent</i>	5	2	7
<i>geography</i>	6	0	6
<i>linguistic</i>	6	13	19
<i>media</i>	14	37	51
<i>preference</i>	7	2	9
<i>political</i>	0	2	2
<i>school</i>	38	13	51
<i>status</i>	4	5	9

Table 13. Tag list and frequency of reasons for production and preference of a variety

Our last research question referenced other factors that could impact the students' preferred variety, such as age or gender. To answer our first question, we can look back at Table 12, where the students' favorite variety can be found in each academic year. Even though there is a clear preference for AmE by the students of the first year of *ESO*, there is no distinct pattern that supports the theory that age affects this preference, given that in many academic years both varieties are almost equally supported, such as in the case of 2nd *ESO*, 4th *ESO* and especially 2nd *Bachiller*.

Regarding variety preference according to gender, Table 14 shows that a slightly higher percentage of male participants who chose a specific variety support AmE (60%) than BrE (40%), and BrE is slightly more popular to female students (53% to 47%), although the differences are not very significant.

Academic year	Male, BrE	Male, AmE	Female, BrE	Female, AmE
1 st <i>ESO</i> A	1	2	1	3
2 nd <i>ESO</i> B	6	6	6	5
3 rd <i>ESO</i> C	1	9	3	3
4 th <i>ESO</i> C	7	5	5	9
1 st <i>Bachiller</i> B	3	4	8	2
2 nd <i>Bachiller</i> A	2	4	3	1
Total	20 / 50 (40%)	30 / 50 (60%)	26 / 49 (53%)	23 / 49 (47%)

Table 14. Amount and percentage of students of each gender with a preferred English variety.

3.4. Discussion of results

After analyzing the data collected by means of the questionnaires, in this section we will discuss the results obtained in the previous section, focusing on whether the research questions we formulated for our study have been proved or disproved.

To begin with, regarding the ability of our participating students to discriminate the main English variety, Table 15 shows the average percentage results of our discrimination test present in the first three activities in our questionnaire, calculating an average per for activity and per academic group.

Academic year	% Listening	% Reading	% Vocab.	Avg.
1 st <i>ESO</i> A	50%	47.9%	37.5%	45.1%
2 nd <i>ESO</i> B	55.1%	47.2%	82%	61.4%
3 rd <i>ESO</i> C	62.5%	50%	58.3%	56.9%
4 th <i>ESO</i> C	78.2%	54.3%	81.5%	71.3%
1 st <i>Bachiller</i> B	73.3%	62.3%	81.6%	72.4%
2 nd <i>Bachiller</i> A	69.7%	56.8%	75.7%	67.4%
	64.8%	53.1%	69.4%	<u>62.42%</u>

Table 15. Average from mean accuracy results for each academic group in each activity

As we can see in the following figure (Fig. 6), accuracy in the accent discrimination test (activity 1: LISTENING), starts from 50% and increases in the following academic group until 4th *ESO*. *Bachiller* students' accuracy was weaker in comparison, but always around the 70% mark.

Accuracy in activity 2 (READING) was weaker. The results follow a progression of increasing accuracy from 1st *ESO* until 1st *Bachiller*, which is at the top with 62.3%, but we believe it was due to the inherent difficulty of this activity, which mixes different linguistic categories such as spelling, grammatical features and vocabulary in short sentences. Moreover, we believe English varieties are generally easier to distinguish in oral speech than in written form.

Finally, the vocabulary matching test in activity 3 (VOCABULARY) is where the students were the most accurate, with 2nd *ESO* B, 4th *ESO* C and 1st *Bachiller* B going over the 80% mark. Students of 1st *ESO* were below the 50% mark, presumably due to their little knowledge of English vocabulary.

