Native English-Swedish Bilinguals in Sweden
Across the borders of the three circles of English
Nicholas O’Neill

BA project in linguistics
Term: Spring 2019
Supervisor: Ute Bohnacker
Examiner: Michael Dunn
Department of linguistics and philology
Uppsala University
Abstract

With nearly two billion speakers across the world, English has come to exist in all shapes and colors. Many functions and contexts in which English is found in the world are accounted for in the massive scientific effort to document the language’s global development. World English, New Englishes, and English as a Lingua Franca are concepts that aim to explain the different forms that the language takes in different countries. This paper explores the global development of English in its Swedish form, but shifts focus from second language English speakers to the native speakers of English who grow up in Sweden with parents from English-speaking countries. With most of the Swedish population being highly proficient in English, native English speakers in Sweden are more exposed to non-native English varieties spoken by second language speakers than the varieties used in their heritage countries. To understand how they are affected by their non-native environment, I interviewed seven students from an English heritage language instruction class at a Swedish upper secondary school. The 16- and 17-year-old students had parents from USA, UK, Australia, Ireland, and New Zealand, and unique stories about their experiences with the English language. Each student was interviewed individually and asked questions about their language abilities, their varieties, and their connections to their heritage countries. Information about their linguistic and biographical backgrounds was used to analyze the differences in their perspectives. The students considered it a great advantage that their native language was so widely spread, but they acknowledged that it to some extent led to them being disconnected from their heritage cultures, in some cases more than others.
## Table of Contents

1. Introduction .................................................................................................................. 4  
2. Objectives ..................................................................................................................... 4  
   2.1. Background ........................................................................................................... 4  
   2.2. Aim ......................................................................................................................... 4  
   2.3. Research questions ............................................................................................... 5  
   2.4. Structure ................................................................................................................ 5  
3. Theory & background ................................................................................................... 5  
   3.1. English in Sweden ............................................................................................... 5  
   3.2. English in the world ............................................................................................ 6  
   3.3. Native bilingualism ............................................................................................. 7  
   3.4. Language and culture ......................................................................................... 8  
   3.5. Previous research ............................................................................................... 10  
4. Hypotheses ................................................................................................................... 11  
5. Method & data .............................................................................................................. 11  
   5.1. Before the interviews ......................................................................................... 12  
   5.2. Participants .......................................................................................................... 13  
   5.3. Interview procedure ......................................................................................... 13  
   5.4. Methodological considerations ....................................................................... 15  
   5.5. Data processing ................................................................................................... 15  
6. Results .......................................................................................................................... 16  
   6.1. Overview ............................................................................................................. 16  
   6.2. The interviews .................................................................................................... 16  
7. Discussion ..................................................................................................................... 20  
   7.1. Patterns and exceptions in the data .................................................................. 20  
   7.2. Connecting to theory ....................................................................................... 23  
   7.3. Remarks on method ......................................................................................... 23  
8. Conclusion .................................................................................................................... 24  
Bibliography .................................................................................................................... 25  
Appendix ........................................................................................................................... 27
1. Introduction

Browsing through the sociolinguistic literature on the English language and its users, it quickly becomes clear that the field has been taken over by research on English as a second language (ESL). Bilingualism studies focus on the effects of learning ESL. Attitudinal studies involve ESL-students evaluating different varieties of English. The perspectives of native speakers of English are merely speculated about. However, native English speakers are in a peculiar position that is worth studying. Without having lifted a finger, they possess the tool to communicate with people all over the world on their own terms. Native English speakers who grow up in non-English-speaking countries are in an especially peculiar position. In Sweden, English is an extremely widely spread language, spoken by almost the entire adult population as a second language. Growing up in Sweden as a native speaker of both English and Swedish is a great advantage, but it comes with a cost. Maintaining a national identity becomes a difficult task when the language of that nation is not exclusive to its native speakers. Speaking the same regional English variety as one’s parents may also be difficult when everyone around uses standard vocabulary and a non-native accent. For better or worse, the English language defies culture and exceeds borders. What effects does it have on its native speakers who grow up in a non-native environment?

2. Objectives

2.1. Background

The group of people whose perspective I aim to discuss in this study is one I belong to myself. I grew up in Sweden with an American father and a Hungarian mother, and learned three languages as a child. The Hungarian language has been an exclusive door to another culture to which I have access. It is a secret language I use with my siblings when we do not want people to know what we are talking about. With English, I rarely feel like I have any special ownership of the language. I stopped getting asked for help with English assignments many years ago, and now, my background as a native English speaker does not necessarily give me an advantage over ESL speakers. The idea for this research comes from a wish to better understand my own situation, and present a new angle into sociolinguistic studies of the English language, previously unaccounted for. The number of people with any connection to the English language and who might therefore have use of the results of this study is not insignificant. The research presented in this paper is of great personal value to its author, and hopefully, the reader will decide, also of scientific value.

2.2. Aim

In this study, I aim to define the specific structures that affect the experiences of Native English-Swedish Bilinguals in Sweden, henceforth NESBS. While these effects may have similar characteristics for native English speakers in all countries where English is not the national language, this paper only attempts to account for the Swedish situation. I also aim to present
first-hand experiences and perspectives of NESBS, by analyzing qualitative data from interviews I have conducted with individuals from the group. The research questions that the study is based on are expressed as follows:

2.3. Research questions

- What are the cultural and bilingual conditions of NESBS?
- What do NESBS think about how they are affected by those conditions?

2.4. Structure

An analysis of relevant literature within the subfields of linguistics that deal with the topic of discussion will hopefully answer the first research question. The theory section will present the components of the central concept studied in this paper, NESBS, and explain how they are interconnected. The main components are native bilingualism, the connection between language and culture, and the different functions and appearances of the English language in the world.

The second question is better answered with qualitative data on the perspectives of NESBS. The method section will present the interview study I conducted with a group of NESBS. The results of the study will then be presented, along with an analysis of how the experiences and thoughts of the interviewees can be understood in relation to the second research question.

3. Theory & background

3.1. English in Sweden

Although English has never been an official language in Sweden, most adult Swedes speak English as a second language. In the world’s largest survey of English proficiency in non-native countries, Sweden ranked highest out of the 88 countries surveyed, as the country with the most proficient non-native English speakers (Education First, 2018). At this point, English is not only taught for its usefulness in international contexts. It has become a dominant language in several domains within the Swedish borders, most notably in science, media, and advertising. Most scientific dissertations from Swedish universities are published in English. Companies frequently use English slogans to advertise their products in Sweden. The English language is associated with modern American technology and culture, and people often use it to sound trendy and progressive by using English loanwords or code-switching (Håkansson 2003, p. 88). Many people in Sweden fear that the loss of domains to the English language is threatening the future of the Swedish language (Bolton & Meierkord, 2013).

