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THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECT DISCRIMINATION AND
STEREOTYPING IN ADULT LEARNERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND
LANGUAGE

City University of New York

PH.D.

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1979

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECT DISCRIMINATION
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ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

by

MIRIAM RITA EISENSTEIN

A dissertation submitted to the
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1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECT DISCRIMINATION AND STEREOTYPING IN ADULT LEARNERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

by

MIRIAM R. EISENSTEIN

Advisor: Professor D. Terence Langendoen

Many English learners must function in a speech community in which they are exposed to both standard and non-standard varieties of the target language. Yet, most research in second language acquisition does not consider the role of linguistic variation in the language learning process.

This study focuses on the developing sensitivity of adult English learners to different English dialects and the extent to which learners have assimilated community norms regarding dialect speakers. On the basis of a dialect discrimination task, a speaker evaluation task, and a personal interview, the awareness and attitudes of English learners were compared to those of a control group of native English speakers attending the same university.

Reactions to Standard English as well as four non-standard dialects were investigated. New Yorkese English and Black English, present in the learners' speech community, were matched with the unfamiliar dialects of Irish-accented English and Hawaiian Pidgin English for purposes of control.

By the advanced beginning level, English learners could discriminate fairly well between standard and non-standard dialects; however, they did not yet show differential treatment of familiar versus unfamiliar nonstandard dialects. At the same time, advanced beginners were aware of the existence of different varieties of English. So the ability to discriminate among linguistic varieties and the formation of dialect categories seem to develop in a parallel fashion in early stages of second language learning.

Intermediate level learners exhibited a great deal of individual variation. Learners were idiosyncratic in the extent to which they had achieved dialect sensitivity and had assimilated cultural norms.

The advanced learners were excellent at dialect discrimination and shared the negative views expressed by natives regarding nonstandard dialect speakers. However, the advanced learners exhibited differing levels of consciousness regarding attitudes toward familiar nonstandard dialects. They were conscious of the existence of Black English, but did not have a conscious awareness of the existence of New Yorkese English as a distinct dialect.

Learner attitudes toward nonstandard speakers appeared to stem initially from direct contact. Indirect experience served an essentially reenforcing function. Also, comprehension problems resulting from the divergent nature of nonstandard speech may be a crucial element in the development of dialect sensitivity and attitudes toward speakers.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Ida Weisberg, and to my husband, Irwin Eisenstein. Their unflinching encouragement and confidence in me made this work possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have been fruitful for research in the field of second language acquisition. It is now generally accepted that second language learning occurs in terms of developmental strategies whose reference is not exclusively the first language of the learner. Learners are seen as moving through developmental states known as interlanguages (Selinker, 1972) as they progress towards the goal of target language mastery.

It has been pointed out (Hymes, 1972) that in order to achieve mastery of the target language, the speaker must know more than the meaning of lexical items and application of grammatical and phonological rules; that is, he must possess communicative competence. The speaker must be able to judge the appropriateness of specific linguistic variables in context in order to convey meaning and correctly interpret the language of others (Tucker and Lambert, 1973).

Native speakers may have variable rules (Labov, 1969), engage in code switching behaviour (Bailey, 1973), and use various registers of language in specific settings (Ervin-Tripp, 1964; Rona, 1976). They have knowledge of

language varieties and consistent attitudes about different manifestations of their language (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974). Gumperz (1972) points out that "Features of any component or stratus of a language structure may carry social meaning." Of course, the extent to which a native speaker controls the various elements involved in linguistic and cultural variation is dependent upon the experience and sensitivity of the individual.

There has been much work investigating how second language learners acquire the traditional grammatical and phonological components of the target language, and the function of variation within inter-language has been a recent focus in the field (Odlin, 1978; Tarone, 1979). Greenbaum (1975) noted the importance of considering language variation and attitude in the second language learning process. Also, Richards (1972) pointed out that nonstandard varieties of English may be involved in the acquisition of English by learners in certain communities. Yet, the role of target language variation in second language learning remains to be examined.

Although most text books for English as a second language assume a single standard variety of English, learners are exposed to many varieties. In fact, many English learners acquire a nonstandard variety of English as a result of their contacts with speakers of nonstandard dialects (Johnson et al., 1976; Eisenstein and Jimenez,

unpublished paper). In order to help the learner become aware of the alternative forms of English available, the teacher must know at what point learners can discriminate among dialects and to what extent they share community norms.

Swacker (1976) found that speakers of English as a second language were downgraded even more severely than native English speakers when they used low prestige forms. She felt that although the ESL speaker must understand the language varieties in the speech community, the ESL learner should avoid low prestige forms in his own speech. In order to do so, the speaker must recognize nonstandard speech varieties.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the development of dialect discrimination and stereotyping in second language learners. This will contribute to the knowledge of how second language learners deal with language variation in the learning process and will reveal the extent to which they acquire and share the cultural norms of native speakers. An understanding of this process will also be useful for second language teachers in helping their students cope with language variation.

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, it will be necessary to clarify and define some relevant terminology.

The study of language attitudes and stereotypes has been the focus of a great deal of research in the 1960's and

1970's. But the meanings and implications of "attitude" and "stereotype" are not always clear or consistent.

Attitudes

Taylor and Simard (forthcoming) define attitude simply as "a person's favorable or unfavorable evaluation of an object." However, this evaluative aspect of attitude is only one component of the much broader range of definitions in the literature.

Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) review several aspects of attitude including: a mentalistic view defining attitude as a state of readiness, and a behaviorist view limited to overt responses. A multiple structure view of attitude is discussed by both Agheyisi and Fishman and Jackman (1976) in which attitude comprises: a cognitive aspect--knowledge; an affective aspect--the evaluation of knowledge; and a conative aspect--action taken.

The combination of cognitive and affective aspects may result in a state of readiness or a predisposition (mentalistic view) and this state may give rise to the conative aspect, that is, overt behavior (behaviorist view).

Katz and Furin (1969) note that attitudes may vary in intensity and Osgood (1964) points out that attitude may rate anywhere on a scale from extremely favorable to extremely unfavorable. He further states that attitude is learned implicitly and may be evoked by either perceptual or linguistic signs. It is these linguistic signs that are the concern of this study.

Wolfram and Fasold (1974:23) explain the relationship of language varieties and attitudes as follows:

When individuals react subjectively to the speech of a particular group, they are expressing their attitudinal reaction toward the behavioral patterns of that group on the basis of one behavioral manifestation--language.

For this study, the writer wishes to limit the definition of attitude to a person's evaluation of an object--in this case a language variety or a speaker, which results in a predisposition or a state of readiness. This is the definition implied by much of the current research.

Stereotypes

A stereotype is defined by Gardner and Taylor (1968) as "a number of images evoked by a....group label." Abraham (1972) states:

There is no feature of culture which affects behavior towards others more deeply than the way in which these others are typed, that is, put into a category and interacted with on the basis of the expectations carried with that category.

Several definitions of stereotype underscore the fact that more than one attribute is part of a stereotype and (Gardner and Taylor, 1968:67) "....It is not meaningful to conceptualize an ethnic stereotype as a single relatively organized construct."

Gordon Allport's view (quoted in Abrahams, 1972) includes the aspect of exaggeration of belief associated with a stereotyped category.

It must be said that it is possible for stereotypes to represent either real or imagined aspects of group

attributes and behavior. "We must distinguish between traits used to stereotype which are observable actions and imputed attributes which are neither culture specific nor inductively reasonable" (Abrahams, 1972).

Taylor and Simard (forthcoming) provide an excellent analysis of stereotyping. They state that stereotypes are not by definition either desirable or undesirable. They may be positive and desirable when cultural distinctiveness is valued. Also, a distinction is made between stereotyping in general and ethnocentrism, a situation in which "a group exaggerates its own positive attributes and at the same time degrades those of an outgroup." This situation is also recognized by Abrahams (1972), who points out that a very negative result of such a stereotype is that it inhibits communication between members of both ethnic groups.

This thesis will adopt the view that stereotypes are neither good nor bad by definition, and that they include a number of images which may be evoked--in the case of this experiment, by distinctive language varieties or dialects.

Dialect

Agard (1971) attempts a specific definition of dialect by including structural criteria, mutual intelligibility, a shared list of phonologically and semantically similar morphemes in regular correspondence, phonological and grammatical criteria. Agard states that he wishes to avoid socio-cultural factors in the formulation of dialectical

distinctions. This is a very involved and cumbersome definition. Agard does not clarify how mutual intelligibility should be measured or justify his exclusion of socio-cultural criteria. In fact, it is often these very factors which contribute to the manner in which dialects are set off from each other.

Gumperz (1972:225) states: "Dialectical relationships are those in which differences set off the vernaculars of local groups....from those of other groups within the same broader culture." Finally, Berger (1968) defines an English dialect as "any variety of English set off from other varieties of English phonetically, morphosyntactically or lexically." The view of a dialect as a variety of a language set off from others within the same broader culture is one which is consistently assumed in research and will be accepted here. In Berger's terms, this dialect may be set apart by its phonology, syntax or lexicon.

Speech Community

How can the broader culture referred to above be defined?

Hymes (1967:18) tentatively delineates a speech community as "a community sharing both rules for the conduct and interpretation of at least one common linguistic code." He then suggests a larger unit to be known as "speech field" which would be defined as "the total range of communities within which a person's knowledge of code and speaking rules

enables him to move." This could correspond to the "broader culture" referred to by Gumperz. The subjects in this experiment will be considered to be part of a speech community in Hymes' sense.

Standard vs. Nonstandard Dialects

As the work of Labov and others has shown, varieties of a language are not treated equally within a speech community. And one or several of these high prestige dialects may become the officially or unofficially recognized standard form of the language.

On what basis can this standard be described and determined? Giles et al. (1974) reject the possibility that a dialect or accent is elevated to a prestige position because it is inherently the most pleasing form of the language. Rather, a prestige variety is chosen because it has gained consensual validity as the most pleasing form simply because of cultural norms.

Wolfram and Fasold (1974) define standard language as "a codified set of language norms which are considered socially acceptable to the most prestigious social class in a society."

While it is certainly the case that standard language is accepted as the norm by the upper classes in the society, it has been found that these norms are shared by the society as a whole and are by no means unique to the upper classes.

Loman (1976) in a study of Swedish dialects, found that "despite strong differences in their own speech habits, there was a common abstract norm of the standard language on which listeners based their assessments of separate speakers' individual deviations." Labov (1972:120) puts it this way, "The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms.... ."

The fact that community members share norms does not presuppose that these necessarily exist on a conscious level. Taylor and Clement (1974:214) state: "The layman is likely unaware of the specific linguistic features of different styles of speech, but he certainly recognizes differences and draws social inferences from these differences."

Thus, judgements of prestige dialects as well as non-prestige dialects are shared by the community as a whole, including the speakers of non-prestige dialects. Gumperz (1972:223) comments that this kind of sociolinguistic variation may correlate with socioeconomic status in some societies, with educational background in some, and with cultural background in others.

Just as standard forms of speech are judged positively within a speech community, certain dialects are downgraded by community norms. These are called nonstandard dialects. As is the case with standard language varieties, nonstandard dialects are determined by consensus within the

community and may correlate with variables such as socio-economic status, educational background or cultural background of the speakers.

How do the categories of standard and nonstandard dialects relate to American English, the language to be used in this experiment?

Stewart (1968) in Wolfram and Fasold (1974) refers to information standardization, a certain "normalization of language behavior in the direction of some linguistic usage with high social prestige." Since an official academy to formally define a standard is lacking for American English, we must accept an informal standard in Stewart's terms.

Giles and Powesland (1975) find that in terms of research, "In the United States it appears that no one regional dialect has become the recognized national standard.... no regional dialect or accent predominates as more correct than the others." However, Giles and Powesland later mention that a study of American attitudes toward six American accents found reactions most favorable to "Network English--the typical mode of speaking used by national newscasters in the United States."

This study will take the view that standard varieties of English exist within different regions, but when juxtaposed, one or several of these standards may be preferred to others by American English speakers. This study will accept a dialect of English as "standard" if it is accepted as

standard by judges within the speech community of Metropolitan New York, the area in which the study will take place. The possibility remains that some "standard dialects" may be preferred to others in specific situations.

The nonstandard dialects used in this study have been identified in the literature and have been judged as nonstandard by educated members of the New York speech community.¹

Techniques for Measuring Language Attitudes

Since it is that case that members of a speech community have specific attitudes regarding different dialects, but these feelings may not exist on a conscious level, the researcher must answer two essential questions. First, how should the speech sample be presented and, second, how should the listener's reaction be evaluated? In the literature, a variety of approaches are outlined. First we will deal with the question of how to present the language varieties under investigation.

Although some earlier studies depended on questionnaires soliciting the opinions of subjects regarding various

¹For a description of New York nonstandard English, see MacDavid (1961), Labov (1966), Berger (1963), Bronstein (1971), Kurath (1972) and Hubbell (1972).

For a description of Black English, see Shuy et al. (1969), Stewart (1971), Wolfram (1971), Dillard (1973) Winkler (1973), and Fasold and Wolfram (1975).

For a description of Hawaiian English, see Car (1972), Odo (1973), Day (1973), and Bean (1976).

For a description of Northern Irish English, see Milroy and Milroy (1978) and Douglas-Cowie (1978).

forms of speech (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974), more recent studies have relied more on samples of the language to elicit reactions.

Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram (1969) in a study of speech identification in Detroit and Washington, excerpted portions of the interviews of four socioeconomic classes of Whites and Blacks. (This is discussed in Wolfram and Fasold, 1970:70). Scherer (1972) used masked voice samples of Mexican and German speakers taken from natural speech.

Bell et al. (1974) studied children's attitudes by taping two different Black women--one educated and one uneducated--discussing daily routines. Cachere and King (1976) had speakers summarize the content of a paragraph that they had previously read to themselves in order to elicit the reactions of ninth graders to Black English, Spanish influenced English, and Standard English. And Granger et al. (1971) had different individuals describe the same pictures on a stimulus tape recorder.

Callary (1974) presented a stimulus passage in written form, while William et al. (1971) quoted in Wolfram and Fasold (1974), used video tapes of speakers. Colquhoun (1978) had several speakers from each dialect under study relate an experience in which they had been in danger of being killed and she taped their stories. The problem inherent in these approaches is that speakers differ in more than their use of different dialects. Different speakers

have different voice qualities and non-dialect related speaking styles which may influence judgements.

The matched guise technique (described in Lambert et al., 1960) was designed to investigate reactions to different languages or dialects by controlling other variables in the experimental situation. This is accomplished by having the same individual read a passage in different language varieties. Since the reader is the same, differences in voice quality, personality of the speaker, and content of the passage are assumed to remain constant in the different stimulus tapes. Subjects who are asked to make judgements about the readers assume they are reacting to different individuals.

Lambert (1967) states that he has found this method to have very good reliability and, in fact, it has been used widely in evaluating language attitudes. However, the matched guise technique is not without its critics.

Kramer (1964) claims that people making tapes are aware of the purpose of the experiment for which the tapes will be used and may not give natural samples. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) along with Remillard et al. (1973) point out that in the experimental matched guise setting, when judges make their evaluations of the speakers, some of the things they may be reacting to could well be the congruity or lack of it between the topic, speaker, and the particular language variety.

In addition to the lack of social context in the experiment, Tajfel (1959), Lee (1971) and Robinson (1972) are

critical of matched guise because repeating the same message is unnatural, as is the use of the tape itself, and reactions to a reading passage may not be generalizable to other contents.

Giles (1973) has reviewed the criticisms of matched guise in terms of recent research. The question of whether it is appropriate to use a reading passage was dealt with by D'Angelan and Tucker (1973). They investigated evaluative reactions towards varieties of French in Canada by using recordings of spontaneous speech on a standard topic. French Canadian listeners rated European French speakers more favorably on certain personality dimensions than speakers of Canadian French. The results of this study corroborate those of Wallace, Lambert et al. (1960) who used reading passages as a stimulus.

In order to avoid the unnaturalness of using a message repeatedly, and the accompanying difficulty of having subjects consciously aware of the judging process, Taylor and Gardner (1969) unexpectedly asked listeners to evaluate speakers. Once again the French Canadian speaker was downgraded.

The problem of using a taped stimulus rather than an actual person was dealt with in Giles and Bourhis (1976). In a face-to-face encounter, a British male discussed the meaning of psychology in front of a group of students. He gave the same talk to a similar group of students in a nonstandard guise. He was rated as more intelligent when using the standard guise.

The lack of social context in matched guise was controlled by Bourhis, Giles and Lambert (in Giles and Powesland, 1975). In this study an athlete in a real context was perceived as more competent using standardized speech style than when he did not shift. This was found to be the case in both Canada and Wales.

The generalizability of results obtained from formal reading passages to other contexts has been questioned. Ryan et al. (1977) stated that they deliberately chose a formal stimulus passage "to enhance the contrast in reactions between standard and accented speech." Nevertheless, downgrading of the same accented speech was also achieved with a less formal, family context passage (Ryan and Carranza, 1975). They conclude that negative judgements of nonstandard speech samples "can be expected to generalize across passages of varying style and content."

A problem that remains with the matched guise technique is acknowledged by Giles and Bourhis (1976:297). "We readily admit that a problem of this technique is that it has not taken into account the social meaning of people's ability in many contexts and at many linguistic levels to modify their speech styles."

Because of the extent to which the matched guise technique has been used and tested, and also due to the excellent experimental control it affords, a modified form of this approach is used in this study.

Having decided on an approach for presenting the dialects to be investigated, the next choice to be made is the appropriate way of measuring attitudes towards these dialects. One of the difficulties inherent in evaluating reactions to nonstandard speech is that it may be difficult to quantify the great variety of possible individual reactions. Many studies deal with this problem by using the semantic differential to evaluate dialect reactions.

Developed by Osgood (1964), the semantic differential lists a series of opposite or bipolar adjectives. Each adjective pair is separated by a number of blanks representing a scale from one to X (usually five to seven). The subject rates a concept or, in this case, a speaker, on a point of the scale for each of the adjective pairs listed.

Adjective pairs in past studies have been either directly elicited from a population like that of the experimental subjects (Fink, 1978), or may be chosen from the literature (Gardner and Taylor, 1968). Seven point scales are most common in the current literature, although six point scales are sometimes chosen in situations where a forced choice is desirable (Acton, 1978), and five point scales have also been employed. Houston (1972) recommends the seven step scale be used as a standard.

Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) point out that one of the advantages of the semantic differential is that "It is clear that the focal object or concept stimulated the

scored response, rather than any other object or concept introduced through the question or statement."

Houston (1972:123) suggests that the semantic differential is a good research tool because it helps to achieve statistical comparison of test results by getting around the problem that

....Some people are naturally less verbally fluent than others....Verbal fluency is not an issue since the subject is required only to indicate for each pairing of a concept on a scale, the direction of the association and its intensity on this scale.

Since normal variation in fluency is magnified in a second language population, the semantic differential is a particularly useful technique for this study.

It should also be possible to compare responses of subjects even though they may come from different cultures. "That human beings share a common framework for differentiating the affective meaning of a sign is clearly borne out in this data" (Osgood, 1964:185). Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:148) also feel that measures obtained using the semantic differential can be compared meaningfully across cultures.

In the case of beginning English students, the necessary translation of the scales does pose a problem. Osgood (1964) warns that the linguistic frames which define qualifiers vary with each language, and metaphors of good and bad, for example, vary with the cultures under consideration. This problem will have to be considered in this study in the evaluation of the data.

Shuy et al. (1969) found the semantic differential was an effective tool for measuring the reactions of middle class adults. Therefore, this technique is appropriate for the population in the experiment for this thesis.

It must be noted that a real problem with the semantic differential which has been pointed out by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) is that respondents may be bored and answer automatically. Therefore, the length of the scales is kept to a minimum.

The Personal Interview

Although many attitude studies rely almost exclusively on objective experimental techniques, the personal interview has provided helpful and, in some cases, essential insights into the gathering and interpretation of data.

Several studies have found that subjects may not always reveal their true feelings under formal experimental conditions. For example, Webster and Kramer (1968) found that subjects with a middle degree of prejudice over-compensate for community bias and rate accented guises more favorably than their true feelings would indicate. Schneiderman and Walker (1978) found that professors at a university in Ottawa initially failed to rate speakers of formal and informal registers of Canadian French differentially on a semantic scale, regardless of inappropriate social context for the formality of language used. But follow-up interviews of some of the listeners revealed that although they

recognized the inappropriate uses of informal language in formal contexts, they had liberal attitudes which prevented them from downgrading the informal speakers. These follow-up interviews were crucial to the correct interpretation of the objective data since judgements of speakers in matched guise studies have generally been assumed to be a reflection of the listener's view of the speaker's language variety.

Hyman et al. (1967:15) state, "The current interest in social perception, and emphasis on the concept of attitude all imply subjective data. While not unique, the interview method has certain advantages for the collection of such data." Hyman et al. go on to point out that the insight of the interviewer may be helpful in that he might explain or amplify a given question or probe for clarification of an ambiguous answer. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:148) point out that an advantage of the interview is that the respondent can talk at length and does not have to worry about recording his views in writing. Therefore, he may speak more freely. They also stress the important function of the personal contact involved in the interview situation. "The interviewer is able to focus the attention of the respondent on the desired dimension....assess the mood of the respondent."

Osgood, May and Miron (1975) discuss the desirability of using open questions in cross-cultural research. It is important they be certain that subjects interpret tasks

and evaluate labels in ways consistent with the assumptions of the researcher. Kahn and Cannell (1967) recommend the open question in situations where the respondent has not yet formulated his opinions clearly. Also:

The open question appears to be more appropriate when our objective is not only to discover the respondent's attitude toward some issue, but also to learn something about his level of information, the structure or bias on which he has formed his opinion.....

Interviewing techniques are widely discussed in the literature. (Adams (1958), Richardson et al. (1965), Kahn and Cannell (1967), and Ledvinka (1971) are some examples). The interviewing techniques used in this study were generally agreed upon in the literature.

Review of Attitude Studies

A great many studies on language attitudes have been done, and it is not possible to review them all. The writer will try, however, to refer to some of the salient points in the literature. The focus will be on what we have learned about attitudes toward various dialects and their speakers as well as pertinent variables in listeners, speakers, and experimental context that may affect judgements. Some of the implications of these findings for this study will also be discussed.