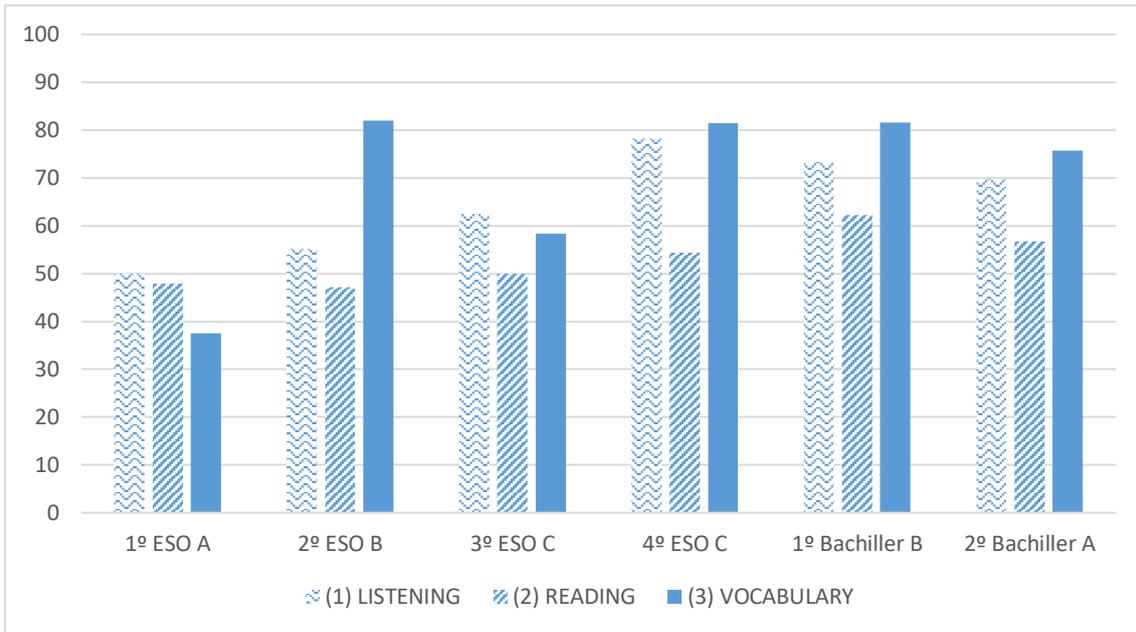


Fig. 6. Graphic depicting variety discrimination accuracy percentages for each academic group

Figure 7 shows the average accuracy for all the participating students, and establishes a global average with the results in the three activities. Thus, our results conclude that the average student in our study can discriminate Standard English Varieties with a 62.42% accuracy, which we deem acceptable in the context of a Secondary school where English varieties are not part of the English language curriculum.

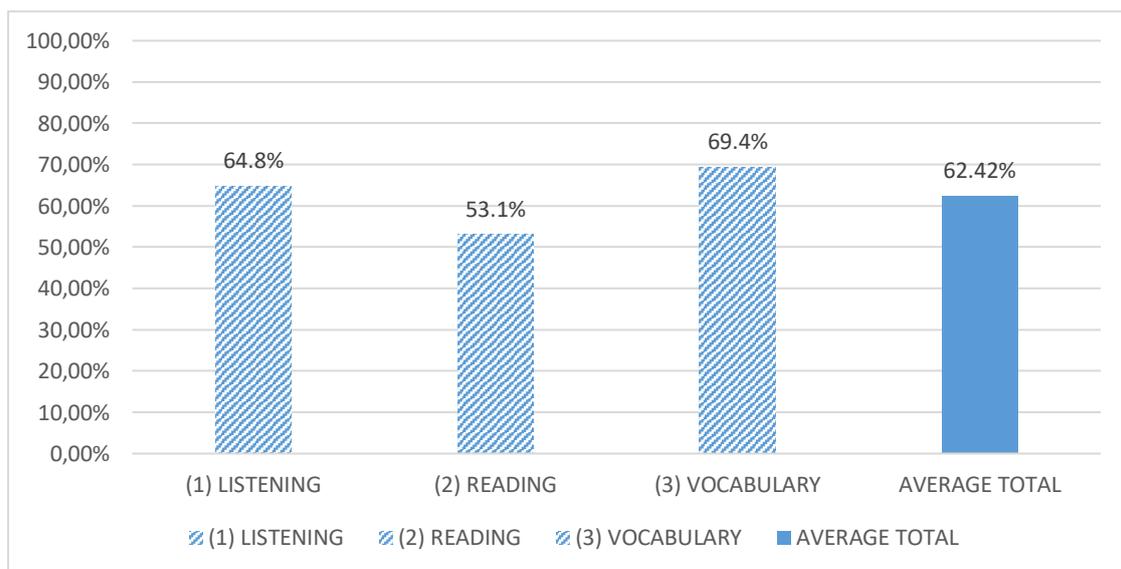


Fig. 7. Graphic depicting mean accuracy percentages for each activity in the discrimination test

Our research shows that 71% of the students in our sample follows one specific English variety when it comes to production: 39% believe they try to follow BrE while 31.5% try to follow the AmE variety. Even if there is no perfect correlation with the previous figures, 39.7% of the students like BrE more than other varieties, while almost 50% stated that AmE was their favorite variety. We believe that the popularity of AmE cultural and entertainment products, their political influence on the media around the world, and other factors such as relatives or friends in the case of students coming from South America and other regions are some of the most relevant reasons for its popularity.