To properly understand the functions of English in Sweden in relation to the functions of English on a global scale, an overview of the rise of English and the different contexts in which it currently exists is in place.
3.2. English in the world

Native English speakers add up to around 379 million, making it the third largest first language in the world, far behind Mandarin’s 920 million native speakers, and Spanish’s 460 million (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2019). English is however more widespread as a second language, with estimates ranging from 1.5 to 2 billion speakers of ESL, making it the most widely used language in the world (Crystal, 2012, pp. 154-155). The explanation of the dominance of the English language in the world can be traced back to three major events in history. The first is the massive colonial expansion of the British Empire from the end of the 16th century. This brought the English language and the British industrial and political systems to all corners of the world (Crystal, 2003, p. 59). It is estimated, that during the British colonization era, the English language grew from 5-7 million native speakers in Britain in the year 1603, to 250 million native speakers 1952, 80% of which lived outside the British Isles (Crystal 2003, p. 30). The British borders have since then largely retracted to the Isles, but the cultural and political legacy of the British Empire remains an integral part of the modern history of the world. English still functions as an administrative and schooling language in most of the former colonies (Crystal. 2003, pp. 125-126).

The second reason for the continued spread of English is the political and economic emergence of the United States, filling the gap as a world superpower after their former colonial masters left the seat vacant in the 20th century. With a thriving economy, and their language already being spoken across the world, the US had the right ingredients for global success. American politics have had an enormous global impact, and still today, the US flourishes as a model in technology, science, media, economics, and other essential parts of society (Crystal. 2003, pp. 120-121).

The third reason, accounting for the shift from being taught in non-native countries as the prominent foreign language of the UK and the US, to a second language used in all forms of international communication, is the fast globalization following advancements in technology and global infrastructure that made better international relations possible, and the increased need for a lingua franca as a result of that. English was an obvious contender for the position of the global lingua franca, already filling important functions in countries all over the world, and being the language of the powerful USA (Crystal, 2012, pp. 157-162). Eventually it outcompeted historically used lingua francas that were more centered around European communication, such as French and Latin (Crystal, 2003, pp. 72-74).

To illustrate the different contexts and functions in which the English language exists in the countries of the world, Kachru (1992, p. 3) constructed a model consisting of three concentric circles, as seen in Fig. 1. The inner circle represents the countries where English is the national language and the native language of most of the population. This includes six countries: UK, USA, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, and Canada. The surrounding outer circle represents the countries where English is a historically significant language, and is still used as a second language in some important domains in society, such as education and administration, even though English is only the native language for a minority of the population. This includes over
50 countries and territories, most of them former British colonies, including India, Nigeria, Guyana, Jamaica, and Fiji (Seargeant, 2012, pp. 30-32).

The inner and outer circles are in turn surrounded by an *expanding circle* that represents the countries where English is not an official language, but where the importance of English for international communication is recognized, and English teaching has a special position. Here countries such as Brazil, Germany, and Japan are counted (Seargeant, 2012, pp. 30-32).

The three circles of English saw great success among scholars of global English, as it acknowledged the many shapes of English and placed them in a historical context. However, it is often presented together with its limitations, as the circles do not quite cover all current functions of English (Crystal, 2003, pp. 66-67; Seargeant 2012, pp. 32-34). The situation in the countries of Scandinavia summarizes one particular limitation of the model. Definitions neither of the expanding circle nor of the outer circle sufficiently describe the characteristics of the English language’s role in Scandinavia (Seargeant, 2012, p. 34). History would place Sweden in the expanding circle, as English has never been an official language there, but in terms of the current use of English, the outer circle is a more accurate representation.

3.3. *Native bilingualism*

There are innumerable ways in which two languages can be realized in a person. The spectrum of bilingualism consists of different types of acquisition that have different consequences for cognitive development and linguistic abilities. The types that apply in the cases of NESBS are ones where there is early natural exposure to both English and Swedish, in a mainly monolingual Swedish environment. Acquisition can be either simultaneous, where children are exposed to both languages from birth, or consecutive, where exposure to one language precedes the other (Hamers & Blanc, 2009, pp. 28-29). Acquisition is most likely never completely equal in both languages, because of the languages’ internal structures, parents using languages in different ways, and external factors, such as language use in the surrounding environment. Within the concept of consecutive bilingualism, Hamers & Blanc (2009, p. 368) differentiate between bilinguality acquired during infancy, and consecutive early bilinguality, where a second language is acquired before the age of 4-5, but after basic skills are acquired in a first language. The age limits between different types of bilingual acquisition are rather arbitrary, with both lower, higher and no age limits suggested. The definition for NESBS proposed in this paper uses Hamers and Blanc’s (2009, p. 368) consecutive early bilinguality as a loose upper limit for native bilingualism, meaning that individuals with later acquisition of a second language are not
thought to have developed the same bilingual/bicultural identities as individuals with early bilingual acquisition, as they would probably not regard their second language as one of their mother tongues. If their second language were Swedish, their connections to their heritage cultures and their native English varieties would likely be solid, and if it were English, the opposite would presumably be true. The minimum requirement of consecutive early bilinguality is only loosely enforced, as exceptions may exist. The distinction between simultaneous and consecutive bilingualism is also only superficially considered, and then used when comparing differences in experiences and perceptions within the group.

The number of people in Sweden who fit the description of NESBS can only be roughly estimated. Parkvall (2015) estimates that the number of native English speakers who live in Sweden is somewhere positive of 50 000, but these are people who have immigrated to Sweden from English-speaking countries, and the vast majority are not native Swedish speakers. Their children, however, might be. Statistics on Heritage Language Instruction, henceforth HLI (in Swedish called *modersmålsundervisning* (mother tongue instruction)), can give a better idea of the number of NESBS. HLI is an optional course outside the ordinary school curriculum, offered to any Swedish school student who speaks a different language than Swedish at home, as long as there are enough students in the municipality with that heritage language, and there are native teachers available. Proficient Swedish skills are not required. For five national minority languages, Finnish, Meänkieli, Romani, Sami, and Yiddish, this offer is expanded to include all those who culturally belong to the ethnic minorities affiliated with the languages, even if they do not speak the languages. This reinforces the cultural diversity in Sweden, and underlines the strong relationship between language and culture (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011). According to data from the Swedish National Agency for Education, approximately 23% of the 7,560 students entitled to HLI in English in compulsory school (ages 7-16) received formal instruction in Swedish as a second language in 2006. Only slightly more than half of those entitled to HLI in English actually attended HLI (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2007). Most attendants have then supposedly either lived in Sweden long enough to be proficient Swedish speakers, been born in Sweden, or have learned Swedish before moving to Sweden. Either way, HLI in English may provide good candidates for studying the perspectives of NESBS.