The extent to which attitudinal evaluations actually conform to overt behavior has been disputed. Ehrlich (1969) states that attitudes may or may not function as determinants

in a specific behavior, and we must understand the intervening variables. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) refer to a validity problem in language attitude studies and warn that there may be a low degree of consistency between attitude measures and overt behavior. Of course, any lack of agreement between attitude measures and overt behavior may well be attributed to an inaccuracy in the attitude measure itself. Weitz (1972) found that White subjects who expressed the most favorable attitudes toward Blacks had the least friendly voice tone and behavior towards Blacks. In this case tone of voice was a more accurate indicator of attitude than feelings consciously expressed by the subjects.

In response to the above criticisms, several studies have been done which confirm a positive relationship between overt behavior and language attitudes found in previous research.

Gaertner and Bickman (1971), in Giles (1973b) used a wrong number technique in which a speaker asked the subject to make a telephone call for him, since he had just used his last dime and reached a wrong number. It was found that a Standard English speaker asking for help was significantly more likely to receive it than a Black speaker making the same plea.

Bourhis and Giles (1976) investigated the rejection of expressed attitudes and actual behavior by tape recording a request for cooperation in a theatre in different English dialects. The extent of cooperation exhibited by theatre

audiences was dependent on the variety of English used in the request for help. This behavior measure agreed with the attitudes of the population toward the varieties of English employed.

Finally, Howitt and McCabe (1978) found that misdirected letters addressed to Irish names in England were less likely to be returned than those addressed to English names. Once again, actual behavior agreed with the previously measured attitude of the population.

Now, let us examine the speech sample to be used as a stimulus in an attitude study. It is desirable to keep this sample as short as possible in order to reduce fatigue and boredom, particularly in cases in which a number of speech samples are being presented. Harms (1961) found that only 15 to 20 seconds of speech were needed in order for untrained judges to make valid assessments of the speakers on the basis of the sample. Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram (1969) found that from 20 to 30 seconds of speech were more than adequate for making judgements. Therefore, for this study, a passage of approximately 30 seconds in length was used for the stimulus tape.

If a nonstandard dialect will be used in an experiment, what is the effect of varying the amount of the nonstandard features? This is an important question, since many dialects exist on a dialect continuum (Odo, 1973:297)

and typical samples may vary considerably in the extent to which non-standard features are represented. DeCamp and Baird (in Bell, et al., 1974) found in a study of Black children's speech that decreasing the number of nonstandard features did not significantly alter judgements of the speech samples. "A minimum amount of nonstandardness was sufficient to elicit a complete stereotype of a Black."

This is somewhat surprising in view of Fasold's comment (1970:554), "Where stigmatized features are present, they are present at lower frequencies at socially higher dialect levels than at socially lower ones." This variation in the amount of stigmatized features present at differing socioeconomic levels would cause one to expect that listener judgements would be sensitive to varying amounts of stigmatized features in a speech sample--an expectation not justified by De Camp and Baird's study cited above. Ryan et al. (1977:271) found that judgements of Spanish accented English were sensitive to degree of accent. "Small increments in accentedness are associated with gradually less favorable ratings of status, solidarity, and speech characteristics." Clearly, this is an issue whose resolution awaits further experimentation.

Perhaps some of the confusion can be explained on the basis of a distinction made by Wolfram (in Fasold, 1970) in which he distinguishes sharp versus gradient grammatical features. Sharp features are those representing a definite

break in frequency of variants between contiguous social classes. A possible explanation of the apparent disagreement above could be that even a minimum amount of sharp features will elicit a complete stereotype, while stereotypes would be affected by varying the amount of a gradient feature in the stimulus sample. Wolfram states that grammatical variables are more likely to show sharp stratification, while phonological variables are more likely to be gradient features.

The relative influence of phonology and syntax in speech judgements has been investigated although here again there are some conflicting opinions. Fasold (1970:561) states that "Grammar features are generally acknowledged to be more significant socially than are phonological variables." Yet, D'Anglejan and Tucker (in Swacker, 1978) note that judgements are most strongly colored by pronunciation, next by vocabulary, and least by grammar.

Callary (1974) studied the effect of syntax by using a written stimulus passage and holding phonology and morphology constant. Male and female judges correctly ascribed social status on this basis. Ellis (1967) found the same was true for phonology. He held other factors constant by simply having speakers count from one to 20 at a set rate. Remillard et al. (1968) found that "A deviation in both syntax and phonology elicits stronger adverse reactions than a deviation in phonology alone." This thesis will test

Remillard's claim, since two nonstandard dialect samples used in this study will differ from the standard in phonology only (New York nonstandard and Irish English) while two nonstandard dialects will differ from the standard in both phonology and syntax (Black English and Hawaiian Pidgin).

In addition to the linguistic elements in the speech sample, situational variables must be considered. Ervin-Tripp (1964) pointed out that important variables in the speech situation include: locale (time and place), participants, function of interchange, and channel (spoken, written, etc.). Bourhis and Giles (1976) find that purpose, setting and topic of an exchange may influence judgements.

The fact that language choice may be affected by the formality of a situation has been recognized by many researchers, including Joos (1961), Remillard et al. (1968), Fasold (1970), Taylor and Clement (1974). Greenfield and Fishman (1970) studied views of which domains call for English and which for Spanish, while Mantell (1971) developed a test to determine whether subjects could identify appropriate contexts for the use of Black English versus Standard English. Yet, despite the influence of context on language choice, Ryan and Carranza (1975) in a study of Mexican American compared to Standard English, discovered that while the intensity of judgements changed with setting of home or school, general positive or negative judgements remained consistent. Since for this study a formal reading passage will be used,

it can likewise be assumed that the general positive or negative direction of judgements would remain constant in less formal contexts, although the intensity of the judgement might be affected.

Gardner and Taylor (1968) found that both message content and social pressure can affect judgements. Remillard et al. (1968) studied reactions to European and Canadian French by varying written and oral mode of presentation. Interestingly, this change in mode did not significantly affect reactions to either lexical items or phrases. Since in this study message content, social pressure and model of presentation are all kept constant for all subjects, these variables should not affect experimental results.

Additional variables in the stimulus passage that may influence judgements included the rate of speech and length of silences in the sample. Ramsay (1968) found that the relationship of length of silences to utterances was related to intelligence, and that females spend a higher proportion of speech time in sound. Smith et al. (1975) investigated judgements made on the basis of synthetic voices for which the influence of rate of speech was manipulated. Increased rate resulted in correspondingly higher judgements of competence, while a rate either faster or slower than normal resulted in lower judgements of benevolence.

Glasgow (1961) varied voice quality (baritone versus nasal twang), pitch (natural versus monotone), rate and enunciation (distinct versus moderately slurred). A good manner of each variable resulted in a higher amount of favorable judgements on the merits of a literary selection. A rate of 130 words per minute was found to be natural, while 250 words per minute was found to be too fast.

Giles et al. (1974) noted that voice qualities are perceived differently across cultures. For example, nasalization is considered unpleasant in Australian accents, but desirable in Received Pronunciation. Arthur et al. (1974) found that raters attended to nondialect voice differences especially for more Standard English voices. In rating Standard English, students used a different more complex procedure for judging personality than they did for non-standard varieties. Socioeconomic status of the speaker may affect not only the kind of judgement made, but the accuracy of judgements as well. Shuy et al. (1969) found that accuracy of judgement increases with the socioeconomic status of the speaker.

The sex of the speaker has also been found to affect the evaluation of language varieties and speakers although there are some conflicting results. Lambert (in Hewett, 1971) has found that subjects generally respond more favorably to females on tapes than to males. Yet,

in some studies females may be judged more harshly than males speaking equivalent language varieties. Preston (1963, in Giles and Powesland, 1975), found that while English Canadian listeners viewed females better than males in French guise, males were rated better than females in Canadian English guise. Wolfram and Fasold (1974:93) note in their Detroit study, "In all four social classes, the stigmatized variant is used more frequently by males than females." Labov (1972) also finds that women show a greater shift towards prestige forms in formal style. He offers the following explanation for this finding:

Nonstandard speaking may indicate virtues of masculinity and toughness for a male....for females there do not appear to be positive values associated with working-class speech which are analogous to those operating for males.

Thus, a possible interpretation of some differential male-female judgements is that since males and females do not use nonstandard forms equally in a natural situation, judges adjust their expressed attitudes accordingly when evaluating speakers. This would mean that differential judgements would not in themselves be unequal, but would merely reflect the sex associated differences in real language use.

Since the effect of sex of speaker is not clear, this thesis will limit stimulus tapes to male speakers.

In addition to variables relating to language variety and speaker, linguistic attitudes may be influenced by various factors in the population of listeners or subjects. Ervin-Tripp (1964) found the important variables in experiment participants include the judge's status in society, sex, age, and occupation.

Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) obtained differential results for child judges as compared to adults from the same population. Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975, in Giles and Powesland, 1975), studied the Franco-Americans of Maine. Ten, 13 and 17 year olds, as well as college students, were asked to rate various speakers using different varieties of English and French. Ten year olds rated middle class American English and local accented English superior to any form of French. But 13 and 17 year olds found European French speakers as competent and socially attractive as English speakers, and by college age, there was no difference found between the European French dialect, the English models, and the upper class variety of local French.

The study done in Maine is particularly interesting in that adults judged a local variety of French to be as acceptable as its European counterpart. This is in marked contrast to the Canadian studies whose results, like those of Lambert et al. (1960) show the European French model to be more favorably evaluated than the local French model.

Bourhis et al. (1973:87) have proposed that the more positively a group views its own identity, the greater will be the range of situations in which it is acceptable for members of the group to use the speech style peculiar to it. For example, it was found that Welshmen, a group with positive self-esteem, took a favorable view of Welsh accented English used in a radio interview.

In the case of lower status groups, Shuy et al. (1968:82) found them to be "quite aware of socially stigmatized and prestigious speech. Even though low-status groups may use a stigmatized variety, their overt assessment of it tends to match that of the high status group." Ryan et al. (1977) found downgrading of Spanish accented English by Mexican American adolescents. And Shuy et al. (1969) found that Black children rated Black English speakers low in the socioeconomic domain. It is interesting, however, that the children's ratings of Black speakers were not as negative in the affective domain.

Labov (1969) has found that nonstandard speakers can be favorably evaluated on a number of dimensions, including integrity, social attractiveness, and toughness. Preston (in Webster and Kramer, 1968) found that French accented English guises were more favorably judged by a French population than English ones.

The social status of the listener may also affect the intensity and accuracy of judgements. Harms (1961, in Giles and Powesland, 1975) found that lower status listeners

rated middle status speakers significantly lower in perceived status than did middle or higher status listeners. Shuy et al. (1969) notes, "Middle class listeners are better judges of social status from speech than are working class listeners."

Kramer (1964) suggests that listener personality may also enter into language judgements, and he relates ethnocentricity to differences in linguistic attitudes. Naremore (1971, in Giles and Powesland, 1975) identified detail oriented versus communication oriented raters. The latter implies a tendency to be concerned with the totality of the situation and topic rather than dwell on specific features of pronunciation or dialect. In general, Naremore found that White teachers tend to belong to the class of detail oriented raters.

Aboud et al. (1974) discovered that a judge's preconception of the speaker will affect attitudes. In a study with upwardly mobile middle class judges, when speakers spoke a lower class language than expected, they were more negatively judged. When speakers spoke a higher prestige language than expected, they were more positively judged. So the extent to which a speaker confirms or disconfirms a judge's preconception will influence judgements.

In some cases, the sex of the listener was a significant variable in speech evaluation. While Callary (1974) found similar ratings by male and female judges, Preston (1963, in Giles and Powesland, 1975) found that male and female

listeners differed in the extent of their reactions. In comparisons of Continental French and Canadian English guises, the characteristics attributed to the speakers showed males to be more extreme in their judgements than females. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) found that females show more awareness of prestige norms than males in their attitudes toward speech. And Tucker and Lambert (1969:467) found that "In the few instances where sex differences in responding did occur, the females tended to rate the speakers slightly more favorably."

Now, let us briefly examine some of the attitudes towards language varieties that have been revealed by recent research. Lambert et al. (1960) found that Canadian French and its speakers were downgraded in comparison with Canadian English and its speakers. It has also been discovered that in Canada, Continental French is often preferred to the local variety (Preston, loc.cit.) Aboud et al. (1974) found that the Joual dialect of Montreal was downgraded as compared with standard varieties of French. Remillard et al. (1968) found a tendency by some Canadian speakers to move toward a form of European French in formal situations. As previously discussed, college students in Maine differ from this view, finding American English, Maine French and Continental French not significantly different in status (Lambert, Giles and Picard, 1975 in Giles and Powesland, 1975). Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert

(1962), in an investigation of Canadian English dialects, found that Jewish accented English in Montreal was viewed negatively as compared with unaccented Canadian English.

Attitudes towards Welsh as compared with English have been studied by Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973, in Giles and Powesland, 1975) and it is interesting to note that Welsh listeners upgraded the Welsh language speaker on most traits. Welsh accented English was included in a study of several British dialects by Giles (1973). This study found that Received Pronunciation is the preferred variety of English as compared with Southern Welsh, Somerset and Birmingham dialects, listed in declining order of prestige. And Bourhis and Giles (1976) found that English spoken with a Broad Welsh accent was negatively judged in comparison to Received Pronunciation or a mild Welsh accent.

Ramanujan (1967) found non-Brahman dialects in India were negatively viewed by speakers of Brahman caste dialects. And varieties of Russian have been investigated by Krysih (1977).

Of particular interest for this study is the research done on reactions to dialects of American English. Tucker and Lambert (1969) found that both White and Black listeners in the South preferred Network speech to other American English dialects. Colquhoun (1978) did a study in Canada in which she investigated reactions to Midwest American English, Southern American English, West Indian accented English, British English (RP) and Canadian English. Judges preferred

the British dialect, rated Midwest American, Southern American and Canadian English about equal, and selectively downgraded the West Indian variety.

Arthur et al. (1974) found that Chicano English was negatively stereotyped by Anglo-American university students on scales related to success, ability, and social awareness. Ryan and Carranza (1975) showed that Spanish accented English was also downgraded by Mexican Americans as compared with the standard variety. And Rey (1977) found that speakers of Spanish accented English were negatively judged by potential Florida employers on all job categories.

Labov (1966) found that informants in New York stigmatized nonstandard forms in New York speech. Furthermore, those who showed the highest use of nonstandard forms in their own speech were often among the most sensitive in detecting these forms in the speech of others. Markel et al. (1967) found that Buffalo girls negatively judged speakers from the New York Metropolitan area as compared to speakers from the Buffalo area.

There has been a large amount of research into reactions to Black English in the United States. In 1955 Putnam and O'Hern (in Giles and Powesland, 1975) found White listeners correctly evaluated the social status of Black speakers. Black English speakers have been generally judged in negative terms as compared with standard English speakers (Labov, 1968; Bell et al., 1974; Cachere and King, 1976).

Buck (1968) investigated reactions to both New Yorkese nonstandard and Black accented English. As has been the case with many such studies, Black English was represented only in phonological terms. The study examined reactions to four dialects: Standard White English, Standard Black English, and the two nonstandard dialects listed above. Speakers read a taped passage from Alice in Wonderland. Listeners were female college students at Hunter College. Attitudes towards the standard dialects of White and Black speakers did not differ significantly. It is noteworthy that twenty-four of the twenty-six subjects identified the Black Standard English speaker as White. Another interesting result was that subjects significantly preferred the nonstandard dialect of the Black speaker to the nonstandard White New York speech. Of course, since only Black 'accented' English was used, the extent to which this finding can be extrapolated to relative judgements between actual samples of Black English is questionable.

Semmel (1968) (in Giles and Powesland, 1975) played recordings of Black and White children to college students. Judgements indicated a negative view of the Black children, particularly in terms of intellectual ability. The importance of the phonological and/or content component of this experiment is revealed by the fact that typescripts of the interviews given to another group of judges were not enough to allow them to identify Black versus White speakers.

Williams (1970) conducted an experiment in which teachers rated White and Black students based on their language. Students rated highly were identified by the teachers as White even when they were actually Black. And Irwin (1977) found that fifty speakers, Black and White, in Southern universities were correctly identified as to race by a majority of thirty-six listeners. Vocal quality and speech fluency were both perceived to be significantly better for White speakers.

Experiments involving reactions to unfamiliar languages have been conducted in order to shed light on the questions of whether standard versus nonstandard forms of speech are inherently distinctive in an esthetic sense. Giles et al. (1974) found that British college students failed to significantly distinguish between Athenian and Cretan dialects of Greek in terms of their relative prestige. Athenian is the prestige form and Cretan is downgraded by Greek speakers. Yet, Brown et al. (1975, in Giles et al., 1974) found that non-French speaking Americans correctly ascribed Canadian French speakers to their respective social backgrounds. This surprising result has been explained in terms of possible differences in the recitation skills of the speakers or perceptible differences in voice quality which may be judged similarly in both cultures.

A question that has interested investigators of language attitudes is, "When do native speakers become aware of dialect differences and community norms?"

At first, it was thought that dialect stereotyping did not occur until around puberty. Labov (1972) stated:

It is in the first year of high school that the speaker begins to acquire the set of evaluative norms (of the society)....He becomes sensitive to the social significance of his own form of speech and other forms.

Labov did not believe that the native had completely internalized community norms until the age of 17 or 18.

But Rosenthal (1977) found that previous researchers had failed to use experimental techniques which were appropriate for young children in assessing their reactions to language varieties. She developed a tool for use which young children called the Magic Boxes. This new way of testing children's reactions to language varieties resulted in the discovery that "the most extensive development of language awareness occurs between three and four years of age." She found that children could discriminate between varieties of different languages by ages four to five. By age five, both Black and White children had assimilated community stereotypes of speakers of Black English as compared to Standard English speakers.

Bell et al. (1974) found that children from varied socioeconomic backgrounds responded according to the values of society with reference to educated versus uneducated Black speech; Cachere and King (1976) found that ninth graders in

New Orleans negatively evaluated Black English, Spanish influenced English, and White nonstandard English, as compared with the Standard form.

Finally, we come to a major question posed by this thesis. Do learners of English as a second language become aware of different English dialects and, if so, when does this sensitivity develop? A related question is--having become aware of the existence of different dialects, do English learners assimilate community norms regarding these varieties?

In order to make relative judgements about varieties of English, students must first be able to identify dialects as being different from each other. Tucker and Sarofim (1978) conducted an experiment regarding the developing ability of second language learners to recognize deviant sentences as compared with normal ones. D'Anglejan (1975) had previously found that beginning learners are unable to recognize deviance in the second language. Egyptian learners of English were asked by Tucker and Sarofim to rate sentences on the basis of grammaticality and perceived acceptability, as well as the extent to which the sentence annoyed them--its "irritability rating." The data suggested a series of developmental stages for the learner. In stage one the beginning learner cannot recognize deviance. By stage four the learner is advanced in his knowledge of the language and is able to recognize deviance as well as correct any deviant

sentences to which he is exposed. Of course, not all learners reach this final stage. While recognizing that nonstandard speech is not exactly the same as deviant speech, the writer suspects that both involve similar discrimination abilities on the part of the learner.

The dialect sensitivity of learners of English as a second language was investigated in a pilot study by Eisenstein and Bailey (1976). They focused on the reactions of English learners to nonstandard New York English as compared with a Standard English guise. Although beginning English students did not make consistent judgements, intermediate and advanced English learners, along with a native control group, downgraded the nonstandard speaker on socioeconomic and affective variables.

Swacker (1977) studied the reactions of adult English learners to various regional dialects of English. She found, "For the samples tested, the value judgements about the personality of the speakers were similar for the (native) control and experimental groups, students of English as a second language." But since Swacker used regional varieties, and did not clarify to what extent students had actually been exposed to these speech varieties, it is not clear to what extent students were making judgements about the specific dialects. It is possible that they may have merely been reacting to differences from a perceived norm. She failed to consider

the relationship of language proficiency and dialect awareness, a question which will be pursued in this paper.

Sources of Attitudes and Stereotypes

Since this study will attempt to explore the development of linguistic stereotypes in second language learners, it will be crucial to understand the processes by which both native speakers and learners acquire their conscious and unconscious views of linguistic varieties and their speakers.

Why do stereotypes develop? Kroch (1978) suggests that:

Dominant social groups tend to mark themselves off symbolically as distinct from the groups they dominate and to interpret their distinctiveness as evidence of superior moral and intellectual qualities.

But stereotypes are not limited to dominant or dominated groups. Furthermore, stereotypes may serve positive or neutral as well as negative functions.

Stereotypes and attitudes have been found to come from both direct and indirect experience. Abrahams (1973) comments that "we type other people as we observe, meet, and interact with them." William Stewart (in Rosenthal, 1977) insists that we must deal with the plausibility of direct social experience as the source of attitudes. Tajfel (1959) in reevaluating Lambert's data, suggests that many of the negative traits attributed to Canadian-French speakers correlate with lack of socioeconomic success of this group and relate to direct experience with these speakers in Montreal.

Yet, lack of direct experience has also been implicated in the formation of attitudes and stereotypes. Lambert (1967), in Williams et al., (1971) points out that "lack of experience with different persons contributes to ethnocentric attitudes." And from the point of view of both groups, Abrahams (1972:22) notes "The less we know and are known by those with whom we are in contact, the more we are subject to being involved in what has been referred to as a stereotyping situation."

There are many sources of attitudes and stereotypes from indirect experience. Social attitudes of peers, authority figures and the individual's culture in general have all been cited.

In a study on attitudes toward French-Canadian accented English, Gardner and Taylor (1968) showed that subjects' judgements were influenced by social pressure applied in terms of fictitious ratings subjects believed were made by other subjects. Rosenthal (1977) found that attitudes may be transmitted by adults to children. And, of course, the role of authority figures, such as teachers, should be considered. Giles (1972) observes that listeners' social attitudes affect the evaluation of personality of standard and nonstandard speakers. Of particular interest for this study is the suggestion of Lambert and Klineberg (1969:250) that "the conceptions people develop of their own national group in relation to others may very likely have long-term consequences." Thus, the differing

views which are brought by learners from a variety of native cultures must be considered in this study.

