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**ATTITUDES TOWARDS VARIETIES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND THEIR SPEAKERS HELD BY FINNISH STUDENTS**

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Kieliasenteita eli ihmisten asenteita eri kieliä tai saman kielen eri alueellisia tai sosiaalisia murteita ja/tai näiden puhujia kohtaan tutkittaessa on todettu, että ihmiset muodostavat mielipiteitä toisistaan pelkän puhutavan perusteella. Kieliasenteita on tutkittu 1960-luvulta lähtien, mutta Suomessa vielä toistaiseksi melko vähän. Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää suomalaisten opiskelijoiden asenteita englannin kielen eri aksentteihin ja niiden puhujiin. Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Onko opiskelijoiden asenteissa eroja eri aksentteja ja niiden puhujia kohtaan? ja 2) Suhtautuvatko opiskelijat eri tavoin syntyperäisiin kielenpuhujiin ja heidän aksentteihinsa kuin ei-syntyperäisiin kielenpuhujiin ja heidän aksentteihinsa? Lähtökohtana oli lähinnä brittienglannin, mutta myös amerikanenglannin standardiääntämyksen pitäminen malliesimerkkeinä 'oikeasta' englannin kielen ääntämyksestä suomalaisissa kouluissa.

Koehenkilöryhmä muodostui yhteensä 210 lukiolaisesta ja ammattikoululaisesta. Arvoitavat puhujat olivat Englannista, Yhdysvalloista, Afrikasta ja Suomesta. Tutkielmassa käytetään sovellettua *matched-guise -tekniikkaa*, eli koehenkilöt kuuntelivat nauhalta 40-50 sekuntia pitkän puhenäytteen kultakin puhujalta ja arvioivat kuulemaansa aksenttia ja sen puhujaa 5-portaisen semanttisen differentiaaliasteikon avulla (mallia "sivistynyttä _ _ _ _ _ sivistymätöntä" ja "älykäs _ _ _ _ _ tyhmä"). Tämän lisäksi he vertailivat puhujia vastailemalla senkaltaisiin kysymyksiin kuin "Kuka puhujista mielestäsi puhui englantia parhaiten/huonoiten?" ja "Keneen puhujista haluaisit mieluiten tutustua?". Saadut tiedot analysoitiin käyttäen erilaisia tilastollisia menetelmiä (mm. t-testi, yksisuuntainen varianssianalyysi ja Pearsonin korrelaatiokerroin).

Tulokset osoittavat, että lukiolaiset ja naispuoliset opiskelijat suhtautuvat myönteisemmin puhujiin ja heidän aksentteihinsa kuin ammattikoululaiset tai miespuoliset opiskelijat. Kaikilla opiskelijoilla kuitenkin on positiivisempi asenne syntyperäisiä kielenpuhujia ja heidän aksenttejaan kuin ei-syntyperäisiä kielenpuhujia ja heidän aksenttejaan kohtaan. Täten opiskelijat suhtautuvat kielteisesti myös omaan aksenttiinsa. Koska asenteet vaikuttavat toisen kielen oppimiseen ja käyttäytymiseen ylipäätään, tulisi pyrkiä muuttamaan asenteita, sillä negatiivinen asenne omaan aksenttiin tuskin ainakaan edistää oppimista tai kannustaa käyttämään kyseistä kieltä. Koululla on suuri merkitys asenteisiin, joten opettajien tulisi tarjota monipuolisia esimerkkejä eri aksenteista ja suhtautua kaikkiin kaikkiin aksentteihin ja niiden puhujiin samantarvoisesti.

Asiasanat: language attitudes. matched-guise technique. native and non-native speakers. semantic differential scale.

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1 INTRODUCTION

English has been the most popular foreign language in Finnish schools and as a rule its teaching has been based on two varieties, Standard British English and Standard American English; especially Standard British English has been presented as the model of correct English language. During the past few years also other ways to pronounce English have become more familiar to students along with some text books published in recent years, since the tapes nowadays contain speech by non-native speakers of English or native speakers of some other English variety than Standard British English or Standard American English. These two standard varieties are, however, still the main models in the teaching of English and one might presume that students have different attitudes towards these two “model” varieties compared with some other varieties.

The notion of attitudes has a place in psychology, sociology, education etc. (Baker 1992), and studies on attitudes towards language varieties do not confine only to linguistics or language studies, but also enter the area of, for example, sociology and psychology. Most of the research conducted within social psychological or communication traditions has followed the lead of Lambert (1960) and concerned evaluative reactions towards speakers using different language varieties. Attitudes towards language varieties play a role in different contexts, for example, in second language acquisition.

It has been agreed that a favourable attitude is one of the major contributors to success in foreign language learning (see e.g Macnamara 1973, Gardner 1982, Edwards 1990, Gardner and Clément 1990), and thus it can be assumed that students’ attitudes towards different varieties of English affect their learning achievements in the English language. It can also be assumed that students’ attitudes are different not only towards different language varieties, but also towards the speakers of these varieties. And if this is the case, these factors should be taken into consideration in teaching English in order to guarantee the best possible results; i.e. to make students understand and appreciate various varieties of English. Then they would perhaps not be, for example, afraid of speaking English if they do not have a certain accent of a specific variety of English which is more highly valued than some others.

The purpose of the present study was to find out what kind of attitudes students in two types of school, a Finnish upper secondary school and a vocational college, have towards different varieties of English and also towards the speakers themselves. One hypothesis was that there would be differences in the students' attitudes towards both these varieties of English and their speakers. A second one was that the students would have more positive attitudes towards native speakers of Standard British and Standard American English since they have probably been the models of 'correct' English at school.

Previous studies (see e.g. Tucker and Lambert 1969, Williams et al. 1976, Carranza 1982, Sebastian and Ryan 1985, etc.) have also shown that individuals who speak a non-standard or less prestigious variety of a language are often downgraded when compared with individuals who speak a standard variety. As Edwards (1979) points out, the feeling that one's own speech is not "good" is a common phenomenon, and there is a tendency for non-standard speakers to accept negative stereotypes of their own speech styles.

The sample consisted of 210 students from one upper secondary school in Jyväskylä and two vocational colleges, one in Jyväskylä and one in Mikkeli. The information for the study was collected by means of a questionnaire, which consisted of two sections, the background section and the actual test section. The background section asked for general information about the students (their gender, age, hobbies etc.) and the test section had questions concerning the different speakers and varieties of English.

Chapter 2 of the present study contains the theoretical background. Firstly, in section 2.1, different ways of defining the term 'attitude' are discussed, and after that the relationship of attitudes and behaviour is considered. This is followed by a description of how attitudes may affect second language acquisition. Also an attitude change and some reasons for it are considered. Finally there are definitions of language attitudes.

Secondly, in section 2.2, there is a discussion of the terms and techniques related to the study of language attitudes. The description concentrates on terms and techniques which relate closely to this study. The section starts with definitions of the terms 'dialect',

'accent' and 'variety' and it is followed by a general consideration of measuring of attitudes. After that some terms and techniques are discussed in more detail. Thirdly, in section 2.3, there is a review of some of the previous studies on attitudes towards English. The focus is on studies which have been made by resorting to the matched-guise technique.

Chapter 3 contains the information on the present study - the research questions, the subjects, the speech samples, the questionnaire etc. The results are reported in chapter 4. Chapter 5 is the conclusion, in which the results are summarized and discussed, the limitations of the study are discussed, and some recommendations for possible further studies are made.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter contains the theoretical background of the study. The chapter is divided into three main sections. Firstly, in section 2.1, there is a discussion about attitudes; what they are and what is their relationship with behaviour and second language acquisition. Also an attitude change and reasons for it are discussed. Finally there are definitions of 'language attitudes'. Secondly, in section 2.2, there is a discussion of the terms and techniques related to the study of language attitudes. The description concentrates on terms and techniques related closely to this study. Thirdly, in section 2.3, there is a review of previous studies on attitudes towards English. The review concentrates on studies which have been made by resorting to the matched-guise technique.

2.1 Attitudes

2.1.1 Definitions of attitude

We all have an idea of what attitudes are; to say that a person has a certain attitude towards something or someone means that this person has some kind of opinions or feelings or thoughts about this certain something or someone and that these feelings often are reflected in what he says or does. Actually, defining accurately the term 'attitude' is not as simple as it might seem to be and there are various definitions. The attempt in this section is to introduce some definitions used by different researchers.

Attitudes are inferred from what a person says about an attitude object, from the way he feels about it, and from the way he behaves toward it (Triandis 1971:14). There are also many terms which are close to attitude, such as belief, opinion etc., and especially opinion and attitude are often synonymous in everyday speech. It is possible, however, to draw a clear distinction between these two terms. According to Baker (1992:14), 'opinion' can be defined as an overt belief without an affective reaction, and opinions are verbalisable while attitudes may be latent, conveyed by non-verbal and verbal processes. A belief, in contrast, is one of the components of an attitude (Edwards 1982).

In a nutshell, Eiser (1986:13) claims that “An attitude, then, is a subjective experience involving an evaluation of something or somebody”. But it is also possible to try to define ‘attitude’ even in more detail, and it is often indicated that attitudes have three major features. According to Palmerino et al. (1984:179), firstly, an attitude develops through experience with an object; secondly, it consists of positive or negative evaluations; and thirdly, it predisposes one to act in a predictable manner with respect to the object. These are usually described as the three components of an attitude - cognitive, affective and behavioural components (e.g. Triandis 1971, Eiser 1986).

A cognitive component is linked to an idea which is generally a category used by human beings in thinking and it is determined by responses to different stimuli (Triandis 1971). For example, the category ‘cars’ can be inferred by determining that people make similar responses to Fords etc., and other stimuli that they are capable of discriminating. A person who does not have the concept of a car can not have an attitude towards cars; if he sees a car, he might place it into some other category and have an attitude towards it, but not towards cars. The content of categories is greatly influenced by culture, for example. In addition, one might say that the cognitive component concerns thoughts and beliefs (Baker 1992:12). For example, a favourable attitude towards English language might entail a stated belief in its importance as a world-wide language. The cognitive representation of a category is, as Triandis (1971:3) points out, the minimum condition for having an attitude.

According to Triandis (1971), affective component is linked to an emotion which charges the category with affect. For example, if a person feels good when he thinks about something he has a positive affective component towards it. Thus, the affective component correlates with feelings, positive or negative, towards the attitude object, and these feelings are often determined by a previous association of the attitude object with pleasant or unpleasant states of affairs. Baker (1992) points out that although the cognitive and affective components of an attitude are closely related, they are not necessarily in complete harmony. A person may express favourable attitudes towards something, but at the same time he may, more covertly, have negative feelings towards it

in some sense. And in attitude measurement, formal statements are often made to reflect the cognitive component of attitudes and surface feelings. These, however, may hide covert beliefs, since defence mechanisms and social desirability tend to affect the expressed attitudes.

A behavioural component (also called a conative component) is linked with overt actions and statements of intent (Eiser 1986:53). Thus, for example, a person with a favourable attitude towards the Russian language and culture might state that he would send his child to a Russian kindergarten. Even though in general, as Triandis (1971:12) points out, the cognitive, affective, and behavioural components of an attitude are consistent, this is not always the case. Eiser (1986:54-57) notes that research on the three-component view of attitudes has alternatively emphasized the independence and interdependence of the different components, and verbal measures of attitude have often failed to predict behaviour. Thus it would seem natural to support the idea that affect, cognition and behaviour operate as distinct, though interrelated components.

Furthermore, Palmerino et al. (1984) note that the role of context is also essential in the definition of attitude; according to them, an attitude should be defined as a relationship between two entities where one entity is a person and the other is an object, and the person and the object become part of an extended structure that is the context. The object then takes on particular affective loadings as a consequence of being an integral part of the context, i.e. it does not have any permanent valence. In other words, different contexts or situations give rise to different attitudes, even if the person and the object were the same in both cases; for example, we all have various feelings towards people depending on how they behave in different situations and this also affects our attitudes towards them. Bradac (1990:399) also points out that the context has been ignored in many studies on language attitudes; this might lead to an overly simplifying assumption that if language variety A is valued in a study, it will be also valued in different situations, which is not necessarily the case.

2.1.2 Attitudes and behaviour

To understand why a person behaves in a certain way may require reference to a large variety of personal, interpersonal and situational factors (Baker 1992:16), and it has been suggested that, for example, observation of behaviour or self reports might be ways of predicting a person's future behaviour. Attitudes, however, may be better predictors of future behaviour than observation of current behaviour, because attitudes tend to be less affected by situational factors.

Once we know an individual's attitude toward an object we have a better chance of understanding and predicting his behaviour toward that object (Gardner 1982, Baker 1992), because attitudes affect an individual's responses to attitude objects or situations. It has to be recognized, however, that attitudes only influence behaviour to some degree, and not determine it, since behaviour is influenced by a number of factors. For example, behaviour may be consciously or unconsciously designed to disguise or conceal inner attitudes; a person may appear overtly friendly and interested in something and at the same time his inner attitude may be disdainful and arrogant.

Fishbein et al. (1975) also stress the importance of other variables in addition to attitudes determining behaviour. Among these other variables are different abilities, competing motives, individual differences, actual or considered presence of other people, normative prescriptions or proper behaviour, and unforeseen extraneous events. Ajzen et al. (1980:88) state that there is no reason to expect that attitudes towards an object will be related to every behaviour that a person performs with respect to that object. As Cohen (1960) notes, many situations in daily life involve engaging in disagreeable behaviour or considering information contrary to one's own attitudes.

Thus, although a direct, predictive relationship between attitude and behaviour cannot be assumed, attitudes are still an important part of a person's behaviour (Gardner 1982, Baker 1992). And as Gardner (1982) points out, many studies in the area of second language acquisition have demonstrated that there is a relationship between attitudinal characteristics and behaviour. Thus one might presume, for example, that if an individual

had a negative attitude towards his own variety of the second language, he would not like to use it.

2.1.3 Attitudes in learning a second language

Many studies have investigated the relation between attitudes and achievement in a second language, and it has been shown that an attitude is one of the factors affecting second language learning (e.g. Macnamara 1973, Gardner 1982, Baker 1985, Edwards 1990, Gardner and Clément 1990); as Gardner (1982) points out, both attitudes and an aptitude are related to the achievement in a second language. One potential reason why attitudes are related to it is that they influence how seriously the student strives to acquire the language.

On the other hand, Gardner (1982:144) also claims that attitudes are important in second language acquisition only to the extent that they influence the individual's level of motivation to study and use the language since that is the orientation which will relate more consistently with the individual's success in learning the language. This, however, does not eliminate the importance of attitudes in second language learning. Especially since attitudes and motivation are often seen as one factor together instead of separate factors when listing the factors influencing second language acquisition (e.g. Gardner and Clément 1990:497).

According to Gardner (1982:142), there is some evidence that also feelings about ethnic identity play a role in second language acquisition; i.e. the association between language and ethnic identity would influence the student's reactions to the language learning situation in school. Attitudes toward the teacher are also an aspect influencing the student's achievement (Laine 1976:34, Gardner and Clément 1990:504-505). A teacher may be perceived as representing the second language-speaking group and thus be an important agent of attitude formation especially in an environment where the second language group is not available.

A teacher can influence a student's achievement also in another way. Seligman et al. (1972) point out that a teacher's attitudes can play a crucial role in the determination of students' academic success, because the results of their study showed that teachers considered speech when judging students' intelligence. So the teacher himself might be a contributor to the student's success in second language learning, and Edwards (1982, 1990:488) even mentions that there is a "continuing need for close psychological monitoring of teacher attitudes, expectations and stereotypes", since teachers, just like other members of the population, can maintain stereotyped and often even negative views of certain language varieties and their speakers. Thus, if a teacher has a negative attitude towards a certain variety of the second language, it might affect a student's attitude towards this variety.

2.1.4 Attitude change

In order to gain success in second language learning or in other matters as well, a person may sometimes have to change his attitudes. Attitude change may be the result of a change in the person, the object or the relationship between these two (see Palmerino et al. 1984, Baker 1992). Probably the most obvious reason for an attitude change is in connection with the pleasant features of the object; attitudes towards stimuli may become more favourable if they are associated with pleasant events. Attitudes may be made more favourable also by reward and reinforcement, and the reinforcement need not necessarily be social and external, but it can be self-reinforcement as well. For example, a student may be rewarded by a teacher or, in contrast, a student may reward himself after a successful function. Attitude change might be defined as being a cognitive activity which is formulated through social activity.

Triandis (1971:142-146) lists different ways to change attitudes based on the three-component view of attitudes. Firstly, a person may receive new information either from other people or through the mass media that could produce changes in the cognitive component of his attitude. These changes will then be reflected in the affective and

behavioural components. Secondly, attitudes can change through direct experience with the attitude object; e.g. he may have pleasant or unpleasant experiences in the presence of the attitude object. In this case, it is the affective component of his attitude that changes first. Thirdly, change can also start from the behavioural component. For example, if a person is forced to behave in a way that is inconsistent with his existing attitudes. Thus, he may have to behave in a certain way in social situations and finally this change in the behavioural component will change his whole attitude.

Katz (1960) provides a functional theory including four functions which have important implications for an individual's attitude change. Following the utilitarian or instrumental function, attitudes may change when there is some reward, e.g. in school praise and encouragement from the teacher. The ego defensive function may lead to attitude change deriving from the need for basic inner security; i.e. people who hold attitudes which lead to insecurity and anxiety are likely to change their attitudes to achieve greater security and less anxiety. The value-expressive function causes people to express attitudes emanating from their values, and thus if their values change, their attitudes may change accordingly. And following the knowledge function, knowledge of the matter in question helps form or change an attitude.

There are also other factors affecting attitudes and attitude change (see e.g. Baker 1992), such as the following: parental effects, age changes, community effects, institutional effects, mass media effects etc. As St Clair (1982) points out, the reinforcing or changing features can be both external and internal at the same time. For example, if the majority of society has been socialized through the educational system to accept certain beliefs or views, they will attempt to please and impress one another in their speech and in the contents of their attitudes according to these beliefs. Thus, people often tend to operate the same way as the majority of society.

2.1.5 Language attitudes

Quite often researchers just write about studying language attitudes without any further explanations of what attitudes or language attitudes are. And, of course, one might ask if it is even necessary to try to explicitly define a language attitude, if the term attitude has already been defined. However, in this chapter some points concerning specifically language attitudes will be discussed in more detail.

According to Baker (1992:29), 'language attitude' is "an umbrella term", under which resides a variety of specific attitudes, such as:

- attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style
- attitudes to learning a new language
- attitudes to a specific minority language
- attitudes to language groups, communities and minorities
- attitudes to language lessons etc.

Baker (1992:29-32) states that there are two components for language attitudes: an instrumental component and an integrative component. An instrumental attitude to a language is self-oriented and individualistic, and it reflects pragmatic, utilitarian motives. An instrumental attitude to learning a second language might be, for example, to study for professional reasons, status, or personal success. An integrative attitude to a language, in contrast, is social and interpersonal in orientation and it is linked with the need for affiliation. Thus, integrative attitudes to learning a second language might concern attachment to, or identification with a language group and their culture.

Baker (1992) claims that it is possible to possess both instrumental and integrative attitudes and, in fact, the casting of language attitudes under these two headings is not without problems. It has, for example, faced criticism because the items to measure integrativeness and instrumentality in different studies have varied and been small in number, and this tends to lead to low internal reliability.

A more common definition of language attitude is, nevertheless, the one by, for example, Ryan et al. (1982:7), as they understand the term in a broad, flexible sense “as any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers”. This is how language attitudes have apparently been seen in most studies; although, as it was already mentioned at the beginning of this section, it is difficult to say, since researchers do not usually explain how they define the term.