### 3.4. Language and culture

Languages are cultural symbols for the people who speak them. Apart from sharing a means of communication, speaking a certain language most often means belonging to a community with a shared history and culture. Languages are much more than just words; they are ways of thinking. Structures, such as rhymes and syntax, and cultural applications, such as music and literature, give speakers of a language unique ways of expressing themselves that can only make sense with knowledge of that specific language and its culture. Languages and cultures are under constant change (Matthews, 2003, p. 49). As old expressions die out, and old poems are forgotten, new innovations and pop songs are there to replace them. Even between generations within the same community, there are often differences in which words are used and how they are interpreted.
Living outside the geographic area to whose speech community one feels associated, eventually means one’s variety diverges from the variety developing inside the community.

This close relationship between language and culture was true also for English several hundred years ago (Seargeant. 2012, p. 1), but as the English language becomes a global língua franca with a now overwhelming majority of second language speakers, it distances itself from its native speakers and increasingly loses its function as a cultural symbol for them. Toolan (1997) proposed that standard international English used as a língua franca be given a new name – Global – to distinguish it from the culturally conditioned English used by native speakers. The English language is used in completely different contexts and for different purposes in Kachru’s (1992) three circles, which means it develops in different ways. This study concerns native English speakers’ potential loss of connection to the cultures and countries of their heritages, caused by the difference in how the language is used in the expanding circle compared to the countries where their parents grew up. NESBS should have at least one native English-speaking parent from an English-speaking country for that connection to have been originally established, and they should have lived in Sweden long enough for the non-native environment to possibly have affected how they view the English language and their use of it.

In the expanding circle, the English language is under constant change in a setting uninfluenced by its native speakers. For the great majority of future English speakers, English is taught as a second language mainly for the benefits of using it as a língua franca with the global English-speaking community (Jenkins, 2000). As Jenkins (2000, p. 1) puts it, “…interaction in English increasingly involves no first language speakers whatsoever”. For most international interaction, then, ESL teaching should give up ideas about ESL speakers sounding like natives, and redirect that energy to develop an international English more available to non-natives, where first language interference is treated more as regional variation, Jenkins (2017) argues. With any language spoken as a second language, there is some transfer of linguistic structures from the speaker’s first language that to the trained ear reveals where they are from. Interference can affect all parts of language to some degree, but especially phonology is difficult to consciously change at an adult age. Also, as most ESL teachers are non-native English speakers themselves, their non-native varieties can potentially influence their students’ acquisition of what they believe is proper English. As well as interference occurring between the native languages of a bilingual (Serratrice, 2013), native English speakers who have a lot of contact with non-native English speakers may be externally influenced by non-native varieties. This has been attested in Quebec, where English is spoken as a native language by a minority of significant size. As English is also largely spoken as a second language by the French-speaking majority, French words and other structures have made their way into the varieties of the province’s native English speakers (Boberg, 2012).

In some countries, the development of the English language has had even greater consequences. Particularly in the outer circle, where English has been around for a long time as a political language, there are many social movements that consciously or subconsciously aim to decrease the impact of the English language on the countries’ own native languages and cultural heritages. Unintelligible varieties based on blends of English and indigenous languages have arisen as
reactions to the inadequacy of using a language that has been developed in a completely different culture. While these varieties might be better described as new languages separate from English, they are categorized as non-standard English varieties, often for political reasons (Bolton, 2003). What these New Englishes, as they are sometimes called, win in conservation of their cultures, they lose in international communication. This development may result in a future split of English into new established languages, resulting in English becoming a family of unintelligible languages (Crystal, 2012, p. 171).

3.5. Previous research

The most common type of qualitative research method for analyzing social aspects of bilingualism is the use of the matched-guise technique, to study people’s attitudes towards different languages or varieties. With qualitative rating systems, subjects are asked to evaluate a set of features and traits of people based on recordings of their speech, unaware of the fact that some of the recordings feature the same person producing different kinds of speech. This way, all variables except for linguistic variation can be excluded. Studies on one language can be used to compare attitudes towards non-standard varieties against standard varieties, or non-native varieties against native varieties (Schilling, 2013). In communities where two languages varieties are simultaneously used in separate contexts, called diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), studies with the matched-guise technique can show the community members’ attitudes towards the languages and their speakers (Grosjean, 1982, p. 117). In many diglossic communities, one language is more prestigious, native to the minority elite, and the other is a larger indigenous language associated with the economically and politically less powerful masses. This is the case in the countries in the outer circle of English, as well as in many countries historically colonized by other European countries. The matched-guise technique was first developed by Lambert et al. (1960) to study different attitudes towards English speakers and French speakers in Quebec, another type of diglossic community, where the two languages co-exist and fill all functions in society.

While some type of diglossia can be observed in Sweden with English and Swedish, the situation is very different from those in former colonies. The English language is not established as a minority language, but it has a special status as a second language spoken by most of the population. An attitudinal study using the matched-guise technique on native and non-native English varieties in Sweden showed that ESL-speaking Swedes are more positive towards English speakers with native-like varieties (Johansson & Molin, 2016). The authors of the study wished for a more allowing society, where secondary learners of English could embrace their first language phonology and use their own version of the English language. Such a development would result in Swedish English diverging even more from native English, and potentially having even stronger influence on NESBS than expected at this point. The matched-guise technique is yet to be used to study native English speakers’ attitudes towards different English varieties in Sweden, and as this paper will focus on native speakers’ attitudes towards their own varieties, the reader will have to wait some more for such a study.
4. Hypotheses

The structures that potentially affect NESBS due to the global development of English are summarized in a few hypotheses that will be the basis for the qualitative study presented in the upcoming sections. The hypotheses assist in limiting the scope of the interviews. They are formed from the theories discussed in the previous section, and from my own bias as a NESBS. The reasoning behind each hypothesis is also given.

a) The English language alone has little cultural significance as a symbol for national identity to NESBS.