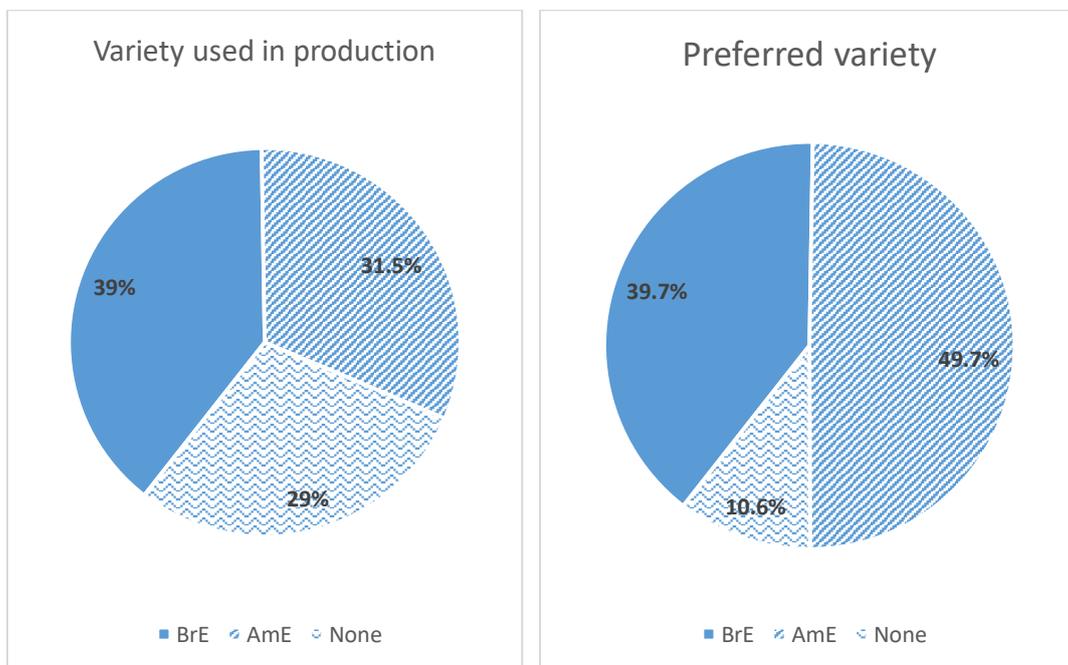


Fig. 8. English variety models used for production by the students

Fig. 9. Preferred English varieties of the students

Going back to the students' use of a specific variety in production, as we can see in Figure 10, the percentage of students who accurately and consistently identified their claimed variety of choice is much lower than the total of students who claimed to follow a specific variety. We believe that the second category of percentages is much more reliable when it comes to identifying English variety use in production.

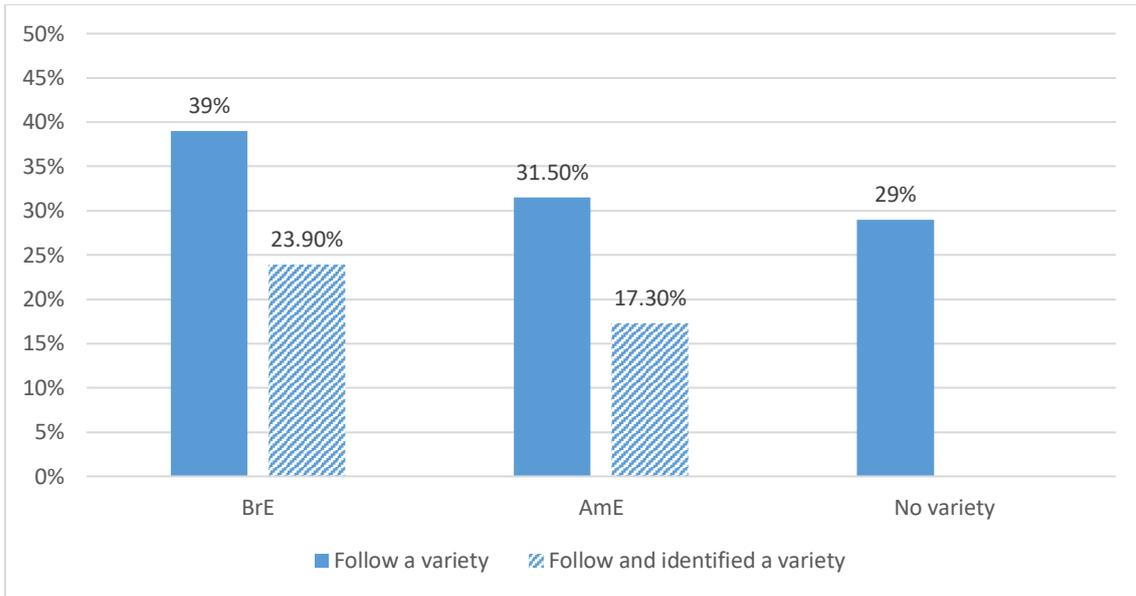


Fig. 10. Students who follow a variety model and those who identified their chosen variety

Our third research question, dealing with the influence of entertainment media regarding variety preference, is answered by Fig. 11, which shows that only a small percentage (16.8%) of students who prefer BrE also watch media in that variety (6.65% total), while up to 55.8% of the students who chose AmE as a variety also watch American entertainment media (27.75% total).