Language attitudes play a role in numerous situations, e.g. personnel interviews, educational settings, legal situations etc., and perhaps this is one of the reasons why many studies in the social psychology of language have been concerned with attitudes toward different varieties of language and the traits attributed to speakers of these varieties (although Ryan et al. (1984:135) claimed that traditionally - surprisingly though - social psychologists have been rather reluctant to consider speech in their formulations of social behaviour). But ever since the 1960s language attitudes as a research topic have been arousing great interest in an increasing number of studies in many countries. Different varieties of English in America and Great Britain being the most popular in this field, but also other languages and language varieties have been studied, e.g. Hispanic language varieties (Carranza 1982).

2.2 Terms and techniques related to the study of language attitudes

2.2.1 Dialect, accent and variety

The definitions of ‘dialect’, ‘accent’ and ‘variety’ by different researchers are usually quite similar (see e.g. Edwards 1979, Chaika 1982, Alford and Strother 1990, Furnham 1990). The term ‘dialect’ refers to a language variety which differs from others in certain aspects such as vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. Dialects of a certain language are often distinguished from separate languages on the basis that they are - unlike the latter - mutually intelligible; although one has to admit that there are cases where people have difficulty in comprehending certain dialects of their own language. There might be

also other reasons for determining whether two speech varieties will be considered different dialects or different languages, e.g. political boundaries. For example, some varieties of Swedish and Norwegian are mutually comprehensible, but they are considered different languages because they are separated by national borders. However, as a common rule, if two varieties of speech are mutually comprehensible (even though being different in pronunciation, word usage and syntax), they are considered dialects.

‘Accent’, in contrast, refers only to differences in pronunciation, i.e. phonological or phonetic distinctions, between one variety of a language and another. Since accent refers to regional and class-related ways of pronouncing words and phrases, speakers sharing the same dialect may differ markedly in their pronunciation without employing different lexical or grammatical forms. Furthermore, many people think that dialects or accents are substandard, even defective, whereas, in fact, any variety of a language is technically a dialect - even the standard variety. Thus, everyone speaks a dialect and everyone has an accent.

The term ‘variety’ can be used to refer to language differences in general, i.e. in circumstances in which the more specific terms, such as dialect or accent, are not appropriate for some reason.

2.2.2 The measurement of attitudes

There are three assessment techniques relevant to the study of language attitudes: content analysis of societal treatment, direct measurement and indirect measurement (see e.g. Chaika 1982, Ryan et al. 1982, Baker 1992). Analysis of societal treatment is not always mentioned when attitude measurement techniques are being discussed, because it has usually been included only implicitly; direct and indirect measurement techniques being more common.

However, as Ryan et al. (1982) point out, the first source of information about views on language varieties lies in the public ways in which they are treated; i.e. official language

policies, use by various social groups in government, mass media, education etc. And analyses of language used in the public domain, such as different kinds of documents and the press, provide the basis for descriptions of the standard language. This type of analysis contains e.g. types of research which do not involve explicit requests to respondents for their views or reactions, such as content analysis, observation etc. But, as Cargile et al. (1994) point out, content analyses cannot indicate all types of language attitudes, because people develop culturally specific attitudes about variability among a number of language behaviours, such as one's accent, voice quality etc.

There can be two kinds of observation, participant and nonparticipant (see e.g. Chaika 1982, Baker 1992). Participant observation is of the kind in which the researcher takes part in the activity by saying or doing something and then observing the reactions. In contrast, nonparticipant observation is just noting and analyzing what is seen and heard in a situation. Since general response patterns and relatively stable dispositions are not necessarily easily inferred from an interview with a person, it might thus be useful sometimes to try to indicate underlying attitudes by observation of behaviour or, more efficiently, by self reports.

Direct measurement of language attitudes involves the use of a series of direct questions, either presented in written form (questionnaires) to large groups or orally in individual interviewd (Ryan et al. 1982). The questions usually concern items such as: language evaluation, language preference, desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, desirability of bilingualism, etc. This method tends to focus upon beliefs, but sometimes affect is emphasized as well. At least one problem with questionnaires is that there might occur fibbing, or telling the researcher what one thinks he or she wants to know rather than one's genuine opinion. Interviews, on the other hand, must be conducted so that the consultants are put at ease, i.e. the researcher should conform to the consultant's culture and try to make the circumstances within the interview as comfortable as possible for the consultant.

Compared to the direct methods, the indirect methods (Triandis 1971, Carranza 1982, Ryan et al. 1982) provide a certain amount of disguise of the intentions of the experimenter. The indirect method can appear in various forms, ranging from sentence completion tests, participant observation etc. to the matched-guise technique¹, which has been the most popular indirect method inferring language attitudes from evaluations of speakers.

The measurement of attitudes is a difficult and complex area of study, and there is a need for developing new methods in research on language attitudes. As Baker (1992) notes, attitude measurement is rarely completely valid, because the measurement of individuals' attitudes is unlikely to reveal their attitudes perfectly for a number of reasons. For example, people tend to give socially desirable answers, either consciously or unconsciously. Thus, a person may respond to an attitude test in a way that makes him appear more prestigious, more good than is real. Or even the researcher himself may influence the results; the ethnic identity, gender, status, social class, language etc. of the researcher may each affect how an individual responds to an attitude test.

2.2.3 The matched-guise technique

The matched-guise technique has been the most popular technique in measuring language attitudes ever since it was first introduced by W. E. Lambert and his associates (1960). They analysed listeners' evaluational reactions to languages. They attempted to minimize the effects of both the voice of the speaker and his message by employing bilingual speakers reading the same message in both English and French. Thus, the matched-guise technique means that listeners evaluate a speaker's personality after hearing him or her read the same passage in each of two or more accents, and the fact that the speaker is the same in every passage is not revealed to the listeners - and they do not usually guess this.

It is not always possible to find speakers who are equally proficient in all the accents under consideration and in that case the matched-guise technique has been modified (see

¹ The matched-guise technique will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.3

e.g. Fraser 1973, Frazer 1987, Alford et al. 1990). In the modified version different speakers from each accent group are employed to speak with their normal accents. Speakers have to be carefully selected in order to minimize all the factors that might affect listeners' reactions towards the speakers, i.e. gender, age, education etc. One of the benefits of this method, as Alford et al. (1990) point out, is that it prevents speakers from varying their voice quality and style in an attempt to distinguish among the various accents. Thus, the modified matched-guise technique provides natural, instead of possible "counterfeit" accents, which are suspect to be the result of the original matched-guise technique since speakers do not speak only with their normal accents.

The matched-guise technique has also been criticized. For example, Preston (1989:329) points out that experiments in which one speaker has been said to accurately represent a large number of varieties are suspect, because there is a risk that the sample might end up being an inaccurate representation or even a caricature. This might happen, if a person tries to represent different accents without completely succeeding in it. In addition, it has been criticized for its alleged artificiality; there are speculations on, for example, whether the same passage repeated many times makes listeners feel that it is impossible to rate speakers on various personality scales, or should the listeners be given more information about the speakers etc.

However, as Edwards (1979) points out, employed in many different contexts, the matched-guise technique provides an addition to our understanding of speaker evaluation through speech. Since realizing the limitations and trying not to overgeneralize the results, it has turned out to be a useful technique in evaluating the speakers and their speech. A successful use of the matched-guise technique requires very careful selection of speakers, speech samples and, of course, planning of a questionnaire, adjectival pairs etc.

2.2.4 Speech samples

The selection of the speech sample is one of the most important aspects in most studies on language attitudes, since nearly every study is based on a method where the subjects

form their opinions about certain varieties and their speakers with the help of speech samples. In each study the speech sample normally consists of various speakers reading a short text passage, the length of which is usually a couple of minutes. By using a text passage instead of letting the speakers talk about whatever they want to, an attempt is made to avoid the possibility of various other factors than speech and language variety (e.g. the topic of the speech) affecting the listeners' attitudes. On the other hand, as Finegan (1985:96) points out, when a set passage is read by speakers, only a subset of phonological variations can be subject to evaluation by listeners, whereas if relatively unconstrained speech samples were elicited, listeners could respond to a wider range of linguistic features. It is, however, more common to use a set passage of a text so that the factors affecting the listeners' attitudes can be minimized.

The nature of the text varies a bit in different studies, e.g. Lambert (1960) used passages of prose of a philosophical nature; Alford and Strother (1990) chose a culturally neutral topic of what to do in case of an earthquake; and Davis and Houck (1990) created their own text based on a list of words that could be used to reveal regional phonological dialect behavior. In some studies, such as in Strongman's and Woosley's (1967:165) study on stereotyped reactions to regional accents, it was only mentioned that "a very neutral, factual passage was used". Thus, one might draw a conclusion that even though the nature of the text in speech samples varies to some degree, the topic usually is, however, very neutral (although according to Giles and Coupland (1991:255), a text can never be totally neutral; it is interpreted and subsequent actions accounted for on the basis of pre-existing social schemata). The topic usually is as neutral as possible, because the contents of the text itself should not arouse any feelings in listeners; their attention should be given merely to the speakers and their accents. On the other hand, Bradac (1990:389) claims that recent studies have used more naturalistic texts for comparing the effects of language or dialect differences.

2.2.5 Attitude scales

Various scaling methods have been developed for measuring a person's beliefs, opinions, attitudes etc.; there are, for example, Guttman, Thurstone and Likert scales (see e.g. Triandis 1971, Fishbein et al. 1975). All these procedures use different kinds of statements about an attitude object, either positive or negative. Thurstone (as quoted by Fishbein et al. 1975) argues that "opinions" are verbal expressions of an attitude and that they may therefore be used to measure an attitude. Thus, for example, the following statements might be used to measure an attitude towards a British variety of English and its speaker: 1) I would like to speak English as the British do, and 2) British people are friendly and polite. Then a respondent is asked to indicate agreement or disagreement with each item on an evaluative dimension, for example: 'agree strongly', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagree', and 'disagree strongly'. Items on a Likert scale, however, do not reflect different degrees of favourableness; instead, they are classified as either positive or negative.

The most general method for measuring affect, however, is known as semantic differential scaling developed by C. E. Osgood (quoted by Triandis 1971:47). This method is the main technique used in studies on language attitudes as well, and the idea is to study the affective as well as the cognitive components of a person's attitudes (Baker 1992:18).

According to Fishbein et al. (1975), Osgood argued that since the basic function of ordinary language was assumed to be the communication of meaning, ordinary language could be used to differentiate between concepts and measure their meaning. Thus, semantic differential scaling was originally developed for the measurement of meaning, but later on adapted also to studies on attitudes. This technique involves providing the respondent with one or more concepts to differentiate and a set of bipolar adjectives against which to do so. The respondent's task is to rate each concept on each scale.

Thus, if the semantic differential technique is used in a study on language attitudes together with the matched-guise technique, listeners are asked to evaluate the speech

samples against selected semantic differential scales, each scale having adjectival opposites placed at the extremes of the scale. The semantic differential scale is usually divided into seven points, but also other alternatives are possible. For example, Markel et al. (1967) used a six-point scale, because they wanted to eliminate the “neutral” category. Thus, a person might rate a speech sample in terms of the following scale:

friendly ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ unfriendly

If the listener thought that the speaker sounded either extremely friendly or unfriendly, he would place a mark in one of the extreme points of the scale and if he thought that the speaker sounded quite friendly, he would mark the second most extreme point. Or if he thought that the speaker sounded somewhat unfriendly, he would mark the point adjacent to the centre of the scale. And if the listener’s rating is neutral, i.e. he cannot tell whether the speaker is friendly or unfriendly, he would place a mark in the centre point.

If a decision is made to use semantic differential scale in a study, there is always the question of how to find the appropriate adjective pairs for rating scales. Tucker and Lambert (1969) chose the adjectives with the help of a pilot study. Different groups of students were asked to indicate those traits which they considered important for friendship and those important for success, and to give free associations to and synonyms for some of those traits and finally, they were asked to choose from a list of traits drawn from previous research those they considered the most important. Bipolar rating scales were then constructed by pairing a positive and a negative adjective with each trait which was chosen. Two of the traits, however, were not suggested by the students, but were added because they were believed to be appropriate for the purposes of the study.

In some studies the reasons for choosing certain adjectives have not been mentioned at all. For example, Gallois and Callan (1981) only listed the adjective scales without any further explanations. One of the most popular ways to choose the adjectives seems to be, however, to select the appropriate traits from prior studies. For example, Strongman and Woosley (1967) chose some of the traits used by Lambert et al. (1960) and furthermore, Giles (1971) used the same 18 bipolar traits as Strongman and Woosley. Also Shuy and Williams (1973) selected the semantic differential scales from prior literature on the assumption that they were relevant to language attitudes. Perhaps the best way to choose

the adjectives is to utilize prior studies, if it is possible, but also to use the help of a pilot group in testing whether the traits are appropriate for the study and possibly also to get some further suggestions for the semantic differential scales.

Lambert (1967) introduced a refinement with which personality traits are often grouped into three logically distinct categories of personality. Some are seen to reflect a speaker's competence (e.g. intelligence, ambition, self-confidence, leadership, and industriousness), others personal integrity (e.g. helpfulness, sincerity, kindness, and trustworthiness), and yet others social attractiveness (e.g. friendliness, sociability, sense of humour, and likeability). Sometimes there are also dimensions which are not included in these categories since they do not logically fit, for example, religiousness, good looks, and height.

2.2.6 Factor analysis

A technique called factor analysis has been widely used in studying language attitudes, because by this technique it is possible to determine interrelationships among semantic differential scales (see e.g. Shuy and Williams 1973, Williams et al. 1976, Preston 1989). In general terms, factor analysis deals with these interrelationships that have been found in the use of scales in rating concepts. Then it mathematically defines hypothetical variables, or factors, made up of clusters of scales which tend to have a high degree of interrelationship in usage.

Factor analysis also allows the researcher to produce groups of terms with similar ratings. One benefit in using it is, as Baker (1992:18) points out, that whereas most measurement techniques force an attitude into an unidimensional structure, resulting in one score on a general scale, factor analysis allows multidimensionality. Its purpose is to identify the number of dimensions that are being assessed by a large set of scales. And more precisely, factor analysis specifies the degree to which each scale is a measure of each of the underlying dimensions.

Factor analysis also reduces the complexity of a set of observations by providing hypothetical variables (the factors) that “explain” the observed relationships in a simple manner (Triandis 1971). In other words, it reduces many observations to a few relationships and thus makes it possible to summarize and interpret results of a set of semantic differential scales.

2.3 Previous studies on attitudes towards English by using the matched-guise technique

This section provides an overview of studies in which the matched-guise technique has been used to find out language attitudes from evaluations of speakers of two or more language varieties. In a few cases the matched-guise technique appears in its original form - the same speaker speaking different varieties without listeners knowing it. However, in most cases the matched-guise technique has been used in a modified form - several speakers (controlled, however, for variations in style, voice quality, gender and age) speaking with their normal accents.

Since the 1960s many researchers have studied evaluative reactions towards speakers of various languages or different varieties of the same language (see e.g. Shuy and Fasold 1973, Ryan et al. 1982). These studies have mostly concerned various varieties of English, but also varieties of other languages have been researched. The term used in these studies is ‘language attitude’, although Edwards (1982) claims that most studies of language attitudes, in fact, would be more accurately termed studies of attitudes towards speakers of language varieties, because it is often rather the speaker who is evaluated, and not the speech itself. Actually it is usually both the speaker and the speech that are evaluated, as in this study. And in this study the term language attitude is used in its broader sense, as it was defined by Ryan et al. (1982) (see section 2.1.3).

2.3.1 Studies on attitudes towards varieties of American English

Wallace Lambert, who originally developed the matched-guise technique with his colleagues, has studied widely language attitudes. First in 1960 Lambert et al. (1960, 1967) studied the evaluational reactions of French- and English-speaking college students towards French and English guises in Montreal. Four male bilinguals read both French and English versions of a 2,5 min. passage of French prose of a philosophical nature. Then students were asked to evaluate the speech samples by rating 14 traits on 6-point scales ranging from “very little” to “very much”. The traits were of the following type: sense of humour, intelligence, self-confidence etc. There were also some open questions for the students to answer and they were also asked to complete incomplete sentences, such as: “English Canadians think...”, “The more I get to know French Canadians...” etc. It turned out that both French- and English-speaking judges reacted more favourably to the English guises. And the French-speaking judges gave less favourable responses to the French guises than the English-speaking judges. Thus the French-speaking students actually downgraded members of their own group.

Later on a study by Anisfeld et al. (1962) considered whether subjects would exhibit differential reactions to the same speaker when speaking in “pure” English and in English with a Jewish accent; i.e. the matched-guise technique was used again in its original form, since there was the same speaker speaking with a different variety. The results indicate that when the same speakers used Jewish-accented English, they were rated much less positively on personality characteristics and were labeled “immigrants” on the basis of their accent.

Tucker and Lambert (1969) studied white and black listeners’ reactions to varieties of American-English. It was found that all judges rated the network (the speech of television newscasters on major networks) speakers most favourably, but there was a contrast in the choice of the least favoured group. The black judges rated the educated white southern speakers least favourably, whereas the white judges rated the Mississippi peer speakers least favourably. In addition to the studies of Lambert et al., different varieties of American English have been studied also by many other researchers. For example, Fraser

(1973) concentrated on the dialects of white and black southerners and the results were similar to those of Tucker and Lambert (1969).

A study by Alford and Strother (1990) is also concerned with attitudes towards selected regional accents of American English, but their subjects were both native and non-native speakers of English. The subjects listened to speech samples and then evaluated personality characteristics of the speakers by marking down their responses to adjectives on a 7-point Likert scale. The perceptions of the non-native speakers differed from the perceptions of the native speakers. The results, however, indicate that non-native speakers of English are able to rate their perceptions of a speaker's favourableness, but this is based primarily on pronunciation variations whereas native speakers' responses are also based on regional cultural biases.

There are also studies that have examined subjects' responses to specific phonological variants. For example, a study of Frazer (1987) deals with subjective reactions to a variety of North Midland, Northern, West Midland, and South Midland features which appear in Illinois, and the study of Davis and Houck (1990) is concerned with attitudes towards female regional speech and occupational status. In both of these studies speakers read passages, which contained words that would especially reveal regional phonological differences. However, the results in these studies are similar to the studies previously discussed in this section; i.e. speakers with a less prestigious accent - in these two studies speakers with distinctly Southern features - got more negative reactions. For example, they were more likely to be perceived as belonging to occupations of a lower status.

2.3.2 Studies on attitudes towards varieties of British English

There are also many studies concerning language attitudes carried out in Britain. The following studies were all carried out by resorting to the original matched-guise technique. Strongman and Woosley (1967) focused on stereotyped reactions to Yorkshire and London accents. Although the study was on stereotypes, the matched-guise technique was used (often in case of investigating stereotyped attitudes, there is only a questionnaire

without any concrete speech samples). One subject group was from the north of England and the other from the south. Both groups judged the Yorkshire speakers to be more honest and reliable than the London speakers and the London speakers to be more self-confident than the Yorkshire ones. Overall results do not seem to favour either the Yorkshire or the London speakers, possibly because neither of these groups is seen as a particular majority group.

Cheyne (1970) concentrated on stereotyped reactions as well, but he compared ratings of voices with Scottish and English regional accents. One subject group was from Scotland and the other from London. It was found that both Scottish and English judges tended to view Scottish speakers as possessing less status than their English counterparts. Judges also agreed that the Yorkshire speakers were more honest and reliable, while the London speakers seemed more self-confident. It appears that more standard accents evoked greater prestige judgements than regional varieties.

A study by Giles (1971) deals with attitudes towards Received Pronunciation (R.P.), South Welsh and Somerset accented speech. The subjects were from South Wales and Somerset. The results indicated again that the more prestigious standard accented voice in Britain is seen as commensurate with highly favourable personality traits of competence without depending on listeners' regional membership. However, the non-standard regional accented speakers would seem to be seen more favourably with respect to personal integrity and social attractiveness.

Thus all the studies discussed in this chapter confirm that speech patterns of regional speakers and lower-class populations elicit negative evaluations, at least in terms of status or prestige, from listeners. And this effect seems to apply whether or not the listeners are speakers of a standard variety themselves.