As discussed, there is no direct link between the English language and the culture of English-speaking people, since the language is native to people of diverse cultures, as well as dominated by second language speakers. Many ethnic groups attribute great importance to their languages, being their only speakers. NESBS will, however, not regard the English language as an exclusive symbol of their cultures. All the more cultural value will be attributed to regional English varieties:

b) Maintaining a regional variety distinctive to their heritage countries is important to NESBS, both to be perceived as native speakers and to feel culturally connected to their roots.

However, NESBS receive a lot of exposure to other varieties of English from their surroundings, most notably non-native English with Swedish interference. The varieties of their heritage countries are perhaps only heard in their homes and when they visit their heritage countries. Thus:

c) The non-native environment in Sweden makes it difficult for NESBS to maintain the regional varieties their parents use.

Because English is a prestigious language in Sweden, being a native speaker is a prestigious role. Most Swedes are highly proficient in English, and NESBS are expected to be even better. As they might not speak Swedish at home, their environments do not have the same expectations of them to be infallible Swedish speakers. Consequently:

d) Speaking perfect English is more important to NESBS than speaking perfect Swedish.

5. Method & data

To find either support or refutation of the proposed theses, interviews were conducted with individuals who fit the NESBS profile. Methodological considerations will be given in more detail shortly, but first, the participants and the interview procedure will be presented.
5.1. Before the interviews

Without the necessary resources to find native English-Swedish bilinguals of all ages and from all parts of Swedish society, I resorted to gather a convenience sample that was more accessible. I knew from experience that many school-aged bilinguals attended HLI in English, as I had done so myself. I contacted my former HLI teacher via email in March 2019, saying I was interested in speaking to his current gymnasium (upper secondary school) students about interviewing them as part of my BA project. He told me he had one group of nine students in the first year of gymnasium, and invited me to visit the class during one of their lessons. I specifically searched for gymnasium students, as opposed to HLI students of all ages, partly because I thought they would be more vocal and analytic about their experiences than younger students, and partly because they would not need consent from their parents to participate in the study. Such an extra step in the selection process could lose participants to lack of motivation.

The students attended various gymnasiums in a Swedish city of average size, and met once a week after school hours at a gymnasium for HLI in English. Eight students were present when I visited the class in April 2019. I told them I was a former student of their teacher’s, and that I had gone to HLI at that very school five years earlier. I talked about my linguistics studies in Uppsala and my current BA project, and told them that I wished to interview each of them for about 30 minutes about their experiences growing up in Sweden as native speakers of English and Swedish, and that the results would be presented in this paper. I provided them with printed documents that further specified what the data would be used for, stated that they would be ensured anonymity, and that they could choose to terminate their participation in the study at any point before its submission (see Appendix). Except for some light snacks during their interviews, the students were not offered any compensation for their time. I asked them to write their contact information on the bottom half of the document, tear it off, and hand it back to me at the end of the lesson if they were interested in being interviewed. The top half they could bring home and discuss with their parents as preparation for the interviews. Then I would contact them via email to arrange the interviews. Seven of the students in the classroom agreed to be interviewed, but one student, for unknown reasons, was not interested. One student who arrived late to the lesson agreed to be interviewed even though he had not heard any of the information. Unfortunately, I failed to find an occasion that suited both him and me, and I did not manage to interview him. I later found out during an interview with one of his classmates that he only recently moved from the UK to Sweden and did not speak Swedish very well. While it would have been interesting to get his perspective for comparison, it would not have been entirely relevant for the study as he was not strictly a NESBS and many questions would not have applied to him. The student who was not present during the lesson was contacted via email, and he, too, agreed to meet with me for an interview. His linguistic background was, however, found early in his interview to be very different from the others’, as he spoke neither English nor Swedish as a native language, but learned them both at an older age than any of the other subjects. His parents were Bengali speakers from Bangladesh, and he attended HLI in English due to being born in the US. Although he did not strictly fit the definition of a NESBS proposed above, his perspective could provide an interesting contrast to the other subjects’, and is therefore included in the study.
5.2. Participants

The sample then consisted of seven students from the HLI class. All were between the ages of 16 and 17. Two were female and five were male. Any signs of disorders or disabilities that would affect their language acquisition or interactional abilities were not noticeable among the students. All attended gymnasium programs preparatory for continued university studies, as opposed to vocational programs, which suggests social backgrounds in families with higher education. Approximately 60% of Swedish students apply primarily for university preparatory gymnasium programs (Swedish National Agency of Education, 2017). Parkvall (2015) states that people from English-speaking countries in Sweden are characterized by having higher educations compared to other minorities. More than 50% of English-speaking immigrants in Sweden are from the UK or the US, and the rest are primarily from Australia, Canada, or India (Parkvall, 2015). Except for the student who spoke Bengali, all participants had parents from inner circle countries where English is the majority language. Overall, the group was rather homogenous. The selection is not representative of the English-Swedish bilingual community of Sweden, nor of any other group of significant size in the Swedish population. The attitudes and perceptions expressed in the interviews are individual perspectives interpreted in the context of the subjects’ experiences growing up as NESBS, and other social groups they might belong to are not taken into consideration.

5.3. Interview procedure

The interviews were conducted individually with each student a week after I first visited them. Three interviews were conducted during the students’ HLI lesson in the next-door group study room, upon suggestion from their teacher. The other four interviews were conducted in a group study room I had booked at the university library in the city. The audio of each interview was recorded with both a voice recorder and my computer. The durations of the recordings ranged between 20 and 30 minutes. The interviews ended when I ran out of questions to ask. I hoped to create a relaxed conversational atmosphere, so the students would feel comfortable expressing their views with informal speech. I was casually dressed for the interviews and did not use too formal language with the students, but I used the printed document and the university library setting to indicate that it was a legitimate study they were part of.