The role of television, movies and the press in influencing cultural attitudes has been a source of concern to researchers and the public alike. Gerson (1966) in an investigation of media influence on attitudes explains that "Media can function as an agency of socialization by reinforcing existing values and attitudes and by serving as a source of norms and values.... ." The extent to which media influences socialization depends upon several factors, including the degree of integration of the individual into peer culture. Gerson found that "More Negro than White adolescents used the media as an agency of socialization" and he suggested that the Negro's lack of direct experience with the dominant culture along with the availability of the media as a way to learn behavior in the society at large results in this discrepancy. He also observed that

....Negroes and members of other minority groups generally receive unfavorable symbolic treatment in their presentation by the media to the broader society.

Roger Shuy (1975) reviews the image of language variety in the popular press. He finds that informal and nonstandard linguistic variation is viewed in extremely negative terms. He discusses Edwin Newman's book, Strictly Speaking - in which Newman blames the decline of language on the rise of minorities, the generation gap, and television. The New York Times also cites television

as having had a negative influence on language. Finally, Shuy quotes Jean Stafford of The New York Times who claims that the variability of language used in this country is a direct result of mental disorder, laziness, and a stupefied community brain!

Fink (1978) found that American students studying German had negative images of German speakers that stemmed in part from war movies and television programs that presented Germans in derogatory terms. He discovered that the use of a text book portraying Germans in nonaggressive and more favorable terms resulted in a much more positive view of German speakers on the part of American learners.

Experiences in college have been cited by several studies as contributing to changes in stereotypes towards linguistic groups and, in a larger sense, changes in more general attitudes were noted. The function of college in influencing language attitudes is important to this study because both experimental and control groups have been chosen from a college population.

Plant (1958) found changes in ethnocentrism among female college students in the direction of less ethnocentric ideology. Webster (1958) noted that college seniors express more uniformly than freshmen, "a greater degree of tolerance for nonconforming ideas and behavior." It is therefore not surprising that Giles (1971:187) found that "Twenty-one year old college students evaluated accented English speech more favorably than 17 year olds." He

argued that "The social qualities of college life are often such as to mould less ethnocentric and more liberal attitudes towards the characteristics of outgroups."

We have seen that many variables may be involved in the processes of dialect discrimination and stereotyping. Linguistic variables include lexical, phonological, syntactic and pragmatic differences. Speaker and listener variables influencing judgements include age, sex, socioeconomic status and personal experiences, such as the presence or absence of a liberal college education.

Listener variables were identified on the basis of a detailed questionnaire submitted to each participant in the experiment (see the procedure section) and some speaker differences were controlled through the use of the matched guise technique. Variables were examined to the extent permitted by the population and the limitations of the experimental conditions. The semantic differential was used to assess speaker attitudes and the personal interview was used to investigate the formation of dialect stereotypes.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE

The experiment consisted of three parts: a speaker evaluation task, a dialect discrimination task, and follow-up interviews with a subset of the populations tested.

Subjects

Subjects for the experiment consisted of a control group of 33 undergraduate students at Queens College, and an experimental group of 74 students of English as a second language attending the English Language Institute at the same university.

The control group was made up of native speakers of English who were also natives of the New York City metropolitan area. Hubbell (1972) defines a distinct New York metropolitan dialect area and notes that the suburban communities of Nassau County, and some of the nearby towns of Hudson and Essex Counties in New Jersey are linguistically part of the city.

The English learners in the experimental group came from a wide variety of countries and language backgrounds.¹

¹Native languages are listed in Chapter III of this study in the section on Population.

They are in the process of studying English at the ELI for a variety of purposes and reside in the New York area.

Students at the ELI are placed in one of six different levels (level 1 - beginners; level 6 - advanced) on the basis of their English proficiency. The ELI determines proficiency on the basis of four measures. These consist of an aural test, a structure test, a cloze test,² and a composition. These tests have been used for some time at the college for purposes of pre- and post-testing, and some normative data is available for them. The cloze tests are evaluated on the basis of the exact word scoring method. (Oller, 1972, discusses this method of scoring). The composition grades are the average of two grades assigned by two teachers in the program. (There was close agreement among the grades given to compositions by the different readers). Subjects' scores on these tests will be considered in the data analysis.

²The cloze procedure was originally developed by Wilson Taylor in 1953, and was initially used to measure ability to read prose. It has since been used widely as a test of general second language proficiency (Oller, 1972, 1973, 1975; Oller and Hinofotis, 1976; Jonz, 1976; Darnell, 1970). Briere et al. (1978) review some of the existing experimentation and state: "Theresults clearly demonstrate the ability of cloze tests to discriminate learners of foreign languages by instructional levels." It is interesting to note that the highest correlations with the cloze test and subtests of standardized tests have been with measures of listening comprehension (Oller, 1973).

It was decided that Level 1 students (absolute beginners) would not be appropriate subjects for the experiment, since it has been shown that beginning language students cannot yet discriminate differences between language varieties (D'Anglejan, 1975). Also, Eisenstein and Bailey (1976) found that beginners did not yet have clearly defined attitudes towards non-standard dialect speakers. Therefore, the group of lowest proficiency used in the experiment were students from Level 2 (advanced beginners). Other ESL students in the study were chosen from Levels 4 (high intermediate) and 6 (advanced). The purpose of this distribution of subjects was an effort to obtain a clear distinction of proficiency levels between experimental groups. Thus, there were three experimental groups (ESL students at three different levels of proficiency) and one control group (native students attending the same college):

ESL students	Level 2	25	subjects
	" 4	22	"
	" 6	27	"
		<u>74</u>	"
Natives		33	"
	Total	107	"

For the discrimination task and the speaker evaluation task, an entire class was tested rather than a subset or a sample of a class.

A detailed questionnaire³ was administered in order to determine relevant background information for the

³A copy of the questionnaire appears in the appendix.

populations tested. This included age, sex, current place of residence, native language or languages, other languages spoken, place of birth, time in the United States, time in the New York area, other periods of residence in English-speaking areas, previous English instruction, location and extent of instruction, employment information, planned future career, parents' occupations, and student status. This background was necessary in order to control and examine the variables (discussed in Chapter I) that have previously been found to affect linguistic attitudes. ESL students were also asked to rate the extent of their English experience on scales from one to four in terms of number of English-speaking friends, time spent speaking English, time spent watching English television, or listening to English radio, and ability to understand English. Finally, ESL students were asked to list their purposes for studying English.

The Stimulus Tapes

The two non-standard dialects spoken in the Metropolitan New York area that will be used in this experiment are New York non-standard English (New Yorkese) and Black English. In order to be certain that the reactions to these dialects would represent reactions to specific patterns of speech and not simply the result of responding to language that sounds different but unfamiliar, these two dialects were matched with two dialects that differ from the standard in ways that are analogous to the two dialects being examined.

New York non-standard English differs from the standard in essentially phonological ways. It exists on a continuum, although the more extreme examples of it contain definite syntactic differences, such as the use of past tense verb forms instead of the past participle. For purposes of control it was decided to choose a less extreme example which differs from the standard in phonology only. There are many speakers in the New York area whose syntax is standard, but whose speech differs from the standard in essentially phonological ways.

Irish accented English was chosen as a match for New Yorkese since it was found to be unfamiliar to the ESL students and it has phonological differences that could be considered analogous to those of New Yorkese. Although the casual speech of the Irish Ulster dialect does differ from the standard in some syntactic ways, for purposes of control only phonological differences were included in the recording for the experiment.

Black English is both syntactically and phonologically different from the standard, and also exists on a dialect continuum. The Black English tape chosen for the experiment, like the New Yorkese tape, was not the most extreme example of the dialect but one that was judged intermediate in the continuum by three judges; it was found appropriate for the reading style of the experimental passage. Winkler (1973)

found that Blacks change intonation for reading or casual style, so it was important that the style of Black English was appropriate for the reading context.

Hawaiian Pidgin was chosen as an analogous dialect to Black English because, like Black English, it is both syntactically and phonologically different from the standard language. Hawaiian Pidgin also exists on a continuum and, once again, an intermediate version was chosen as most appropriate for reading style. The variety used in this study is Japanese influenced Hawaiian Pidgin.

The stimulus tapes were readings of the same short excerpt telling about the battle of Lexington. (See appendix for text). This was a reading passage in prose and so would be somewhat less formal than some kinds of public speaking or readings from text books. Tapes were played for three judges before being included.

Each tape lasted about 30 seconds, ample time for consistent opinions to be formed by the subjects. (Transcriptions of the tapes appear in the appendix).

The readers were four males between the ages of 24 and 38 years. They were all university educated individuals who could speak a non-standard dialect of English as well as the standard variety.

The New York non-standard speaker was 33 years old and lived in Brooklyn, New York all of his life. His New Yorkese intonation was slightly influenced by Yiddish--

a language in which he is also fluent. His standard English was found to sound careful by the judges. He is a chemistry teacher, and a doctoral candidate in Chemistry.

The Black English speaker spent most of his life in Essex County, New Jersey, part of the New York City linguistic dialect area discussed above. Now in his 30's, he currently resides in a suburban town nearby. His Black English dialect was judged to be a moderate one appropriate for reading style. His Standard English was considered very good by the judges, but something in the voice quality made two of the judges suspect he might be Black. He is a university instructor in English.

(Another tape done by a different Black English speaker was further from the standard and found to be inappropriate for reading style by the judges).

The Irish English speaker was a 38 year old who lived in the Kingsbridge section of the Bronx (then a heavily Irish area) until he moved to a suburban town as a teenager. His mother was from Northern Ireland and he had many friends and associations from the same area of Ireland. He is employed in the publishing field and his Standard English was considered to be a high status variety by the judges. One judge thought it was "superstandard."

The Hawaiian Pidgin speaker was a 24 year old graduate student in Engineering at the University of Honolulu, Hawaii. He is a native Hawaiian of Japanese descent and his

Hawaiian was found to be intermediate on the dialect continuum--not representing the most divergent form. His Standard English was considered appropriate for Hawaii, but distinct Hawaiian influences made it a bit different from the regional standards accepted as norms on the mainland.⁴

The Speaker Evaluation Task

This was a projective test of subjects' attitudes towards speakers of the non-standard dialects and their standard guises. The function of this task was to examine the extent to which students of English as a second language at the three levels of proficiency tested share the attitudes and stereotypes of their native speech community towards Standard English versus Black English and New Yorkese English. It was hypothesized that there would be significant differences in expressed attitudes for the familiar non-standard dialects between Levels 2, 4 and 6, as well as Native, with judgements going in the direction of analogous judgements of Native speakers. It was also hypothesized that the unfamiliar non-standard dialects for the ESL students would be intermediate between the standard samples and the familiar non-standard samples.

Subjects listened to nine tapes in the following fixed order:⁵

⁴Thanks are expressed to Barbara Schwartz who did the recordings for the Hawaiian speaker in Honolulu.

⁵The fact that it was necessary to test subjects in groups and the inclusion of the unfamiliar dialects made it necessary to adopt a fixed order of presentation for the tapes.

Tape 1: A tape of Standard English played for the purpose of practice with the test materials.

Tape 2: The Black English tape. It was played at this point so that the listeners would immediately hear the two extremes of dialect differences in the experiments.

Tape 3: Standard English (matched guise of Irish tape).

Tape 4: New York non-standard English.

Tape 5: Standard English (matched guise of the Black English tape).

Tape 6: Standard English (matched guise of the New York non-standard tape).

Tape 7: Irish-accented English tape.

Tape 8: Standard English (matched guise of Hawaiian Pidgin tape).

Tape 9: Hawaiian Pidgin tape.

Irish and Hawaiian tapes were placed at the end so that exposure to them would not influence the reactions to the other tapes in the experiment.

The semantic differential was used as a framework for evaluative judgements. Ten bi-polar adjectives were chosen by three judges from a list of 30 taken from the literature. These represent level of education (well-educated; not educated), socioeconomic status (rich/poor; job status explained below), intelligence (smart/stupid), personality (friendly/unfriendly; lazy/hardworking; honest/dishonest;

brave/cowardly), and physical appearance (tall/short; handsome/ugly; slim/fat).

A seven point scale for occupation was included. This was adapted from the occupational scale used by Shuy et al. (1969) for employability ranking.

The ten bi-polar adjectives were presented on a seven point labeled scale with one and seven meaning very, two and six meaning somewhat, three and five meaning a bit and four as a neutral midpoint. The seven point scale was chosen essentially because this is the most frequently used scale in the current literature and results will be comparable. Also, there was no reason to insist upon a forced choice in this experiment.

Three questions were included asking how the subject would like to relate to the speaker: as a friend, neighbor or fellow worker. Again, a seven point scale was used to evaluate subjects' desires for affinity with the speakers.

Thus, in all, the speaker evaluation task consisted of 14 variables, all rated on a scale from one to seven.

On the chart favorable and unfavorable adjectives were put at either side of the scale at random (suggested by Williams, 1970b) so that subjects evaluated the adjective pairs individually. Responses were reordered during the scoring procedure so that 1 = a negative judgement, and 7 = a positive judgement.

In all cases language was kept as simple as possible. For ESL students at the beginning level, the instructions as well as the charts were translated into the native languages of the students tested. This was to insure that test results would not be influenced by the limitations on their knowledge of the English language itself.⁶ (Text of the instructions and charts are in the appendix).

The Dialect Discrimination Task

The second part of the experiment, the dialect discrimination task, was done to determine at what point students of English as a second language are able to discriminate between two dialects of English and a determination of which language varieties they considered to be better English. All four non-standard varieties in the study were included so that it was possible to control the relative effects of syntactic and phonological differences in discrimination ability. While the speaker evaluation task represented an indirect examination of linguistic views by focusing on judgements about speakers, this task caused the subjects to directly make judgements about language itself.

A test of 15 sentence pairs was played through twice. The first time, for each of the pairs the subjects had to

⁶I wish to express my thanks to the people who did the translations of the instructions: Chang Yu Guey (Chinese), Heasun Kim (Korean), Chagit Heller (Hebrew), Carmen Jimenez (Spanish), John Moyne (Persian), Fumiye Momiyama (Japanese), Marcia Ostfeld (Italian), Peter Sambanidis (Greek) and Robert Vago (Hungarian).

mark the pair as the same or different. The second time, (in the case of those sentence pairs which were different) the subjects had to choose the sentence which was better English. The first two sentence pairs were Standard English sentences that were the same. These were used for practice with the test and for purpose of balance in the task. The other 12 sentence pairs consisted of three groups for each non-standard dialect in the study. Of the three pairs, one pair was the same and two were different. Thus, there was a total of five responses for each of the non-standard dialects. These 12 sentences were presented in random order.⁷ (The instructions and forms for the task appear in the appendix).

The Interview

Sixteen subjects, four from each group, were given personal in-depth interviews as a follow-up to the objective parts of the study. The interviews, which took place from one to two weeks after the first two parts were administered, were done in order to gain additional insights into the judgements disclosed by the evaluative component of the study.

In the follow-up interviews, an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence was first established. (Recommended in Adams, 1958). A few moments were taken at the beginning to chat with the subject in a relaxed manner. This kind of

⁷Randomizing was done with a table of random numbers taken from Kendall and Smith (1939).

interview atmosphere has been found to result in greater productivity and less resistance on the part of the respondent. Pope and Siegman (1968) also cite the importance of warmth in the interview setting.

Unlike the first two parts of the experiment, which were administered in groups, the interview was done on a one-to-one basis in a quiet room. The respondent was reassured as to the confidential nature of the interchange and was asked for permission to have the interview recorded. After a brief initial chat, the respondent was told:

1. "The purpose of this talk is to learn more about your feelings about the people on the tapes you heard last time. I also want to understand your experiences with people in the United States. When the interview is over, I will be happy to answer any questions you would like to ask about the study."

2. "Now you will hear the tapes again, one at a time. After you hear each tape, choose the photograph that you think looks most like the man on the tape."

The photographs were color prints taken by a photographer who was instructed to take 30 candid shots of individuals in the New York area. They were to be outdoors, front view, and represent the diverse social and ethnic make-up of the New York City area. From these 30 pictures, ten were chosen for the experiment.

The pictures chosen included some photographs that represented definite ethnic and socioeconomic groups, while

a few others were chosen that could be more ambiguous in association. These would allow for more personal interpretation on the part of the subjects.

Another reason for using photographs is that it is sometimes embarrassing or difficult for people to make judgements of others which include racial or ethnic identification or place them on a low socioeconomic level. The function of the pictures was to allow individuals to make these judgements in a subtle and unselfconscious way. Then, if the respondents wished to verbalize their impressions, they were free to do so. If they did not, their impressions of the speaker were still communicated to the extent of choosing a certain picture over the others.

After choosing the picture, the subject was asked the following questions, one at a time:⁸

Why did you choose this picture to represent the speaker?

Have you ever met anybody who speaks this way?

Tell me about it.

Have you ever heard anybody in the media speak this way? (If necessary, media was explained as TV, radio, or movies).

What do Americans think of this way of speaking English?

Would you like to speak this way? Why? Why not?

Is there anything you would like to add?

⁸ Interview questions were chosen from a larger list of questions which were pretested on three adult English learners who were not attending formal English classes.

When necessary, probes were used to gain further information or clarification on these questions. When subjects resisted answering questions, the interviewer tried to reassure them as to the anonymity of their responses and the positive motivation of the study--to understand English learners better. If subjects continued to resist, the interviewer did not press the issue. High pressure probes were avoided (Adams, 1958).

After the tapes were listened to and subjects responded to the above questions on the tapes, respondents were asked when they first became aware of the existence of different ways to speak English, which way they would most like to speak and who spoke the English they would most like to learn.

Finally, a few moments were taken to answer the questions of the respondents and to explain the exact purpose of the study. Respondents were asked to keep this discussion confidential, as some of their acquaintances might be participating in the study.

Interviews for the elementary ESL students were done with the help of translators who were totally fluent in both English and the native language of the subjects.

Statistics

Statistics were calculated by computer, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, et al., 1975).

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

Population

The English learners came from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. The most common native languages were Spanish, Persian and Greek. Others included Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, French, French Creole, Hebrew, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, Rumanian, Thai and Yiddish. The control group consisted entirely of native English speakers brought up in the New York area.

Of the 74 English learners, 21 could speak a second language in addition to their native languages and English, while 53 could not. Of these, only four could speak a third additional language.

The native English speakers showed a similar linguistic background in that 13 could speak a second language, compared with 20 who could not. Only five could speak a third language.

Age

There was a difference in average age between the ESL and native groups. The native English speakers had an average age of 18.61, whereas ESL Groups 2 to 6 averaged 23.08, 22.64, and 23.89 years old respectively. This difference will be considered in the evaluation of the data.

Sex

The English learners were roughly balanced in terms of sex with 38 males and 36 females; Levels 2 and 6 had a majority of males, while Level 4 had a majority of females.

The native group was unevenly divided with only nine males and 24 females.

Table 1
Subjects by Group and Sex

<u>Level</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
2	14	11	25
4	9	13	22
6	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>27</u>
ESL (total)	38	36	74
Natives	<u>9</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>33</u>
Total	47	60	107

Neighborhood

The neighborhoods in which the subjects resided were rated by natives of the boroughs in which they were located on the basis of socioeconomic and ethnic makeup. It was possible to categorize them in one of three possible ways--upper class (not mixed), middle class (not mixed) and a third category comprising either middle class mixed or lower middle class mixed:

- 1 - upper class, not mixed
- 2 - middle class, not mixed
- 3 - lower middle or lower class, mixed

The majority of each group resided in middle class neighborhoods which were not ethnically mixed. Four subjects in each ESL group and six subjects in the native group resided in

mixed areas. Only two students each in Levels 2 and 4, and three students each in Levels 6 and native resided in upper class areas:

Table 2
Neighborhoods

<u>ESL Students</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Upper Class</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Mixed</u>
2	2	18	4
4	2	16	4
6	3	16	4
Natives	3	24	6

Although there were not enough subjects in upper class or mixed categories to evaluate the effect of residing in these divergent areas as opposed to middle class areas, the dispersion of the population does show that the groups are roughly equal in terms of the areas in which they live. Therefore, this variable should not affect the outcome of the data in this study. In other words, observed differences in behavior between groups will not have resulted from a difference in where the subjects live.

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status was determined based on parents' occupations. Status was rated as upper, middle or lower class. Level 2 ESL students were rated as follows:

Table 3
Socioeconomic Status

<u>Level</u>	<u>Upper Class</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Class</u>
2	3	19	3
4	2	10	4
6	4	9	4
Natives	6	20	3

(There was a large number of missing values--20 in all. Perhaps students were reluctant to provide information on their parents because they did not see where it was relevant to the study; or perhaps they considered this question an intrusion).

The majority of subjects were middle class with only a few students in each group in the upper class and the lower classes. We can therefore say that groups are approximately matched for socioeconomic status, and this variable should not affect the data.

Student Status

Almost all of the English learners were nonmatriculated students who were studying at the ELI. Eighteen of the native English speakers were college freshmen, eight were sophomores, two were juniors, and two were non-matriculated students.

Previous English Study

A substantial portion of the ESL population had studied English previous to coming to this country. Average time of study is given below:

Table 4
Previous English Study

<u>Level</u>	<u>Previous English Study</u>	<u>No Previous Study</u>
2	6 (20 months)	21
4	8 (39 months)	14
6	10 (41 months)	15

Scores for years and months of previous study may be misleading in that some courses were minimal in usefulness and others

were quite intensive. Also, note that some students had additional study in this country.

Average Time in the New York Area

Time in the New York area was consistent with level of English achievement. Those here the shortest time were in Level 2 and those here the longest were in Level 6. Although a few students had spent some time in other English speaking areas, the group averages for total time in English speaking areas were not significantly different from total time in the New York area:

Table 5
Average Time in the New York Area

<u>Level</u>	<u>Months</u>
2	7
4	11.5
6	19.5

Proficiency Tests

Scores for all four proficiency tests differed according to level of ESL with lowest scores for Level 2 and highest scores for Level 6. The greatest range of scores from high to low was provided by the composition test:

Table 6
Proficiency Tests

<u>Level</u>	<u>Aural</u>	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Cloze</u>	<u>Composition</u>
2	36.35	43.48	35.00	24.17
4	58.01	68.30	44.62	49.65
6	71.13	78.17	56.61	68.92

English Experience Outside Class

Amount of English use outside of class was rated by the English learners on a four point scale (1=none, 2=a little or a few, 3=some or sometimes, 4=many or a lot). The three measures included number of native English speaking friends, time spent speaking English, and amount of TV watching done in English. Time spent speaking English was consistent with achievement level in that Level 2 students rated themselves lowest, Level 6 students rated themselves highest, and Level 4 students were intermediate between the two. But Level 4 students rated themselves highest in number of English friends, with Levels 2 and 6 almost the same. Levels 2 and 4 were similar in amount of English TV watching, with Level 6 higher.