2.3.3 Studies on attitudes towards non-native varieties of English

Görlach (as quoted by Starks and Paltridge 1996) notes that there is actually very little sociolinguistic research available on non-native varieties of English. And, as Starks and Paltridge (1996) point out, studies investigating only non-native speaker attitudes are usually not of the matched-guise type, but use other methods. They are often entirely subjective in nature and ask the subjects which variety of English they would like to learn and why.

The studies on language attitudes in Finland have also been carried out by other methods. For example, Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990) studied pupils' attitudes towards American English and British English and their native speakers in upper secondary school. The study was carried out by using a questionnaire, i.e. direct measurement technique. Thus the study is actually on stereotyped attitudes since the pupils' answers are based on their beliefs and opinions. The results indicate that students with a higher grade in English prefer British English whereas students with a lower grade prefer American English. It was also found that girls prefer British English and boys American English.

Furthermore, Pollari (1993) studied Finnish commercial college students' use and understanding of anglicisms and their attitudes towards anglicisms, and Henriksson (1996) studied the use and understanding of, and attitudes towards anglicisms by Finnish senior secondary school and workers' institute students. The most recent study on language attitudes in Finland is by Hyrkstedt (1997), who investigated Finnish students' language attitudes by applying a qualitative method, more particularly, discourse analysis. The objective was to find out how language attitudes towards English are constructed in the writing of non-native speakers of English. These studies are somewhat different from the traditional studies on language attitudes since their objectives were not aimed directly to attitudes towards different varieties of English and their speakers. Thus they are not discussed in this section in more detail.

There are, however, a few studies on native and non-native varieties carried out by using the matched-guise technique. For example, Gallois and Callan (1981) studied Australian students' attitudes towards Italian, Greek, French, Vietnamese, Australian, and British English. Subjects evaluated speakers by completing semantic differential scales and they also made a guess as to the speaker's age, occupation, and home country. The results indicated that British male speakers were given the most positive evaluations, but for British as well as Australian female voices, the evaluative score was less favourable. It was also found that unlike most of the previous matched-guise studies in which listeners were often aware of the nationalities of the speakers, accents do not necessarily call up a particular national group stereotype, if listeners do not know or cannot identify the accents. For example, in this study Greek and Italian speakers were distinguished from each other on the evaluation and dynamism dimensions, even though the accuracy scores indicated frequent confusion between them.

2.3.4 A summary

All the studies discussed in this chapter show that there are differences in attitudes towards different varieties or accents of the English language. Moreover, these attitudes do not only concern the language itself, but also speakers of different varieties. In summary, speakers of standard or otherwise more prestigious variety were upgraded when compared with speakers of other varieties. In these studies, however, the subjects were aware of the social values of different varieties, e.g. which was the standard or prestigious accent. As Edwards (1979) points out, judgements of accent quality and prestige will not discriminate against nonstandard varieties if subjects are unaware of the social connotations they carry. This is, however, usually the case in such studies in which subjects are evaluating some varieties of a foreign language which they do not understand.

There is clearly a need for further research on attitudes towards non-native varieties of English since it is obviously an area which has not been investigated enough. There is also a need for studies in which subjects would be non-native speakers of English since as

in the studies discussed previously in this chapter, subjects are usually native speakers of English when studying attitudes towards varieties of English and their speakers. And since attitudes affect people's behaviour, their learning a second language etc., it would be important to know more about non-native speakers' attitudes towards different varieties of English, both native and non-native varieties.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

This chapter contains information concerning the present study. Firstly, the objectives and hypotheses of the study are defined. Then there is a description of the subjects, the speech samples, and the questionnaire. This is followed by a description of the pilot test and the experiment itself. After that the reliability and the validity of the test are discussed. And then there is a description of the statistical analyses which were used in the study.

3.1 Objectives of the study

The present study aimed to find out attitudes towards different varieties of the English language held by Finnish students. Both language varieties and speakers of those varieties were evaluated. The study was based on two hypotheses. The first one was that there would be differences in the students' attitudes towards these varieties and their speakers, and the second one was that the students would have more positive attitudes towards the varieties and speakers of Standard British and Standard American English. The second hypothesis was partly based on the results of previous studies (for a review, see section 2.3), and partly on the second language teaching in Finland, which often strongly emphasizes these two varieties as models of "correct" English language.

A further objective of this study was based on the assumption that these two hypotheses mentioned above would be shown to be true. In that case Finnish students would not appreciate their own accent or other non-native varieties of English as much as the standard varieties. As it was discussed in section 2.1.3, attitudes affect second language learning, and it is presumable that downgrading one's own accent has more negative than positive effect on learning. And since attitudes are also one factor affecting a person's behaviour (see section 2.1.2), it is possible that Finnish students would be, for example, afraid of speaking English, because they are ashamed of their own accent.

Thus, there would be a need for a change in attitudes. Attitude change may happen for various reasons (see section 2.1.4), and in this case teachers would be one important factor causing the change in students' attitudes since they have an essential role in students' second language acquisition. Thus, teachers should try to offer examples of different varieties of English with equal respect in order to make a difference in students' attitudes. As Wolfram and Christian (1989) state: "the key to attitudinal changes lies in developing respect for the diverse varieties of English".

3.2 Subjects

The present study was carried out among second year students in an upper secondary school in Jyväskylä and students about the same age in two vocational colleges, one of which was in Jyväskylä and the other in Mikkeli. The intention was to have students who were already at a more advanced level in their English studies and who were also old enough to be expected to give accurate answers to a questionnaire. These two different types of schools, i.e. upper secondary school and vocational college, were chosen, because it would be interesting to see if there were any clear differences between the attitudes of the students at those schools, especially since it is often generally assumed that students who liked studying languages and were gifted at them chose to go to upper secondary school rather than vocational college.

A total of 221 students participated in the study, of which 210 students were included in the sample; 11 subjects had to be left out, since they had not filled in the questionnaire properly. Finally, the test group consisted of 117 students from the upper secondary school and 93 students from the vocational college.

3.3 Speech samples

The present study was carried out by means of a tape including four speech samples and a questionnaire. There were four different speech samples: this number being small enough

for the students to be able to concentrate on all of them properly, and yet large enough for the study to draw solid conclusions.

3.3.1 The choice of speakers

The idea was to have four tape-recorded speech samples, which would represent different ways to speak English, e.g. British English, American English, African English etc. Ideally, a matched guise technique would have been used here. In that case, there would have been only one speaker speaking in all four accents. However, no such person was found and thus four speakers from four different countries were chosen. The speakers were African, American, British and Finnish; so there were two native and two non-native speakers of English.

The speakers were all male and aged from 28-32 years in order to minimize other factors than the speech itself affecting the students' attitudes (such as the gender, age or voice quality). In addition to this, they all had an academic education, but none of them came from an extremely wealthy family. Thus, there basically should not be any differences in their social status, either; they all can be said to be members of the middle class.

3.3.2 The choice of text

In order to avoid any advantages the native speakers of English (i.e. the American and the British speakers) could have had if the speakers had just been given a topic to talk about, the speakers were given a text, which they then read aloud and the speech was tape-recorded. The text had to be of the same kind for every speaker so that differences between the topics would not affect the students' attitudes; on the other hand, it could not be exactly the same text, because that could also have some effect on the attitudes. Hearing the same speech for the fourth time could, for example, make the speaker sound either easier to understand or, as Chaika (1982:22) points out, it might start to bore the listeners so much that they may tune out readers. The topics of the texts had to be as

neutral as possible, because the text itself was not to arouse any particular feelings in the students. The texts were also to be quite short and easy to understand.

Based on all the facts mentioned above, the texts chosen were four different horoscopes (see appendix 2) of the following type:

“There’s a strange process at work by which you and a partner will start to get on much better than you have in the past, mainly because you’re both out of step with the world at the same time. Indeed, the best relationships could be those linked by a mutual idiosyncrasy, conservatism or refusal to face up to reality! Bear this in mind, especially after the 11th and towards the end of the month, and you’ll be liberated from the restrictions that society, parents, employers, and authority figures place on you. You may also find that, by looking to the past, you’ll be able to rediscover your goals and set about realising them.” (*New Woman*, March 1995, p.170.)

The horoscopes were similar enough without being exactly the same and although there were some words, which might not be familiar to the students, the general impression was easy enough; after all, the main purpose was not to study students’ understanding of the speech, but the attitudes towards the speaker and the language by his speech style.

3.3.3 The tape-recording of samples

The recording of the samples was produced alone with each speaker in a quiet room at the University of Jyväskylä. First the speaker was allowed to read the text aloud without being recorded and after that he read it aloud again and his speech was recorded by a small tape-recorder. Each text took from forty to fifty seconds to read. The sound quality was not the best possible: there was some sighing noise in the background when playing the tape, but it was not very disturbing and with probability it did not have any significant effect on the results, since none of the students mentioned it when they were asked to write down their comments about the speech samples and the questionnaire.

3.4 The questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study consisted of two sections (see appendix 1): a background section and the actual test section. The background section provides information about the students, such as gender, age etc. The actual test section was divided into two parts: the first part contains questions concerning each speech sample (i.e. each speaker and language variety) separately whereas when answering the questions in the second part, the students had to compare these four speech samples.

The questionnaire was based on various sources: the background section was partly formed on the basis of the questionnaire in a Pro Gradu thesis by Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990) and the adjectival pairs used in section two were formed partly on the basis of studies by Strongman and Woosley (1967) and Alford and Strother (1990). Also a pilot group helped in choosing the best adjectival pairs and questions for the questionnaire.

3.4.1 The background section

The background section of the questionnaire asked for general information about the students and the questions varied from closed questions to opened ones. The questions were the following:

- 1 The name of the school:
- 2 Class / field of study:
- 3 Sex: male / female
- 4 Age:
- 5 Have you visited any English-speaking countries? -no / -yes; where and for how long?
- 6 Your last grade in English:
- 7 Your father's / mother's profession:
- 8 Mention your hobbies or things that interest you (e.g. music, cinema etc.):

Questions 3 and 4 offer some basic information about the student whereas questions 5 and 6 (and also question 8) reveal a student's interest in the English language and culture. Question 7 provides information on a student's social class, even though the class differences are not especially significant in Finland.

3.4.2 The test section

At the beginning of the first part in the test section there were instructions for how to answer the questions with adjectival pairs since the first part contained semantic differential scales with adjectival pairs, such as *interesting - boring*, with the help of which the students should describe their attitudes towards the speaker and the accent. The semantic differential scales used were 5-point scales. A separate rating sheet was provided for the evaluation of each speaker and each accent, only the order of the same six adjectival pairs was alternated on each sheet.

The adjectival pairs describing the speaker were the following:

pleasant - unpleasant	(miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä)
intelligent - stupid	(älykäs - tyhmä)
self-confident - insecure	(itsevarma - epävarma)
natural - pretentious	(luonteva - yritteliäs)
extrovert - introvert	(ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva)
friendly - unfriendly	(ystävällinen - epäystävällinen)

The adjectival pairs describing the language were the following:

beautiful - ugly	(kaunista - rumaa)
fluent - stiff	(sujuvaa - jäykkää)
pleasant - unpleasant	(miellyttävää - epämiellyttävää)
fascinating - boring	(mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää)
intelligible - difficult	(helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista)

well educated - poorly educated (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä)

After listening to each speaker, the students were asked to evaluate the speaker and the language by marking their responses on a five-point semantic differential scale, where number 1 was ranked being the most positive characteristic and number 5 the most negative. Of course, it might be that not all students see the same characteristics positive (for example, *extrovert* might not be such a positive quality for everyone), but since differences in the students' attitudes are being examined in this study, the data are useful.

In addition to the adjectival pairs, there were also some open-ended and closed questions concerning each speaker and language. They were the following:

- Describe the speaker in your own words.
- Describe the language in your own words.
- Does the speaker sound like a native speaker of English?
1 yes 2 no 3 I do not know
- From which country do you think the speaker is?
- To which social class do you think the speaker belongs?
1 upper class
2 middle class
3 working class
4 I do not know

So, in the first part of the test section the students could concentrate on one speaker at a time, whereas in the second part the students had to compare the four speakers (A,B,C and D) by answering the following questions:

- 1 In your opinion, which speaker (A,B,C or D) spoke the best / the worst English?
- 2 Which speaker was the easiest to understand? Why?
- 3 In which of the these four ways would you like to speak English? Why?
- 4 Which speaker would you like to get to know? Why?
- 5 Would you still like to add something concerning the speech samples?

The intention in the second part was to get some reasons for the students' opinions in addition to plain statements. Although this is a study about the attitudes, the question number two was about understanding their speech; however, it was only to ask the subjects which one seemed the easiest to understand and the actual understanding was not measured in this study at all.

3.5 The pilot test

The questionnaire and the speech samples were pretested with 11 respondents in order to see whether they were clear and also extensive enough to form up a productive test. First the respondents listened to the speech samples and while they were listening, they wrote down different adjectives to describe their opinions about the speakers and the language varieties and after examining their notes, one adjectival pair was added to the questionnaire. Many respondents in the pilot group had pointed out that the speakers either spoke fluently and naturally or really concentrated on pronouncing. After this the adjectival pair *natural* - *pretentious* was included in the questionnaire. Otherwise the questionnaire was found adequate: in the opinion of the pilot group, the questions were sufficient and there was a suitable number of them. Thus, there were not too many questions for the students to concentrate on, yet not too few to provide results for the study.

There was, however, some discussion about whether the questionnaire should include questions on understanding the speakers, but finally the group came to the conclusion that it might be more of a hindrance than a help to the study: if the subjects began to concentrate too much on understanding the speakers, their opinions and attitudes towards the speaker and the language itself could become less accurate.

The speech samples were considered fairly short (from forty to fifty seconds) to be listened through only once, and so a decision was made to play the tape twice in the actual test. The topic of speech was good, i.e. the horoscopes; the content did not attract

the listener's attention too much and thus he/she could fully concentrate on the speaker and the language.

3.6 The experiment

The test was carried out in one upper secondary school, Jyväskylän Normaalikoulun lukio, and in two vocational colleges, Jyväskylän ammattioppilaitos and Mikkelin ammattioppilaitos in May, 1995. There were nine different student groups and the testing took place mostly during their English lessons. First, the students were given some general information about the study itself, e.g. who was carrying out the study and why, what was the purpose of the study and how important their co-operation was for the study. They were not told the specific reasons or the aims of the study (some of them, however, came to ask that afterwards). After this the questionnaires were handed out to them.

First, the students had a few minutes for filling in the background section of the questionnaire. When everyone had finished, they were given the instructions for filling in the test section. As it was already mentioned, the students listened to the tape twice. During the first listening they were supposed to fill in the first part of the actual question section, i.e. the part with the adjectival pairs and questions concerning each speaker and accent separately. The tape was paused after each speaker for a few minutes so that everyone had time to fill in the questionnaire properly. However, the students were advised not to think for the answers for a very long time; especially as to the adjectival pairs, the first impression is often the best. During the second listening the students filled in the second part of the test section and this time the tape was played without pauses. The students spent approximately 45 minutes completing the questionnaire.

3.7 The reliability and validity of the test

The reliability of the test is defined by Fowler (1986:84) as the extent to which people in comparable situations will answer questions in a similar way and the validity as the extent to which the answer given means what the researcher wants it to mean. In other words (Triandis 1971:26), reliability refers to the extent to which we obtain information that is free of measurement error and thus, the information provided is stable and similar results should be obtained when the instrument is used more than once to measure the same thing. A perfectly reliable instrument, on the other hand, might not be valid, since the instrument may not have relevance to what it is thought to be measuring, but it may have relevance to some other phenomenon.

In this study an attempt was made to achieve these two objectives by examining previous studies and results and by forming as clear and understandable a questionnaire as possible. Also the pilot group tested the questionnaire and informed that it seemed to measure what it was meant to measure. The reliability of this test was also examined by means of Cronbach's alpha coefficient, which was computed for all sumvariables concerning each speaker and each language. When the alpha coefficient is over 0.5, it is acceptable and when it is 0.7, it is very good (the maximum is 1.0). In this test the lowest alpha coefficient was 0.6894 (the variety of British English) and the highest was 0.8402 (the American speaker) and thus the test can be considered statistically reliable. (All the alpha coefficients are presented in table 1.)

Table 1. Alpha coefficients of sumvariables: the reliability of the test concerning attitudes towards varieties of English and their speakers.

Speaker / Language	Alpha coefficient
the British speaker	0.6920
the variety of British English	0.6894
the African speaker	0.7276
the variety of African English	0.7459
the American speaker	0.8402
the variety of American English	0.8352
the Finnish speaker	0.7208
the variety of Finnish English	0.7702

3.8 Statistical analyses

The processing of the data collected was carried out at the Computing Centre of the University of Jyväskylä by using a SPSS system for MS WINDOWS Release 6.1, and various statistical tests were used to examine the influence of the background factors on the results and correlations between different factors. The statistical tests used were the following:

- T-test
- One-way analysis of variance
- Chi-square test
- Pearson correlation coefficient

By means of the one-way analysis of variance it is possible to test whether there are any significant differences between the means of more than two independent samples overall, without having to test each pair separately (Guilford and Fruchter 1981, Butler 1985). The t-test is used in testing the significance of differences between the means of two independent samples; i.e. whether the difference between these means is statistically

significant. The significance of the correlations is indicated in the text by using the following symbols:

- p.<.001 *** = statistically very significant
- p.<.01 ** = statistically significant
- p.<.05 * = statistically almost significant

According to Baker (1985:112-118), the chi-square test has probably been used more frequently than any other in the study of linguistic phenomena. It enables one to compare the frequencies that are actually observed with those that are expected on the basis of a theoretical model or hypothesis. There are also some important applications of the chi-square test. Firstly, it can be used in cases where one wishes to check the degree to which a mathematical model or theoretical distribution fits a set of data. Secondly, it can be used in cases where one wishes to test whether two characteristics are independent, or are associated in such a way that high frequencies of one characteristic tend to be coupled with high frequencies of another. And, as Guilford et al. (1981:193) point out, one important feature of the chi square test is that it makes it possible to combine several statistics or other values in the same test.

The Pearson correlation coefficient can be used in studying the correlation between two variables, more specifically, variables with an interval or ratio level of measurement (Baker 1985:141-143). Its use assumes that each set of scores is normally distributed, and it takes into account the exact magnitude of each score on each variable.

4 RESULTS

The objective of this study was to find out Finnish students' attitudes towards different varieties of English and their speakers. The study was based on two hypotheses. The first one was that there are differences in the students' attitudes and the second one was that the students would have more positive attitudes towards the native speakers of English and their accents.

This chapter reports the results. Comparisons between the subjects' attitudes towards different varieties of English and their speakers are mostly made by means of the adjectival pairs of the semantic differential scales. Differences between the subjects' attitudes are examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The possible variance of the mean value lies between 1.0 and 5.0. The mean values below 3.0 refer to the positive extreme of the adjectival pair and the mean values over 3.0 refer to the negative side.

Also the questions concerning the speakers' home country, social status and whether or not they were native speakers of English in the subjects' opinion are discussed. In addition, there were the opinions of the subjects' concerning the preferability of the speakers; i.e. which speaker spoke the best / worst English and which speaker was the easiest to understand. The subjects were also asked in which of these four ways would they like to speak English and which speaker would they like to get to know. All these questions are examined by comparing the mean value of each question. Also the open questions in connection with the ones above which asked why the subjects answered the questions the way they did are discussed to some degree.

4.1 Subjects' background

There were a total of 210 subjects, from which 117 (55.7%) were students at upper secondary school and 93 (44.3%) at vocational college. There were 113 (53.8%) female and 97 (46.2%) male students. The average age of the students was 17 years. The

students' knowledge of English was fairly good since there were more students whose last grade in English at school had been "excellent" than those whose grade had been "satisfactory". (Three of the subjects, however, had not marked their grade in the questionnaire.) The grades are presented in table 2. The number of students who had spent one month or more in an English-speaking country was 25 (11.9%) whereas 168 (80%) of them had not been to an English-speaking country at all.