Right before each interview, the subjects were told that they could choose freely between speaking English or Swedish, and switch back and forth between the two as they pleased. This was mainly to make them feel comfortable, and avoid the risk of them not being able to express their thoughts clearly. The first few questions asked about the biographical information and linguistic backgrounds of the subjects. Biographical data and information about the subjects’ linguistic backgrounds help put the subjects’ views into context and relation with each other. The subjects’ biographies are naturally not the single determiners of their ideas about language and identity. Their different personalities and experiences will result in them having different attitudes towards the objects of discussion. The relationships between the subjects’ backgrounds and their current language abilities and varieties are, however, considered key factors for understanding the basics of their perspectives. As the interviews progressed, the subjects were
asked about their thoughts about their experiences with the English language, and their attitudes towards those ideas and other phenomena pertaining to different aspects of English. Each conversation developed in different directions, as the subjects had different ideas about how being NESBS affected them, but the structure of the interviews was loosely based on the following set of questions:

- Where are your parents from? What languages do they speak?
- How long have you lived in Sweden?
- What languages do you speak at home?
- When did you learn English?
- When did you learn Swedish?
- How do your language skills compare between English and Swedish?
- How would you describe your English variety?
- What source of English do you think has influenced your variety the most?
- How do you feel about the English variety you have?
- How do you feel when your use of English is influenced by Swedish grammar, vocabulary, or pronunciation?
- How do you feel when your use of Swedish is influenced by English grammar, vocabulary, or pronunciation?
- How important is it to you to sound like a native English speaker?
- How important is your nationality to you?
- How do you feel about English being as widespread as it is?
- Do you think you would be better or worse at English if English were not a global language?
- Do you think you would have a stronger or weaker connection to your nationality and culture if English were not a global language?
- How frequently do you think about these kinds of questions?

The set of questions was produced to extract as much information as possible from the subjects to be able to evaluate the truthfulness of the hypotheses and answer the research questions, without being too complicated for the subjects to know how to respond. The questions were designed to provoke open-ended answers and allow the subjects to create their own point of views, instead of giving answers they felt were expected. I tried to hide my personal bias by not giving too much information about what type of answers I was expecting. Questions about their experiences and thoughts with yes/no-answers would probably have been easier for the subjects to answer, but they would also have prompted answers that perhaps were not the subjects’ real opinions. It would also have removed the possibility of finding out whether they had previously thought about the topics, which was an important part of the study. In a best-case scenario, interviewees would give a clear view of their perspectives by personally deciding what they thought was worth discussing, with only a few cues. If they understood what response was sought with an inquiry, without me having to explain it in too much detail, it indicated that the inquiry was justified.
5.4. Methodological considerations

The study focused on the conditions of growing up as a native English speaker in a country where English is not a national language, and information was thus collected primarily from the discursive content of the interviews. However, since the subjects’ use of language was highly relevant for the analysis, their actual language use during the interviews became a secondary source of information. A welcomed byproduct from having them choose which language to use in the interview was that their choices could help further analyze their perceptions of their own language skills. Possible correlations or differences between their perceptions of their own language use and their actual language use could help form a better view of the whole picture. Caution is however needed when using the same raw data for both content analysis and speech analysis. Content-based interviews can often be a good source for natural speech, but in this study the subjects were asked to comment on their own use of language, potentially making them think more than usual about how they express themselves. High linguistic self-awareness does not necessarily make the speech samples useless, but they should not be mistaken for natural speech (Codó, 2009). Instead of carefully analyzing every word they uttered, I made an analysis if the overall features of each subject’s accent and compared it with their own perceptions of their accents.

Data obtained in content interviews is restricted by what interviewees can possibly be expected to know about the research field, in this case sociolinguistics. Many theories and basic facts that are core concepts in sociolinguistic research cannot be considered common knowledge to the general population, and some questions may therefore be difficult for responders to have well-founded ideas about. Non-linguists are a good source for information about personal experiences and general perceptions of language, but the answers to some questions will likely be unobtainable due to the sources’ lack of expertise in linguistics. In these interviews with gymnasium students, it was especially important not to intimidate the interviewees by using formal language and terminology that they perhaps would not understand.

5.5. Data processing

After the interviews, I uploaded the audio recordings to my computer, and kept the files stored in the voice recorder as back-up. I did not have time to take notes neither during the interviews nor between them, but after conducting the last interview of the day, I made a file for each interviewee, and wrote down their basic information and key words that characterized the content of their interviews. The participants were given alphabetical code-names for anonymization, with the first letter in their names revealing the order in which they were interviewed. Deeming that carefully transcribing each conversation would be too time-consuming, I went through the data by listening and re-listening to each interview when necessary. Only certain quotes that clearly represented the perspectives of the subjects were transcribed. Both English and Swedish quotes were transcribed verbatim, but when Swedish quotes were translated into English, superfluous words were not included in the translations.
6. Results

Data from the interviews will be presented in three steps, beginning with a quick overview of the subjects’ biographical information. Then, the contents of each interview will be presented separately. Finally, the experiences and perspectives of the subjects will be more thoroughly analyzed and compared in relation to the research questions and hypotheses in the discussion section.

6.1. Overview

As Table 1 shows, four of the subjects had one English-speaking and one Swedish-speaking parent. One subject had two English-speaking parents. One had an English-speaking and a Hungarian parent. One, as mentioned, had no English-speaking parents. Three of the subjects had lived in Sweden their entire lives. The others were born in English-speaking countries and moved to Sweden after already learning English. Five of the six inner circle countries where English is the largest national language were represented among the students, Canada being the exception.

Table 1: The interviewees’ biographical and linguistic information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Parents’ nationalities\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>Born in</th>
<th>Moved to SE at age</th>
<th>Preferred first language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>US; SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Swedish/English\textsuperscript{b}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>NZ; SE</td>
<td>NZ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>IE; SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>AU; SE</td>
<td>AU</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethan</td>
<td>BD; BD</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felix</td>
<td>US; HU</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>GB; GB</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{b}Preferred different languages in different contexts in no specific order.

Nationality is used in the study in terms of which country a person is from, or culturally connected to, and not in terms of citizenship. Although nationality does not necessarily determine which native language a person has, all the parents of the interviewees in this study were reported to be native in the national languages of their home countries. Nationality is used to account for both linguistic and geo-cultural background. Swedish, as an adjective, is used to refer to Swedes who are not native English speakers.

6.2. The interviews

Alice

Alice is 17 years old. She has one American parent, and one Swedish. She was born in Sweden, and learned the languages simultaneously. Her family mainly speaks English at home, including
her Swedish parent who has spent many years working in the US. She believes she has a greater Swedish vocabulary, making it her preferred language in situations that require formal or advanced speech. In ordinary conversations with friends and family, she prefers using English. She thinks varieties vary greatly in different parts of the US, and she does not believe she has a distinct dialect herself. While Alice acknowledges that she sounds more American than British, she thinks that having a standard American accent does not necessarily make people think she is American, which she thinks they would with other national varieties. She seems to equate having a standard American accent with not having an accent at all. I will comment more on this in the discussion. When it comes to vocabulary, she does not think her choice of words and phrases differs much from that of American people in general, as she has grown up consuming nearly exclusively American media at home. Having two cultures and nationalities means she often feels out of place in both countries. She feels American in Sweden and Swedish in the US.