Students rated their own abilities to understand English on the same four point scale. Ratings were consistent with level, as were objectively administered proficiency tests with Level 2 rated lowest, and Level 6 rated highest.

Table 7
English-American Contact

<u>Level</u>	<u>American Friends</u>	<u>Time Speaking English</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>Understanding</u>
2	1.96	2.50	3.04	2.39
4	2.19	2.68	3.00	2.72
6	1.93	2.93	3.30	2.97

Purpose for Studying English

The most common purpose for studying the language for the Level 2 and 4 English learners was to help them in future studies in the United States. However, Level 6 students, the advanced learners, differed in that a plurality of this group stated that their purpose for studying English was to help in a future life in the United States. It is not possible to say whether this difference in purpose is actually related to the student's level of achievement, or whether more students who intended to stay in the United States continued their English studies long enough to reach the advanced level class; or, perhaps at an advanced level of achievement, more students are in a position to determine their futures and have decided to stay.

Table 8
Purpose for Studying English

	<u>L e v e l</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
To help in my work when I return home	3	7	4	14
To help in my studies in the U.S.	17	9	5	31
To help in my future life in the U.S.	5	5	12	22
Other reasons	-	-	1	1

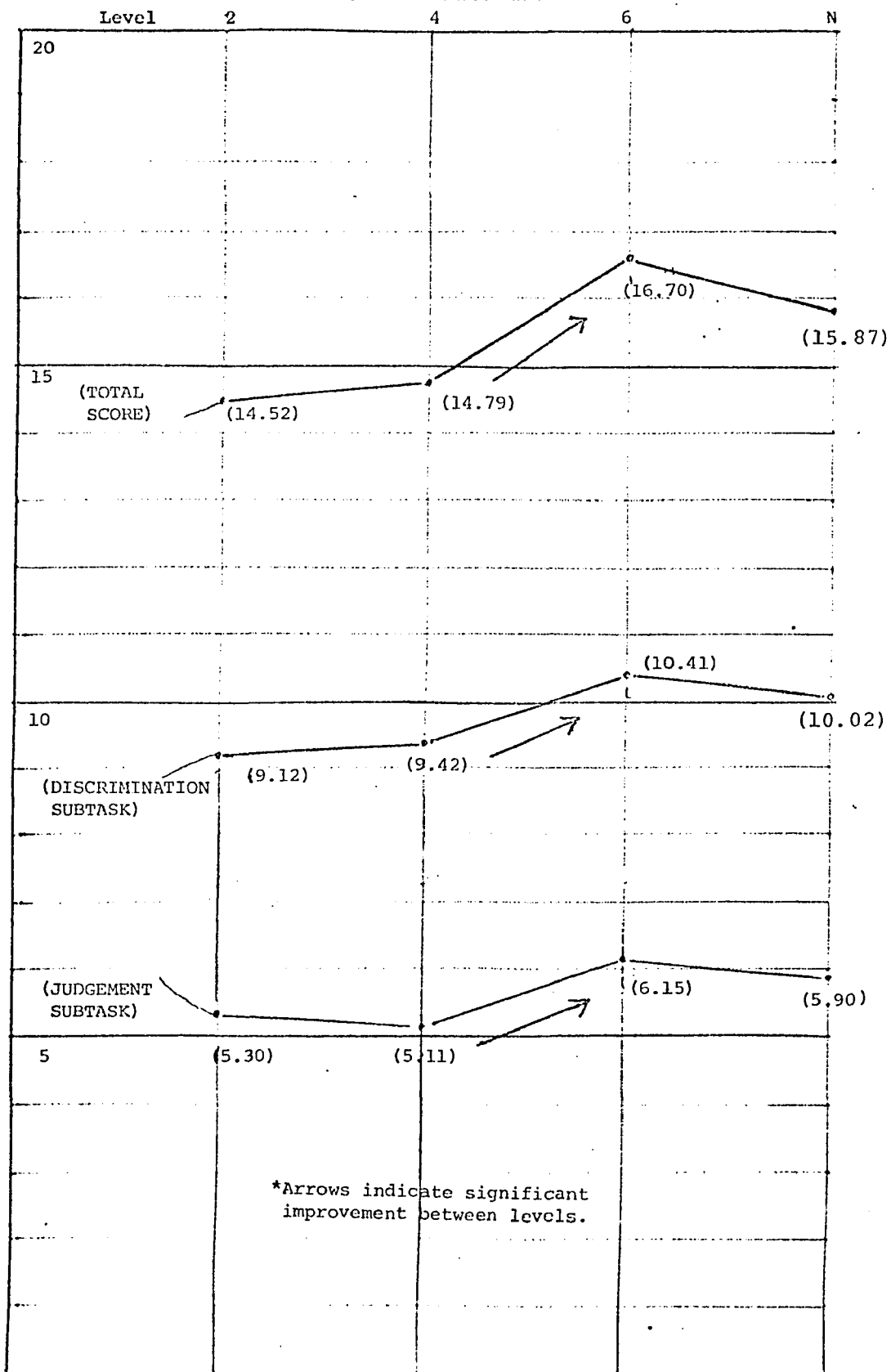
(Six students did not answer these questions)

The Discrimination Task

Surprisingly, scores on the dialect discrimination task were relatively high. (See Table 9 for scores). It has been previously found that very beginning students cannot make reliable judgements with regard to speakers of different dialects in the target language, nor can they recognize deviant sentences (Tucker and Sarofim, 1978). So, it is interesting to note that on the advanced beginner level (Group 2) subjects averaged a score of 14.52 as compared with 16.70 for advanced ESL students, and 15.87 for native speakers. This indicates that the ability to discriminate among dialects of a target second language develops very early in the language learning process, after only a few months of study or exposure.

Intermediate learners (Level 4) did not improve significantly over advanced beginners in total score. (See Table 10). In fact, there was a significant decline in their ability to discern which of two different sentences was better English; in other words, which was considered more prestigious in the speech community. (See Figure 1). This could have been due to the fact that at this point they were more involved in attending to meaning than the lower level learners, and this may have interfered with their judgements. In order to make a more definitive comment on this unexpected result, it would first have to be shown that this is consistent behavior for these levels, and that the drop in judgement scores is not simply a statistical artifact. The average score for dialect

Figure 1
DISCRIMINATION TASK*



discrimination rose from Level 2 to Level 4, although the improvement was not found to be statistically significant.

Advanced English learners (Level 6) showed a significant improvement in both their abilities to discriminate in general and in their judgements of the more desirable dialect. In fact, by this level there are no significant differences between the advanced ESL students and native English speakers in their performances on this task. Figure 1 shows the progress of ESL learners on the discrimination subtask, the judgement subtask, and the discrimination task as a whole.

It is interesting to note that although the discrepancy was not a statistically significant one, Level 6 students outperformed natives in both the discrimination and judgement categories. Why should this occur? It is possible that advanced ESL students are more in the habit of looking at language in terms of its structure and phonology than are native speakers. Natives use language primarily for purposes of communication, and their linguistic judgements tend to be secondary to this main focus. ESL learners who are attending formal classes are constantly working with the structure and phonology of language and thus judgements about linguistic features may come more easily to them in this sense.

The groups' relative performance on the different dialects is confusing. (See Table 11). In all cases, subjects had higher scores on Black English and Irish accented English than on New Yorkese and Hawaiian Pidgin. The variables of

Table 9

THE DISCRIMINATION TASK

	<u>Level 2</u>	<u>Level 4</u>	<u>Level 6</u>	<u>Natives</u>
Discrimination (out of 12)	9.12	9.42	10.41	10.03
Judgement (out of 8)	5.36	5.11	6.15	5.90
Total Score (out of 20)	14.52	14.79	16.70	15.87

Table 10

T SCORES FOR BETWEEN LEVEL MEAN DIFFERENCES

	<u>Level 2-4</u>		<u>Level 4-6</u>		<u>Level 6 - Native</u>	
	<u>T</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>p</u>
Discrimination	.68	(.501)	2.67	(.011)	1.12	(.268)
Judgement	2.45	(.019)	2.45	(.019)	.71	(.482)
Total Score	.32	(.751)	2.67	(.011)	1.29	(.204)

Table 11

SUBSCORES FOR INDIVIDUAL DIALECTS

	<u>Level 2</u>	<u>Level 4</u>	<u>Level 6</u>	<u>Natives</u>
New Yorkese	3.56	3.16	3.93	3.73
Black English	3.92	3.89	4.30	4.63
Irish English	3.60	4.00	4.30	4.17
Hawaiian Pidgin	3.44	3.47	4.00	3.30

syntax and phonology do not provide an explanation since the Irish and New Yorkese samples differ only in phonology, while the Hawaiian and Black English samples differ in both phonology and syntax. The familiar-unfamiliar dialect distinction is similarly unilluminating. Perhaps the key to this question lies in the fact that the standard samples in the pairs of the Black and Irish English sentences were more clearly standard than those of the New Yorkese and Hawaiian samples. This might mean that there was actually a greater linguistic distance between the standard and non-standard sentences in the Black English and Irish English pairs, causing a distinction to be more easily made. However, justification of this interpretation of the data must await further research.

The discrimination task clearly shows that by the advanced beginner level learners of English as a second language are able to discriminate between varieties of the target language on a fairly reliable basis. They have also begun to form a conception of the community norm of the desirable variety of English, and they can to some extent perceive language that diverges from that norm. From advanced beginner to intermediate level there is no significant evidence of progress, and there may even be a possibility for a decline in the judgement area. However, there is significant development in both dialect discrimination and judgement ability between intermediate and advanced levels, to such an

extent that advanced English learners (appear to) have achieved a native-like ability to discriminate and make judgements among clearly divergent nonstandard varieties of English, when juxtaposed with the standard. Of course, it is not possible to extrapolate to what extent advanced learners could perform in a natural situation in which they would have to attend to the meaning of language and preplanning of responses. This is an empirical question to which we do not yet have an answer.

Male and female learners were significantly different in their relative performance on the total score for the discrimination task. The females achieved an average score of 16.15 as compared with 14.79 for the males. Thus, the female English learners were significantly better at dialect discrimination than were the males.

Native female speakers achieved an average total score of 16.14 on the discrimination task, almost identical to that of the average female performance for the ESL learners. Native males achieved an average score of 15.13, lower than native females but higher than male English learners. The disparity in native male versus female scores did not reach significance. However, since there were only eight native males included in the calculation, it is possible that the lack of statistical significance between the male and female scores may be due to the small size of the sample.

Table 12
Male versus Female Discrimination Scores

	Average Total Score				<u>T Score</u>
	<u>(n)</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>Females</u>	
ESL	(38)	14.79	(33)	16.15	-2.10*
Natives	(8)	15.13	(22)	16.14	- .97

* $p < .05$ (2 tailed)

Since the control group was somewhat younger than the experimental groups, a test was performed to be certain that results on the discrimination task were not influenced by this age difference. The ESL population was divided into two groups, one under 20 years of age, and the other over 20. A T test was performed on the variable of total score for the discrimination task. When average scores for the learners under 20 were compared with those of older learners, no significant difference was found.

Table 13
Discrimination Scores by Age Group

	<u>English Learners</u>		<u>T Score</u>
	<u>Under 20</u>	<u>20 and over</u>	
Average Total Score	15.68	15.31	-.52 (n.s.)

Speaker Evaluation Task

Overview

In order to get a general overview of the relative judgements of natives and ESL students at different levels regarding the different stimulus speakers, the average scores for each group on each variable were computed. Scores are listed on 14-27.

These average scores for each group on each of the 14 variables in the speaker evaluation task were then ranked in terms of the relative scores assigned to the speakers on Tapes 2 through 9. (The first analysis tape was for practice only, and will not be considered in the data analysis). These ranks appear on Table 28. The range of scores from the lowest average score to the highest was also computed for each group on each variable (Table 29).

Native Judgements

For nine out of the 14 variables the speakers on Tapes 3 and 5 (Standard English) were rated the highest by the native speakers. The speakers on Tapes 2 and 4--Black English and New Yorkese respectively--were rated the lowest.

For educated, rich, neighbor, fellow worker and handsome, the standard guise of the Irish speaker, Tape 5, was rated the highest. Thus, it would appear that the two standards on Tapes 3 and 5 were rated approximately equal by the native control group.

Table 14

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

JOB STATUS

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	3.32	3.59	2.52	1.47
3	5.29	4.91	5.70	5.53
4	2.91	3.14	2.77	2.42
5	4.91	5.59	5.00	5.70
6	3.96	3.19	3.70	3.58
7	3.45	3.96	4.26	4.50
8	4.67	4.29	5.22	4.03
9	3.64	4.46	4.19	4.15

Table 15

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

RICH

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	3.52	3.55	3.15	2.53
3	5.30	5.05	5.15	5.73
4	3.17	3.77	3.52	2.97
5	5.21	5.68	5.37	5.55
6	4.04	3.68	4.41	4.28
7	3.70	3.96	4.74	4.65
8	4.58	4.41	4.48	4.47
9	4.33	4.82	4.26	4.13

Table 16

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

HARDWORKING

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	4.91	3.36	3.30	2.84
3	5.95	5.96	6.41	6.39
4	5.20	3.91	3.78	2.64
5	5.68	6.00	5.78	6.23
6	5.25	4.68	4.70	4.38
7	5.00	4.77	5.04	5.28
8	5.09	4.64	5.04	4.59
9	4.88	4.86	4.54	4.09

Table 17

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

EDUCATED

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	4.91	4.46	3.30	2.84
3	5.95	5.96	6.41	6.39
4	5.20	3.91	3.78	2.64
5	5.68	6.00	5.78	6.23
6	5.25	4.68	4.70	4.38
7	5.00	4.77	5.04	5.28
8	5.25	5.00	5.59	4.97
9	4.71	4.96	4.67	4.16

Table 18

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

INTELLIGENT

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			<u>N</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
2	4.10	4.82	4.48	3.31
3	5.44	5.86	6.04	5.94
4	4.96	4.32	4.37	2.61
5	5.61	5.82	5.70	6.06
6	4.67	4.55	4.85	4.50
7	5.04	4.46	5.31	5.31
8	5.48	4.73	5.33	4.25
9	5.44	4.73	5.19	4.44

Table 19

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

HANDSOME

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			<u>N</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
2	3.64	4.09	3.85	3.36
3	5.25	5.05	5.77	5.70
4	3.65	4.09	3.93	3.24
5	5.13	5.05	4.63	5.12
6	4.08	4.27	4.48	4.38
7	3.55	4.00	4.70	4.28
8	3.96	4.18	4.37	4.01
9	3.92	4.18	4.04	4.00

Table 20

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

TALL

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	3.72	3.86	5.00	5.56
3	4.70	5.00	5.15	4.97
4	4.16	4.68	4.22	4.12
5	4.36	4.36	5.19	5.46
6	4.08	4.36	4.67	4.03
7	3.92	4.00	4.89	4.53
8	4.16	4.50	4.50	4.53
9	4.84	4.46	4.26	4.00

Table 21

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

SLIM

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	4.52	4.09	4.85	5.59
3	5.00	5.09	5.26	5.73
4	3.75	3.96	3.89	3.61
5	3.63	4.41	4.19	5.15
6	3.83	4.23	4.59	4.22
7	3.96	3.73	4.89	4.81
8	3.72	3.50	4.04	4.25
9	4.20	4.09	3.82	4.31

Table 22

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

HONEST

<u>Tape</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	4.54	4.77	4.46	4.13
3	5.48	5.48	5.33	5.46
4	5.44	4.64	4.85	4.09
5	4.96	5.36	5.07	5.58
6	4.43	4.77	4.52	4.84
7	5.00	4.64	4.19	5.56
8	5.04	4.73	4.85	4.28
9	4.36	5.23	4.77	4.34

Table 23

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

BRAVE

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			<u>N</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
2	4.38	4.68	4.63	4.52
3	5.30	5.41	4.59	4.39
4	4.18	4.18	4.30	3.85
5	4.74	5.41	5.37	4.97
6	4.48	4.18	4.44	4.09
7	4.77	3.64	4.15	4.84
8	4.71	4.00	4.56	4.06
9	4.50	4.62	4.63	4.03

Table 24

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

FRIENDLY

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	5.25	4.96	4.63	4.41
3	5.82	5.96	5.74	4.67
4	5.04	4.05	4.59	4.53
5	5.46	5.82	5.44	5.19
6	5.55	5.09	4.93	4.52
7	5.17	4.41	4.70	4.94
8	4.71	4.23	4.78	3.69
9	4.22	4.91	4.22	3.84

Table 25

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

NEIGHBOR

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>N</u>
2	3.83	4.41	3.89	2.81
3	5.33	5.18	5.59	5.47
4	4.13	4.00	4.11	3.41
5	5.09	5.00	5.26	5.06
6	4.23	4.09	4.07	4.38
7	3.67	3.82	4.22	5.06
8	4.00	4.55	4.85	4.66
9	3.75	4.86	4.15	4.31

Table 26

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLE AND LEVEL

FELLOW WORKER

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			<u>N</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
2	3.57	3.64	3.96	2.90
3	5.14	4.18	5.52	5.29
4	3.13	3.33	3.22	2.91
5	4.74	5.09	5.04	5.25
6	3.50	3.46	4.04	4.31
7	4.05	3.46	3.74	4.97
8	3.83	3.82	4.78	4.28
9	3.13	3.68	3.58	4.07

Table 27

MEAN SCORES BY VARIABLES AND LEVEL

FRIEND

<u>Tape</u>	<u>L e v e l</u>			<u>N</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
2	3.61	4.50	4.07	2.91
3	5.05	5.21	5.67	4.70
4	3.57	4.06	3.93	3.09
5	5.00	5.05	5.04	5.10
6	4.42	4.00	4.37	4.13
7	4.14	3.58	4.39	4.68
8	4.17	3.90	4.77	4.30
9	3.44	4.32	3.88	4.20

Table 28

SPEAKER EVALUATION TASK
 (Rank orders of average scores for tapes
 by level for the fourteen variables)

Level	Job Status	Edu- cated	Intel- ligent	Rich	Hard- working	Neigh- bor	Hand- some
	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>
highest	3 5 3 5	3 5 3 3	5 3 3 5	3 5 5 3	5 3 5 5	3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3
	5 3 8 3	5 3 5 5	8 5 5 3	5 3 3 5	7 5 3 3	5 5 5 5	5 5 7 5
	8 9 5 7	6 8 8 7	9 2 7 7	8 9 7 7	3 2 8 7	6 9 8 7	6 6 5 6
	6 8 7 9	8 9 7 8	3 8 8 6	9 8 8 8	8 9 7 8	4 8 7 6	8 8 6 7
	7 7 9 8	7 7 6 6	7 9 9 9	6 7 6 6	9 8 9 6	8 2 9 8	9 9 8 8
	9 2 6 6	4 6 9 9	4 6 6 8	7 4 9 9	2 6 6 9	2 6 4 9	4 2 9 9
	2 6 4 4	2 2 4 2	6 7 2 2	2 6 4 4	4 7 2 2	9 4 6 4	2 4 4 2
lowest	4 4 2 2	9 4 2 4	2 4 4 4	4 2 2 2	6 4 4 4	7 7 2 2	7 7 2 4

Level	Fellow Worker	Friend	Slim	Friend- ly	Tall	Honest	Brave
	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>	<u>2 4 6 N</u>
highest	3 5 3 3	3 3 3 5	3 3 3 3	3 3 3 5	9 3 5 2	3 3 3 5	3 3 5 5
	5 3 5 5	5 5 5 3	2 5 7 2	6 5 5 7	3 4 3 5	4 5 5 7	5 5 2 7
	7 8 8 7	6 2 8 7	9 6 2 5	5 6 6 3	5 8 2 3	8 9 4 3	7 2 9 2
	8 9 6 6	8 9 7 8	7 9 6 7	2 2 8 4	8 9 7 8	7 2 8 6	8 9 3 3
	2 2 2 8	7 4 6 9	6 2 5 9	7 9 7 6	4 5 6 7	5 6 9 9	9 6 8 6
	6 6 7 9	2 6 2 6	4 4 8 6	4 7 2 2	6 6 8 4	2 8 6 8	6 4 6 8
	9 7 9 4	4 8 4 4	8 7 4 8	8 8 4 9	7 7 9 6	6 4 2 2	2 8 4 9
lowest	4 4 4 2	9 7 9 2	5 8 9 4	9 4 9 8	2 2 4 9	9 7 7 4	4 7 7 4

Tape 2 Black English Tape 4 New Yorkese
 Tape 5 Standard Tape 6 Standard
 Tape 9 Hawaiian Pidgin Tape 7 Irish-accented English
 Tape 8 Standard Tape 3 Standard

(Tape 1 was a Standard English tape used for practice only).

x
| shows tied ranks
y

Table 29

RANGE OF JUDGEMENTS ON THE SPEAKER EVALUATION TASK
(High to Low)

<u>Level</u>	<u>Job Status</u>	<u>Edu- cated</u>	<u>Intel- ligent</u>	<u>Rich</u>	<u>Hard- working</u>	<u>Neigh- bor</u>	<u>Hand- some</u>
<u>2</u> (high)	5.29	5.95	5.61	5.21	5.17	5.33	5.25
(low)	2.91	4.71	4.10	3.17	4.32	3.67	3.55
(range)	2.38	1.24	1.51	2.04	.85	1.66	1.70
<u>4</u> (high)	5.59	6.00	5.86	5.68	5.64	5.18	5.05
(low)	3.14	3.91	4.32	3.55	3.82	3.82	4.00
(range)	2.45	2.09	1.54	2.13	1.82	1.36	1.05
<u>6</u> (high)	5.70	6.41	6.04	5.37	5.56	5.59	5.77
(low)	2.52	3.30	4.37	3.15	3.30	3.89	3.85
(range)	3.18	3.11	1.67	2.22	2.26	1.70	1.92
<u>N</u> (high)	5.70	6.23	6.06	5.73	5.94	5.47	5.70
(low)	1.47	2.64	2.61	2.53	2.84	2.81	3.24
(range)	4.23	3.59	3.45	3.20	3.10	2.66	2.46

<u>Level</u>	<u>Fellow Worker</u>	<u>Friend</u>	<u>Slim</u>	<u>Friend- ly</u>	<u>Tall</u>	<u>Honest</u>	<u>Brave</u>
<u>2</u> (high)	5.14	5.05	5.00	5.82	4.84	5.48	5.30
(low)	3.13	3.44	3.63	4.22	3.72	4.36	4.18
(range)	2.01	1.61	1.37	1.60	1.12	1.12	1.12
<u>4</u> (high)	5.09	5.21	5.09	5.96	5.00	5.48	5.41
(low)	3.33	3.58	3.50	4.05	3.86	4.64	3.64
(range)	1.76	1.63	1.59	1.91	1.14	.84	1.77
<u>6</u> (high)	5.52	5.67	3.26	5.74	5.19	5.33	5.37
(low)	3.22	3.88	3.82	4.22	4.22	4.19	4.15
(range)	2.30	1.79	1.44	1.52	.97	1.14	1.22
<u>N</u> (high)	5.29	5.10	5.73	5.19	5.56	5.58	4.97
(low)	2.90	2.91	3.61	3.69	4.00	4.09	3.85
(range)	2.39	2.19	2.12	1.50	1.56	1.49	1.12

(High and Low scores are group means).