Table 2. Students' last grade in English.

Grade	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
satisfactory	37	17.6	17.9
good	100	47.6	48.3
excellent	70	33.3	33.8
missing	3	1.4	
Total	210	100.0	100.0

After the t-tests on the background factors four groups were chosen to be analyzed in more detail, since they turned out to be significant in comparing the differences between the students' attitudes. The groups are the following:

- the students of upper secondary school (group 1)
- the students of vocational college (group 2)
- the female students (group 3)
- the male students (group 4)

4.2 Attitudes towards the British speaker

4.2.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the British speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 3.

Table 3. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the British speaker by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	upper sec. school	117	2.52**	0.85
	vocat. college	93	2.90	0.96
self-confident - insecure	upper sec. school	117	3.06	0.98
	vocat. college	93	2.92	1.14
natural - pretentious	upper sec. school	117	2.89	1.09
	vocat. college	93	3.08	1.10
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	2.68***	1.01
	vocat. college	93	3.29	0.98
friendly - unfriendly	upper sec. school	117	2.43**	0.96
	vocat. college	93	2.78	1.01
extrovert - introvert	upper sec. school	117	3.49	0.87
	vocat. college	93	3.27	0.98

The overall attitude of the students of upper secondary school (group 1) towards the British speaker appeared to be more positive than negative since the mean value of all the adjectival pairs was 2.85. The overall attitude of the students of vocational college (group 2) was somewhat more negative with the mean value of 3.04. The difference between the mean values was statistically almost significant.

The British speaker was seen most of all as a friendly person by both groups since the mean value of the adjectival pair *friendly - unfriendly* (*ystävällinen - epäystävällinen*) was the lowest by both of them, 2.43 for group 1 and 2.78 for group 2. Group 1, however, was even more strongly of this opinion since the difference between the mean values was statistically significant. The groups also agreed on the second best characteristic of the speaker, that being intelligence. And again the difference between the mean values was statistically significant, group 1 seeing the speaker more intelligent with the mean value of 2.52 (the mean value being 2.90 for group 2). Both groups, however, placed these evaluations on the positive extreme of the semantic differential scales (i.e. the mean value being below 3.0).

The adjectival pair on which the groups disagreed most was *pleasant - unpleasant* (*miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä*); group 1 placing the evaluation on the positive extreme of

the semantic differential scale with the mean value of 2.68 and group 2 placing the evaluation on the negative extreme with the mean value of 3.29. The difference between the mean values was statistically very significant. Also the adjectival pairs *self-confident - insecure* (itsevarma - epävarma) and *natural - pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs) were on the different extremes of the scales. Group 1 saw the speaker more natural, but somewhat insecure, and group 2 saw him somewhat pretentious, but more self-confident. On the negative extreme of the scale for both groups was the adjectival pair *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntatuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva) with the mean values of 3.49 for group 1 and 3.27 for group 2.

Thus, the British speaker is considered quite friendly, intelligent, and introvert by both the students of upper secondary school and the students of vocational college, but on the rest of the adjectival pairs the groups disagreed to some degree. The students of upper secondary school see the speaker quite pleasant, natural, and insecure, whereas the students of vocational college see him somewhat pretentious, but more self-confident. However, although the evaluations are on the different extremes on the scales, the disagreements are not big enough to show statistical significance. And actually the groups have neither very positive nor very negative attitudes towards the British speaker since both overall mean values are quite close to 3.0, which is a 'neutral' point.

4.2.2 The attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the British speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 4.

Table 4. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the British speaker by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	female student	113	2.41***	0.75
	male student	97	3.02	0.98
self-confident - insecure	female student	113	2.93	0.99
	male student	97	3.08	1.12
natural - pretentious	female student	113	2.83*	1.06
	male student	97	3.13	1.11
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	2.72***	0.94
	male student	97	3.23	1.08
friendly - unfriendly	female student	113	2.48	0.95
	male student	97	2.71	1.04
extrovert - introvert	female student	113	3.43	0.82
	male student	97	3.34	1.03

The overall attitudes of the female students (group 3) towards the British speaker were more positive than the attitudes of the male students (group 4) with the mean values of all the adjectival pairs being 2.80 and 3.09, respectively. The difference between these overall mean values was statistically very significant.

The evaluations given by group 3 were more positive than those given by group 4 with the exception of one adjectival pair, *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva), in which the mean value of 3.34 for group 4 was lower than the mean value of 3.43 for group 3. However, both groups saw this characteristic as the least positive feature of the British speaker since this adjectival pair had the highest mean value for both of them. Both groups gave the lowest, i.e. the most positive, evaluations for the adjectival pairs *intelligent - stupid* (älykäs - tyhmä), with the mean values of 2.41 for group 3 and 3.02 for group 4, and *friendly - unfriendly* (ystävällinen - epäystävällinen), the mean values being 2.48 and 2.71, respectively. Group 3, however, evaluated the speaker's intelligence quite a lot higher, since the difference between the mean values was statistically very significant.

Another adjectival pair where the difference between the mean values by the groups was statistically very significant, was *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä)

with the mean value of 2.72 for group 3 and 3.23 for group 4. The adjectival pairs *self-confident* - *insecure* (itsevarma - epävarma) and *natural* - *pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs) were rated on the positive extreme for group 3 with the mean values of 2.93 and 2.83, respectively, and on the negative extreme for group 4 with the corresponding mean values of 3.08 and 3.13.

Thus, there are some statistically significant differences between the mean values for the female and male students, and the female students evaluate the British speaker more positively. Both groups, however, agree mostly on the characteristics of the speaker, i.e. both evaluate him quite friendly and intelligent, but somewhat introvert. Neither group has very strong attitudes since all the mean values were quite close to the central point 3.0.

4.2.3 The speaker's home country and social status

The subjects' opinions of the British speaker's background were studied by using questions concerning the speaker's home country, social status, and whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. Possible differences between the attitudes of the students of upper secondary school, the students of vocational college, the female students, and the male students were examined by comparing the percentual mean values of their answers.

The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the British speaker were divided into the five following groups: England, a Scandinavian country, an European country, the United States of America, and any other country. The subjects' answers are presented in table 5.

Table 5. The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the British speaker.

Country	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
England	69.0	58.6	71.6	57.5	64.3
the USA	6.0	15.7	9.5	11.3	10.4
European country	10.7	8.6	9.5	10.0	9.7
Scandinavian country	7.1	10.0	6.8	10.0	8.4
any other country	7.2	8.1	2.6	11.2	6.9

The majority of the subjects identified the British speaker being English with the total percentage of 64.3%. The highest mean value was for group 3 (71.6%) and the lowest for group 4 (57.5%). The speaker was considered American by 10.4% of the subjects; the lowest mean value was for group 1 (6.0%) and the highest for group 2 (15.7%). The speaker was from a Scandinavian country or an European country in the opinion of 18.1% of the subjects.

One of the questions concerning the speaker's background was the one asking whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. The subjects' answers are presented in table 6.

Table 6. The subjects' answers to the question "Is the speaker a native or a non-native speaker of English?"

The speaker is a ... speaker of English.	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
native	59.0	45.2	60.2	44.3	52.9
non-native	19.7	29.0	19.5	28.9	23.8
do not know	21.4	25.8	20.4	26.8	23.3

The majority of the subjects (52.9%) also thought that the speaker was a native speaker of English. The highest mean value was again for group 3 (60.2%). However, over half of the subjects in groups 2 and 4 either thought that the speaker was a non-native speaker or did not know whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. About one fifth of all subjects could not tell whether the speaker was a native or a non-native speaker of English.

The subjects also answered the question concerning the speaker's social status, i.e. was he a member of the upper class, the middle class, or the working class. The subjects' answers are presented in table 7.

Table 7. The subjects' answers concerning the social class of the British speaker.

Social class	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
upper class	20.5	15.1	15.0	21.6	18.1
middle class	65.0	64.5	71.7	56.7	64.8
working class	5.1	7.5	1.8	11.3	6.2
do not know	9.4	12.9	11.5	10.3	11.0

Most of the subjects (64.8%) considered the British speaker belonging to the middle social class; most strongly of this opinion was group 3 with the mean value of 71.7%. The distribution between the social classes was the greatest among group 4. The speaker was considered a member of the middle class by 56.7%, a member of the upper class by 21.6%, and a member of the working class by 11.3% of group 4. Whereas, for example, only 1.8% of group 3 thought that the speaker belonged to the working class.

Thus, the majority of the subjects see the British speaker as an English person and a native speaker of English who belongs to the middle social class. It seems, however, that the students of upper secondary school and the female students identify the speaker's home country a little better. One interesting point is that 64.3% of all the subjects see the speaker as an English person, but only 52.9% of them think that he is a native speaker of English. There are no significant differences between the opinions of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college concerning the social status of the speaker. In contrast, the opinions of the female and male students differ to some degree so that the female students see the speaker quite strongly as a member of the middle class. The male students' opinions are more diverse.

4.2.4 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the British speaker is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 8. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the speaker's characteristics are summarized.

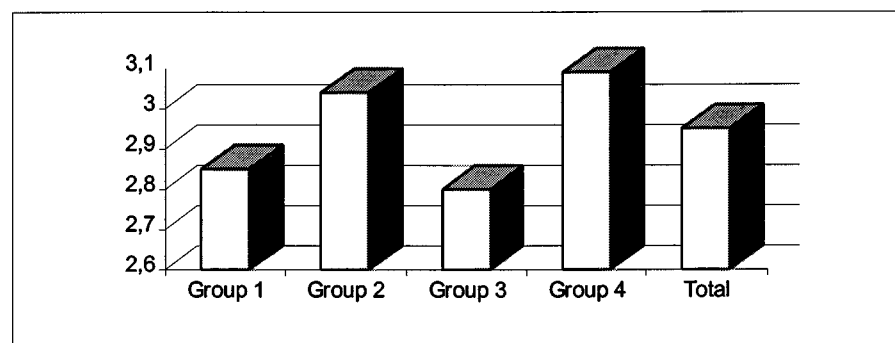


Figure 8. The mean values for the British speaker given by each group.

Group 1 = 2.85	Group 3 = 2.80	Total = 2.95
Group 2 = 3.04	Group 4 = 3.09	

In summary, the attitudes of all four groups towards the British speaker are quite neutral since the mean value of all adjectival pairs is close to 3.0 for each group. On the whole, the British speaker got the mean value of 2.95 so he is somewhat on the positive extreme of the scale. It seems that the students of upper secondary school and the female students evaluate him more positively than the students of vocational college or the male students.

The majority of the subjects seem to identify the British speaker being English and belonging to the middle social class. Most of the subjects also consider him being a native speaker of English. However, over a half of the students of vocational college and the male students were either of the opinion that the speaker was not a native speaker or they were uncertain if he was or not. All four groups mostly agreed on the personality characteristics of the British speaker. He is considered quite a friendly and intelligent person, but somewhat introvert. The students of upper secondary school and the female students seem to think that he is also rather pleasant.

4.3 Attitudes towards the variety of British English

4.3.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the variety of British English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 9.

Table 9. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of British English by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	upper sec. school	117	2.58	0.83
	vocat. college	93	2.68	0.97
intelligible - difficult	upper sec. school	117	3.40**	1.03
	vocat. college	93	3.78	0.97
fluent - stiff	upper sec. school	117	2.49*	1.02
	vocat. college	93	2.88	1.21
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	2.91***	1.05
	vocat. college	93	3.49	0.93
fascinating - boring	upper sec. school	117	4.21	0.77
	vocat. college	93	4.37	0.76
beautiful - ugly	upper sec. school	117	2.90***	0.92
	vocat. college	93	3.47	0.96

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of British English was somewhat negative with the mean values of all adjectival pairs 3.08 for group 1 and 3.45 for group 2. The difference between the means was statistically very significant. Group 1 gave more positive evaluations to the variety on each semantic differential scale, but the order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was almost the same for both groups. Only the first two adjectival pairs were in a different order; the lowest mean value (2.49) for group 1 was for the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää) and the second lowest (2.58) for *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä). Group 2 had the same two adjectival pairs with

the lowest mean values (2.68 and 2.88), but in a different order. Although the rest of the adjectival pairs were in the same order, there were some points to be noted.

With the adjectival pairs *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa) and *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävää - epämiellyttävää) the attitudes of group 1 could be defined with the adjectives beautiful and pleasant with the mean values of 2.90 and 2.91 (i.e. below 3.0), whereas the attitudes of group 2 could be defined with the adjectives ugly and unpleasant with the mean values of 3.47 and 3.49 (i.e. over 3.0). Although the differences between the mean values of both of these adjectival pairs were statistically very significant, the attitudes of neither group were not very strong since the mean values were so close to the neutral point 3.0.

Both groups had quite a strong negative attitude towards the *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää) dimension with the mean values of 4.21 for group 1 and 4.37 for group 2. Thus the variety of British English is seen quite fluent and well-educated, but not very pleasant or beautiful by both the students of upper secondary school and vocational college. They also find it boring and somewhat difficult to understand.

4.3.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the variety of British English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 10.

Table 10. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of British English by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	female student	113	2.43***	0.83
	male student	97	2.85	0.92
intelligible - difficult	female student	113	3.46	0.93
	male student	97	3.70	1.11
fluent - stiff	female student	113	2.51*	1.08
	male student	97	2.84	1.16
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	2.96**	1.02
	male student	97	3.41	1.01
fascinating - boring	female student	113	4.16*	0.82
	male student	97	4.42	0.69
beautiful - ugly	female student	113	2.89***	0.91
	male student	97	3.45	0.98

Both groups saw the variety of British English in a somewhat negative way with the mean values of all adjectival pairs of 3.07 for group 3 and 3.45 for group 4. The difference between the mean values was statistically very significant. Group 3 gave the variety more positive evaluations than group 4 since the mean value for each adjectival pair was lower for group 3. The lowest mean values for both groups were for the adjectival pairs *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä) being 2.43 for group 3 and 2.85 for group 4, and *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa- jäykkää) being 2.51 and 2.84, respectively. The difference between the mean values in the previous adjectival pair, however, was statistically very significant. Another adjectival pair that was perceived more positively by group 3 with a statistically significant difference when compared with group 4, was *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa), the mean values being 2.89 and 3.45 respectively.

The most negative evaluations by both groups were provided on the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää), the mean values being 4.16 for group 3 and 4.42 for group 4. Also the adjectival pair *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista) got somewhat negative evaluations by both groups with the mean value of 3.40 for group 3 and 3.78 for group 4. Again the difference between the mean values was large enough to be statistically significant.

Thus, the variety of British English is considered quite well educated and fluent, but boring and somewhat difficult to understand by both groups. However, the female students see it quite pleasant and beautiful, whereas the male students find it somewhat unpleasant and ugly.

4.3.3 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the variety of British English is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 11. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the characteristics of the variety are summarized.

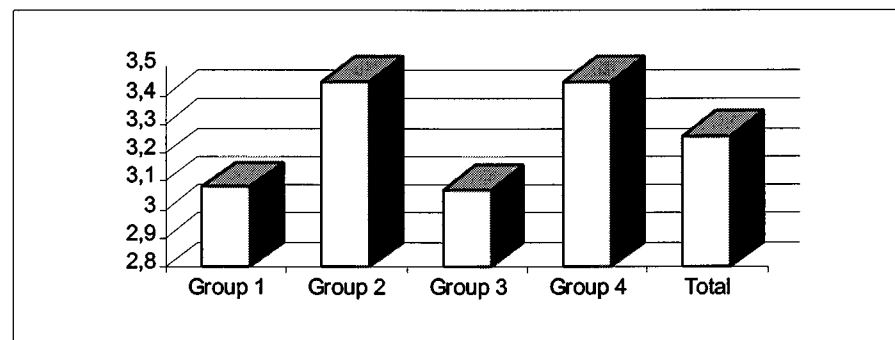


Figure 11. The mean values for the variety of British English given by each group.

Group 1 = 3.08	Group 3 = 3.07	Total = 3.26
Group 2 = 3.45	Group 4 = 3.45	

The overall attitude of all four groups towards the variety of British English is somewhat negative since the mean value of all adjectival pairs is over 3.0 for each group. The students of upper secondary school and the female students, however, seem to appreciate the variety somewhat more than the students of vocational college or the male students.

The variety of British English is considered quite fluent and well educated. It is, however, boring and somewhat difficult to understand. The students of upper secondary school and

the female students find it more pleasant and more beautiful than the students of vocational college or the male students.

4.4 Attitudes towards the African speaker

4.4.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the African speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 12.

Table 12. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the African speaker by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	upper sec. school	117	3.13	0.91
	vocat. college	93	3.37	0.94
self-confident - insecure	upper sec. school	117	3.26	1.00
	vocat. college	93	3.29	1.08
natural - pretentious	upper sec. school	117	3.94	0.94
	vocat. college	93	3.86	1.06
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	3.04***	1.00
	vocat. college	93	3.57	1.00
friendly - unfriendly	upper sec. school	117	2.56**	0.89
	vocat. college	93	2.96	0.91
extrovert - introvert	upper sec. school	117	2.79	0.89
	vocat. college	93	3.01	0.98

The overall attitude of both groups towards the African speaker appeared to be more negative than positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs concerning the speaker was 3.12 for group 1 and 3.34 for group 2. The attitudes of group 1 were, however, somewhat more positive since the difference between the mean values was statistically almost significant.

The speaker was seen most of all as a friendly person by both groups since the mean value of the adjectival pair *friendly - unfriendly* (*ystävällinen - epäystävällinen*) was the lowest for both of them. Group 1, however, was more strongly of this opinion since the difference between the mean values (2.56 for group 1 and 2.96 for group 2) was statistically significant. In addition, this was the only adjectival pair concerning the speaker which was placed on the positive extreme of the semantic differential scale for group 2.

The second lowest mean value for both groups was given to the adjectival pair *extrovert - introvert* (*ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva*), and again the mean value for group 1 was lower (2.79). Thus group 1 saw the speaker somewhat more extrovert than introvert, but the opinion of group 2 was almost neutral with the mean value of 3.01. In contrast, group 1 placed the adjectival pair *pleasant - unpleasant* (*miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä*) almost on the neutral point with the mean value of 3.04, whereas group 2 found the speaker rather unpleasant with the mean value of 3.57. This difference between the mean values was statistically very significant.

The groups almost agreed on the adjectival pairs *self-confident - insecure* (*itsevarma - epävarma*) and *intelligent - stupid* (*älykäs - tyhmä*). Both groups rated the speaker on the negative extreme of the scale, but still quite close to the neutral point. There was only one adjectival pair in which the mean value given for group 2 was lower; i.e. *natural - pretentious* (*luonteva - yritteliäs*) which got the highest mean value by both groups (3.94 for group 1 and 3.86 for group 2).

Thus the African speaker is seen as rather friendly, but somewhat insecure and stupid by both the students of upper secondary school and vocational college. Both groups also think that he is pretentious in his speech. In addition, the students of upper secondary school see him somewhat extrovert but neither pleasant nor unpleasant, whereas the students of vocational college see him neither extrovert nor introvert but rather unpleasant.

4.4.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the African speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 13.

Table 13. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the African speaker by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	female student	113	2.99***	0.76
	male student	97	3.52	1.02
self-confident - insecure	female student	113	3.18	1.06
	male student	97	3.38	0.99
natural - pretentious	female student	113	3.88	0.96
	male student	97	3.94	1.03
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	3.07**	0.99
	male student	97	3.52	1.04
friendly - unfriendly	female student	113	2.64	0.93
	male student	97	2.85	0.91
extrovert - introvert	female student	113	2.73**	0.91
	male student	97	3.08	0.93

The overall attitude of the female students towards the African speaker appeared to be quite neutral with the mean value of all adjectival pairs of 3.08. The overall attitude of the male students was somewhat more negative with the mean value of 3.38. The difference between the mean values was statistically very significant.