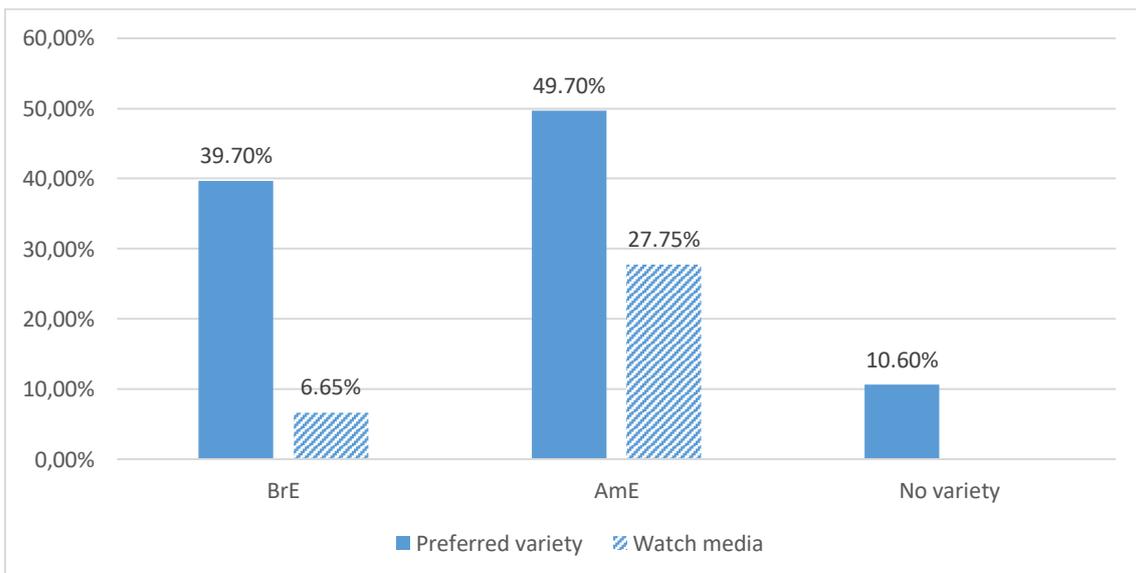


Fig. 11. Students who chose a variety and those who also watch media in their chosen variety

Finally, the analysis of our data confirmed that, regarding our last research question, age does not seem to have an impact on the students' preference, as both English varieties were chosen throughout the different academic years in a sufficiently equal proportion. Regarding the impact of gender factors, the results are somewhat similar: as we can see in Fig. 12, male students tend to prefer AmE by a small margin, but in the case of female students, BrE and AmE are almost equally supported, with a small advantage of BrE, so that we cannot conclude that these factors affect the students' choice.