The lowest rating of all was given to the New Yorkese speaker by the native judges on the variables educated, intelligent, hardworking, and handsome, while the Black speaker was rated lowest on job status, rich, neighbor, fellow worker and friend. Thus the New Yorkese and Black English speaker were rated about equally low by the natives. Initially, this was somewhat of a surprise, since the Black English stimulus passage, differing from the norm in both syntax and phonology, was more divergent than the New Yorkese passage, which was only phonologically different. Also, lower class Blacks are more stigmatized and negatively stereotyped in the society than are Caucasians of a corresponding social class. However, neither of the two familiar nonstandard dialect and passages represented the most extreme sample of the dialect, and the choice of these intermediate dialect samples may have resulted in a leveling effect. Further, since judges are aware of the frequently unequal status accorded to Blacks in American society, they may adjust their judgements accordingly.

Native judgements differed somewhat on the variables slim/fat, friendly, tall, honest and brave. The Irish accented speaker was rated higher than the Tape 3 standard speaker on honest. The Black English speaker was rated higher than all the others on tall, second from the highest on slim, and third on brave. The New Yorkese speaker was rated sixth for tall, and last for slim and brave. Black and

New Yorkese speakers received intermediate ratings on variables that affect personality. Labov found that non-standard speakers could also be rated highly on a variable he called "toughness."

The reason why Black English speakers should be considered taller and slimmer than the average is open to interpretation. A possible explanation is that Black people are stereotypically thought to be athletic, and Black basketball players, who tend to be taller and slimmer than average, are particularly visible in the culture.

The range of scores from low to high for native judgements went from a high of 4.23 for job status to 1.12 for brave. It is interesting that the five variables showing the greatest range in scores were those relating to the socioeconomic status of the speakers while the affective and personality variables were lower in range from lowest to highest score. A possible explanation is that socioeconomic factors can be objectively observed in lower and upper class populations, while personality factors are more open to personal interpretation.

The English Learners

How did ESL students at the different levels rank the speakers relative to each other? First, let us examine the reactions of the English learners regarding the variables for which natives consistently ranked speakers 3 and 5 (Standard) highest and 2 and 4 (Black English and New Yorkese) lowest.

English learners on Level 2 ranked the standard speakers of Tapes 3 and 5 highest on seven out of the nine variables, for which native judges had this ranking, namely, job status, educated, rich, handsome, neighbor, fellow worker, friend. This, in addition to performance on the dialect discrimination task, is evidence that even at this early stage, advanced beginners have some sense of the norm for the standard language. In the cases of intelligent and hardworking, the standard speaker on Tape 5 was still ranked highest, but an intermediate rating was given to the standard speaker on Tape 3.

Level 2 ratings for the speakers of the familiar non-standard dialects, Black English and New Yorkese, were less consistent. These two dialects were rated lower than all the others for only two of the nine variables--job status and rich. There were four cases in which unfamiliar nonstandard dialects were ranked lower than one or both (educated, neighbor, handsome, fellow worker) and five cases in which a standard speaker was ranked lower (neighbor, fellow worker, intelligent and hardworking). This would seem to indicate that for learners at this level, nonstandard dialects are not clearly differentiated from each other. (The role of unfamiliar dialects in this study will be discussed at length later on). The fact that some standard guises could be judged more negatively than their nonstandard matches shows that for this task learners on the advanced beginner level could not yet make relative

decisions about a continuum of standard speech forms. At this level, either a dialect agrees totally with a perceived norm or it does not. Although they did not perform as well as the other groups, Level 2 learners were more successful on relative judgements when standard and nonstandard English forms were juxtaposed on the sentence level in the discrimination task.

Level 4 English learners, like Level 2 learners, agreed with natives in rating the Standard English speakers on Tapes 3 and 5 highest on the nine variables under consideration. However, in the case of six variables, one of the familiar nonstandard dialects was rated higher than an unfamiliar nonstandard, namely, intelligent, hardworking, handsome, neighbor, fellow worker, and friend; and in seven cases, one of the nonstandard familiar dialects was rated higher than a standard speaker on job status, intelligent, hardworking, rich, handsome neighbor, fellow worker, and friend. Intermediate English learners ranked both Black English and New Yorkese lower than the others for only one of the nine variables--educated. So, in their relative judgements of the various dialect samples, intermediate English students appear to be similar to Level 2 learners. They can recognize a clearly standard sample and deviance from that norm. But, like the beginners, they do not appear able to identify either a continuum of standards or specific nonstandard dialects as opposed to others.

Level 6 learners came closer than those at lower levels to native judgements on the nine variables. In four cases, education, intelligence, wealth, and hardworking, they agreed with natives in ranking the Standard speakers on Tapes 3 and 5 the best, and in ranking the Black English and New Yorkese speakers the lowest. Level 6 learners differed essentially on variables of desired friendship and personality. In the case of the variable job status, the standard guise for the Hawaiian speaker on Tape 8 was rated higher than the Standard guise for the Black English speaker on Tape 5. In another case, on the variable handsome, the Irish accented speaker was rated higher. For the variable neighbor, a standard speaker was rated lower than the New Yorkese speaker, and for fellow worker and friend, a nonstandard unfamiliar dialect was ranked lower than one or both of the familiar nonstandard dialects. Therefore, for the nine variables, Level 6 learners most closely approximated the judgements of the native group.

On the five variables for which natives ranked speakers differently, Level 2 subjects agreed with their judgements only in part. On the slim variable, the Black English speaker was ranked second by both natives and Level 2 learners, while the New Yorkese speaker on Tape 4 was ranked as intermediate by the Level 2 learners; he was assigned the lowest ranking by the natives on this variable. The advanced beginner English students ranked the speakers on Tapes 2 and 4 intermediate on friendly, as did the native judges. The

intermediate ranking by Level 2 students of the familiar nonstandard dialects was not shared by the natives who gave the speakers of these dialects the lowest ranking on this variable. Finally, the Level 2 students did not share the natives' positive assessment of the Black English speaker on the variables tall and brave. The Black speaker was given the lowest ranking on tall by the Level 2 learners, while the New Yorkese and Black English speakers were ranked low on brave by this group.

Like Level 2 learners, Level 4 English students did not rank the Black speaker high on tall. However, interestingly, the New Yorkese speaker was ranked high on this variable. The intermediate learners did, however, agree with natives in ranking the Black English speaker third on brave. They did not agree with native judgements on slim, ranking both Tape 2 and 4 speakers intermediate on this variable. Speaker 2 was ranked intermediate for friendly by both natives and Level 4 learners, but the English students ranked the Tape 4 speaker lower than did the natives on this variable. Finally, the intermediate learners ranked the Black English speaker higher on honest, but agreed in the low rating assigned by natives to the New Yorkese speaker on this variable.

Although agreement for these five variables was less consistent than for the first nine considered, Level 6

learners made judgements closer to those of natives than did the other two groups. Along with natives, advanced English learners found the Black English speaker to be relatively slim, tall, brave, dishonest, and slightly friendly. Level 6 subjects agreed with native judgements of the New Yorkese speaker in considering him relatively fat, and not brave. However, the advanced English learners found the New Yorkese speaker shorter, less friendly, and more honest than did the native judges.

Reactions to Familiar Nonstandard Dialects and Standard Guises

For purposes of clarity, it will be helpful to examine subject reactions to the familiar nonstandard dialects in the study namely, New Yorkese and Black English, as compared with their standard guises. A summary of subjects' relative ratings of these speakers is found in Table 30.

Natives rated both of the nonstandard dialect speakers lower than either standard guise on ten of the 14 variables in the speaker evaluation task. As has been previously pointed out, relative judgements on the two nonstandard speakers were evenly divided with the New Yorkese speaker rated higher on job status, rich, neighbor, fellow worker, and friend, while the Black English speaker rated higher on educated, intelligent, hardworking, handsome and honest. The standard guises were not equally rated. The standard guise for the Black English speaker on Tape 5 was

Table 30

RATINGS OF FAMILIAR DIALECTS

Level	Job Status				Educated				Intelligent			
	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	4.91	5.59	5.78	5.70	5.68	6.00	5.78	6.23	5.61	5.82	5.70	6.06
6	2	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	4	2	6	6
2	6	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	6	6	2	2
4	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	4
	2.91	3.14	2.52	1.47	4.91	3.91	3.30	2.64	4.10	4.32	4.37	2.61
Range high to low	2.00	2.45	3.26	4.23	.77	2.09	2.48	3.59	1.51	1.50	1.33	3.45

Level	Rich				Hardworking				Neighbor			
	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	5.21	5.68	5.37	5.55	5.17	5.41	5.56	5.94	5.09	5.00	5.26	5.06
6	4	6	6	6	2	2	6	6	6	2	4	6
2	6	4	4	4	4	6	2	2	4	6	6	4
4	2	2	2	2	6	4	4	4	2	4	2	2
	3.17	3.55	3.15	2.53	4.32	3.82	3.30	2.84	3.83	4.00	3.89	2.81
Range high to low	2.04	2.13	2.22	3.02	.85	1.59	2.26	3.10	1.26	1.00	1.37	2.25

Table 30 (continued)

Level	Handsome				Fellow Worker				Friend			
	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	5.13	5.05	4.63	5.12	4.74	5.09	5.04	5.25	5.00	5.05	5.04	5.10
6	6	6	6	6	2	2	6	6	6	2	6	6
4	2	2	4	2	6	6	2	4	2	4	2	4
2	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	2	4	6	4	2
	3.64	4.09	3.85	3.24	3.13	3.33	3.22	2.90	3.57	4.00	3.93	2.19
Range high to low	1.49	.96	.78	1.88	1.61	1.76	1.82	2.35	1.43	1.05	1.11	2.91

Level	Slim				Friendly				Tall			
	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N
2	5	2	2	2	6	5	5	5	5	4	5	2
	4.52	4.41	4.85	5.59	5.55	5.82	5.44	5.19	4.36	4.68	5.19	5.56
6	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	5	2	5
4	2	2	5	6	2	2	2	6	6	6	6	4
5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	4	6
	3.63	3.96	3.61	3.61	5.04	4.05	4.59	4.41	3.72	3.86	4.22	4.03
Range high to low	.89	.45	1.24	1.98	.51	1.77	.85	.78	.64	.82	.97	1.53

Table 30 (continued)

Level	Honest				Brave			
	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N
4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	5.44	5.36	5.07	5.58	4.74	5.41	4.27	4.97
5	2	4	6	6	2	2	2	2
2	6	6	2	2	6	6	6	6
6	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4
	4.43	4.64	4.46	4.09	4.18	4.18	4.30	3.85
Range high to low	1.01	.72	.61	1.49	.56	1.23	1.07	1.12

consistently rated higher on these ten variables than was the standard guise for the New Yorkese speaker on Tape 6. This is not surprising since in pretesting judges had found the Tape 6 stimulus reading to be superior to all of the nonstandard samples, but more obviously studied and less fluent than standard samples 3 and 5. This is not a problem for the study, since it was originally assumed that the various samples would not necessarily be rated equally.

Level 2 advanced beginning English learners agreed with relative native rankings for six variables, job status, educated, rich, handsome, neighbor and friend. In the cases of four variables, intelligent, hardworking, honest, and fellow worker, the New Yorkese speaker was rated higher than his standard guise. And in three cases, hardworking, honest and fellow worker, the Black English speaker was rated higher than his standard guise.

Level 4 intermediate learners totally agreed with native rankings on two out of the ten variables under discussion--education and handsome. For two variables, rich and friend, the New Yorkese speaker was rated higher than his standard guise. And surprisingly, on seven variables, job status, intelligent, rich, hardworking, neighbor, fellow worker, and honest, the Black English speaker was rated higher than both the New Yorkese speaker and his standard guise! Since this occurred for only two variables among Level 2 judges, this phenomenon is hard to explain. Perhaps

learners at this intermediate level become particularly sensitive to fluency and self-confidence in their language judgements. This is certainly an area that needs further investigation.

By Level 6 relative judgements closely agreed with those of native speakers, with advanced English learners duplicating the natives' relative ratings of the four dialects under discussion on eight of the variables (job status, educated, intelligent, rich, hardworking, fellow worker, friend and handsome). In two cases, neighbor and honest, the advanced learners rated the New Yorkese speaker higher than his standard guise, but maintained the lower rating for the Black English speaker.

Unfamiliar Nonstandard Dialects

In order to determine to what extent students were evaluating specific nonstandard dialects and not simply speech varieties that diverged from a norm, the familiar dialects of New Yorkese and Black English were matched with unfamiliar but analogous nonstandard dialects, Irish accented English and Hawaiian Pidgin.

To assess reactions to each unfamiliar dialect, mean scores for some of the variables in the speaker evaluation section were placed in rank order for three speakers--the unfamiliar dialect and its standard guise, and the familiar nonstandard dialect with which it was matched.

This was done for each level of English learners with both New Yorkese and Black English. Ten of the 14 variables in the speaker evaluation task were chosen for this comparison, since for these ten variables natives ranked the speakers highest for standard, lowest for nonstandard familiar, and intermediate for nonstandard unfamiliar speaker. (The four variables for which natives had different rankings will be discussed separately). Rank order evaluations for the speakers are listed on Table 31. The number of each variable in the rank order of the eight experimental tapes is listed--1 = highest judgement; 8 = lowest judgement relative to the score for other speakers).

Level 2 subjects agreed with the native ranking of speakers on six out of ten variables for the New Yorkese speaker as compared with the Irish-accented speaker and standard guise. Level 2 subjects agreed with native rankings on five out of ten variables for the Black English speaker, as compared with the Hawaiian speaker and standard guise. So advanced beginners agreed with native judgements just a bit more than half the time. It is interesting to note that for the nine cases in which Level 2 judgements differed from those of natives, eight represented occasions in which the nonstandard unfamiliar dialect speaker was judged lower than the standard dialect speaker. In these cases both nonstandard speakers were still judged lower

Table 31

RANK ORDERS OF FAMILIAR VERSUS UNFAMILIAR NONSTANDARD DIALECTS
WITH STANDARD GUISE - A

	<u>Job</u> <u>Status</u>	<u>Edu-</u> <u>cated</u>	<u>Intel-</u> <u>ligent</u>	<u>Rich</u>	<u>Hard-</u> <u>working</u>	<u>Neigh-</u> <u>bor</u>	<u>Hand-</u> <u>some</u>	<u>Fellow</u> <u>Worker</u>	<u>Friend</u>	<u>Honest</u>
Level	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6	2 4 6
<u>Ranks</u>										
Tape 4										
New Yorkese	8 8 7	6 8 7	6 8 8	8 6 7	7 8 8	4 7 6	6 6.5 7	8 8 7	7 5 7	2 7.5 3.5
Tape 7										
Irish	5 5 4	5 5 4	5 7 3	6 3	2 7 4	8 8 2.5	8 8 2	3 6.5 3	5 8 4	4 7.5 2
Tape 3										
Standard	1 2 1	1 2 1	4 1 1	1 2 2	3 1 2	1 1 1	1 1.5 1	1 2 1	1 1 1	1 1 1

Tape 2										
Black English	7 6 8	7 7 8	8 3 7	7 8 8	6 3 7	6 5 8	7 6.5 8	5 5 8	6 6	6 . 7
Tape 9										
Hawaiian	6 3 5	8 4 6	3 4.5 5	4 3 6	5 4 5	7 3 5	5 4.5 6	7 4 6	8 4 8	8 3 5
Tape 8.										
Standard	3 4 2	3.5 3 3	2 4.5 4	3 4 4	4 5 3	5 4 3	4 4.5 5	4 3 5	4 7 3	3 6 3.5

(1 = highest rank; 8 = lowest rank)

Table 32

RANK ORDERS OF FAMILIAR VERSUS UNFAMILIAR NONSTANDARD DIALECTS
WITH STANDARD GUISE - B

Level	<u>Slim</u>				<u>Friendly</u>				<u>Tall</u>				<u>Brave</u>			
	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N	2	4	6	N
<u>Ranks</u>																
Tape 4																
New Yorkese	6	6	7	8	6	8	7	4	4.5	2	8	6	8	5.5	7	8
Tape 7																
Irish	4	7	2	3	5	6	5	2	7	7	4	4.5	3	8	8	2
Tape 3																
Standard	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	1.5	4	4
Tape 2																
Black English	2	4.5	3	1	4	4	6	6	8	8	3	1	7	3	2	3
Tape 9																
Hawaiian Pidgin	3	4.5	8	4	8	5	8	7	1	4	7	8	5	4	3	7
Tape 8																
Standard	7	8	6	7	7	7	4	8	4.5	3	6	4.5	4	7	5	6

(1 = highest rank; 8 = lowest rank)

than the standard guise. This means that Level 2 English learners have a very definite idea of what constitutes standard speech as opposed to speech which diverges from that standard. This is supported by their relatively high scores on the discrimination task. It appears, however, that either they are not yet able to distinguish the specific nonstandard dialects in their speech communities with any kind of consistency, or that they have not yet formulated clear negative opinions about the speakers of these specific dialects. Thus, the extent to which speakers of any dialect which diverges from the norm are downgraded is not consistent with this level.

For the New Yorkese speaker, the Irish accented match and its standard guise, Level 4 subjects judged speakers in a manner similar to that of Level 2 learners. The intermediate English learners agreed with native judgements on six variables. On four variables they judged the unfamiliar dialect speaker superior to or the same as the familiar nonstandard speaker. There were no cases in which either the New Yorkese or Irish accented speakers were judged superior to the standard guise.

But this was not the case for the Black English speaker, the Hawaiian match and its standard guise. There were three variables for which the Black English speaker was rated higher than both nonstandard dialect speakers, and one (honest), for which the Black speaker was rated

higher than the standard guise for the Hawaiian tape. From this information alone, it is not clear to what extent this represents an inability of the intermediate learners to discriminate between the norm and nonstandard dialects (surprising, since Level 2 learners can do so) and to what extent it merely represents their differing judgements. This question will be dealt with further in a later part of the analysis.

By Level 6 the advanced English learners agreed with the relative native judgements of speakers with only one exception. For all ten variables on the New Yorkese tape, its Irish match and standard guise, the New Yorkese speaker was rated lowest, the standard speaker highest and the Irish speaker intermediate between the two.

The Black English speaker, the Hawaiian match, and the standard guise were similarly rated for nine out of the ten variables. In one case (friend) the Hawaiian speaker was rated lower than the Black English speaker, but the standard speaker was ranked higher than either nonstandard speaker.

Now, let us examine the four variables for which native judgements were not consistent for both nonstandard speakers, namely, slim/fat, friendly, tall and brave. Interestingly, these all relate to personality and appearance of the speaker.

Relative native reactions to the Irish accented speaker, the standard guise and the New Yorkese speaker for the four variables listed above are similar to the ranking of the other ten variables in the speaker evaluation task, in that the familiar nonstandard dialect was ranked lower than the standard, or the unfamiliar nonstandard was found to be intermediate between the two. Level 2 and Level 6 learners agreed with the native judgements in three out of four cases. Level 4 learners agreed in only one out of four variables. (See Table 32). Note that native judges rated the Black English speaker higher than either the Hawaiian speaker or the Standard guise on the four variables mentioned above.

To what extent did English learners agree with the high native ratings for the Black speaker on these variables? Level 2 learners rated the Black speaker higher than the others on two out of the four variables, friendly and slim. Level 4 learners also rated the Black English speaker highest on two variables; in this case, friendly and brave. The Black English speaker was rated higher than the Standard on slim, but the Hawaiian speaker was rated as highly as the Black English speaker. Finally, the advanced level subjects rated the Black English speaker highest on the variables slim, brave and tall. In the case of the variable friendly, the Black speaker was rated lower than the Hawaiian match by the advanced learners, but higher

than the standard guise. Thus, by Level 6 judgements closely paralleled those of the native population.

Factor Analysis

A principal component factor analysis was performed followed by varimax rotation. This was done for all of the factors of Tape 2 and then repeated for each tape, such that eight separate factor analyses were performed. The purpose of this procedure was to see which of the individual variables functioned together and to reduce the dimensionality of the data.

Eigenvalues were computed for each factor. Eigenvalues, which are roots of the matrices, are considered to be significant at the level of one or over. Table 33 represents scores for significant factors. Eigenvalues are included.

For each tape, two significant factors emerged--an intelligence economic factor and a social affinity factor.

1. The intelligence-economic factor. This is a non-affective factor essentially reflecting an individual's achievement. Level of intelligence and level of education are perceived as consistent with job status and economic level. In some cases, hard work is also recognized as being involved in this relationship.