Group 3 rated the speaker lower on each semantic differential scale, i.e. it evaluated each characteristic of the speaker more positively than group 4. Both groups rated the adjectival pair *friendly - unfriendly* (ystävällinen - epäystävällinen) with the lowest mean value (2.64 and 2.85 respectively), so the speaker was seen quite friendly by both groups. This was the only adjectival pair which had a mean value lower than 3.0 for group 4.

Thus it was also the only feature of the speaker which was perceived as a positive quality by group 4.

The second best characteristic of the speaker was rated on the adjectival pair *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva) by both groups with the mean values of 2.73 for group 3 and 3.08 for group 4. Thus group 3 saw the speaker somewhat extrovert, whereas the attitude of group 4 was quite neutral with the mean value close to 3.0. The difference between the mean values was statistically significant. The groups also almost agreed on the ratings on the adjectival pairs *self-confident - insecure* (itsevarma - epävarma) and *natural - pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs). They found the speaker pretentious in his speech with the mean values of 3.88 for group 3 and 3.94 for group 4. The speaker was also experienced somewhat insecure with the mean values of 3.18 and 3.38, respectively.

The ratings of the groups differed most on the adjectival pair *intelligent - stupid* (älykäs - tyhmä) with the mean value of 2.99 by group 3 and 3.52 by group 4. It indicates that group 3 found the speaker neither intelligent nor stupid, whereas group 4 thought that he was rather stupid. The difference between the mean values was statistically very significant. The difference between the mean values of the adjectival pair *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä) was also statistically significant (3.07 for group 3 and 3.52 for group 4). Group 3 thought that the speaker was not pleasant, but not very unpleasant either, whereas group 4 found him quite unpleasant.

Thus, both the female and the male students find the African speaker rather friendly and somewhat insecure. He is also pretentious in his speech. In addition, the female students think that he is rather extrovert and the male students find him quite stupid and unpleasant.

4.4.3 The speaker's home country and social status

The subjects' opinions of the African speaker's background were studied by using questions concerning the speaker's home country, social status, and whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. Possible differences between the attitudes of the students of upper secondary school, the students of vocational college, the female students, and the male students were examined by comparing the percentual mean values of their answers.

The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the African speaker were divided into the seven following groups: Africa, a European country, a Mediterranean country, India, China, an Arabic country, and any other country. The subjects' answers are presented in table 14.

Table 14. The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the African speaker.

Country	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
Africa	33.7	32.4	31.4	34.8	33.1
European country	11.5	36.6	17.4	25.8	21.7
Medditerranean country	12.5	7.0	14.0	6.7	10.3
India	13.5	4.2	11.6	7.9	9.7
China	10.6	8.5	7.0	12.4	9.7
Arabic country	8.7	7.0	11.6	4.5	8.0
any other country	9.6	4.2	7.0	7.9	7.4

About one third of the subjects identified the speaker being African with the total percentage of 33.1%. The highest mean value was for group 4 (34.8%) and the lowest for group 3 (31.4%). The speaker was from an European country in the opinion of 21.7% of the subjects, the highest mean value being again for group 4 (25.8%), but the lowest for group 1 (11.5%). The mean values for a Mediterranean country, India, an Arabic country, or any other country varied from 7.4% to 10.3%.

In addition to the question concerning the speaker's home country, there was a question whether the speaker was a native or a non-native speaker of English. The subjects' answers are presented in table 15.

Table 15. The subjects' answers to the question "Is the speaker a native or a non-native speaker of English."

The speaker is a ... speaker of English	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
native	1.7	7.5	4.4	4.1	4.3
non-native	97.4	86.0	93.8	90.7	92.4
do not know	0.9	6.5	1.8	5.2	3.3

The majority of the subjects (92.4%) thought that the African speaker was a non-native speaker of English. The highest mean value was for group 1 (97.4%) and the lowest for group 2 (86.0%). Only 4.3% of the subjects considered the speaker being a native speaker of English and 3.3% did not know whether he was a native or a non-native speaker. The highest mean value in both of these cases was for group 2, being 7.5% and 6.5%, respectively. In contrast, only 0.9% of group 1 was uncertain about whether the speaker was a native or a non-native speaker of English.

The subjects also answered a question about the speaker's social status, i.e. was he a member of the upper class, the middle class, or the working class. The subjects' answers are presented in table 16.

Table 16. The subjects' answers concerning the social class of the African speaker.

Social class	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
upper class	6.8	4.3	6.2	5.2	5.7
middle class	26.5	28.0	25.7	28.9	27.1
working class	49.6	52.7	47.8	54.6	51.0
do not know	17.1	15.1	20.4	11.3	16.2

About a half of the subjects (51%) considered the African speaker belonging to the working class. However, the percentage was below 50% for groups 1 and 3 (49.6% and 47.8%, respectively) and over 50% for groups 2 and 4 (52.7% and 54.6%, respectively). The speaker was identified being a member of the middle class by 27.1% of the subjects and 5.7% of the subjects considered him being a member of the upper class. The percentage of the subjects who could not tell the speaker's social class was 16.2%, the highest mean value was for group 3 (20.4%) and the lowest for group 4 (11.3%).

Thus, the African speaker is mostly seen as an African person and a non-native speaker of English who belongs to the working class. The speaker's home country was, however, identified only by about one third of the subjects, but there were not any large differences between the mean values of different groups. The students of upper secondary school seem to be quite sure about the speaker being a non-native speaker of English, whereas the opinions of the students of vocational college are more diverse. The students of vocational college and the male students seem to rank the speaker belonging to a lower social class than the students of upper secondary school and the female students. But, in contrast, there appear to be more students in the two latter groups who cannot tell the social class of the speaker.

4.4.4 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the African speaker is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 17. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the speaker's characteristics are summarized.

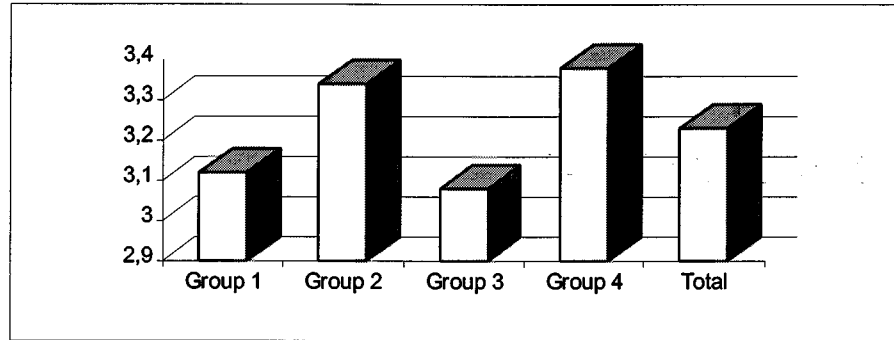


Figure 17. The mean values for the African speaker given by each group.

Group 1 = 3.12 Group 3 = 3.08 Total = 3.23
 Group 2 = 3.34 Group 4 = 3.38

The overall attitude of all four groups towards the African speaker is somewhat negative since the mean value of all adjectival pairs for each group is on the negative extreme of the scale. It seems, however, that the attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and the female students are quite neutral since the mean values for these two groups are close to 3.0. Thus, the students of vocational college and the male students seem to have more negative attitudes towards the African speaker than the students of upper secondary school or the female students.

About one third of the subjects seem to identify the African speaker being African and about all of them (92.4%) consider him being a non-native speaker of English. Over half of the students of vocational college and the male students, and almost a half of the students of upper secondary school and the female students seem to find him as a member of the working class.

The African speaker is considered quite a friendly, but insecure person who is pretentious in his speech by all groups. With the exception of the female students, all groups also find him quite stupid. In addition, in the opinion of the students of vocational college and the male students, he seems to be rather unpleasant. Furthermore, the students of upper secondary school and the female students think that he is fairly extrovert.

4.5 Attitudes towards the variety of African English

4.5.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the variety of African English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 18.

Table 18. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of African English by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	upper sec. school	117	3.44	0.85
	vocat. college	93	3.39	0.90
intelligible - difficult	upper sec. school	117	3.52***	1.26
	vocat. college	93	3.95	1.09
fluent - stiff	upper sec. school	117	4.32	0.78
	vocat. college	93	4.20	1.06
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	3.60**	0.87
	vocat. college	93	3.92	0.78
fascinating - boring	upper sec. school	117	3.79	0.92
	vocat. college	93	4.03	1.00
beautiful - ugly	upper sec. school	117	4.12	0.82
	vocat. college	93	4.00	0.83

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of African English was negative with the mean value of 3.80 for group 1 and 3.92 for group 2. Group 1 gave the variety more positive evaluations on three semantic differential scales and group 2 on the other three. The order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was almost the same by both groups.

The lowest mean value for both groups was for the adjectival pair *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä) being 3.44 for group 1 and 3.39 for group 2. Thus both groups found the variety rather poorly educated. The second and the third lowest

mean values for both groups were given to the adjectival pairs *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista), the mean values being 3.52 for group 1 and 3.95 for group 2, and *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävää - epämiellyttävää), the mean values being 3.60 and 3.92, respectively. Thus both groups found the variety rather difficult and unpleasant. Group 1, however, perceived these adjectival pairs more positively with a statistically significant difference.

In contrast, group 2 perceived the adjectival pair *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa) more positively than group 1. The attitude, however, cannot be said to be very positive since the mean value was as high as 4.0. Both groups saw the variety most of all as stiff since they provided the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää) with the highest mean value, 4.32 for group 1 and 4.20 for group 2. Also the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää) got high mean values both for group 1 (3.79) and for group 2 (4.03), so both groups found the variety boring.

Thus, the variety of African English is perceived quite negatively by both the students of upper secondary school and the students of vocational college. It is considered stiff, boring and ugly, and somewhat poorly educated. The students of upper secondary school, however, seem to find it somewhat less unpleasant and less difficult to understand.

4.5.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the variety of African English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 19.

Table 19. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of African English by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	female student	113	3.30*	0.81
	male student	97	3.55	0.92
intelligible - difficult	female student	113	3.59	1.21
	male student	97	3.85	1.18
fluent - stiff	female student	113	4.24	0.80
	male student	97	4.30	1.03
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	3.56***	0.82
	male student	97	3.96	0.83
fascinating - boring	female student	113	3.76*	0.92
	male student	97	4.05	0.99
beautiful - ugly	female student	113	3.99	0.84
	male student	97	4.15	0.81

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of African English was negative with the mean value of 3.74 for group 3 and 3.98 for group 4. The difference between the mean values was statistically significant. Group 3 also evaluated the variety more positively on each adjectival pair. The order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was almost the same for both groups.

Both groups found the variety rather poorly educated since the lowest mean value by both groups was for the adjectival pair *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä) being 3.30 for group 3 and 3.55 for group 4. The difference between the mean values was statistically almost significant, so the attitude of group 3 was a little more positive. The second and the third lowest mean values by both groups were for the adjectival pairs *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista), being 3.59 for group 3 and 3.85 for group 4, and *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävää - epämiellyttävää), being 3.56 and 3.96, respectively. Group 4, however, found the variety much more unpleasant since the difference between the mean values was statistically very significant.

Both groups considered the variety boring and ugly with the mean values of 3.76 for group 3 and 4.05 by group 4 for the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring*

(mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää). The mean values for the adjectival pair *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa) were 3.99 and 4.15, respectively. The highest, i.e. the most negative mean value for both groups was given for the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää), being 4.24 for group 3 and 4.30 for group 4.

Thus, both the female and the male students consider the variety of African English most of all stiff. They also see it as ugly and boring. In addition, both groups find it rather difficult to understand and poorly educated. The female students, however, seem to have somewhat more positive attitudes towards the variety than the male students. They, for example, find the variety much less unpleasant than the male students.

4.5.3 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the variety of African English is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 20. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the characteristics of the variety are summarized.

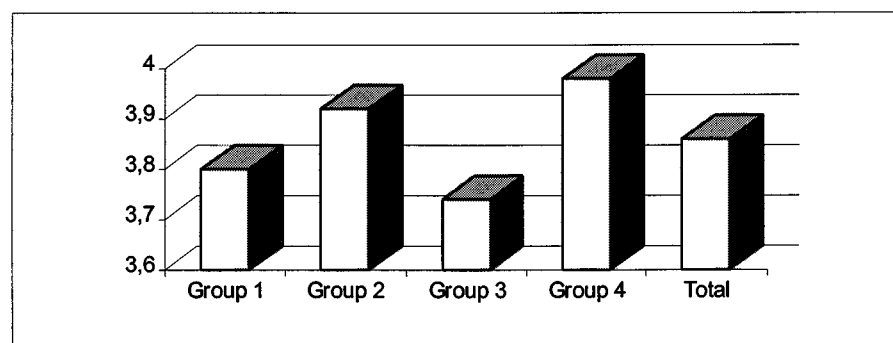


Figure 20. The mean values for the variety of African English given by each group.

Group 1 = 3.80	Group 3 = 3.74	Total = 3.86
Group 2 = 3.92	Group 4 = 3.98	

The overall attitude of all four groups towards the variety of African English seems to be rather negative since the mean value of all adjectival pairs is close to 4.0 for each group. The attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and the female students, however,

have somewhat more positive attitudes towards the variety than the students of vocational college or the male students.

In summary, all groups see the variety of African English most of all as stiff. They also find it ugly and boring. In addition, it is rather difficult to understand and it sounds somewhat poorly educated. In the opinion of the students of upper secondary school and the female students it is quite unpleasant, whereas the students of vocational college and the male students find it even more unpleasant.

4.6 Attitudes towards the American speaker

4.6.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the American speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 21.

Table 21. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the American speaker by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	upper sec. school	117	2.26	0.80
	vocat. college	93	2.29	1.03
self-confident - insecure	upper sec. school	117	2.31	1.00
	vocat. college	93	2.32	1.05
natural - pretentious	upper sec. school	117	2.15	1.04
	vocat. college	93	2.45	1.26
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	2.21*	0.91
	vocat. college	93	2.55	1.05
friendly - unfriendly	upper sec. school	117	2.31	0.82
	vocat. college	93	2.45	0.94
extrovert - introvert	upper sec. school	117	2.58	0.96
	vocat. college	93	2.62	1.03

The overall attitude of both groups towards the American speaker appeared to be positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs concerning the speaker was 2.30 for group 1 and 2.45 for group 2. Group 1 evaluated the speaker more positively on each semantic differential scale. Even though there were not any statistically significant differences between the mean values of the adjectival pairs by the groups, the order of the pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was different, with the exception of one pair. Both groups rated the adjectival pair *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva) with the highest, i.e. most negative mean value. However, since both mean values were below 3.0 (being 2.58 for group 1 and 2.62 for group 2), the speaker was seen as rather extrovert.

Group 1 saw the speaker most of all as natural, pleasant, and intelligent; the mean values being 2.15 for the adjectival pair *natural - pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs), 2.21 for *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä), and 2.26 for *intelligent - stupid* (älykäs - tyhmä). In contrast, group 2 saw the speaker as intelligent, self-confident, and natural; the mean values being 2.29 for the adjectival pair *intelligent - stupid*, 2.32 for *self-confident - insecure* (itsevarma - epävarma), and 2.45 for *natural - pretentious*. The mean values, however, were so close to each other that there were not any great differences between the attitudes of the groups.

Since all the mean values were lower than 2.62, the American speaker was perceived very positively by both the students of upper secondary school and vocational college. He is considered natural, intelligent, friendly, and self-confident by both groups. He is also rather extrovert in the opinion of both groups. In addition, even though the students of vocational college find him quite pleasant, the students of upper secondary school seem to find him even more pleasant.

4.6.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the American speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 22.

Table 22. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the American speaker by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	female student	113	2.11**	0.72
	male student	97	2.46	1.05
self-confident - insecure	female student	113	2.22	0.94
	male student	97	2.42	1.10
natural - pretentious	female student	113	2.10*	1.04
	male student	97	2.51	1.23
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	2.12***	0.93
	male student	97	2.64	0.98
friendly - unfriendly	female student	113	2.19***	0.84
	male student	97	2.59	0.88
extrovert - introvert	female student	113	2.49	0.96
	male student	97	2.73	1.02

The overall attitude of both groups towards the American speaker appeared to be positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs concerning the speaker was 2.20 for group 3 and 2.56 for group 4. The difference between the mean values, however, was statistically very significant. Group 3 also evaluated the speaker more positively on each semantic differential scale. Thus group 3 appeared to have even more positive attitudes than group 4. The order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was somewhat different between the groups.

Group 3 saw the speaker most of all as natural with the mean value of 2.10 for the adjectival pair *natural - pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs). Group 4 rated this adjectival pair with the third lowest mean value of 2.51. The difference between the mean values was statistically almost significant. In contrast, group 4 saw the speaker most of all as

rather self-confident with the mean value of 2.42 for the adjectival pair *self-confident - insecure* (itsevarma - epävarma). Group 3 rated this adjectival pair with the fifth lowest mean value of 2.22. The mean value for group 3, however, was lower than the mean value for group 4, so group 3 actually saw the speaker as more self-confident.

The ratings of the groups differed most on the adjectival pairs *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä) and *friendly - unfriendly* (ystävällinen - epäystävällinen). Group 3 saw the speaker as pleasant with the mean value of 2.12, whereas group 4 saw him as quite pleasant with the mean value of 2.64. Correspondingly, group 3 found the speaker friendly and group 4 thought that he was quite friendly with the mean values of 2.19 and 2.59, respectively. The differences between the mean values were statistically very significant in both cases.

Both groups rated the adjectival pair *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva) with the highest mean value, i.e. they ranked this characteristic being as the most negative quality of the speaker. However, since the mean values given were 2.49 by group 3 and 2.73 by group 4, both groups found the speaker rather extrovert.

Thus, both the female and the male students seem to have rather positive attitudes towards the American speaker, the attitudes of the female students being even somewhat more positive. The female students find the speaker natural, intelligent, pleasant, friendly, self-confident, and rather extrovert. The male students find him quite self-confident, intelligent, and natural. They also see him as rather friendly, pleasant, and extrovert.

4.6.3 The speaker's home country and social status

The subjects' opinions of the American speaker's background were studied by using questions concerning the speaker's home country, social status, and whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. Possible differences between the attitudes of the students of upper secondary school, the students of vocational college, the female

students, and the male students were examined by comparing the percentual mean values of their answers.

The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the American speaker were divided into the five following groups: the United States of America, England, a European country, Australia, and any other country. The subjects' answers are presented in table 23.

Table 23. The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the American speaker.

Country	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total
USA	75.7	52.7	73.0	59.1	66.1
England	14.6	23.0	16.9	19.3	18.1
European country	6.8	20.3	10.1	14.8	12.4
Australia	1.9	1.4	0.0	3.4	1.7
any other country	1.0	2.6	0.0	3.4	1.7

The majority of the subjects identified the speaker being American with the total percentage of 66.1%. The highest mean value was for group 1 (75.7%) and the lowest for group 2 (52.7%). The speaker was considered coming from England by 12.4% of the subjects. However, only 6.8% of group 1 suspected the speaker being from some European country, whereas the corresponding percentage for group 2 was 20.3%. In addition, 1.7% of the subjects thought that the speaker was from Australia, and 1.7% thought that he came from any other country.

One of the questions concerning the speaker's background was the one asking whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. The subjects' answers to this question are presented in table 24.

Table 24. The subjects' answers to the question "Is the speaker a native or a non-native speaker of English?"

The speaker is a ... of English.	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total
native	82.9	67.7	74.3	78.4	76.2
non-native	8.5	20.4	15.0	12.4	13.8
do not know	8.5	11.8	10.6	9.3	10.0

The majority of the subjects (76.2%) identified the speaker being a native speaker of English. The highest mean value was again for group 1 (82.9%) and the lowest for group 2 (67.7%). The total of 13.8% of the subjects thought that the speaker was a non-native speaker. Whereas only 8.5% of group 1 was of this opinion, the corresponding percentage by group 2 was as high as 20.4%. A total of 10.0% of the subjects could not tell whether the speaker was a native or a non-native speaker of English.