**Ben**

Ben is 16 years old. He has one parent from New Zealand, and one from Sweden. He was born in New Zealand and moved to Sweden at the age of two. His family used English while living in New Zealand, but since moving to Sweden, Swedish has become the primary language used at home. Ben speaks Swedish with his family except for with his New Zealand parent, with whom he speaks English. Ben says he has developed the two languages at an equal pace the last years, although he believes his English vocabulary is larger than his Swedish. Ben’s accent is difficult to identify, as it does not have strong hints of any variety familiar to me, but some phonological features leaning towards both Swedish and New Zealand varieties are heard. He does not think he has a dialect specific to New Zealand, but instead calls his variety “international English”, with English in school and media being strong influences. He does not mind his dialect, but he expresses a wish to be more connected to New Zealand culture:

The New Zealand part of me is a very big part of who I am, so I just kind of want to learn more about the current culture of New Zealand.

Although he has not thought much about the global development of English and how it has affected him, he sees mainly advantages of being able to use both his languages to communicate with the people around him.

**Cindy**

Cindy is 16 years old. She has one Irish parent and one Swedish. She was born in Sweden. Cindy feels she is much better at Swedish than English, with a larger Swedish vocabulary and a greater ease of expressing herself. She often thinks about this, as she is rather self-conscious about her English skills. She prefers speaking Swedish during the interview. Cindy’s Irish parent speaks both English and Irish Gaelic – which Cindy refers to in Swedish as simply *irländska* (Irish) – but Cindy has not learned Irish. She thinks the Irish language has a stronger connection than English to Irish culture, but as it is not as widely spoken, and because she associates it with older generations, she says it is more important for her to speak English. She often thinks about her English accent. She believes she speaks English with a partly American, partly Swedish accent.
She is especially unhappy about her English variety revealing that she is Swedish. She wants to sound native, and wishes people could tell she was Irish just by hearing her accent, as being Irish is very important to her. When asked about cultural and national identity, she says the following:

Alltså, om jag är i Sverige så känner jag mig ganska irländsk, men om jag sen åker till Irland då känner jag mig väldigt svensk (. . . .) Mina kusiner säger liksom att jag är deras svenska kusin.

[if I'm in Sweden, I feel pretty Irish, but if I then go to Ireland, I feel very Swedish (. . . .) My cousins say that I'm their Swedish cousin.]

Even though she thinks regular English instruction is easier than HLI, she finds it easier to speak in front of her HLI classmates than the non-native English speakers in English class. She feels pressure speaking English in front of her Swedish classmates, because she is expected to speak like a native.

David

David is 16 years old. He was born in Australia and moved to Sweden with his family when he was four, which is when he started learning Swedish. He has one Australian parent, and one Swedish parent. At home David speaks English, except for occasional Swedish with his Swedish parent. He feels more comfortable speaking English, and it is the language he uses the most. Swedish, he says, is his school language, but for most of his daily activities he uses English. Concerning variety, he has heard from others that he sounds Australian, but he does not think so himself. Instead, he believes he has more of an American variety, which he attributes to American popular culture and social media. He indeed seems to have a predominantly American accent, with some sets of vowels and consonants that sound more Australian. He wishes he was more familiar with Australian culture, and he plans to live in Australia for a while after graduating from gymnasium to develop a stronger Australian identity.

Ethan

Ethan is 17 years old. Both his parents are from Bangladesh and speak Bengali as their first language. Ethan was born in the US, but his family moved back to Bangladesh short thereafter, where Ethan lived during the first years of his life. Ethan speaks Bengali at home, and he first started learning English in school around the age of six. The family moved to Sweden when he was ten years old, which is when he started learning Swedish. He remembers using English as a gateway into Swedish, because of their similarities in grammar and vocabulary. Because he was born in the US and is an American citizen, his Swedish school assumed that English was his native language, and gave him the opportunity to enroll in English HLI. He is very proud to be an American citizen, as he loves the English language and the United States. Gradually, English has become his preferred language. He thinks his Bengali has become suppressed as he has been integrated into Swedish society. He has forgotten how to read and write in Bengali. He actively tries to speak proper Swedish and English, using very formal expressions, because he thinks a person’s use of language reveals what kind of person they are. He thinks that if you speak in a
formal manner, people will think you are intelligent, and if you use a lot of slang and informal language, people will think you are “dumb”. As he uses Bengali only with his family, he allows himself to be more informal and use non-standard Bengali forms.

When I’m using those two languages [Swedish and English], I’m trying to be as well-mannered as possible, because I don’t want people to view Swedish or English people as bad people ( . . . ) and with Bengali, I’m more open. I don’t care about being that formal, which I would with Swedish or English, speaking to someone.

Ethan is very comfortable conversing in English with his Swedish friends and classmates, as he feels he has a greater vocabulary than them, but with native English interlocutors, he is very aware of how he speaks, and is careful “to use their language right”, suggesting he thinks there is a difference in ownership of the English language between native speakers and second language speakers such as himself.

Felix

Felix is 16 years old. One parent is American, and the other is Hungarian. Felix was born in Sweden and received input in three languages simultaneously as a child. His parents spoke their native languages at home, and he and his siblings spoke Swedish. Only recently has he started speaking English with his American parent. He considers Swedish his strongest language, followed by English, in turn followed by Hungarian. He has relatives in Hungary whom his family frequently visits and gets visits from, but his American parent is his only family on his American side, and he has only been to the US once. He values his American and Hungarian heritage highly, saying it distinguishes him from all the Swedes with Swedish parents and makes him interesting. He is very interested in American music, TV, and film, and says it is a big influence on him and on his use of English. While his interest in American culture may have been encouraged by him being American, the shows he watches and music he listens to he has found without the help of his American parent. They are accessible to anyone who speaks English and has an Internet connection, and he has many non-American friends who share the same interests. He believes he has a closer connection to American culture than his friends, and he often actively picks out dialectal phrases and slang words from songs and TV-shows, if he deems them reasonable to use for an American his age and ethnicity. He says his parent speaks with an eastern American accent, but that his own accent is closer to standard American, with “Swedish undertones”, as he puts it. Felix often thinks about his weaknesses in English, and wishes the language came more naturally to him. He is very aware of how he speaks, and when he makes grammatical or phonological mistakes in English, he is quick to correct himself. Like
Cindy, he especially has trouble expressing himself when he is in English class with his Swedish classmates, because he feels pressured to be better at English than them.