2. The social affinity factor. This factor reflects how the individual wishes to relate to the speaker on a social

Table 33

FACTOR ANALYSIS

<u>Tape</u>	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Corre- lation</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
2	1	Job status	.84	4.88
		Educated	.75	
		Rich	.70	
		Intelligent	.52	
		Hardworking	.44	
	2	Fellow worker	.72	1.28
		Friend	.71	
		Neighbor	.66	
		Hardworking	.53	

3	1	Educated	.98	3.30
		Intelligent	.48	
		Rich	.45	
		Job status	.44	
	2	Neighbor	.89	1.41
		Friend	.62	
		Fellow worker	.61	

4	1	Friend	.87	5.13
		Neighbor	.72	
		Fellow worker	.69	
	2	Job status	.66	1.04
		Rich	.66	
		Educated	.64	
		Intelligent	.49	

5	1	Neighbor	.87	4.51
		Friend	.86	
		Fellow worker	.80	
		Honest	.63	
		Friendly	.51	
	2	Educated	.78	1.60
		Intelligent	.75	
		Rich	.67	
		Hardworking	.51	
		Job status	.47	

Table 33 (continued)

<u>Tape</u>	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Corre- lated</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
6	1	Neighbor	.83	4.18
		Fellow worker	.77	
		Friend	.75	
		Friendly	.47	
	2	Job status	.78	1.38
		Rich	.76	
		Educated	.71	
Intelligent		.48		

7	1	Neighbor	.84	4.01
		Friend	.75	
		Fellow worker	.75	
		Friendly	.47	
	2	Job status	.77	1.59
		Rich	.73	
		Educated	.68	
		Intelligent	.54	

8	1	Job status	.85	5.29
		Wealth	.71	
		Intelligent	.66	
		Educated	.64	
		Hardworking	.49	
	2	Friend	.87	1.13
		Fellow worker	.86	
		Neighbor	.72	

9	1	Friend	.90	5.42
		Fellow worker	.80	
		Neighbor	.73	
		Handsome	.51	
	2	Honest	.62	1.22
		Brave	.60	
		Intelligent	.58	
		Hardworking	.45	
		Tall	.43	
		Handsome	.41	

level. Subjects made consistent judgements of the three areas defining their desired social relationships with the speaker, as a friend, neighbor, and fellow worker. It had been initially assumed that there would be a hierarchical relationship among these variables with neighbor status being the most difficult for speakers to attain and fellow worker the least difficult to attain. The relationship of neighbor was thought to be intermediate between the two. But it turned out that subjects ranked the relative importance of these relationships in idiosyncratic ways. For some people the status of fellow worker was the most highly rated in an association, and the same speaker could be rated somewhat lower as a potential fellow worker than as a friend or neighbor. There are examples of this high priority being placed on neighbor as well. This makes sense if we consider that a neighbor, due to his proximity, may have a real effect on the quality of someone's life. Finally, some individuals, as expected, accorded highest priority to the relationship of friend. Whichever relationship was considered highest, the factor analysis shows that the other relationships were rated similarly.

In many cases, judgements of the friendliness of the speaker were consistent with the way in which the listener wished to relate to him. In the case of Tape 5, the listener's view of the speaker in terms of honesty also correlated with this factor.

Statistical Significance of Group Differences

The data were analyzed to see whether judgements on the speaker evaluation task represented a significant difference between groups. The two factors of socioeconomic status and social affinity were considered separately along with a third group of remaining variables relating to appearance and personality. The analysis was done using Hotelling's T squared. This is a multivariate test used to compare significant differences between vectors of group means. In other words, group reactions to a set of variables are considered. For the purpose of between level comparisons, this is superior to the traditional T test which considers only one variable at a time. The Hotelling's T test takes into account the intercorrelations among the individual variables.

The results, listed on Table 34, show that, as hypothesized, in most cases between groups differences were found to be statistically significant, with 52 out of 72 significant group differences, much more than could occur by chance. The largest number of variables showing significant between group variables were found for factor one, socioeconomic status. Comparisons were done for groups two to four, four to six, and six to native.

Table 34

HOTELLING'S T^2

Tape (T^2)	<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>			<u>Social Affinity</u>			<u>Appearance - Personality</u>		
	Level			Level			Level		
	2-4	4-6	6-N	2-4	4-6	6-N	2-4	4-6	6-N
2	52.67**	83.30**	159.61**	28.65**	12.64*	20.55**	11.66*	9.00	54.13**
3	22.54**	108.39**	112.35**	15.05**	10.13*	6.79	5.88	9.63	58.56**
4	35.19**	47.78**	23.41**	24.17**	21.28**	31.88**	24.85**	15.45*	15.89**
5	5.46	12.47*	30.46**	5.35	4.02	1.30	30.00**	19.14**	16.34**
6	29.80**	31.45**	36.91**	49.88**	28.46**	5.29	4.49	2.07	3.94
7	26.39**	20.75**	26.18**	12.47*	13.84**	3.70	15.60*	4.41	5.36
8	8.87	20.21**	27.40**	3.10	2.46	6.31	13.70*	14.81*	8.32
9	14.16*	8.86	15.23*	20.81**	20.77**	9.29*	7.49	23.34**	10.44

*p .05

**p .01

Variable Groups
 (Socioeconomic status = job status, education, wealth, intelligence, hardworking
 (Social affinity = fellow worker, friend, neighbor, friendly
 (Appearance-personality = looks, slim-fat, tall, honest, brave

Sex

Was sex of the listener a significant variable in the speaker evaluation task?

T tests were done for both ESL and native populations with males from Levels 2, 4 and 6 in one group and females from these levels in another. Males and females in the native control group were compared separately.

For the ESL group, only three variables out of 112 on the speaker evaluation task were found to differ significantly in male versus female ratings.

Table 35

Sex Differences on the Speaker Evaluation Task

<u>ESL Students</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>.T-score (2 tailed)</u>
Tape 2 honesty	4.16	5.06	-2.43*
3 height	4.63	5.32	-2.11*
5 brave	4.86	5.51	-2.05*
 <u>Natives</u>			
Tape 3 education	6.00	6.54	-2.07
9 "	5.67	3.57	3.16*
intelligence	5.44	4.04	2.14*
job status	5.67	3.58	2.62*
friend	5.57	3.78	2.56*
neighbor	5.63	3.88	2.84**

*p < .05

**p < .01

For the native group, six out of 112 variables were found to differ significantly in male versus female ratings.

The ESL judgements agree with Tucker and Lambert's findings (1969) in that females have rated the speaker

higher when there are differences, but in five out of the six cases, native males rated the speaker higher than did the females.

It must also be pointed out that in the native group there were only nine males compared to 24 females and with such small numbers the findings must be considered tentative.

With only three and six cases out of a possible 112 differing in significant terms for judgements between sexes, (this number of differences would be expected by chance) we must conclude that for the speaker evaluation task, sex of the listener was not an important variable. Of course, all of the speakers were male, and it is possible that a female speaker might have resulted in greater disparities between male and female judgements.

Age

The average ages of the English learners were four to five years higher than the average native age, 22.64 to 23.89 and 18.61, respectively.

Although the studies that mention age differences as meaningful in measuring attitudes normally contrast young children and young teenagers with adults, it was important to determine whether the different ages of the experimental population and the control group might have affected the results in this experiment.

In order to test for the variable of age, the ESL population was divided into two groups--one group under age 20 and a second group 20 years old and over. T tests were performed on all variables in the speaker evaluation task for each tape. Out of 112 variables, there were significant differences between the groups in only five cases. (This would be expected by chance).

Table 36

Age Differences on the Speaker Evaluation Task

		Group 1 (under 20)	Group 2 (20 and over)	T Score (2 tailed)
Tape 3	friendly	6.29	5.64	2.59*
	rich	5.67	4.96	2.58*
	hardworking	6.05	5.41	2.56*
	intelligent	6.24	5.61	2.54*
9	tall	5.09	4.27	2.07*

* $p < .05$

Four of the differences occurred for the Tape 3 sample, a Standard English speaker, and one for Tape 9, the Hawaiian speaker. Older students assigned higher judgements in four out of the five significant cases. The range of significantly different scores was small--less than 1.0 in all cases.

Since there were significant differences in ratings for only five out of 112 cases, and since these differences were relatively small, it can be assumed that the higher average age of the ESL population as compared with the native control group did not have a significant influence on the data.

Comments on the TapesTape 2 - Black EnglishLevel - Native

All four subjects chose the picture of the lower class Black and all stated that this was a Black person speaking. Generally, there were low evaluations of education and socioeconomic status of the speaker. He was thought to be lazy, not articulating, not making an effort to speak well. One subject felt he was similar to other Blacks in that, "They're more careless."

Natives commented on his speech in that it contains different words, grammar that isn't as good as that of others, different intonation, and a voice that "sounds Black." The subjects also thought the speaker was young and uneducated.

People in the media recognized as having similar speech included actors in Sanford and Son, J.J. from Good Times, disc jockeys on the radio, and some individuals in Welcome Back Kotter.

The subjects claimed to interact with similar speakers only in casual situations on the street, on buses, in school, or at work. One native remarked that this sounded like a dark-skinned Puerto Rican he had met. This is not surprising, since there are many Latins who live in areas where the main form of English spoken is Black English, and so this is the English that they learn.

Natives did not want to speak this way because they did not think Black speech was appropriate for them or, in one case, because "...Mother wouldn't like it."

Level 2

Advanced beginning English learners expressed the general view that this is not a very good way to speak. Only one out of the four subjects interviewed was willing to speak this way. But this speech was not associated with a specific population. The speaker was viewed either as uneducated or having an average education. There were no clear statements referring to known individuals who speak this way.

Level 4

Two of the four subjects on the intermediate level chose the picture of the Black lower class male, and clearly identified this as a Black nonstandard speaker. Both subjects pointed out experiences with Black English speakers on the street, and recognized television personalities with similar speech. One subject suggested J.J. on Good Times, also cited by natives.

One subject recognized the negative aspect of the speech, but could not place it. He chose a picture of a White working class person. He thought perhaps this was not a native English speaker.

The fourth subject did not recognize the speech as nonstandard. She felt it reminded her of an acquaintance

who is a lawyer. She may have had some sense that this speech was deviant from the norm since she found it more "kindly and romantic" than average, and thought the speaker could be a poet.

Level 6

Results of Level 6 reactions to this tape on the interview confirm the similarity of the objective data to native reactions for this speaker. All four subjects chose the picture of a Black. Three chose the lower class Black, and one chose the middle class Black. All four stated that they recognize Black speech and judged it to be undesirable as a model for their own English.

The speaker was described as not educated. Subjects commented on the language in terms of how difficult it was to understand. Comments included, "They eat some part of their words," and "Would say, 'Hey, man.'"

Some subjects expressed sympathy for the way Blacks are treated in American society: "The Blacks don't have opportunity;" "Sometimes Americans say they don't like the Black guys;" "Americans don't like this speech." One subject showed considerable insight and commented, "Some young people try to copy."

All four advanced English learners described casual contacts with Blacks, such as in the subway, and with a friend's cleaning lady. Two subjects correctly identified language similar to Black English in the media--J.J. in

Good Times and What's Happening. One referred to an individual on television with Black "music" (intonation-?) but "good" (standard-?) grammar. Another subject had only noticed "perfect" (standard-?) speech on television.

Tape 3 - Standard English; Irish English Speaker

Level - Native

All of the native judges recognized this speech as different from that spoken in the New York area. Three felt it resembled a British accent, and one thought it might be a Boston accent.

Since the speaker was actually a native New Yorker of Irish descent, these reactions were surprising. The same tape was played for several native speakers of British English. These definitively identified the speaker as American. In pre-testing the speaker had been thought by one judge to be "hypercorrect." The tape was found to contain a few features which are in fact not typical of even most standard English speakers in the New York area. The most obvious is the use of an intervocalic 't' pronounced [t] rather than the flap which is more common to the area. The judgements that this was a British or Bostonian speaker may have been made on this limited basis.

All of the natives felt that this was a well educated speaker, as well as a gentleman, and all reacted favorably to the possibility of speaking this way themselves.

Level 2

All Level 2 subjects chose pictures of middle or upper class Caucasians to represent this speaker. They agreed that he was an intelligent individual of relatively high social and economic status. His personality was viewed positively, as he was characterized as being honest, musical, good and orderly. Three subjects thought they would like to speak English this way.

Level 4

All intermediate learners chose pictures of Caucasian middle or upper class males. One subject thought the speaker's accent reminded him of Bentley on The Jeffersons--an actor with a British accent. Another subject thought the speaker might be an American actor. A third thought he sounded like Mike Stivick in All in the Family--an incorrect assumption since Mike speaks New Yorkese English. It is interesting that this same subject thought this speech was "So, so" and was not eager to use it as a model. The other three subjects viewed the linguistic variety on this tape more positively, and were willing to speak this way themselves.

Level 6

Three of the four advanced English learners interviewed thought the speaker had some kind of accent. One thought the speaker was Southern, and two thought he was foreign. Yet subject 6-2 thought the speaker tried to

"Speak English in the right way." Judgements were mixed on the extent to which this speech would be a desirable model to emulate.

It is interesting that both natives and advanced learners thought this speaker had either a foreign or a regional accent.

Tape 4 - New Yorkese

Level - Native

Two subjects chose Picture #6, a young student type, and two subjects chose #7, a Caucasian working class individual. This reflects the dispersion of the New Yorkese dialect since it is used by working class and middle class speakers. In fact, many speakers of New Yorkese can be found in the New York City college population. One subject stated that the speaker might get a college education later on.

Three subjects suggested working class occupations for the speaker, including street vendor, truck driver of maintenance man. The tape elicited two comments about the speaker "hanging out," reflecting the association of this dialect with casual speech.

The New Yorkese dialect was consistently downgraded to varying extents by the four native judges. The tape was clearly identified by three subjects as New York nonstandard speech. It was referred to as a Brooklyn accent, a Brooklynite or Bronxite kind of speech, and like a certain accent

in Brooklyn. It is a popular myth in the New York area that New York nonstandard speech is particularly typical of Brooklyn and the Bronx, although it is prevalent in the New York Metropolitan area as a whole. The extent to which New Yorkese differs from borough to borough is an empirical question.

Natives felt that to some extent this kind of speech was related to lack of care in speaking, and they commented that it sounds sloppy, slurred, rushing and careless. It was also found to sound comical, dumb and awful. More objective comments referred to accent and pronunciation of specific words like dog [dɔ'g].

While one subject felt this speech was essentially a reflection of the peer group, three subjects were quite critical of the speaker. The most negative of all was Subject 1-4 who was oblivious to the fact that he is himself a speaker of this dialect.

Three natives identified media figures who speak this dialect, including John Travolta, Archie Bunker and Barbarino in Welcome Back Kotter.

Level 2

Although three out of the four subjects in the advanced beginner group chose the same pictures as did the natives, they expressed very different judgements about the speaker on Tape 4.

Three subjects thought this might be an ordinary person, a student or somebody from a university. One subject correctly identified Horshack from Welcome Back Kotter as speaking this way, but she made no comment to indicate that she had any sense that this kind of speech was associated with any particular group of people. She downgraded the speech in a way similar to that of natives, expressing the view that it is a careless manner of speaking.

The Level 2 students did have some sense that this is not the most socially desirable way to speak, since all four stated they would not care to speak this way and would like to speak better.

Level 4

Level 4 subjects expressed mixed feelings about this tape although none of the judgements were particularly positive.

One subject incorrectly identified this as representative of Black uneducated speech. This indicates that she is aware that some Blacks do speak differently. The fact that she claimed the speech of a college graduate she knew was similar is somewhat confusing. Perhaps this person's speech was similar in a limited way--such as voice quality or intonation. This must remain speculative, since she did not elaborate.

Another subject thought this might be a foreign student, and a third thought the speaker spoke too slowly. One student thought the speaker might be a salesman. Three subjects did not think this was an appropriate model for the English they desired to speak, although one of them found it temporarily acceptable. A fourth subject thought it was "O.K."

New Yorkese speech was not clearly associated in the minds of the intermediate students with either people they knew or with media personalities. One subject did think it was reminiscent of some young people on a TV interview.

Level 6

All four subjects downgraded the New Yorkese speech yet all categorized it incorrectly.

As was the case for the intermediate subjects, one subject thought this was typical of Black speech. Two subjects thought the speaker had a foreign accent--again similar to an intermediate level judgement. Only one subject identified this as middle class but uneducated speech, closer to the correct interpretation. However, inexplicably, this same subject concluded that the accent was not from New York City.

The failure of advanced English learners to recognize New Yorkese as a specific linguistic category is surprising in view of the extent to which they have agreed

with native judgements so far. Level 5 subjects correctly identified Black nonstandard English and expressed judgements very similar to those of natives regarding this speech variety and its speakers. Yet, although New Yorkese speakers were judged analogously by natives and advanced English learners on the speaker evaluation task, the subjects interviewed do not recognize New Yorkese speech except to comment on its divergent and negative qualities. Why is this so?

A possible explanation is that New Yorkese speech is not uncommon among middle class New Yorkers, while Black English tends to be more limited to lower classes, particularly in cases of interracial conversations.¹ Also, a large proportion of Blacks with whom the English learners come into contact may be speakers of Black English, so that English learners would be more likely to categorize them differently in terms of their language. The fact that they are physically different from others and that they are culturally different from other New Yorkers may reinforce the development of a separate category for Black English speakers.

In contrast, New Yorkese speech can be found among fellow students at Queens College and is even spoken by some teachers in the University. New Yorkese speakers are not physically different from other standard speakers and are less culturally divergent. Thus, the English learners

¹It is not uncommon for some middle class and upwardly mobile Blacks to use Black English among Blacks, and switch to Standard English when Whites are present.

do not single out New Yorkese speech and its speakers on a conscious level. Nevertheless, when presented with a linguistic judgement task and when focusing on the language only, the ESL students recognized that the New Yorkese speech variety does not conform to the standard norm. It would be interesting in future investigations to see whether English learners at later stages of development do in fact develop a separate category for New Yorkese speech. Perhaps opportunities to travel to other areas of the United States might be influential.

Tape 5 - Standard English; Black English Speaker

Level - Native

Three of the four subjects interviewed chose the picture of the Black middle class male, #5. The fourth chose picture #4, a middle or upper class Caucasian male.

Three of the subjects expressed positive attitudes about the speaker. They judged his socioeconomic status to be high, felt he was well educated, precise, clear. Only one subject did not feel this speech was a suitable model, since he was not Black. However, this subject did not make any negative judgements about the speaker.

These reactions are quite different from some reports in the literature, e.g., Williams (1970) in which judges assume that Black speakers of Standard English are Caucasian. Since the same judges in this study have rated a Black English speaker in negative terms while judging

Black Standard English speaker positively, the study shows that negative judgements, at least for the population tested, are related to language alone and do not correlate with the speaker's ethnicity. This agrees with the findings of Bell (1974) who found that although choice of race did not significantly correlate with other variables, those who identified a Standard English speaker as Black still rated her positively.

On what basis did subjects identify this speaker as Black? One subject cited his pronunciation of "road" and "one-half an hour" as revealing. This speaker does have an aspect of voice quality associated with Black speakers. The vowels in the items cited by the subject seem to be a bit longer and to possess a laryngeal quality not present in the speech of Caucasian Standard English speakers in this area. This would be a fruitful area for further investigation.

Level 2

Although this speaker was rated highly by Level 2 subjects on the speaker evaluation task, one subject felt the speaker sounded "too hoarse" and another was not sure about his use of grammar. Expressed opinions were generally favorable, and the speaker was judged to be a good man-- formal, mature, possibly a college graduate, someone who speaks well and firmly. The subject who felt the speaker sounded hoarse also thought he might be foreign. Perhaps the same vocal quality which suggested to natives that this

was a Black person influenced another to comment on the speaker's hoarse voice quality and lack of clarity.

Level 4

One subject recognized this as a Black speaker. Although this subject did not want to speak this way "because I'm not Black" he evaluated the speaker positively. The other three subjects made consistently positive evaluations of the speaker and chose pictures #3 and #1--middle-upper class Caucasians--as possible representations of him.

Level 6

Two subjects chose pictures of Caucasian middle-upper class males for this speaker and made generally favorable comments about him and his speech, i.e., "pretty good;" "it's perfect;" "very intelligent;" "middle education;" "it's one of the best ways to speak."

Two subjects identified the speaker as Black. Both made favorable comments about the speaker and one showed insight into American society stating, "...for them to give credit, people must speak good, like an American." This subject did not wish to speak this way.

Once again, advanced English learners came close to native judgements.

Tape 6 - Standard English; New Yorkese speakerLevel - Native

Although this was a standard tape, the speaker had previously been judged to be making an obvious effort to control his speech. This was reflected in the view of the native judges. They regarded the speaker more favorably than his New Yorkese guise but less favorably than the Standard English speakers of Tapes 3 and 5.

The speaker was found to be an average individual with a middle level education. His speech was perceived as slow, and judgements of his personality ranged from "unsophisticated and lethargic" to "a complete jerk." Only one subject said he would find this speech acceptable for himself.

Level 2

Two subjects thought this could be a student at Queens College, and a third thought this was a college graduate--views that would be consistent with the students' experience. These subjects felt that this standard speaker spoke clearly, worked hard, and was of average intelligence. Two advanced beginners felt this speech would be a good model to emulate.

One subject mistakenly thought this was a Black English speaker. On the basis of personal experience, he had found that Blacks "speak with a different sound." It would appear that even at this early stage, this learner

is aware that some Blacks speak differently. The statement that this speech is "very ugly," may reflect the fact that the learner has assimilated the negative view of the speech community regarding Black English. However, at this early stage, the learner is not yet able to recognize the dialect out of its natural context.

Judgements of the speaker were mixed. One subject commented on the speaker's slow speech and felt he was a lazy person. Another subject presented the contrasting view that the speaker was an active person. One learner commented on the clarity of the speech, and another thought he sounded like a college graduate and a very relaxed person.

Level 6

Advanced learners had mixed judgements on this speaker, similar to those of natives. The speaker was thought to be a young person who may or may not have attended college. One subject thought his speech was similar to that of most Americans. Suggested occupations for the speaker ranged from that of simple office worker to law student. Two subjects felt they would like to speak this way.

Tape 7 - Irish-accented EnglishLevel - Native

Two native subjects recognized this as Irish. Another guessed Scottish, and a third thought it was a Cockney accent. This subject had been in England and may have drawn a mistaken conclusion about Irish-accented speakers she encountered. One subject was reminded of a television program about going to Ireland. Some subjects found this accent reminiscent of some Irish people who had come to America, or some tourists. Pictures chosen to represent the speaker varied in age and social class, but all were pictures of Caucasians.