The subjects also answered the question concerning the speaker's social status, i.e. was he a member of the upper class, the middle class, or the working class. The subjects' answers are presented in table 25.

Table 25. The subjects' answers concerning the social status of the American speaker.

Social class	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total
upper class	18.8	24.7	21.2	21.6	21.4
middle class	73.5	54.8	69.9	59.8	65.2
working class	1.7	9.7	1.8	9.3	5.2
do not know	6.0	10.8	7.1	9.3	8.1

The majority of the subjects (65.2%) considered the American speaker belonging to the middle class, the highest mean value being for group 1 (73.5%) and the lowest for group 2 (54.8%). Over one fifth of the subjects (21.4%), however, thought that the speaker was a member of the upper class. Only 5.2% of the subjects considered him belonging to the

working class. However, over 9% of groups 2 and 4 was of this opinion, whereas the corresponding percentage for groups 1 and 3 was below 2%.

Thus, the American speaker is mostly seen as an American person and a native speaker of English who belongs to the middle social class. It seems, however, that the students of upper secondary school identify the speaker's background better than the other groups. For example, the opinions of the students of vocational college are more diverse. In contrast, the female students seem to identify the speaker's home country and social class better than the male students, whereas the male students appear to be more sure about the speaker being a native speaker of English.

4.6.4 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the American speaker is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 26. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the speaker's characteristics are summarized.

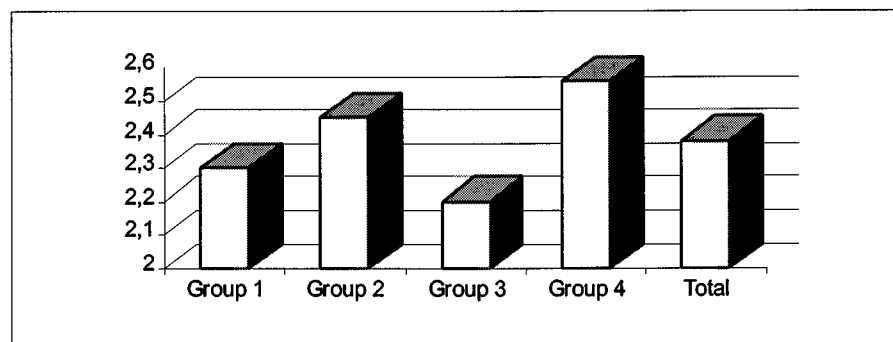


Figure 26. The mean values for the American speaker given by each group.

Group 1 = 2.30	Group 3 = 2.20	Total = 2.38
Group 2 = 2.45	Group 4 = 2.56	

The overall attitude of all four groups towards the American speaker appears to be positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs is on the positive extreme of the scale for each group. The students of upper secondary school and the female students seem to

have somewhat more positive attitudes towards the speaker than the students of vocational college or the male students.

The majority of the subjects seem to identify the American speaker being American and a native speaker of English who is a member of the middle class. He is considered natural, intelligent, and self-confident by all groups. All groups also see him as friendly and rather extrovert. In addition, the students of vocational college and the male students find him quite pleasant, whereas the students of upper secondary school and the female students find him even more pleasant.

4.7 Attitudes towards the variety of American English

4.7.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the variety of American English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 27.

Table 27. The mean values of the adjectival pairs describing the variety of American English by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	upper sec. school	117	2.24	0.79
	vocat. college	93	2.11	0.95
intelligible - difficult	upper sec. school	117	1.89***	0.83
	vocat. college	93	2.44	1.19
fluent - stiff	upper sec. school	117	1.83**	0.85
	vocat. college	93	2.28	1.32
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	2.17*	0.86
	vocat. college	93	2.53	1.16
fascinating - boring	upper sec. school	117	3.00	1.04
	vocat. college	93	3.18	1.20
beautiful - ugly	upper sec. school	117	2.32***	0.90
	vocat. college	93	2.75	1.00

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of American English appeared to be positive with the mean values of all adjectival pairs being 2.24 for group 1 and 2.55 for group 2. The difference between the mean values was statistically significant. Thus group 1 turned out to have even more positive attitudes towards the variety. Group 1 also evaluated the variety more positively on each semantic differential scale, except for one; group 2 saw the variety most of all as well educated with the mean value of 2.11 for the adjectival pair *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä). The corresponding mean value for group 1, however, was 2.24, i.e. the subjects in group 1 also found the variety well educated.

Group 1, in contrast, saw the variety as very fluent and easy to understand since the mean value for the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää) was 1.83 and for *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista) 1.89. Group 2 found the variety fluent and quite intelligible with the mean values of 2.28 and 2.44, respectively. The difference between the mean values was statistically significant on the first adjectival pair and statistically very significant on the second one. Another adjectival pair which was evaluated more positively by group 1 with a statistically significant difference was *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa). Thus group 1 found the variety beautiful with the mean value of 2.32 and group 2 somewhat less beautiful with the mean value of 2.75.

In addition, group 1 saw the variety as neither fascinating nor boring with the mean value of 3.0 for the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää). Group 2, in contrast, found it a little boring with the mean value of 3.18. Furthermore, in the opinion of group 2, the variety was rather pleasant with the mean value of 2.53, whereas group 1 found it more pleasant with the mean value of 2.17.

Thus, both the students of upper secondary school and vocational college seem to have positive attitudes towards the variety of American English, the attitudes of the first group being somewhat more positive. The students of upper secondary school see the variety most of all as very easy to understand and very fluent. They also find it pleasant, well educated, and beautiful, but neither fascinating nor boring. In contrast, the students of

vocational college see the variety as well educated, fluent, and quite easy to understand. In their opinion, it is also rather pleasant and beautiful, but a little boring.

4.7.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the variety of American English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 28.

Table 28. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of American English by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	female student	113	2.14	0.77
	male student	97	2.23	0.97
intelligible - difficult	female student	113	1.86***	0.87
	male student	97	2.45	1.13
fluent - stiff	female student	113	1.91	0.95
	male student	97	2.16	1.26
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	2.04***	0.83
	male student	97	2.67	1.11
fascinating - boring	female student	113	2.84***	1.12
	male student	97	3.36	1.04
beautiful - ugly	female student	113	2.23***	0.89
	male student	97	2.85	0.95

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of American English appeared to be positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs concerning the speaker was 2.17 for group 3 and 2.62 for group 4. Group 3, however, had actually a much more positive attitude since the difference between the mean values was statistically very significant. Group 3 also evaluated the variety more positively on each semantic differential scale.

Both groups found the variety well educated with the mean values of 2.14 for group 3 and 2.23 for group 4 for the adjectival pair *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä -

sivistymätöntä). Group 3 saw the variety as very fluent with the mean value of 1.91 for the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää). Group 4 also found it fluent with the mean value of 2.16. In addition, group 3 found the variety very easy to understand, the mean value being 1.86 for the adjectival pair *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista). In contrast, group 4 found it only quite easy to understand with the mean value of 2.45. This difference between the mean values was statistically very significant.

There were also three other adjectival pairs which were evaluated more positively by group 3 with a statistically very significant difference. Group 3 saw the variety as beautiful and pleasant with the mean values of 2.23 for the adjectival pair *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa) and 2.04 for *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävää - epämiellyttävää). Group 4, in contrast, did not see the variety quite that beautiful or pleasant with the mean values of 2.85 and 2.67, respectively. Furthermore, the mean value for the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää) was 2.84 for group 3 and 3.36 for group 4, i.e. group 3 found the variety somewhat fascinating, whereas group 4 found it rather boring.

Thus, both the female and the male students seem to have positive attitudes towards the variety of American English, the attitudes of the female students being somewhat more positive. The female students find the variety very fluent and easy to understand. It is also pleasant and beautiful in their opinion. In contrast, the male students find the variety fluent, and rather pleasant and easy to understand. Both groups see the variety as well educated. Furthermore, in the opinion of the female students, the variety is somewhat fascinating, whereas the male students find it rather boring.

4.7.3 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the variety of American English is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 29. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the characteristics of the variety are summarized.

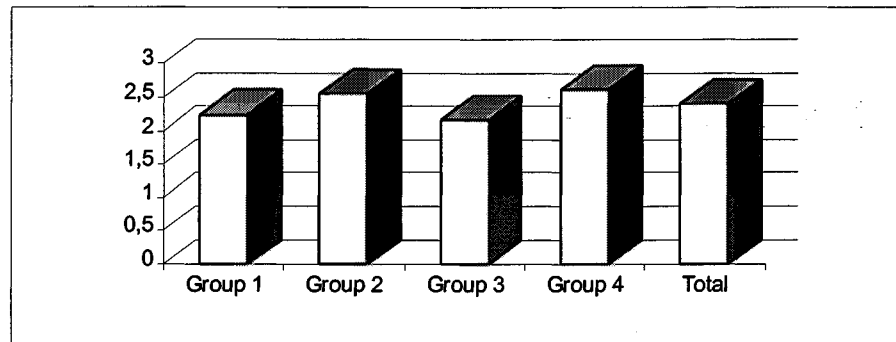


Figure 29. The mean values for the variety of American English given by each group.

Group 1 = 2.24	Group 3 = 2.17	Total = 2.40
Group 2 = 2.55	Group 4 = 2.62	

The overall attitude of all groups towards the variety of American English appears to be positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs is on the positive extreme of the scale for each group. The students of upper secondary school and the female students seem to have somewhat more positive attitudes than the students of vocational college or the male students.

In summary, the students of upper secondary school and the female students find the variety of American English very fluent and easy to understand; the students of vocational college and the male students do not find it quite that fluent or easy. All groups consider it well educated and rather beautiful. It is also pleasant, especially in the opinion of the female students. The female students also see the variety as rather fascinating, whereas the students of vocational college and the male students see it as rather boring. The students of upper secondary school find it neither fascinating nor boring.

4.8 Attitudes towards the Finnish speaker

4.8.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the Finnish speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 30.

Table 30. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the Finnish speaker by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	upper sec. school	117	2.68*	0.90
	vocat. college	93	3.00	0.97
self-confident - insecure	upper sec. school	117	2.94	1.13
	vocat. college	93	3.10	1.15
natural - pretentious	upper sec. school	117	3.85	0.79
	vocat. college	93	3.77	1.03
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	3.34	0.84
	vocat. college	93	3.55	0.92
friendly - unfriendly	upper sec. school	117	2.84*	0.83
	vocat. college	93	3.11	0.81
extrovert - introvert	upper sec. school	117	2.97	0.83
	vocat. college	93	3.19	0.94

The overall attitude of both groups towards the Finnish speaker appeared to be somewhat more negative than positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs concerning the speaker was 3.10 for group 1 and 3.29 for group 2. The attitudes of group 1, however, turned out to be a little more positive than the attitudes of group 2 since the difference between the mean values was statistically almost significant. Group 1 also evaluated the speaker more positively on each semantic differential scale, except for one; the mean value of 3.77 for the adjectival pair *natural - pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs) was lower than the corresponding mean value of 3.85 for group 1. Both groups, however, saw the speaker as pretentious with the mean values close to 4.0.

Both groups saw intelligence as the best characteristic of the speaker since they rated the adjectival pair *intelligent - stupid* (älykäs - tyhmä) with the lowest mean values, being 2.68 for group 1 and 3.00 for group 2. Thus group 1 found the speaker quite intelligent, whereas group 2 found him neither intelligent, nor stupid. Group 1 also thought that the speaker was somewhat friendly and self-confident, and maybe a little extrovert with the mean values of 2.84 for the adjectival pair *friendly - unfriendly* (ystävällinen - epäystävällinen), 2.94 for *self-confident - insecure* (itsevarmas - epävarma), and 2.97 for *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva). Group 2, in contrast, found him somewhat unfriendly, insecure, and introvert with the mean values of 3.11, 3.10, and 3.19, respectively. Both groups were of the opinion that the speaker was rather unpleasant with the mean values of 3.34 for group 1 and 3.55 for group 2 for the adjectival pair *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä).

Thus, the students of upper secondary school have partly positive and partly negative attitudes towards the Finnish speaker, whereas the attitudes of the students of vocational college are mostly negative. Both groups consider the speaker pretentious and rather unpleasant. In addition, the students of upper secondary school find him somewhat friendly, self-confident, and a little extrovert. In contrast, the students of vocational college find him rather unfriendly, insecure, and introvert. Furthermore, in the opinion of the students of upper secondary school, the Finnish speaker seems to be rather intelligent, whereas the students of vocational college find him neither intelligent nor stupid.

4.8.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the Finnish speaker were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 31.

Table 31. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the Finnish speaker by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
intelligent - stupid	female student	113	2.69*	0.88
	male student	97	2.98	0.99
self-confident - insecure	female student	113	2.86*	1.06
	male student	97	3.19	1.21
natural - pretentious	female student	113	3.81	0.84
	male student	97	3.82	0.98
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	3.29*	0.85
	male student	97	3.60	0.89
friendly - unfriendly	female student	113	2.85*	0.80
	male student	97	3.08	0.85
extrovert - introvert	female student	113	2.94*	0.82
	male student	97	3.22	0.94

The overall attitude of group 3 towards the Finnish speaker was almost neutral with the mean value of 3.07, whereas the attitude of group 4 was somewhat negative with the mean value of 3.31. The difference between the mean values was statistically significant. Group 3 also evaluated the speaker more positively on each semantic differential scale. The order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was exactly the same by both groups.

Both groups evaluated the adjectival pair *intelligent - stupid* (älykäs - tyhmä) with the lowest mean value, being 2.69 for group 3 and 2.98 for group 4. Thus group 3 thought that the speaker was quite intelligent, whereas group 4 found him just a little intelligent since the mean value was so close to the neutral point 3.0. This was also the only adjectival pair with a mean value below 3.0 for group 4. Group 3 considered the speaker being somewhat friendly with the mean value of 2.85 for the adjectival pair *friendly - unfriendly* (ystävällinen - epäystävällinen), whereas group 4 saw him a little more unfriendly with a corresponding mean value of 3.08.

The speaker was also seen as somewhat self-confident and introvert by group 3 with the mean value of 2.86 for the adjectival pair *self-confident - insecure* (itsevarma - epävarma) and 2.94 for *extrovert - introvert* (ulospäin suuntautuva - sisäänpäin suuntautuva). Group

4 saw him as somewhat insecure and introvert with the corresponding mean values of 3.19 and 3.22. Both groups found the speaker rather unpleasant and most of all pretentious since they evaluated the adjectival pair *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä) with the mean value of 3.29 for group 3 and 3.60 for group 4. The corresponding mean values for the adjectival pair *natural - pretentious* (luonteva - yritteliäs) were 3.81 and 3.82, respectively. This was the only adjectival pair which was not evaluated more positively with a statistically almost significant difference by group 3.

Thus the female students have partly positive and partly negative attitudes towards the Finnish speaker, whereas the attitudes of the male students appear to be mostly negative. Both the female and the male students consider him pretentious and rather unpleasant. In addition, the female students find him rather intelligent, friendly, self-confident, and also somewhat extrovert. The male students, in contrast, see him as somewhat intelligent and unfriendly, and rather insecure and introvert.

4.8.3 The speaker's home country and social status

The subjects' opinions of the Finnish speaker's background were studied by using questions concerning the speaker's home country, social status, and whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. Possible differences between the attitudes of the students of upper secondary school, the students of vocational college, the female students, and the male students were examined by comparing the percentual mean values of their answers.

The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the Finnish speaker were divided into the five following groups: Finland, a Scandinavian country, England / the United States of America, a European country, and any other country. The subjects' answers are presented in table 32.

Table 32. The subjects' answers concerning the home country of the Finnish speaker.

Country	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
Finland	86.8	65.7	86.2	70.9	78.6
Scandinavian country	5.7	13.4	8.0	9.3	8.7
England / the USA	1.9	10.4	4.6	5.8	5.2
European country	3.8	4.5	1.1	7.0	4.0
any other country	1.9	6.0	0.0	7.0	3.5

The majority of the subjects identified the speaker being Finnish with the total percentage of 78.6%. The highest mean value was for group 1 (86.8%) and the lowest for group 2 (65.7%). The speaker was considered coming from a Scandinavian country by 8.7% of the subjects and from England or the United States of America by 5.2% of the subjects. But whereas only 1.9% of group 1 thought that the speaker was English or American, the corresponding percentage for group 2 was as high as 10.4%. In addition, 4.0% of the subjects considered the speaker coming from a European country and 3.5% was of the opinion that he came from any other country.

One of the questions concerning the speaker's background was the one asking whether he was a native or a non-native speaker of English. The subjects' answers are presented in table 33.

Table 33. The subjects' answers to the question "Is the speaker a native or a non-native speaker of English?"

The speaker is a ... speaker of English.	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
native	1.7	7.5	2.7	6.2	4.3
non-native	94.9	86.0	92.0	89.7	91.0
do not know	3.4	6.5	5.3	4.1	4.8

The majority of the subjects (91.0%) thought that the speaker was a non-native speaker of English. The highest mean value was again for group 1 (94.9%) and the lowest for group 2 (86.0%). A total of 4.3% of the subjects thought that the speaker was a native speaker of English and 4.8% could not tell whether he was a native or a non-native speaker.

The subjects also answered the question concerning the speaker's social status, i.e. was he a member of the upper class, the middle class, or the working class. The subjects' answers are presented in table 34.

Table 34. The subjects' answers concerning the social class of the Finnish speaker.

Social class	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
upper class	22.2	15.1	14.2	24.7	19.0
middle class	58.1	51.6	57.5	52.6	55.2
working class	3.4	17.2	8.0	11.3	9.5
do not know	16.2	16.1	20.4	11.3	16.2

Over half of the subjects (55.2%) considered the Finnish speaker belonging to the middle class, again the highest mean value was for group 1 (58.1%) and the lowest for group 2 (51.6%). Almost one fifth of the subjects (19.0%) thought that the speaker was a member of the upper class, the highest mean value being for group 4 (24.7%) and the lowest for group 3 (14.2%). The speaker was considered being a member of the working class by 9.5% of the subjects and 16.2% of them could not tell his social class.

Thus, the Finnish speaker is mostly seen as a Finnish person and a non-native speaker of English who belongs to the middle social class. It seems, however that the students of upper secondary school identify the speaker's background better than the other groups. For example, the opinions of the students of vocational college are more diverse. In addition, the female students seem to be more certain of their opinions than the male students whose opinions are also quite diverse.

4.8.4 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the Finnish speaker is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values

are presented in figure 35. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the speaker's characteristics are summarized.

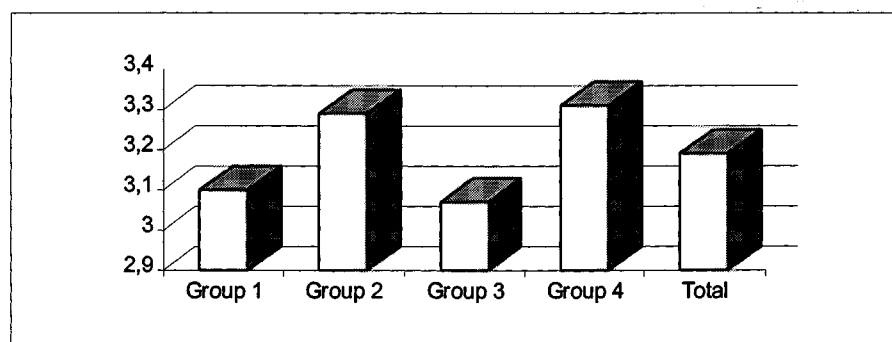


Figure 35. The mean values for the Finnish speaker given by each group.

Group 1 = 3.10	Group 3 = 3.07	Total = 3.19
Group 2 = 3.29	Group 4 = 3.31	

The overall attitude of all groups towards the Finnish speaker appears to be somewhat more negative than positive since the mean value of all adjectival pairs is on the negative extreme of the scale by each group. The mean values for groups 1 and 3, however, are quite close to the neutral point 3.0 and they seem to have also positive attitudes in addition to the negative ones.