**George**

George is 16 years old. Both his parents are from England which is where George was born. The family only speaks English at home. They moved to Sweden when George was four, which is when he was first exposed to Swedish.

I don’t think I could speak Swedish until I was around 6 or 7, because I remember when I went in first grade at school I couldn’t really talk to anyone, I always had to get the teachers to translate and whatnot, but I think I caught on pretty quickly after that.

As he was already a fluent English speaker before learning Swedish, his bilingual background is of the consecutive type. Comparing languages, he says English is still his first and preferred language, with a greater vocabulary, though he does not think he has a restricted Swedish vocabulary, as his entire schooling has been in Sweden. Swedish is the language he uses in school, but when school is over, he switches back to English. All books, TV-shows, and other media he consumes are in English. When asked about his Swedish skills, he expresses that he is very comfortable in Swedish, but at the same time suggests that he culturally feels more British than Swedish:

Most people can’t tell that I’m not Swedish. I speak fluent Swedish because I grew up here.

George identifies his parents’ English varieties as southern English, and he believes his own accent is similar to his parents’. However, he has seen online videos where words in American English and British English are compared, and realized that British words and phrases he remembers using as a child have now been replaced by American equivalents. There are no noticeable Swedish features in his speech, as there are with most of the other students.

**7. Discussion**

**7.1. Patterns and exceptions in the data**

Most of the subjects said they preferred doing the interviews in English. Only Cindy asked that the interview be done in Swedish. Some interviewees, most notably Alice, alternated between English and Swedish, sometimes mid-sentence, although English was the predominant language used. Alice seemed to switch to Swedish when she wanted to explain something especially clearly. It should be noted that I up until the interviews used English when speaking to the class, giving them information about the study, and emailing them to decide on interview times. They knew that the study would focus on their perspectives as native English speakers, and this might have conditioned them to speak English even if it was not their preferred language. Felix, for instance, chose to begin the interview in English, even though he later said he was more comfortable speaking Swedish.
All subjects expressed that the English language and their nationalities were important parts of their identities. They all recognized the enormous influence of English on the world and in Sweden, and they were grateful to have spoken the language since they were little. Most of them did not seem to have reflected much on the global status of English and its effects. To Ethan and Felix, who had grown up with additional languages at home, it came naturally to compare the cultural conditions of the languages. There were clear contrasts between how Bengali in Ethan’s case, and Hungarian in Felix’s case were realized compared to English. They were used solely in the domestic domain, and they had much stronger connections to the cultures in which they were used than English. Still, they were not allowed the same position in Ethan’s and Felix’s lives, because of the more obvious usefulness of being proficient in English. The many more possibilities that knowledge of English offers could also explain why Cindy had not learned Irish, and was not interested in doing so, even though she thought it was a big part of Irish culture. Both Ethan and Felix were enrolled in English HLI at the expense of their additional home languages, and as a result, they had not sustained their abilities in those languages. Although he spoke Bengali at home, Ethan had lost the ability to write in the Bengali alphabet. Felix grew up speaking Swedish to his parents, and mainly developed receptive abilities in English and Hungarian at home. His Hungarian oral skills were so insufficient that he often had trouble communicating with his Hungarian relatives. The many contexts in which he used English made him much more orally proficient in English, but it did not feel like a language with a specific culture to which he belonged, as Hungarian did.

Most of the subjects were negative towards involuntary use of unidiomatic or ungrammatical English phrases, as well as non-native English pronunciation influenced by Swedish, as they wanted to sound like native speakers. In contrast, none of them expressed the same disfavor towards speaking Swedish with hints of English grammar and vocabulary. On the contrary, some of the students said they thought subconscious code-switching between Swedish and English in Swedish contexts showed that they were good at English, which they cared more about than being idiomatic and grammatical in Swedish. As mentioned earlier, using English words and phrases in otherwise Swedish conversations is currently fashionable in Sweden. Recognizing the prestigious position of English, the subjects were not embarrassed to show that they were native speakers, if that meant occasionally slipping an English word or structure into a Swedish conversation. This was true for the three students who considered Swedish their first language. They were confident enough in their Swedish skills, and perhaps the situation would have been different if they had problems expressing themselves in Swedish. In most contexts, the students thought it was an advantage having two languages at their disposal, as they could make themselves understood in both. This was especially true for the students who moved to Sweden when they were a few years old and regarded English their first language. According to one student (David), however, using “too much” English when Swedish would be adequate could annoy people who thought exhibiting proficient English skills was a way of bragging.

Differences in varieties can be used to distinguish a regional group from the enormous community of English speakers. People often define themselves through the social and cultural groups to which they belong, and sharing a variety strengthens the connection between people
from the same region. For monolingual speakers in the inner circle, this is unlikely an issue, as they are surrounded by people with similar varieties. For bilingual English speakers in the native English diaspora in the expanding circle, it may be difficult to maintain a regional variety used in their heritage countries and distinguish themselves from the vast group of proficient ESL speakers.

All students seemed to have clear ideas of their own English accents. The varieties they said they used matched the accents I identified them using. My analysis of their varieties covered mainly accent, as variation in vocabulary and grammar are not as easy to spot. No one used vocabulary that any proficient speaker of standard international English would not understand, though. The consequences of the globally spread American culture and technology became clear as all subjects with parents from other English-speaking countries attributed their lack of national varieties to the influence of America. Especially those with parents from Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland felt their dialects were heavily influenced by American English. Even George, with parents from Britain, another big influence on English in the world, said that American media had affected him a lot, though mainly his vocabulary. Furthermore, the subjects with American parents both said they spoke American English, and were instead displeased about not having clear regional American varieties. They viewed standard American phonology as the international standard. Some mentioned that the Swedish school insisted on teaching standard British English, which made English class feel irrelevant to those with other varieties. Only the interviewees with American or British parents seemed to recognize dialectal variation within their heritage countries, specifying the regional varieties their parents either spoke or did not speak. This is likely because the other students’ heritage countries have much smaller populations than the US and the UK, and have not had the same impact on global society. The varieties used in Australia, New Zealand and Ireland are not as commonly heard in media, and their phonologies are not widely taught in ESL instruction outside these countries. These varieties are therefore perceived as more distinct than American and British standards, and small variations between the regional varieties in these countries may not be perceived at all by those who are not familiar with them.