Two subjects thought they would like to speak this way, and only one was strongly negative. Other native judgements characterized the Irish accent as different, nice, smart and funny. There was also a comment by a subject of Irish descent indicating that the Irish in Ireland would "break your face" if you laughed at the Irish accent. This comment came about because many people laughed at the speech sample during the speaker evaluation task.

Level 2

Level 2 judgements about this speaker were generally limited and vague. One subject thought the speaker had an average level of education. Another subject thought the speaker sounded relaxed, and a third thought he sounded like

a talkative and funny person who likes jokes. This last comment agreed with one native's view of the speaker.

Interestingly, one subject claimed that none of the pictures resembled this speaker and stated, "You can't tell the personality from somebody's speech."

Level 4

All Level 4 subjects found the Irish-accented speech generally divergent. Two subjects thought this was a foreign speaker, and a third chose a picture of a lower class Black and thought this was native speech representing a poorly educated person of low social status.

A fourth subject thought this sounded like the speech of priests she had encountered. In fact, she thought this language variety was learned in the monastery. These remarks are of interest, since there are a considerable number of priests in the New York City area who are of Irish descent. This subject also imitated the speaker's intonation as indicative of this speech variety. Thus, for this subject it was not an unfamiliar dialect.

Level 6

All four Level 6 subjects assumed this was a foreign speaker. Two subjects chose pictures of a working class Caucasian, one chose a middle or upper class Caucasian, and a fourth chose an Oriental. Perhaps because of the trilled 'r' used in this dialect, two subjects guessed this might be a German speaker, and the others guessed Russian and Italian.

Tape 8 - Standard English; Hawaiian Pidgin SpeakerLevel - Native

Three of the four native judgements for this standard speaker were favorable. One subject thought there was a slight accent and this could have been an Oriental speaker. This standard sample from Hawaii did have a small influence from the native Hawaiian accent of the speaker, so although it is accepted as standard in Hawaii, it is not surprising that a "slight accent" was detected. One subject chose the picture of the Oriental and said the speaker sounded "slurrish" and unfamiliar.

The speaker was judged to be introverted but intelligent, and to be a successful business man or executive.

Level 2

Two subjects from Level 2 thought this was a speaker of Black English. Once again, this shows that they are aware that Black English is a specific category of speech, and they view it negatively. However, they are not yet able to identify Black English on the basis of speech alone.

For some reason, two subjects thought this person was overweight. It is interesting that although Level 2 students as a group generally rated the speaker in average or intermediate terms on the speaker evaluation task, their judgements on the interview tended to be rather negative.

Level 4

Subjects in Level 4 felt this was an average speaker, similar to many others they had encountered. One subject thought the speaker was fat, an opinion shared by one Level 2 subject. The speaker was also thought to be not very tall.

Level 6

The most favorable evaluations of this speaker were provided by the advanced English learners. They thought him to be well educated and a business man or scientist. Three of the four subjects on this level thought his speech would be a good model to emulate. One subject thought his voice sounded "older."

Tape 9 - Hawaiian Pidgin EnglishLevel - Native

Three of the native subjects interviewed felt this speaker had a foreign accent. One guessed he was Chinese and another guessed he might be Slavic. Interestingly, one subject thought his divergent speech was due to old age and that some words sounded "mumbled" because he was tired. To represent the speaker, two subjects chose a picture of an older Caucasian male and two chose a picture of an Oriental.

One subject thought the speaker was educated, while the others failed to comment on his educational or economic status.

Level 2

Two subjects chose the picture of a Black middle class individual for this speaker, one chose an Oriental and the fourth chose a Caucasian male.

Two subjects thought the speaker sounded old (as did one of the natives), and three of the subjects noted the divergent nature of the speech sample. Two subjects felt that his voice had a hoarse quality, and other comments included lack of clarity, heavy accent, and difficulty in understanding his speech.

It is worth noting that one subject, in addition to choosing a picture of a Black, stated that the speaker could be Black, and pointed out the hoarse quality of the voice and the lack of clarity in the sample. It would appear that even at this early stage at least one, and possibly two, of the four advanced beginners were aware that some Blacks speak a divergent form of English. However, they are not yet able to correctly identify this speech from tape recordings alone at this stage of proficiency.

Level 4

Two subjects chose the picture of the Oriental, and one chose the picture of the older Caucasian. Once again, a subject thought this was a foreign speaker, and another attributed the divergent nature of the sample to the speaker's advanced age.

Level 6

The advanced English learners paralleled native judgements in the picture they selected with two choosing the Oriental and two choosing the older Caucasian.

Two advanced learners thought the speaker had a Chinese accent. Subject 6-1 thought this was the case because the speaker "cut things off words." The other two subjects on this level commented that the speaker sounded old. Almost one-third of the total subjects interviewed made this comment! Yet the speaker was actually a college student in his twenties. It is possible that the pharyngeal constriction found in Japanese-influenced Pidgin may be responsible for the subjects perceiving this speaker as old (William Stewart, personal communication). Many subjects thought the speaker was foreign as well.

Subjects' Additional Comments

How long did it take subjects to become aware of dialect differences in English? Many subjects claimed that it took a very short time, with some estimates ranging from only a few moments to one or two weeks. Only one advanced beginner said it took the longer period of three months. At more advanced levels of English proficiency, and after having been in the United States longer, subjects commonly said it took them from a few months to six months. Only one subject said it took longer than six months and estimated that two years had gone by before dialect differences were obvious.

Since advanced beginners were relatively successful on the dialect discrimination task, the writer feels it is possible that those learners who estimated that it took them only a few days to a few weeks to notice dialect differences are most likely correct. These students had some experience with English before coming to the United States. For a new learner, the three month interval seems a more reasonable estimate. But it takes a good deal longer, possibly the six months to two years suggested by the more advanced students, before English learners can actually identify specific dialect differences in linguistic terms.

Where do dialect attitudes and stereotypes come from? In the interview, subjects generally cited their own personal experiences with speakers of other dialects as major sources of their attitudes. Learners met speakers of different dialects in varying circumstances. They noted whether the dialect was similar to the English that they were learning. Divergence from this norm was frequently interpreted as lack of clarity or care in speaking, whereas speech which was closer to the norm was easier to understand and more favorably viewed.

Some of the subjects were able to point out media personalities with similar speech, but the media seemed to reenforce linguistic attitudes rather than act as the primary stimulus for their development.

In the case of Black English, it is interesting that some subjects, while commenting on the divergent and even negative nature of the speech, made positive comments about the speakers in terms of their personalities. Several subjects expressed sympathy for the difficult position of Blacks in American society.

To what extent do cultural stereotypes come from the expressed opinions of others? This appears to be idiosyncratic. In some cases subjects have access to American opinions, and American friends or family do seem to have an influence. But many subjects state they have virtually no American friends, and do not interact with Americans on anything but the most casual terms. Of course, the possibility always exists that the subjects' non-native friends and acquaintances have greater contacts with Americans, and that American linguistic views may be passed on to English learners through them.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Considering the interviews along with the objective data, that is, the dialect discrimination task and the speaker evaluation task, it is now possible to suggest how dialect discrimination and attitudes develop in English learners.

By the advanced beginning level, when learners have been in this country for an average of seven months, they are able to discriminate between dialects fairly well when different dialects are juxtaposed, and when the learner is free to focus on the form of the language. However, dialect discrimination at this early level appears to be essentially restricted to judging whether a speech sample is similar to or different from a linguistic norm or standard. Level 2 subjects did not clearly show differential treatments of familiar versus unfamiliar nonstandard dialects. Nevertheless, the interviews did show that advanced beginners were aware of the existence of different varieties of English and had some definite ideas and attitudes about them.

Three of the four advanced beginners interviewed incorrectly identified at least one of the stimulus tapes as a Black English speaker. These learners described their

own direct experiences with Black English speakers. A typical comment was, "I hear Black people speak and you can't understand anything. Speech is not clear." And the Level 2 students had clearly developed negative attitudes towards this language variety, e.g., "This speech is very ugly."

So it appears that the ability to discriminate among language varieties and the formation of differing linguistic categories develop in a parallel fashion during the first months of exposure to the language. At this low level, however, the learner is not yet able to associate differing varieties with the appropriate linguistic category without the contextual cues normally present in a face to face interchange.

The intermediate level of proficiency appears to be one of transition in which there is a great deal of variation among individuals. This is revealed both in terms of objective and subjective data. Learners are idiosyncratic in the extent to which they have achieved dialect sensitivity and have assimilated cultural norms. For example, interview reactions to the Black English stimulus tape were divergent for different subjects. Two subjects identified the speaker on Tape 2 as Black and made judgements similar to those of the native control group. But one subject noted the divergent aspect of the stimulus passage in only a general way, and another Level 4 learner interpreted the speech pattern as poetic.

As was true for Level 2 subjects, at the intermediate level there were learners who had developed categories for and attitudes towards divergent linguistic forms, but could not yet identify them from linguistic cues alone. For example, one intermediate learner thought that the New Yorkese tape was typical of Black uneducated speech.

Now, let us consider the advanced learners.

In the case of Black English, the interviews corroborated the objective data in that advanced English learners recognized the nonstandard dialect from the stimulus tape and shared the natives' views of the low socioeconomic status indicated by this language variety. Level 6 subjects also shared the natives' view of the Black speaker's personality and physical appearance in finding him to be brave, tall and slim. The advanced English learners were so linguistically sensitive that two of the four subjects interviewed also correctly identified the Black Standard English speaker on the basis of voice quality in a manner similar to the natives. This speaker was judged positively by both natives and advanced learners. This shows the extent to which advanced English learners have assimilated native views. It also underscores the importance of the linguistic element in language stereotypes. It shows that, for this population, negative views of Blacks who speak Black English come not from their ethnic identities as revealed by their language, but rather from associations with the language itself.

The views of the advanced English learners regarding the New Yorkese speaker are more difficult to interpret. In terms of the speaker evaluation task, Level 6 judgements of the New Yorkese speaker relative to the other speakers were quite similar to those of the native control group. At least on an unconscious level, learners would seem to have tacit knowledge of the negative aspects of this kind of speech. The dialect discrimination task did show the advanced learners to be very capable of identifying the difference between New Yorkese and Standard English. Or, as was previously suggested, English learners may have failed to develop a specific category for New Yorkese speech because of its wide dispersion in both lower and middle classes, and its prevalence among some students, and even some professors, at the university that these students attend. Nevertheless, exposure to this dialect has not prevented the English learners from recognizing its divergence from the standard in situations in which the two varieties are juxtaposed and learners are free to focus on the form of the language.

The fact that advanced learners failed to recognize the New Yorkese dialect as such does show that the development of dialect discrimination and the attainment of advanced proficiency in a language are not sufficient conditions for the formation of stereotypical attitudes towards standard and nonstandard speakers. The speakers of language varieties must be set apart in some way so that the learner is able to

categorize them. Conversely, there were several examples of English learners who had developed categories for language varieties which were associated with specific attitudes but were unable to associate them with the correct language variety on the basis of linguistic cues alone. For example, one subject noted that President Carter had a Southern accent but mistakenly attributed this category to the Standard English of the speaker on Tape 3. Another subject erroneously categorized the Irish accent as being typical of priests and assumed they had learned to speak this way in a monastery. [Clearly this is an area which calls for further research].

How do learners develop their stereotypical attitudes towards standard and nonstandard speakers? The limited nature of the interview data allows only an impressionistic answer. Relevant learner comments suggest that their opinions regarding speakers stem initially from direct contact with speakers. Indirect experience appears to serve an essentially reinforcing function.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

One of the limitations of this study is that the speakers were evaluated under a condition in which subjects were free to focus on the form of the language they were reacting to. This is different from a real language situation in that listeners would have to decode and interpret the language they were hearing in order to understand it,

and would at the same time be planning appropriate responses. Thus, one direction for future research would be the replication of these findings with English learners hearing language in more realistic contexts.

Another area that requires further investigation is that of sex differences in speakers. For purposes of control in this experiment, only male stimulus speakers were used. It would be interesting to see to what extent females speaking the same dialects are judged in comparison with males. Also, age of speaker would be an interesting variable to manipulate.

One of the unanswered questions posed by this study has to do with the reactions of the English learners to the New Yorkese dialect. In this study, as well as a pilot study (Eisenstein and Bailey, 1976), it was found that ESL students at the advanced level downgrade New Yorkese speakers in a manner similar to natives. Yet, the subjects interviewed in this experiment did not show any evidence of awareness that this nonstandard dialect is typical of this region of the country. The reason why a conscious category for this dialect does not develop up to this stage, and the possible formation of such a category after either a longer stay in the country or development of further English proficiency, remains to be investigated.

Finally, the relative difficulty of comprehending input from different dialect speakers may be a key factor

in the learner's development of dialect distinctions and attitudes. Several of the subjects interviewed commented on their inability to comprehend nonstandard speakers, and others referred to a perceived lack of clarity in nonstandard speech.

The continuing investigation of these and other related questions will, hopefully, shed light on the role of linguistic variation in the second language acquisition process.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Questionnaire
Instructions for Dialect Discrimination
Task
Sentence Pairs (Answer sheet)
Instructions for Speaker Evaluation
Task
Personality Chart (Answer sheet)

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME _____	SECTION _____	SEX _____	AGE _____
ADDRESS _____ (no. street)	NATIVE LANGUAGE(S) _____		
_____ (city, state)	OTHER LANGUAGES _____		
PLACE OF BIRTH _____	SPOKEN _____		
TIME IN U.S. _____ (years, months)	TIME IN N.Y. AREA _____		
Other places in the U.S. you have lived and length of stay. _____	Other English speaking countries you have visited and length of stay. _____		
English studied outside U.S. (where, how long) _____	Planned future career _____		
Are you currently employed? _____	Job title _____		
Job title _____	Father's occupation _____		
Father's occupation _____	Student status _____ (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, graduate student, not matriculated)		
Mother's occupation _____	Mother's occupation _____		

*IF YOU ARE STUDYING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW.

How many of your friends are native English speakers? (circle one)

many some a few none

How much of your time do you spend speaking English?

a lot some a little none

How often do you watch t.v. or listen to the radio in English?

a lot sometimes a little none

How well do you think you understand English?

very well fairly well with difficulty poorly

Why are you studying English? (check one)

___ to help me in my work when I return home.

___ to help me in my studies in the U.S.

___ to help me in my future life in the U.S.

___ Other _____

DIALECT DISCRIMINATION TASK

(Instructions)

Name _____

Section _____

You are going to hear fifteen (15) pairs of sentences.

Sometimes the two sentences in the pair will be exactly the same.

Each pair of sentences will be played twice.

The first time you hear a sentence pair, listen to hear whether the sentences are the same or different.

If the sentences are the same, check the word SAME.

If the sentences are different, check the word DIFFERENT.

Now you will hear the sentence pairs again.

If you think the sentences are different, put a check next to the number of the sentence which you think is better English.

(If you think the sentences are the same, don't do anything the second time the pair is played).

			BETTER ENGLISH
1.	_____ same	_____ different	_____ a _____ b

Name _____

Section _____

Sentence Pairs

BETTER ENGLISH

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------------|---------|---------|
| 1. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 2. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 3. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 4. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 5. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 6. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 7. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 8. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 9. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 10. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 11. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 12. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 13. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 14. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |
| 15. | _____ same | _____ different | _____ a | _____ b |

SPEAKER EVALUATION TASK

(Instructions)

THANK YOU FOR HELPING WITH THIS STUDY:

You are going to hear nine tapes of people reading a story. Each reader was allowed to change the words a little so that the reading would sound more like the way he speaks.

As you listen to each tape, try to image the person who is reading. (It's a little like speaking to somebody you don't know on the telephone).

When the tape is over, fill out a chart based on what you think the reader might be like. Of course it will only be a guess.

NAME _____ SECTION _____ TAPE# _____

PERSONALITY CHART

VERY: WHAT: A: BIT: A: BIT: WHAT: VERY:

FRIENDLY: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : UNFRIENDLY

SHORT: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : TALL

WELL EDUCATED: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : NOT EDUCATED

SLIM: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : FAT

LAZY: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : HARDWORKING

DISHONEST: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : HONEST

SMART: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : STUPID

COWARDLY: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : BRAVE

POOR: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : RICH

HANDSOME: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : UGLY

Circle the JOB of the reader.

JANITOR TRUCK-DRIVER POLICEMAN SALESMAN REPORTER ACCOUNTANT DOCTOR

I would like this person to be my friend.....YES: **YES** YES yes no NO **NO** : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : NO

I would like this person to be my neighbor. YES: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : NO

I would like this person to be my fellow worker. YES: _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : NO

APPENDIX II

Key for Phonetic Transcriptions
Phonetic Transcriptions of Experimental Tapes

KEY FOR PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

SE - Standard English
 NYE - New Yorkese English
 BE - Black English
 IE - Irish English
 HE - Hawaiian Pidgin English

SYMBOLS

$\overset{x}{o}$ - slightly unvoiced
 $\overset{x}{v}$ - slightly voiced
 \tilde{x} - nasalized
 \tilde{x} - pharyngealized
 $\overset{x}{\uparrow}$ - dentalized
 x^{\wedge} - raised
 x^{\vee} - lowered
 $x^{>}$ - backed
 $x^{<}$ - fronted
 $\overset{w}{x}$ - rounded

Dialect Discrimination Task

BE 3a. [hi^jo^rredi dan eit hiz lantʃ̩]

SE 3b. [hi hæz ɔlredi itən hiz lantʃ̩]

SE 4a. [faðər laiks ə kɒpər tiːən ðə mɔːnɪŋ]

IE 4b. [faːðə laiks ə kɒpə teɪən ðə mɔːnən]

HE 5a. [brʌðə jə laɪk wɔːsə]

SE 5b. [wɒdʒə laɪk sɪmθɪŋ tə drɪŋk]

NYE 6a. [æɪ laɪk strɔːberɪ ʒɔːt keɪk]

SE 6b. [aɪ laɪk strɔːberɪ ʒɔːt keɪk]

BE 7a+b. [peɪnɔʊbəɪ ɡæsə biːəne kɑːs]

NYE 8a. [wiː rɪli wɔːnə pæːs ðə test]

SE 8b. [wi rɪli wɒntə pæs ðə test]

IE 9a+b. [dʒən ʒʊstə vɪzət hæz ant wʌnsə wɪk bəfɔːsi
drɪd]

IE 10a. [paɪ wəz maɪndən miːʊn bɪznəs]

SE 10b. [aɪ wəz maɪndɪŋ maɪːʊn bɪznəs]

SE 11a. [ar ju fɪnɪʃt wɜ:kɪŋ]

HE 11b. [he ju paha na]

NYE 12a+b. [mæri drɪŋks tu mntʃ kɔn'fɪ]

BE 13a. [ʔeɪ ɔweɪz bi telən jə wətədu]

SE 13b. [ʔeɪ ar ɔlweɪz telɪŋ ju hwətə du]

HE 14a+b [hi lɪvzɪn wɔɪkɪkɪj]

(Sentence pairs 1, 2, and 15 consisted of 3 sets of repeated sentences in Standard English.)