The majority of the subjects seem to identify the Finnish speaker being Finnish and a non-native speaker of English who is a member of the middle class. He is considered pretentious and rather unpleasant by all groups. In addition, the students of the upper secondary school and the female students find him rather friendly and self-confident, and also somewhat extrovert. In contrast, the students of vocational college and the male students see him as rather unfriendly, insecure, and introvert. Furthermore, the Finnish speaker is rather intelligent in the opinion of the students of upper secondary school and the female students, whereas the male students think that he is only somewhat intelligent, and the students of vocational college find him neither intelligent nor stupid.

4.9 Attitudes towards the variety of Finnish English

4.9.1 Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college

Attitudes of the students of upper secondary school and vocational college towards the variety of Finnish English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 36.

Table 36. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of Finnish English by the students of upper secondary school and vocational college.

Adjectival pair	School	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	upper sec. school	117	2.87**	0.88
	vocat. college	93	3.19	0.89
intelligible - difficult	upper sec. school	117	2.78	1.21
	vocat. college	93	3.10	1.27
fluent - stiff	upper sec. school	117	4.02	0.85
	vocat. college	93	4.11	1.12
pleasant - unpleasant	upper sec. school	117	3.62**	0.73
	vocat. college	93	3.91	0.93
fascinating - boring	upper sec. school	117	3.97	0.75
	vocat. college	93	3.94	0.98
beautiful - ugly	upper sec. school	117	3.92	0.72
	vocat. college	93	3.97	0.79

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of Finnish English appeared to be negative since the mean value of all adjectival pairs was 3.53 for group 1 and 3.70 for group 2. The order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was almost the same by both groups. Group 1 evaluated the variety more positively on each semantic differential scale, except for one. The mean value for the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää) for group 4 (3.94) was lower than the corresponding mean value for group 1 (3.97). The mean values, however, were so close to each other that both groups seemed to consider the variety boring.

Both groups evaluated the adjectival pair *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista) with the lowest mean value, 2.78 for group 1 and 3.10 for group 2. Thus group 1 saw the variety as rather easy to understand, whereas group 2 found it somewhat difficult. Group 1 also considered the variety rather well educated with the mean value of 2.87 for the adjectival pair *well educated - poorly educated* (sivistynyttä - sivistymätöntä). In contrast, group 2 thought that the variety was quite poorly educated with the corresponding mean value of 3.19. The difference between the mean values was statistically significant.

Another adjectival pair which was evaluated more positively by group 1 with a statistically significant difference, was *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävää - epämiellyttävää). Group 1 found the variety rather unpleasant with the mean value of 3.62, and group 2 even somewhat more unpleasant with the mean value of 3.91. Both groups considered the variety ugly and most of all stiff with the mean values of 3.92 for group 1 and 3.97 for group 2 for the adjectival pair *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa) and 4.02 and 4.11, respectively, for the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää).

Thus, both the students of the upper secondary school and vocational college seem to have somewhat negative attitudes towards the variety of Finnish English. Both groups see the variety most of all as stiff, ugly, and boring. They also find it rather unpleasant. In addition, the variety is somewhat poorly educated and difficult to understand in the opinion of the students of vocational college. In contrast, the students of upper secondary school find it rather well educated and easy to understand.

4.9.2 Attitudes of the female and male students

Attitudes of the female and male students towards the variety of Finnish English were studied by using semantic differential scales. Possible differences between their attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. The mean values and standard deviations of the adjectival pairs are presented in table 37.

Table 37. The mean values of each adjectival pair describing the variety of Finnish English by the female and male students.

Adjectival pair	Gender	N	Mean	Std. dev
well educated - poorly educated	female student	113	2.93	0.83
	male student	97	3.11	0.96
intelligible - difficult	female student	113	2.73*	1.14
	male student	97	3.14	1.32
fluent - stiff	female student	113	4.00	0.94
	male student	97	4.12	1.02
pleasant - unpleasant	female student	113	3.60**	0.82
	male student	97	3.92	0.83
fascinating - boring	female student	113	3.89	0.84
	male student	97	4.02	0.88
beautiful - ugly	female student	113	3.89	0.71
	male student	97	4.00	0.79

The overall attitude of both groups towards the variety of Finnish English appeared to be negative since the mean value of all adjectival pairs was 3.51 for group 3 and 3.72 for group 4. The attitudes of group 3, however, were somewhat more positive than the attitudes of group 4 since the difference between the mean values was statistically almost significant. Group 3 also evaluated the variety more positively on each semantic differential scale. The order of the adjectival pairs from the one with the lowest mean value to the one with the highest mean value was almost the same by both groups.

The lowest mean values by both groups were for the adjectival pairs *intelligible - difficult* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista) being 2.73 for group 3 and 3.14 for group 4, and for *well educated - poorly educated* (helppotajuista - vaikeaselkoista) being 2.93 and 3.11, respectively. Thus group 3 found the variety rather easy to understand and somewhat well educated, whereas group 4 found it somewhat poorly educated and difficult to understand. Both groups saw the variety as rather unpleasant with the mean value of 3.60 for group 3 and 3.92 for group 4 for the adjectival pair *pleasant - unpleasant* (miellyttävä - epämiellyttävä). Group 3, however, found it somewhat less unpleasant than group 4 since the difference between the mean values was statistically significant.

Both groups thought that the variety was ugly and boring with the mean values of 3.89 for group 3 and 4.00 for group 4 for the adjectival pair *beautiful - ugly* (kaunista - rumaa), and 3.89 and 4.02, respectively, for the adjectival pair *fascinating - boring* (mukaansatempaavaa - pitkästyttävää). Since the mean value for the adjectival pair *fluent - stiff* (sujuvaa - jäykkää) was the highest for both groups, being 4.00 for group 3 and 4.12 for group 4, it seemed that both groups found the variety most of all stiff.

Thus, both the female and the male students seem to have somewhat negative attitudes towards the variety of Finnish English. Both groups find the variety most of all stiff, then ugly and boring. The variety is also rather unpleasant in the opinion of both groups, even more so in the opinion of the male students. In addition, the male students see it as somewhat poorly educated and difficult to understand. The female students, however, consider it somewhat well educated and rather easy to understand.

4.9.3 A summary

In this section a rough conclusion on the attitudes of each group towards the variety of Finnish English is made on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs. These mean values are presented in figure 38. In addition, the subjects' opinions of the characteristics of the variety are summarized.

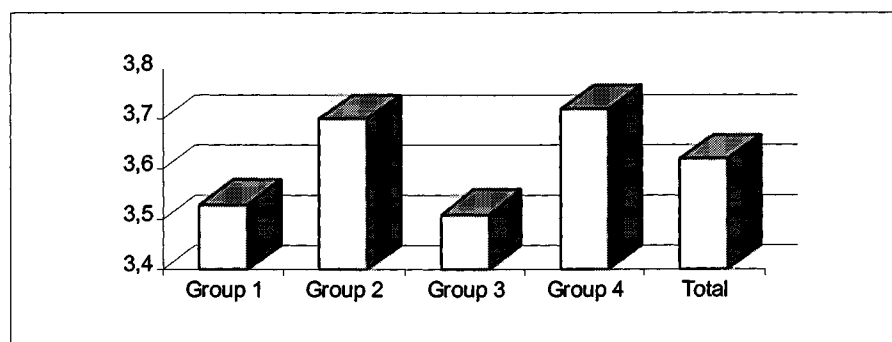


Figure 38. The mean values for the variety of Finnish English given by each group.

Group 1 = 3.53	Group 3 = 3.51	Total = 3.62
Group 2 = 3.70	Group 4 = 3.72	

The overall attitude of all four groups towards the variety of Finnish English appears to be rather negative since the mean value of all adjectival pairs concerning the variety is on the negative extreme of the scale for each group. The students of upper secondary school and the female students, however, seem to have somewhat more positive attitudes towards the variety than the students of vocational college or the male students.

In summary, the variety of Finnish English is considered most of all stiff, ugly, and boring by all groups. All groups also see it as rather unpleasant. In addition, the students of vocational college and the male students find it somewhat poorly educated and rather difficult to understand. In contrast, the students of upper secondary school and the female students find the variety somewhat well educated and rather easy to understand.

4.10 The subjects' comparisons of the speakers

In addition to the semantic differential scales on which the subjects evaluated one speaker at a time, they were also asked to compare the four speakers by answering some questions. The opinions of the subjects were examined by comparing the percentual mean values of their answers. In some of the questions the subjects were also asked to give reasons for their opinions in addition to plain statements, but most of them just answered the questions without giving any reasons for their opinions.

Furthermore, the subjects were asked if they would still like to add something concerning the speech samples, for example, if the speech samples were too short or too long. (The example, however, was not written in the questionnaire; it was told to the subjects when they were given instructions for filling in the questionnaire.) Most of the subjects did not have anything to add, but some of them had written that the speech samples were of the right length. A few subjects hoped that the samples would have been somewhat longer.

Firstly, the subjects were asked which speaker, in their opinion, spoke the best English. The subjects' answers are presented in table 39.

Table 39. The subjects' answers to the question "Which speaker spoke the best English?"

Speaker	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
British	23.9	19.4	23.9	19.6	21.9
African	0.0	3.2	1.8	1.0	1.4
American	75.2	69.9	73.5	72.2	72.9
Finnish	0.9	7.5	0.9	7.2	3.8

The majority of the subjects (72.9%) considered the American speaker speaking the best English. The highest mean value was for group 1 (75.2%), but the mean values for group 3 (73.5%) and group 4 (72.2%) were quite close. Thus the lowest mean value was for group 2, being 69.9%. About one fifth (21.9%) of the subjects was of the opinion that the British speaker spoke the best English and only 1.4% considered the African speaker being the one. A total of 3.8% was of the opinion that the Finnish speaker spoke the best English. Whereas only 0.9% of group 1 and 3 was of this opinion, the corresponding percentage was 7.2% for group 4 and 7.5% for group 2.

Secondly, the subjects were asked which speaker, in their opinion, spoke the worst English. The subjects' answers are presented in table 40.

Table 40. The subjects' answers to the question "Which speaker spoke the worst English?"

Speaker	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
British	1.7	5.4	1.8	5.2	3.3
African	70.7	60.2	67.9	63.9	66.0
American	0.9	2.2	0.9	2.1	1.4
Finnish	26.7	32.3	29.5	28.9	29.2

The majority of the subjects (66.0%) considered the African speaker speaking the worst English. The highest mean value was for group 1 (70.7%) and the lowest for group 2 (60.2%). A total of 29.2% of the speakers was of the opinion that the Finnish speaker

spoke the worst English, the highest mean value being for group 2 (32.3%) and the lowest for group 1 (26.7%). A total of 3.3% of the subjects saw the British speaker as speaking the worst English and 1.4% of the subjects thought that the American speaker spoke the worst English.

Thirdly, the subjects were asked which speaker was the easiest to understand. But since this was a study about attitudes, the actual understanding was not measured; the question was only to ask the subjects which one seemed the easiest to understand. The subjects' answers are presented in table 41.

Table 41. The subjects' answers to the question "Which speaker was the easiest to understand?"

Speaker	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
British	4.3	8.2	7.3	4.4	6.0
African	2.6	5.9	3.6	4.4	4.0
American	77.4	62.4	77.3	63.3	71.0
Finnish	15.7	23.5	11.8	27.8	19.0

The majority of the subjects (71.0%) thought that the American speaker was the easiest to understand, the mean values being 77.4% for group 1, 77.3% for group 3, 63.3% for group 4, and 62.4% for group 2. Thus groups 1 and 3 were somewhat more strongly of this opinion than groups 2 and 4. A total of 19.0% of the subjects considered the Finnish speaker being the easiest to understand. The highest mean values were for groups 4 (27.8%) and 2 (23.5%), and the lowest for groups 3 (11.8%) and 1 (15.7%). The British speaker was considered being the easiest to understand by 6.0% of the subjects and the African speaker by 4.0% of the subjects.

The subjects were also asked why a certain speaker was the easiest to understand, but not very many answered the question. The most common reason for understanding the American or the British speaker better than the others was that he spoke "fluently" or "clearly". The reason for the Finnish speaker being the easiest to understand seemed to be

that he “spoke the same way as I do”. There were no reasons given for seeing the African speaker as the easiest to understand.

In addition, the subjects were asked in which of these four ways they would like to speak English. The subjects’ answers are presented in table 42.

Table 42. The subjects’ answers to the question “In which of these four ways would you like to speak English?”.

Speaker	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
British	23.5	16.5	22.5	18.0	20.5
African	2.6	3.5	0.9	5.6	3.0
American	72.2	77.6	76.6	71.9	74.5
Finnish	1.7	2.4	0.0	4.5	2.0

The majority of the subjects (74.5%) would have liked to speak English like the American speaker, the highest mean value being for group 2 (77.6%) and the lowest for group 4 (71.9%). About one fifth (20.5%) of the subjects thought that they would like to speak English like the British speaker, the highest mean value being for group 1 (23.5%) and the lowest for group 2 (16.5%). A total of 3.0% of the subjects would have liked to speak like the African speaker. Only 2.0% of the subjects would have liked to speak English like the Finnish speaker. But whereas 4.5% of the subjects in group 4 would have chosen the Finnish way, the corresponding percentage for group 3 was 0.0%

The subjects’ answers to the question why they would like to speak English in a certain way were almost the same as in the previous question. In addition, some of the subjects who thought that they would like to speak the same way as the British or the American speaker had just written that “because he spoke the best English”.

The subjects were also asked which speaker they would like to get to know and why. The subjects’ answers are presented in table 43.

Table 43. The subjects' answers to the question "Which speaker would you like to get to know?"

Speaker	Group 1 %	Group 2 %	Group 3 %	Group 4 %	Total %
British	21.7	11.1	22.1	10.0	17.4
African	22.8	19.0	18.9	25.0	21.3
American	54.3	54.0	57.9	48.3	54.2
Finnish	1.1	15.9	1.1	16.7	7.1

Most of the subjects (54.2%) would have liked to get to know the American speaker, the highest mean value being for group 3 (57.9%) and the lowest for group 4 (48.3%). The second highest mean values for groups 1 (22.8%), 2 (19.0%), and 4 (25.0%) were for the African speaker, whereas the second highest mean value for group 3 (22.1%) was for the British speaker. The lowest mean values for groups 2 (11.1%) and 4 (10.0%) were for the British speaker, whereas the lowest mean values for groups 1 and 3, being as low as 1.1, were for the Finnish speaker.

There were not very many answers to the question why they would like to get to know a certain speaker. The reasons for wanting to get to know the American, British, or African speaker were of the type that because "he sounds nice", "he sounds pleasant", or "he sounds interesting". The most common reason for wanting to get to know the Finnish speaker was that "there would be no communication problems since we speak the same language".

In summary, all groups appear to agree on the order of the speakers when asked who speaks the best and who speaks the worst English. The majority of subjects in all groups seem to think that the American speaker speaks the best English and then comes the British speaker. In contrast, the African speaker speaks the worst English and after that the Finnish speaker.

The American speaker also appears to be the easiest to understand by the majority of subjects. And even though the Finnish speaker speaks almost the worst English, about one fifth of the subjects think that he is the easiest to understand. The students of

vocational college and the male students seem to be somewhat more strongly of this opinion. The British and the African speaker are considered being the easiest to understand by a clear minority of the subjects.

The majority of the subjects in all groups would like to speak English like the American speaker. The second popular speech style would appear to be the one by the British speaker. Not very many subjects would like to speak like the Finnish or the African speaker. Most of the subjects in all groups would also like to get to know the American speaker. The second popular speaker by the students of upper secondary school, the students of vocational college, and the male students in this case seems to be the African speaker, whereas among the female students the second popular speaker would be the British one. Quite many of the students of vocational college and the male students would also like to get to know the Finnish speaker, whereas almost none of the students of upper secondary school or the female students would like to get to know him.

5 CONCLUSION

The objective of the present study was to find out Finnish students' attitudes towards different varieties of English and their speakers. The speakers in this study were British, African, American, and Finnish. The study was based on two hypotheses. The first one was that there would be differences between students' attitudes, and the second one was that students would have more positive attitudes towards native speakers of English and their accents.

When analysing the data of this study the subjects were divided into four groups: students of upper secondary school, students of vocational college, female students, and male students. Comparisons between the students' attitudes towards different varieties and their speakers were mostly made by means of the adjectival pairs of semantic differential scales. Differences between the subjects' attitudes were examined by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair. In addition, questions concerning the speakers' home country, social status, and whether they were native or non-native speakers of English were discussed. Furthermore, there were the subjects' opinions of the preferability of the speakers; i.e. they compared the four speakers. For example, who spoke the best / the worst English.

This chapter contains the conclusion of this study. Firstly, the results and implications of the study are summarized and discussed. The results are also compared with the results of some previous studies in order to find out possible similarities or, in contrast, significant differences. Secondly, the limitations of this study are discussed and there are also some suggestions for possible further studies.

5.1 A summary and discussion of the results

It seems that the students of upper secondary school and the female students evaluate different varieties of English and their speakers more positively than the students of vocational college or the male students. The overall attitudes of all groups towards the

varieties and their speakers, however, appear to be quite similar since the majority of the subjects in each group rated the speakers and their varieties in the same order on the semantic differential scales from the one with the lowest mean value of all adjectival pairs to the one with the highest mean value. They also ranked the adjectival pairs in almost the same order. Thus it is possible to draw overall conclusions on the subjects' attitudes towards the speakers of these varieties of English on the basis of the mean values of all adjectival pairs for all subjects. These mean values are presented in figure 44.

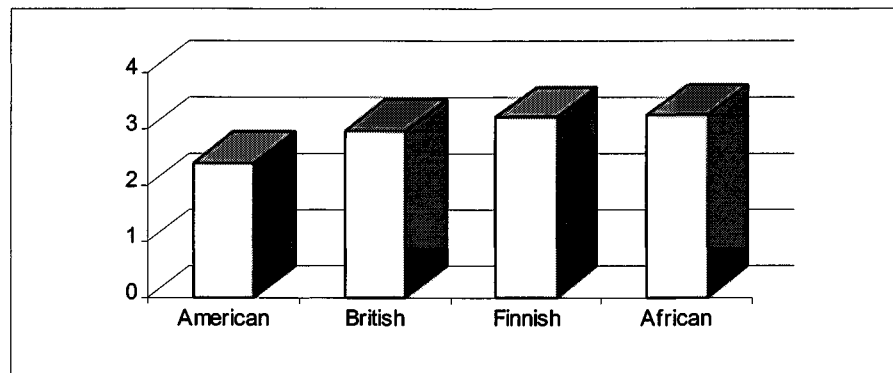


Figure 44. The mean values of all adjectival pairs concerning the speakers of English by all subjects.

the American speaker	= 2.38
the British speaker	= 2.95
the Finnish speaker	= 3.19
the African speaker	= 3.23

The American speaker was evaluated most positively by the majority of the subjects in all groups with the mean value of 2.38. The British speaker was evaluated with the second lowest mean value, this being 2.95. Thus the subjects' attitudes towards him are just somewhat negative, but almost neutral, since the mean value is close to the neutral point 3.0. In contrast, the Finnish speaker and the African speaker were perceived rather negatively with the mean value of 3.19 for the Finnish speaker and 3.23 for the African speaker.

It is also possible to draw overall conclusions on the subjects' attitudes towards the varieties of English. The mean values of all adjectival pairs concerning the speakers are presented in figure 45.