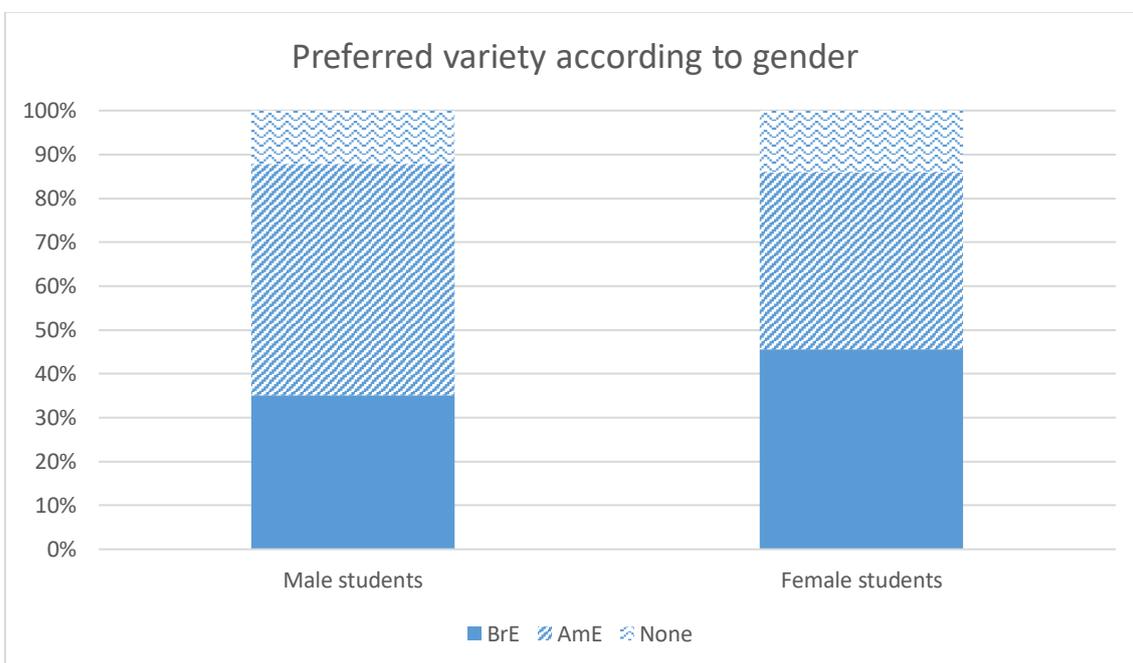


Fig. 12. Preferred English variety according to the students' gender

4. Conclusions

We will conclude this study by expressing our viewpoint of the results and the coverage of English varieties in the EFL classroom.

As reported by some of the teachers in the Secondary school where this questionnaire was conducted, our participants should not have enough English competence to be able to discriminate between English varieties, since British English is the only variety they are exposed to in class, partly due to the nature of the English curriculum, which is focused on British English textbooks as their

main source of input, together with the occasional presence of a Foreign Language Assistant, who tend to be of British origin due to geographical proximity. The results of our research have disproved their expectations, if only by a small margin.

We believe that more effort should be done in treating English varieties in the Secondary classroom, given that the English language is no longer the language of certain countries with privileged economic and political power, but a tool for intercultural communication, and due to the rapid changes the language is experimenting around the world with the emergence of New Englishes, we believe that a more international focus should be fostered in the English classroom, and in the same way, English should be taught with the main goal of allowing mutual understanding between English speakers, more than with the purpose of achieving a native-like competence based on the conformity with a set of grammatical rules and guidelines imposed by a single variety.

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6. Annex

CUESTIONARIO INGLÉS - Grupo: ___ ESO / ___ BATX

CHICA
 CHICO

- Este cuestionario es **anónimo** y no tendrá ningún efecto sobre tu nota de inglés.
- Por favor, responde siguiendo **tu propia intuición**, no la de tu compañero/a.
- Marca tu respuesta con una **X**. Para rectificar, **colorea** la casilla **incorrecta** y pon una nueva X.

1) LISTENING: Vas a escuchar a unos nativos de lengua inglesa leyendo en voz alta. Según su **acento**, ¿dirías que es británico (Reino Unido) o americano (Estados Unidos)?

LISTENING 1: Británico Americano

LISTENING 2: Británico Americano

LISTENING 3: Británico Americano

2) READING ¿Crees que estas frases proceden de un hablante británico (Reino Unido) o americano (Estados Unidos)? Subraya la palabra que te haya ayudado a decidirte por uno:

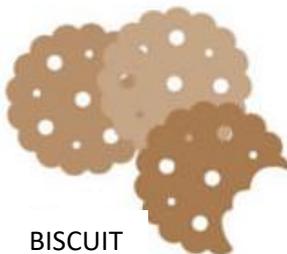
She found her neighbor in the elevator. Británico Americano

Trees change their colour in autumn, don't they? Británico Americano

We learned how to play soccer at the sports center. Británico Americano

He's as mad as a box of frogs, that lad. Británico Americano

3) VOCABULARY: Estos tres objetos tienen un nombre diferente en inglés británico y en inglés americano. Escribe **B** al lado de la palabra británica y **A** junto a la americana.



BISCUIT
COOKIE



GARBAGE
RUBBISH



HOLIDAY
VACATION

4) ¿Cuál de los acentos que has escuchado en el ejercicio 1 te ha resultado más sencillo de entender? (Listening 1, Listening 2, Listening 3):

5) Cuando hablas en inglés, ¿crees que usas uno de los dos acentos? ¿Por qué crees que es así?

6) ¿Cuál de las dos variedades del inglés que hemos visto te gusta más? ¿Crees que es por alguien que conoces? ¿Las películas / series / contenidos de Internet que ves en inglés utilizan alguno de estos acentos? Cuéntame cuáles son.
(Puedes responder detrás)