The ones who were the least concerned with whether they sounded like native English speakers or not were the students who were born in English-speaking countries and spoke English as their first language. Speaking English was the most natural thing in the world to them, and they were the subjects who were most comfortable using English, and did not feel pressured by expectations to be excellent English speakers. They did not voice any concerns about speaking Swedish either. Eliciting their perspectives proved to be a more difficult task than eliciting the others’, as the former had given little or no previous thought to the questions I asked. The interviewees who did not feel fully secure in their English abilities often understood my questions immediately, as they had often thought about them themselves. They did not seem to have properly discussed their thoughts with anybody earlier, as it was rather sensitive to them, but they were eager to discuss them in the interviews, perhaps because they felt their perspectives were legitimized by being the subjects of a study. It also helped that I had similar experiences myself and could often relate to their situations.
7.2. Connecting to theory

The collected data yielded evidence in favor of the hypotheses, but counterevidence was found as well. The perspectives of the interviewees varied a lot, and the main determiners of their perspectives seemed to be their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The patterns that explain the diversity of opinions among the interviewees suggest that the degree to which the linguistic abilities and cultural identities of the NESBS are affected by the non-native environment they grow up in is determined by a number of factors. Their thoughts on English speech production depended a lot on how early they were exposed to English and Swedish respectively. There were great differences between the bilingual abilities of the subjects who were born in Sweden, and the ones who moved to Sweden after having learned English. The more secure they were in English, the less they seemed to be bothered with how they sounded.

Another key factor that had consequences for the perspectives of the subjects was which English-speaking countries their parents were from. For instance, having American parents facilitated being connected to the heritage culture compared to having Irish parents, as American popular culture is globally mainstream. Even though the American students felt very close to American culture, many of their friends did too, which meant that their heritage did not give them exclusive access. Which heritage country they had, and their access to that country’s culture was in practice closely interconnected, but it is, of course, theoretically possible for an Irish NESBS to be more familiar with Irish culture than an American NESBS with American culture.

Overall, the NESBS, I argue, showed a tendency towards belonging to a relatively uniform category of English speakers. Though they represented different countries and varieties in the inner circle, they expressed similar experiences growing up speaking English in Sweden. Their accents and vocabularies were significantly influenced by their non-native environment and international media, and while they actively tried to keep their native varieties part of their identities, they often adapted their English speech to better be understood and accepted by non-natives, ultimately resulting in the differences between their regional varieties all being reduced towards Swedish ESL as well as general American. I believe these results to be specific to the English language, due to its unique position in the world as a widely spoken native language and an even more widely spoken non-native language.

7.3. Remarks on method

What presented the largest obstacle during the interviews was probably that the subjects often refrained from answering the more analytic questions, because they did not understand the questions or did not think they could provide useful answers. There is a risk that young subjects feel inferior to their interviewer, which was probably the case here. Also, they did not have a lot of experiences using English other than at home and in school. Older subjects would perhaps feel more comfortable stating their personal assessments about the conditions of being NESBS, and they might have had more knowledge to back up their statements. It would have been preferable to study NESBS of all types and ages, but it would have required more resources and information about Swedish citizens that is hard to obtain. The findings are now limited to a
homogenous group of HLI students with inner circle heritage countries. A future sample should include both a larger group and a larger variety of people with more heterogeneous backgrounds. The theories proposed in this study would also benefit from being complemented with similar studies of people who grow up in Sweden with other heritage languages.

There are many other ways in which this topic could be further studied. A very interesting part of the study was comparing the subjects’ perceptions of their own varieties to the varieties used in their heritage countries. That aspect could be developed by additionally studying natural speech produced by NESBS, and analyzing it in relation to the varieties spoken in their heritage countries. The NESBS in this study were mainly asked to describe their own varieties, and to some extent other people’s varieties from memory. The matched-guise technique could be used to elicit perceptions of both native and non-native varieties among NESBS and ESL speakers.

The structures that are shown to affect native English speakers in Sweden are likely prevalent to some degree in other countries where the English language is used for similar functions. The questions can easily be adapted to suit the situations of other countries with native English-speaking minorities.

8. Conclusion

Migration from the inner circle to the expanding circle of English raises questions of how native speakers of English are affected when they find themselves surrounded by ESL speakers and witness the language’s global development firsthand, all the while faced with the challenge of staying connected to their native varieties and cultures. This paper has served as an initial attempt at formulating those questions as well as providing some of their answers, by presenting qualitative data from interviews with individuals from the aforementioned group. The results suggested that it is indeed difficult for native English speakers in an expanding circle country, such as Sweden, to maintain a strong connection to their heritage cultures and use their specific dialects, because of the relatively low proportion of exposure to those regional dialects compared to that of Swedish ESL and American English in online media and popular culture. However, much more research is needed to paint a clear picture of this forgotten aspect of the development of global English.
Bibliography


Education First. (2018). The world’s largest ranking of countries and regions by English skills. English Proficiency Index. EF EPI.


Appendix

Document distributed to the participants

My study aims to explore attitudes towards the English language among native speakers raised in Sweden. During the interview, you will be asked questions about your language background and your perceptions of different aspects of the English language, such as dialects, culture, nationality, and its global status. The interviews are estimated to take up to 30 minutes, and the audio will be recorded. In the finished paper you will be presented in a way to ensure your anonymity. If you have second thoughts, you can choose to terminate your participation in the study at any point by contacting me before the final paper is submitted at the end of May 2019.

The data collected in the interviews will be included in an academic paper that will be published online in DiVA, Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkiv, a public portal for publications and theses from Swedish universities.

If you are interested in being interviewed for the study, please enter your information below and hand the bottom half of the document back to me at the end of the lesson. I will email you with a suggestion for an interview time.

There will be snacks!

Nicholas O’Neill (g.n.oneill@outlook.com)
Supervisor: Ute Bohnacker (ute.bohnacker@lingfil.uu.se)
Department of linguistics and philology, Uppsala University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Email Address:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please mark all the boxes when you are available to be interviewed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Monday 8th April</th>
<th>Tuesday 9th April</th>
<th>Wednesday 10th April</th>
<th>Thursday 11th April</th>
<th>Friday 12th April</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1520</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>