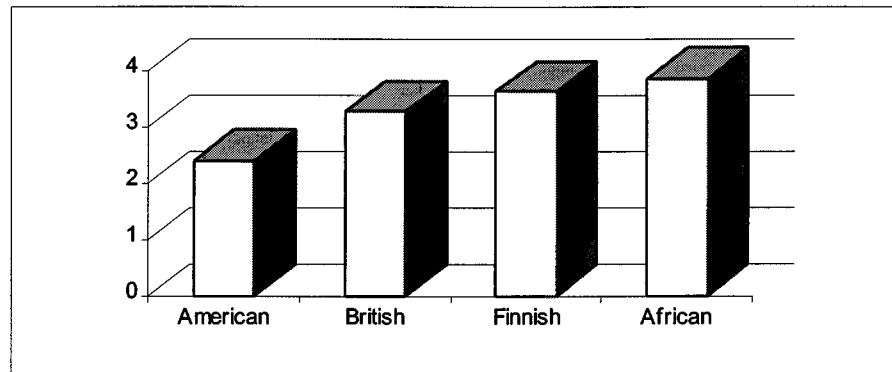


Figure 45. The mean values of all adjectival pairs concerning the varieties of English by all subjects.

the variety of American English	= 2.40
the variety of British English	= 3.26
the variety of Finnish English	= 3.62
the variety of African English	= 3.86

The variety of American English was evaluated most positively by the majority of the subjects in all groups with the mean value of 2.40. This was also the only variety towards which the subjects had an overall positive attitude since the mean value for the variety of British English was 3.26, for the variety of Finnish English 3.62, and for the variety of African English 3.86. Thus the variety of American English was perceived rather positively, whereas the variety of British English was perceived somewhat negatively, and the varieties of Finnish and African English even more negatively.

In addition to the semantic differential scales, the subjects were asked to compare the four speakers. Answers to the questions concerning the preferability of the speakers provided results similar to those found on the basis of the adjectival pairs. Thus, the majority of the subjects seem to consider the American speaker speaking the best English and the African speaker the worst English. The American speaker also appears to be the easiest to understand, and the majority of the subjects would like to speak English the way he does. Furthermore, most of the subjects would also like to get to know the American speaker,

whereas the fewest subjects would like to get to know the Finnish speaker (even though his English appears to be quite easy to understand). However, the students of vocational college and the male students would rather meet the Finnish speaker than the British speaker, whereas almost none of the students of upper secondary school or the female students would like to get to know him.

More specifically, the American speaker is considered having only positive characteristics, whereas the other speakers are seen as having both positive and negative characteristics. The American speaker is seen as natural, intelligent, self-confident, and friendly. He is also found rather extrovert. In addition, he seems to be rather pleasant, especially in the opinion of the female students. The variety of American English is considered fluent, easy to understand, well educated, and rather beautiful. It is also pleasant, especially in the opinion of the female students. The female students also see the variety as rather fascinating, whereas the students of vocational college and the male students see it as rather boring. The students of upper secondary school find it neither fascinating nor boring.

The British speaker is considered quite a friendly and intelligent person, who is somewhat introvert. He is also rather pleasant and natural in the opinion of the students of upper secondary school and the female students, whereas the students of vocational college and the male students seem to find him quite unpleasant and somewhat pretentious. The students of upper secondary school and the female students seem to appreciate also the variety of British English more than the students of vocational college or the male students, who, for example, find it less pleasant and less beautiful. In summary, the variety is considered quite fluent and well educated, but boring and somewhat difficult to understand.

The Finnish speaker is considered pretentious and rather unpleasant by all groups, but otherwise the subjects' attitudes towards him are somewhat diverse. The students of upper secondary school and the female students find him rather friendly, intelligent, and self-confident, and also somewhat extrovert. In contrast, the students of vocational college and the male students find him rather unfriendly, insecure, and introvert. They,

however, seem to have quite a neutral attitude towards the Finnish speaker's intelligence; i.e. they find him neither intelligent nor stupid. The variety of Finnish English is considered stiff, ugly, boring, and rather unpleasant. In addition, the students of vocational college and the male students find it somewhat poorly educated and rather difficult to understand, whereas the students of upper secondary school and the female students find it somewhat well educated and rather easy to understand.

The African speaker is considered quite a friendly, but insecure person, who is pretentious in his speech. With the exception of the female students, he is also found rather stupid. In addition, the students of upper secondary school and the female students see him as rather extrovert, and the students of vocational college and the male students find him rather unpleasant. The variety of African English is considered stiff, ugly, boring, rather difficult to understand, and somewhat poorly educated. In addition, it sounds quite unpleasant, especially in the opinion of the students of vocational college and the male students.

It seems that Finnish students identify speakers' background quite well. The majority of the subjects in all groups could tell the speakers' home countries. They also identified the American and the British speakers being as native speakers of English and the Finnish and the African speakers as non-native speakers. The speakers were also identified belonging to the middle class with the exception of the African speaker, whom the majority of the subjects saw as a member of the working class. This is similar to studies by, for example, Frazer (1987) and Davis and Houck (1990), who noted that speakers with a less prestigious accent are more likely to be perceived as belonging to occupations of a lower status.

Thus, the two hypotheses of this study were supported by the data. Firstly, there are differences between the Finnish students' attitudes towards different varieties of English and their speakers. Secondly, these attitudes are more positive towards native speakers of English and their accents. This was presumable since many previous studies (see e.g. Lambert 1960, Anisfeld et al. 1962, Cheyne 1970, Frazer 1987) have shown that standard

or otherwise more prestigious accents (for example, an accent of the majority) are valued more than non-standard or otherwise less prestigious accents.

Lambert (1960) also noted that subjects tend to downgrade members of their own group. This seems to be the case also in this study, at least partially, since the subjects' attitudes towards the Finnish speaker seem to be rather negative; in some respects more negative than their attitudes towards the other non-native, i.e. the African speaker. In fact, the Finnish speaker and his accent seem to be only slightly more favourably evaluated than the African speaker and his accent. For example, the subjects consider the Finnish speaker being more introvert and unpleasant than the African speaker.

There are also some differences between the results of this study and the results of previous studies. For example, the results of the study by Alford and Strother (1990) indicated that non-native speakers of English rate their perceptions of speakers' favourableness on the basis of pronunciation variations only, whereas native speakers rate their perceptions also on the basis of regional cultural biases. Since the subjects in this study identified the speakers' background quite well, one can assume that their responses were also based on other factors in addition to pronunciation differences, e.g. personal experience and stereotypes concerning different nationalities.

Furthermore, in the study by Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990) the Finnish female students had more positive attitudes towards the British speaker, whereas the male students evaluated the American speaker more positively. Their study, however, was based on stereotypes instead of attitudes towards some specific speech samples. In this study, all groups seem to rate the American speaker most favourably. The female students, however, appear to have more positive attitudes towards each speaker than the other groups.

In addition, Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990) found that the subjects may have a preference for one language variety over the other, but no such contrast appears in their attitudes towards the speakers of these varieties. In this study, however, the subjects' attitudes towards different varieties of English seem to be somewhat similar to their

attitudes towards the speakers of these varieties. Thus, for example, not only the variety of American English is more highly valued than the variety of African English, but also the American speaker is more highly valued as a person than the African speaker.

There are also studies that have drawn conclusions on the basis of personality categories created by Lambert (1967); i.e. the personality traits can be seen to reflect a speaker's competence, personal integrity, or social attractiveness. For example, Giles (1971) noted that speakers with more prestigious standard accents would seem to be seen more favourably with respect to personality traits of competence, whereas the speakers with non-standard regional accents would be valued more with respect to personal integrity and social attractiveness. This study, however, does not seem to confirm this kind of results since the characteristics seen as positive or negative for each speaker cannot be generalized into these three categories. For example, the American speaker is evaluated positively with respect to all these categories: he is seen as intelligent (competence), friendly (social attractiveness), and natural (personal integrity). In contrast, intelligence (competence) is considered the most positive characteristic also for the Finnish speaker.

Thus even though there are some differences between the results of previous studies and this study, the main finding is similar to theirs, i.e. the subjects' attitudes towards the native speakers of English and their accents are more positive than their attitudes towards the non-native speakers of English and their accents. It is, however, somewhat surprising that the American speaker and his accent seem to be so superior compared to the British speaker and his accent. The reason for this is probably the fact that even though an attempt was made to minimize all the other factors effecting the subjects' evaluations except the speech, the speakers still were persons whose personalities may reflect in their speech. For example, a speaker's voice might be too soft or, in contrast, too harsh to a subject's liking.

One may, however, draw the conclusion that Finnish students have more positive attitudes towards the native speakers of English and their accents than the non-native speakers of English and their accents. Thus Finnish students do not see their own accent very favourably, either. This may result partially from teaching English in Finnish

schools where Standard British English and Standard American English are the main models of correct English language.

Since attitudes affect both behaviour and second language learning (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3), and downgrading one's own accent has presumably more negative than positive effects, there is a need for a change in the Finnish students' attitudes. Teachers can be one important factor causing the change and thus they should try to offer examples of different varieties of English with equal respect. The change in attitudes might not be very easy, but one should aim at it in order to make people respect different varieties of English equally, especially since they seem to have somewhat similar attitudes towards the speakers of those varieties.

5.2 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

Ideally, the matched-guise technique in its original form would have been used in this study. It was, however, impossible to find speakers who could speak in all four varieties of English, i.e. American, British, African, and Finnish, so a decision was made to use the matched-guise technique in its modified form. On the whole, it turned out to be a useful method in this study, but there were also some problems. For example, the tape-recording of the speech samples was not the best possible quality. However, it was not very disturbing and no-one complained about it, so it probably did not have any significant effect on the results.

The major problem was the speakers. The speakers selected were all male, aged from 28-32 years, and having academic education in order to minimize other factors than the speech itself affecting the subjects' attitudes (such as the gender, age, or social status). The speakers are, however, always individuals who have different voices and speech styles, and this undoubtedly may affect subjects' opinions or attitudes. In addition, there are naturally numerous various accents in America and Britain, and also Finnish and African people have different ways of speaking English, and the speakers in this study were only one example. Thus, the results of this study should not be overgeneralized

since they reflect the subjects' attitudes towards certain varieties of English and their speakers, and not necessarily for every possible variety of English in these countries and their speakers.

It would be interesting to study Finnish students' attitudes towards different varieties of English and their speakers more thoroughly. In possible future studies on language attitudes it might be a good idea either to investigate only a few varieties at a time so that the original matched-guise technique could be used, or use more speakers of each variety so that the individual differences in speech would not have such a big effect on results. Or one might try a different approach. Since the matched-guise technique has been quite widely criticized (see e.g. Preston 1989, Cargile et al. 1994, Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998) researchers have made attempts to develop new methods for studying language attitudes.

Instead of the traditional definitions of attitudes and language attitudes (see sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.5), it is possible to see attitudes as social and context-dependent by nature (see e.g. Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998). Thus, instead of trying to study people's 'true' language attitudes as has been the case with the traditional methods (e.g. the matched-guise technique), it is possible to see attitudes as social ones and try to study them by resorting to discourse analysis, for example. This method, however, is not without its problems or, preferably, challenges, either (see e.g. Hyrkstedt 1997). For example, analysing data is more difficult than when using the traditional methods. As Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (1998:348) point out, discourse analysis actually only "provides a general framework for a qualitative analysis of publicly available records of interaction that provide contexts for arguing for or against varieties of a language or different languages as well as their speakers".

Thus, it is not easy to develop the kind of a method for studying language attitudes that would be without problems since each method seems to have its benefits as well as its problems. Perhaps the solution is to study them by resorting to different methods and form implications on the basis of these various sources. And, naturally, one should continue developing different methods in order to find the best one for studying language attitudes.

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Appendix 1**THE QUESTIONNAIRE****HYVÄ OPISKELIJA!**

Tämä kysely on osa Jyväskylän yliopiston englannin kielen laitokselle tehtävää pro gradu -tutkielmaa. Toivon, että vastaat kysymyksiin huolellisesti, sillä vastauksesi ovat tärkeitä tutkimuksen onnistumisen kannalta.

KIITOS JO ETUKÄTEEN VAIVANNÄÖSTÄSI!

A OPPILASKOHTAISIA TIETOJA

- 1 Oppilaitoksen nimi: _____
- 2 Luokka / opintolinja: _____
- 3 Sukupuoli: 1. tyttö
2. poika
- 4 Ikä: _____
- 5 Oletko oleskellut englanninkielisissä maissa?
1. en
2. kyllä - Missä ja kuinka kauan? _____

- 6 Viimeisin englannin kielen todistusarvosana: _____
- 7 Vanhempien ammatit.
1. Isän ammatti: _____
2. Äidin ammatti: _____
- 8 Mainitse harrastuksiasi tai asioita, jotka kiinnostavat sinua (esim. musiikki, elokuvat jne.): _____

B VARSINAINEN KYSELYOSIO

OSIO 1

Kuulet neljä puhenäytettä ja kunkin näytteen aikana ja/tai sen jälkeen sinun tulisi arvioida sekä kieltä että puhujaa seuraavien adjektiiviparien ja kysymysten avulla.

Esim. Jos puhuja vaikuttaa mielestäsi erittäin kiinnostavalta, merkitse rasti näin:

kiinnostava X _____ _____ _____ _____ tylsä

Jos taas puhuja kuulostaa mielestäsi melko tylsältä, merkitse se näin:

kiinnostava _____ _____ _____ X _____ tylsä

NÄYTE 1

1 Puhuja A on mielestäsi

miellyttävä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävä
älykäs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	tyhmä
itsevarma	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epävarma
luonteva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	yritteliäs
ulospäin suuntautuva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sisäänpäin suuntautuva
ystävällinen	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epäystävällinen

Kuvaile vielä puhujaa omin sanoin: _____

2 Puhuja A:n kieli on mielestäsi

kaunista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	rumaa
sujuvaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	jäykkää
miellyttävää	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävää
mukaansatempaavaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	pitkästyttävää
helppotajuista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	vaikeaselkoista
sivistynyttä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sivistymätöntä

Kuvaile vielä kieltä omin sanoin: _____

3 Kuulostaako puhuja mielestäsi syntyperäiseltä kielenpuhujalta?

1 kyllä 2 ei 3 en osaa sanoa

4 Mistä maasta puhuja mielestäsi on? _____

5 Mihin sosiaaliluokkaan arvelet puhujan kuuluvan?

- 1 ylempään sosiaaliluokkaan
- 2 keskiluokkaan
- 3 alempaan sosiaaliluokkaan
- 4 en osaa sanoa

NÄYTE 2

1 Puhuja B on mielestäsi

ystävällinen	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epäystävällinen
ulospäin suuntautuva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sisäänpäin suuntautuva
luonteva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	yritteliäs
itsevarma	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epävarma
älykäs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	tyhmä
miellyttävä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävä

Kuvaile vielä puhujaa omin sanoin: _____

2 Puhuja B:n kieli on mielestäsi

mukaansatempaavaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	pitkästyttävää
sujuvaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	jäykkää
sivistynyttä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sivistymätöntä
helppotajuista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	vaikeaselkoista
miellyttävää	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävää
kaunista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	rumaa

Kuvaile vielä kieltä omin sanoin: _____

3 Kuulostaako puhuja mielestäsi syntyperäiseltä kielenpuhujalta?

1 kyllä 2 ei 3 en osaa sanoa

4 Mistä maasta puhuja mielestäsi on? _____

5 Mihin sosiaaliluokkaan arvelet puhujan kuuluvan?

- 1 ylempään sosiaaliluokkaan
- 2 keskiluokkaan
- 3 alempaan sosiaaliluokkaan
- 4 en osaa sanoa

NÄYTE 3

1 Puhuja C on mielestäsi

älykäs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	tyhmä
itsevarma	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epävarma
ulospäin suuntautuva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sisäänpäin suuntautuva
miellyttävä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävä
luonteva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	yritteliäs
ystävällinen	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epäystävällinen

Kuvaile vielä puhujaa omin sanoin: _____

2 Puhuja C:n kieli on mielestäsi

sivistynyttä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sivistymätöntä
helppotajuista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	vaikeaselkoista
kaunista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	rumaa
sujuvaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	jäykkää
miellyttävää	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävää
mukaansatempaavaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	pitkästyttävää

Kuvaile vielä kieltä omin sanoin: _____

3 Kuulostaako puhuja mielestäsi syntyperäiseltä kielenpuhujalta?

1 kyllä 2 ei 3 en osaa sanoa

4 Mistä maasta puhuja mielestäsi on? _____

5 Mihin sosiaaliluokkaan arvelet puhujan kuuluvan?

- 1 ylempään sosiaaliluokkaan
- 2 keskiluokkaan
- 3 alempaan sosiaaliluokkaan
- 4 en osaa sanoa

NÄYTE 4

1 Puhuja D on mielestäsi

luonteva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	yritteliäs
miellyttävä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävä
älykäs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	tyhmä
ystävällinen	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epäystävällinen
ulospäin suuntautuva	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sisäänpäin suuntautuva
itsevarma	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epävarma

Kuvaile vielä puhujaa omin sanoin: _____

2 Puhuja D:n kieli on mielestäsi

helppotajuista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	vaikeaselkoista
mukaansatempaavaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	pitkästyttävää
kaunista	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	rumaa
sivistynyttä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sivistymätöntä
miellyttävää	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	epämiellyttävää
sujuvaa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	jäykkää

Kuvaile vielä kieltä omin sanoin: _____

3 Kuulostaako puhuja mielestäsi syntyperäiseltä kielenpuhujalta?

1 kyllä 2 ei 3 en osaa sanoa

4 Mistä maasta puhuja mielestäsi on? _____

5 Mihin sosiaaliluokkaan arvelet puhujan kuuluvan?

- 1 ylempään sosiaaliluokkaan
- 2 keskiluokkaan
- 3 alempaan sosiaaliluokkaan
- 4 en osaa sanoa

OSIO 2

Kuulet puhenäytteet vielä uudelleen. Kuuntelun aikana ja/tai sen jälkeen sinun tulisi vastata seuraaviin kysymyksiin.

1 Kuka puhujista (A, B, C vai D) puhui mielestäsi englantia

1 **parhaiten** _____

2 **huonoiten** _____

2 Kenen puhetta sinun oli **helpoin ymmärtää**? **Mistä** arvelet sen johtuvan?

3 Kenen puhujan tavoin haluaisit **itse** mieluiten **puhua** ja **miksi**?

4 Keneen puhujista haluaisit mieluiten **tutustua**? **Miksi**?

5 Haluatko vielä lisätä jotain puhenäytteisiin liittyvää?

KIITOS!

Appendix 2

TEXTS USED IN THE SPEECH SAMPLES (*New Woman*, March 1995, p.169-170)

Sample 1

“There’s a strange process at work by which you and a partner will start to get on much better than you have in the past, mainly because you’re both out of step with the world at the same time. Indeed, the best relationships could be those linked by a mutual idiosyncrasy, conservatism or refusal to face up to reality! Bear this in mind, especially after the 11th and towards the end of the month, and you’ll be liberated from the restrictions that society, parents, employers, and authority figures place on you. You may also find that, by looking to the past, you’ll be able to rediscover your goals and set about realising them.”

Sample 2

“Something very strange could happen around the 11th, when an anticipated emotional crisis, even one you’ve been looking forward to, either fails to happen or goes off with a whimper rather than a bang. From then on you may find that your romantic life is on a slow fuse but, while this could be quite exciting, by the 20th you need to have realised that your feelings are yours and yours alone, and that partners, no matter how close they are, see the world in a very different light. At work the only snag may be that your ambitions at the end of the month outweigh what you can actually achieve.”

Sample 3

“Mars, the planet that rules your energy, is now beginning to rush through your sign, so things should start to move faster and faster. This could be exhilarating, although after the 11th you may find that partners drop out of arrangements. There should be few problems, however, as long as you are prepared to press ahead, either with new partners or on your own if necessary. As the month draws to a close, you’ll begin to realise that others need their independence and that your own desire for variety is influencing decisions in your romantic life. If your current relationship is to continue it will need a massive shot of energy, so don’t let things slide.”

Sample 4

“This month’s Full Moon is at a fascinating angle to your sign, bringing opportunity but also a spot of confusion. You may find yourself spoiled for choice for a short while - caught, perhaps, between an advance at work and a hoped-for improvement at home. If either option seems desirable, seize the opportunity, or you may find it passes you by. Venus, which indicates your emotional prospects, is in Aries all month. Normally a supportive configuration, it changes direction on the 11th, a very strong indication that partners may leave you behind if you don’t update your ideas.”