SE = Standard English

NYE = New Yorkese English

BE = Black English

IE = Irish accented English

HE = Hawaiian Pidgin English

Tape 2 (Black English)

[ðə bɛɪlə lɛksɪntən / ðə faɪt zæt kɒkɔ̃d //

ðə lɛksɪntən məɪsə mɛnz / wə deɪə stæɪnɪn ɪnə

lɑːn // zɪfʃənɛə wənədə prɔɪvəts ən dɪɔfəsɪz wəz

stændɪn streɪt ən tɔ̃y. // den sɪd̃nɪ / ðə frʌnt

kʌmpənɪ n sɔldzɪz tʃɔdz ɡɛnstə kʰlounɪjɪlz //

zɛɪt sɔldzə dɑː / plʌs tɛn / mowɔvɪn / wəz wʌndəd //

ðə zɪŋlɪs sɔldzə stɪl wənəd tə brɛɪk ɪntɪsə

tævən / bʊt ðə zɔfɪsɪ məɪəm mə.tʃ ɒp ðə kɒkɔ̃d

rɔɪd // dæɪ hɔul faɪt / zɛɪn tʊk bɪt hæfənau^{wə} //

Tape 3 (Standard English)

[ðə bæɪtəl əv ɪksɪŋtən / ðə kɒnkɔrd faɪt //
 ðə ɪksɪŋtən mɒlɪʃə wɜː laɪnd ʌp // ɹɛvɪ mæn
 ən əfəsə / wɜː stændɪŋ streɪtən tɔl // ɹɔləvə
 sɪdən ʃɪˈædvæns kəmpaniː əv souldʒəz / tʃɑːdʒɪd
 ðə kəbɪnɪjəlz // ɹeɪt əmərɪkənz daɪd / æn
 tɪh mɔː wɜː wʌndəd // ʃɪɪŋləʃ wɒntəd tə breɪk
 ɪntə ðə tɛrɪn / bɪt ʃeɪr əfəsəz mɛd ʃəm
 mɑːtʃ ʌp ðə kɒnkɔrd rɔʊd // ðə haʊl faɪt / tʊk
 ɔʊnɪ hæfən ɔʊˈwɜː //]

(Irish English speaker)

Tape 4 (New Yorkese English)

[da bæɪlələ lɛksɪŋtən / ðə kɒŋkɔːd faɪt //

ðə lɛksɪŋtən mɪlɪtəri wɪz lændɪŋp // evri mænən

ɔːfɪsə stæˈndɪŋ streɪt ən tʃɔːl // ɪkˈlæɪvə

sɪdən / dɪjədveɪˈns kəmpanɪjə souldʒəz tʃɔːdʒə

kəlounɪjəz // eɪˈemərəkənz ɔːfɪsən tʃən mɔː

wɪz wʊndəd // dɪjɪŋɡlɪʃ wɒntəta breɪk ɪntərə

tʃævən bɪt deɪz ɔːfɪsəz meɪtəm məˈtʃɔːpɪz

kɒŋkɔːd rəʊd // ðə haʊl faɪtvɪk ɒnli hæˈfɪnəwə //]

Tape 5 (Standard English)

[ʔə bætəl əv lɛksɪŋtən / ʔə kɒŋkəd faɪt //
 ʔə lɛksɪŋtən məlɪʒə wə laɪnd ʌp // evri mæn ænd
 əfɪsə stændɪŋ strɪtən tɔl // ələv saɪdən /
 ʔɪˈadvæns kəmpanɪjəv souldʒəz tʃɑːdʒd ʔə
 kəbɪnɪjəlz // ɪɪt əmərəkənz daɪd / æn tɛn
 mɔː wɜː wʊndəd // ʔə ɪŋləʃ wɒntəd tə
 breɪk ɪntə ʔə tævən / bʌt ʔɛɪr əfəɪz məɪd
 ʔəm mɑːtʃ ʌp ʔə kɒŋkəd rəʊd // ʔə haʊl
 faɪt / tʊk ɒnli hæfən aɪə //]

(Black English speaker)

Tape 6 (Standard English)

[ðə bæzəl nɪ lɛksɪŋtən / ðə kɒnkɔrd faɪt //
 ðə lɛksɪŋtən mæɪzə wɜz laɪnd ʌp // evri mæn
 ən əfəsɜ stændɪŋ stri:t æn tɔl // ələv sɪdɪn /
 ʃɪ'ædvæns kəmpanɪzɪv souldzɜz tʃɑrdzɪ ðə
 kəlɒnɪzɪz // ʒeɪmɛrɪkənz daɪd / ən tɛn mɔr
 wɜ wʊndəd // ʃɪ ɪŋləʃ wɒntəd tə breɪk ɪntu
 ðə tævərn / bʌt ʃeɪr əfəsɜz meɪd ʃɛm mɑntʃ
 ʌp ðə kɒnkɔrd roʊd // ðə haʊl faɪt tʊk ʌnɪz
 hæf ən aʊr //

(New Yorkese speaker)

Tape 7 (Irish accented English)

[ə bætələ lɛksɪntən / ə kɒkəd fraɪt //

ə lɛksɪntən məlɪʒə wɜr laɪndəp // evrɪ mən

ən əfɪsɜ stændɪn stɹeɪ.tən təl // ələvə

sɪdən / ʔɪˈadvəns kʌmpənɪˈz sɔːldʒəz tʃɑːdʒd

ə kəlounjəlz // ɹeɪ.tə.merɪ.kən.z dæɪd ən tɛn

mɑ. wə wʌndəd // ʔɪˈɪŋləʃ wɒntəd. tə brɪk

ɪntə ə tævɜn / bɪt ʔeɪr əfəz məɪlɪəm mətʃ

ɒp ə kɒkəd rɔʊd / ə haʊl fraɪt tʊk aʊlə

hæfən aʊr // ʔ

Tape 8 (Standard English)

[ʔə bæɪəl nʌ lɛksɪŋtən / ʔə kənkrəd faɪt //
 ðə lɛksɪŋtən mæɪʔə wəz laɪnd ʌp // evrɪ mæn
 ən əfɪsəz stændɪŋ streɪtən tɔl // ɹɔʊvə sɪdən /
 ðə ɹædɪvæns kəmpanɪ nʌ saʊldɪəz tʃɑːdʒ ʔə
 kəlounɪjəlz // ɹeɪt ɹəməkənɪz dɔɪd ɹæn tɛn
 wəz wʊndəd // ʔə ɪŋlɪʃ wɔnɪtʊ breɪk ɹɪntʊə
 tævərn / bɪt ðeɪz əfəsəz meɪdɛm mɑːtʃ ʌp ʔə
 kənkrəd rəʊd // ʔə haʊl faɪt læstəd ɔːnlɪ
 hæfən aɪə //]

(Hawaiian Pidgin speaker)

Tape 9 (Hawaiian Pidgin)

[da bæsal ɪv leksɪŋtɪn / da kankod faɪt //
 da leksɪŋtɪn ɪa.mɪ wəz laɪnd ʌp // evri mæn
 ɹæn ɔfɪsə wə stændɪŋ streɪtʃæn haɪ // ɹɔhfa
 sɪŋɪn / da frant kɒmpənɪz ɒv souldʒɪz
 tʃa:dʒ da pɪpəl // ɹeɪt ʌmɛrɪkənz wəz
 ɔaʊələd ən tɛn wəz tʃɪlɪ bɪt hɔrt // dɪɪŋɪʃ
 bɪgəz wənətʊ brɒk ɪntʊ da tæərən / bɪdɪ
 bɔɪz mɛɪ dɪ ɡaɪz mɔfɪ ʌp da kankod ɪo:d //
 da ho:l tɪŋ bæstɪd fə ɹaʊnɪ wɪn hæf ɹaʊn //]

APPENDIX III

Judgements on Pictures
Interviews

JUDGEMENTS ON PICTURES

SUMMARY

- Picture #1 - Caucasian male wearing gray jacket; holding paper and coat over arm
- Education Well-educated
 Job status Professional--doctor, lawyer or businessman
 Personality Intelligent; perhaps high in society
 Other Possibly Irish or Germanic
- Picture #2 - Caucasian male wearing a gray three piece suit
- Age Young
 Education Well-educated or possessing mid-level education
 Job status Reporter, actor, newscaster or business person; simple office worker
- Socio-economic status Appeared well to do
 Personality Funny, likes jokes; slow and lethargic
 Other He was 'properly' dressed
- Picture #3 - Caucasian male wearing brown raincoat and carrying briefcase
- Age Not young or old; old
 Job status Doctor, lawyer, college professor, priest
 Personality Introverted, shy, tired, formal, good
 Other Like older teachers; could be European, British or Irish
- Picture #4 - Caucasian male in blue sports coat with ascot
- Age Most judged young; minority said middle-aged, not old
 Job status Businessman, tourist guide, bus driver, policeman, blue collar worker, unemployed
 Education College degree, good education, has some education
 Socio-economic status Comfortable
 Personality Active, relaxed; wants to enjoy himself; honest, selfish
 Other Possibly European--English, Scottish; or from the South

- Picture #5 - Black male in gray overcoat carrying briefcase
 Age Middle-aged; late 40's
 Education Well-educated
 Job status Doctor, accountant, salesman, cashier
 Personality Nice, polite
 Other Has Black cadence; voice quality associated with being fat or heavy
- Picture #6 - Caucasian male wearing ski jacket and shoulder bag
 Age Young
 Education Average or some education; educated
 Job status Accountant, journalist, clerk, construction worker, student
 Personality Not sure of himself, indifferent; John Travolta type
 Other Could be foreign student from Middle East, Greece, South America; like some Persians
- Picture #7 - Caucasian male with glasses and moustache, rolled up sleeves
 Education Ranged from not much education to possibly college or self-educated
 Job status Artist, writer, truck driver, maintenance worker, worker in supermarket, salesman
 Personality Average person; not self confident but relaxed
 Other Possibly foreign; not too sophisticated
- Picture #8 - Black male with open jacket and blue jeans, sneakers
 Age Young
 Education Not well educated; student in training school
 Socio-economic status From a low level in the society; from a lower class neighborhood
 Personality Ordinary person
- Picture #9 - Male caucasian with cap, glasses and short jacket
 Age Older; like an old man
 Education Not too well educated
 Socio-economic status Working class
 Personality Has wisdom in his voice
 Other Could be Slavic or Polish
- Picture #10 - Oriental male with glasses in raincoat carrying camera
 Education Educated; not well educated
 Job status Doctor; a visitor
 Personality Has a firm hold on what he's talking about
 Other Chinese; Oriental

THE INTERVIEWS

For ease of analysis, transcripts from the interviews have been reorganized by tape, level and subject.

The following key words will be used to represent the main questions asked:

<u>Picture #</u>	The picture chosen in response to the question "Which picture best represents the speaker?"
<u>Why</u>	Why did you choose this picture to represent the speaker?
<u>Met</u>	Have you ever met anybody who speaks this way? Tell me about him/her.
<u>Media</u>	Can you think of anybody on TV, radio or in the movies who speaks this way?
<u>Americans</u>	What do Americans think about this way of speaking?
<u>You</u>	Would you like to speak this way?
<u>Add</u>	Is there anything you would like to add?

Note: When subjects were unable to provide answers for questions or could not think of individuals with speech similar to that of the speaker, their negative answers are not recorded here.

INTERVIEWS: COMMENTS ON THE TAPES

Tape 2 (Black English)
Level: Natives

Subject - N-1 (native female)

Picture #8

Why Younger person; lower class.
Met Probably--on the street.
Media Somebody from Sanford and Son.
Americans Undesirable; comes from being in the Black world. It's lazy; not articulating or even making the effort to.
You No. It wouldn't portray the person I think I am.

Subject N-2 (native female)

Picture #8

Met Yes. Where I worked. The guy from the fruit and vegetable store talked like that. He was a dark skinned Puerto Rican; didn't have much educational background.
Media Like a deejay on the radio or JJ from Good Times.
Americans It's not the greatest. People are used to hearing regular talking. He had an accent he stuttered a little.
You No. It sounds like a Black person. I don't particularly care to talk like that.
Add An accent from where he grew up--from his ethnic background.

Subject N-3 (native female)

Picture #8

Why The person speaking didn't sound educated. Also, the Blacks have a certain way of speaking.
Met Yes, on buses and stuff. They use different words. Their grammar isn't as good as a lot of people. They use different intonations.
You No way!
Add They're more careless

Subject N-4 (native male)Picture #8

Why He sounded like he was Black. He sounded young, like he was from a neighborhood that was not well educated.

Met Of course. I met people in junior high school. They talked like they came from a ghetto or something, even in high school.

Media The dumb roles on Welcome Back Kotter, like Horshack--a dependent person.

Americans You're not really up to par. Most people think if you cannot speak good English you cannot fit into the society.

You No. I'm not Black. My mother wouldn't like it if I came home and started speaking Black.

Add Just hearing the voice, he sounds like how a Black person would talk.

Level 2Subject 2-1 (Hispanic male)Picture #7

Why His way of talking, the way he expresses himself, he works in a supermarket or as a salesman. He doesn't have much education.

Met An acquaintance

Media I've never heard anyone speak this way.

Americans I have no idea what they think.

You No. I'd like to express myself the best way I can. This doesn't sound like the best way to me.

Add He sounds very hoarse.

Subject 2-2 (Persian female)Picture #9

Why He speaks like an old man.

Americans Opinions--not good, not bad.

You No.

Subject 2-3 (Japanese female)

Picture #7

Why Impression.
 Americans Not that nice voice.
 You No.
 Add He has to improve.

Subject 2-4 (Hispanic female)

Picture #2

Why The voice sounds young; a person not very
 strong--average education. Could attend a
 university.
 Americans Hard to say. I don't know Americans.
 You Yes, why not?

Level 4

Subject 4-1 (Persian female)

Picture #2

Why Maybe reporter.
 Met Yes--somebody I met. He is a lawyer. Several
 times I met him--my boy friend's friend.
 Americans Yes. They like it.
 You Yes.
 Add This kind of speaking, it's more kindly, romantic.
 He's a poet or a writer.

Subject 4-2 (Persian female)

Picture #8

Why All the Black people they talk differently;
 not really clear. The voices--not soft.
 Met Yes, all the time. I ask them the address or
 I see them on the street.
 Media Yes. He's medium age on a weekly program.
 Americans I think they don't like. It's impolite and it's
 not clear talk.
 You No!

Subject 4-3 (Chinese male)Picture #7

Why This person is not very tall, not very fat; maybe has a good education.

Americans They think it's not a good English--not speak frequently (fluently(?)).

You No! No! No!

Add I think he speak English as a second language--speak not very good like me.

Subject 4-4 (Hispanic female)Picture #8

Why Speaks like the Black people--not a good language.

Met Maybe somebody on the street.

Media Like JJ on Good Times.

You No.

Level 6Subject 6-1 (Brazilian female)Picture #8

Why I think he has a Black accent. His voice is very young.

Met Several people. They don't have good education; they are among the poor people.

Media Lady on Channel 13 has this music, but she has good grammar.

Americans They give very little credit to person with accent and bad English. They say is very bad the culture. The Blacks don't have opportunity.

Add I met very few Blacks who speak without this accent. Almost all. He's a young uneducated guy.

Subject 6-2 (Hispanic female)Picture #5

Why Black sound.

Met A Black lady--my friend's cleaning lady.

Media Yes--funny programs-- What's Happening.

You No.

Subject 6-3 (Persian male)Picture #8

Why Student in training school. Blacks, their tone is that way.

Met Not close contact. Would say "Hey, man" is in Black people culture.

Media Like JJ on Good Times; also in What's Happening --the fat one--also other one, not tall.

Americans Some young, they try to copy. Some young people like that.

You Oh, no! No! I feel is not good way to speak.

Subject 6-4 (Greek male)Picture #8

Why Voice of the person talking - young, not well educated guy, and he's Black, of course.

Met Yes.. I was in subway. There was a Black guy standing next to me. I asked him how long it would take to get to Manhattan. He told me something, and I compared his words to the guy I was talking to.

Media Not in TV. They speak very perfect in television.

Americans They don't like it. I don't know why. Sometimes Americans say they don't like the Black guys.

You No.

Add Most of the people can't understand as I couldn't when they talk in that way--they eat some part of their words.

Tape 3 (Standard English)
Level: N

Subject - N-1

Picture #7

Why Sounds like a Boston accent, or some place in the U.S.--artist or a writer. Definitely college or, if not, self-educated.

Met Could have come across people. A couple of years ago a cousin had friends over from Albany and others from Boston.

Americans I tend to think it's acceptable.

You Yes.

Add I worked in customer relations and spoke with a lot of people.

Subject - N-2

Picture #2

Why It sounds like an English accent.

Media On TV shows.

Americans I don't think Americans have anything against it.

You Yes, I wouldn't mind.

Add He knows the language quite well, but still has the accent. I like it. It sounds quite nice.

Subject - N-3

Picture #4

Why He reminds me of English people I've met.

Met Yes. One of my friends. Nice, open--a real gentleman.

Media I must have, but I can't place it.

Americans Most Americans are very impressed by the English accent--even the lower ones.

You I wouldn't mind it.

Add This is the middle English accent.

Subject - N-4

Picture #4

Why Not that young and not that old--English or some European country.

Americans It's proper. He sounds intellectual, like he's had some education.

You I wouldn't mind. He sounds pretty good. He's got a good voice.

Tape 3
Level 2

Subject 2-1

Picture #4

Why He has some education. Speaks with a different voice from Tape 2. More clear than #2.
Met Yes, but I don't remember his name.
Media No, I don't think so.
Americans O.K. So-so. Average.
You I'd like to speak more clearly than this.
Add He sounds like a business man. You can understand him.

Subject 2-2

Picture #2

Why He speaks very good--with class.
Met Yes. He's from school; 20 years old; handsome. He's very smart. He studies music.
Media Yes. I forgot his name. He tells the news-- a newscaster.
Americans Very good
You Yes, of course.
Add He's a good man--very handsome.

Subject 2-3

Picture #4

Why He's young and honest.
Met Yes.
Media Announcer on TV.
Americans Intelligent and orderly person.
You Yes

Subject 2-4

Picture #6

Why Could be an accountant or journalist.
Met No.
You Probably.

Tape 3
Level 4

Subject 4-1

Picture #1

Why Sounds young. He's educated.
Met Somebody who works in insurance company--
 a college graduate.
Media Some person; news.
Americans Yes, it's good.
You Yes.

Subject 4-2

Picture #1

Met No.
Media Bentley on The Jeffersons; his accent.
Americans They would like his accent.
You Yes, I would.

Subject 4-3

Picture #2

Why I think he is maybe an American actor or a
 news broadcaster; speaks fluently; tone is
 not bad.
Media Newscasters.
Americans I think they like it.
You Yes.

Subject 4-4

Picture #2

Media All In the Family - Mike Stivick.
Americans So-so; not too bad; not too good.
You No--not really.

Tape 3
Level 6

Subject 6-1

Picture #4

Why From other part of the country--from the South?
Met Yes. People like President Carter's accent.
Media President Carter.
Americans New Yorkers don't like the people who speak that way. Actually, New Yorkers like the New York accent.
You No.

Subject 6-2

Picture #2

Why Young, middle level education.
Americans Much better than #2.
You Now, yes, but not in future. (Speaker) was Spanish, but here a long time.

Subject 6-3

Picture #6

Why Sounded foreign. He tries to speak English in the right way.
Met Like some Persians.
American Yes, is good.
You Yes

Subject 6-4

Picture #2

Why His voice fits on his; very clear. This is business man.
Met Yes, my uncle's lawyer.
You It depends on the society I will enter. When you enter into a society, it changes. (Your speech(?))

Tape 4 (New York Non-standard)
Level 1 (Natives)

Subject 1-1

Picture #6

Why The way he said man. I attribute it to a Brooklyn accent.

Media The John Travolta type.

Americans People might poke fun, but it's acceptable. Some parts are comical.

You Not especially; no. I don't find it attractive--and an accent that you're really mispronouncing different words.

Add Kings that hang out--like the John Travolta type. Has high school education; might get college education later on. Reflects his peer group more than anything else.

Subject 1-2

Picture #6

Met A friend of mine, about 18 years old, talks about the same way. The tone of his voice--how I hear certain words are slurred; also, vendors on the street downtown.

Americans No. He wasn't speaking clearly.

You No.

Add It's a rushing slurring type of speech.

Subject 1-3

Picture #7

Why The person with this accent isn't educated. He doesn't care about the way he's speaking.

Met A lot of New Yorkers.

Media Archie Bunker talks that way.

Americans People look down on people who speak this way.

You No. I try not to. As a New Yorker, you have a tendency to say like [dʌg], and if I hear myself do it, I consciously say "It sounds awful; you don't want to speak that way."

Add He might be a Brooklynite or a Bronxite. It's a careless way of speaking. It just doesn't sound as nice.

Subject 1-4
Picture #7

Why Looks like a truck driver, or somebody that works in buildings as maintenance man or something like that.

Met Most of the people that hang out in the coffee corner, their intellectual capability is like downhill. Like in Brooklyn they pick up a certain accent. They talk a certain way. He sounds like Brooklyn--sounds dumb.

Media Barbarino in Welcome Back Kotter.

Americans They think it's a stupid way to speak. So do I. It sounds stupid.

You No, definitely not. I'd rather speak like the Black guy instead.

Add Voice pattern is sloppy and not organized. You're not talking properly at all. You're not even thinking of what you're talking about. All he's doing is slumping over and talking like he's some half-wit.

Level 2

Subject 2-1
Picture #6

Why Sounds more educated than the others; speaks more clearly.

Met Yes, a student or something similar.

Media When I watch TV I try to understand what people are saying. I don't pay attention to the way they speak.

Americans They think it's good because this is good for communicating among themselves.

You A bit more clearly than this.

Subject 2-2
Picture #7

Why He just let everything come out. He don't emphasize every word. He speaks not very well.

Media Yes on TV--Horshack on Welcome Back Kotter.

Americans Don't know.

You No, because it doesn't have any character.

Subject 2-3
Picture #8

Why Ordinary person.
Media Yes--somebody on Sesame Street.
Americans So-so.
You More fluently than this person.

Subject 2-4
Picture #7

Why Not very old, but mature. Middle level education.
Could be from a university.
You No, I'd prefer to speak like #2.

Level 4

Subject 4-1
Picture #8

Why His pronunciation; he's speaking like Black people,
not educated.
Met Somebody who works in insurance company---a college
graduate.
Americans Not bad, but this is not good.
You No. Just I don't like it.

Subject 4-2
Picture #2

Why Like salesman.
Americans I don't know about American feelings. It's hard
for me to find out.
You Yes. It was O.K.

Subject 4-3
Picture #6

Why The voice in the tape is very loud and strident.
I think he's young. Education, maybe, is not bad.
Media Some young people in show; in an interview.
Americans They think it's a foreign student.
You Now I think like to; in the future, I don't think
I like it.
Add Maybe a foreign student, lived here for three
or four years, but not a native.

Subject 4-4
Picture #6 or #4

Why Like my cousin.
Media No. On TV you speak fast.
Americans Well but slowly.
You No.

Level 6

Subject 6-1
Picture #6

Why Young voice. Foreign accent, very light; maybe Greek.
Met I have some friends here for 10-15 years. They speak very good English.
Americans Pretty good for foreign; for American, pretty heavy to speak like that.

Subject 6-2
Picture #8

Why Sounded like #2; that's the way they speak.
Media Like #2. Funny programs, What's Happening.

Subject 6-3
Picture #7

Why No self-confidence; not very good speech.
Met Yes. No rhythm in speech; clear but not smooth. It's cut.
Media In movies--guy from another country try to speak English.
Americans Depends. Some are friendly and try to listen. Some are not patient and they don't like that kind of speaker.
You I guess I am speaking that way, but I don't like. No.

Subject 6-4
Picture #4

Why He doesn't have any job, I think. He wants to enjoy himself.

Met Yes. When I was in a bus, one guy and one woman. The guy was talking that way; middle class--but not good education.

Media Yes; a show about Christmas party. I think accent is not from New York.

Americans Actually not.

You No.

Add I think he's retired from life.

Tape 5 (Standard English)
Level 1 (Natives)

Subject 1-1
Picture #5

Why The way he said 'road' and 'one-half an hour.' There was a slight accent to it. It was well educated.

Americans I would say acceptable; fine; understandable.

You I don't care either way.

Subject 1-2
Picture #5

Met People in school--black kids in high school.

You No. It sounds like a Black person and I don't think it would fit me.

Subject 1-3
Picture #5

Why He reminds me of a doctor or an accountant; very precise; very careful.

Met Yes. My boy friend's father--he's a doctor.

Americans They're impressed by it.

You I wouldn't mind it.

Add Not sloppy. No 'uh's'--clear. Person sounds educated.

Subject 1-4Picture #2

Why He's properly dressed so. Talks well and has a good job. You know he had to have 'well' education.

Media Like Orson Welles.

Americans They think it's a good way.

You Sure.

Level 2Subject 2-1Picture #10

Why Sounds like a foreign speaker.

Met No. I haven't seen.

Media Maybe in some show or something.

Americans Very bad; too hoarse. English should be spoken more clearly and distinctly.

You A little better than this.

Subject 2-2Picture #3

Why Not too old and not young; speaks well and firmly.

Media Newscasters.

Americans He's a very formal man. He's a good man.

Add He's sure of what he's saying.

Subject 2-3Picture #1

Why Business man.

Met Yes, but not people I know well.

Media Yes, but I don't remember the person.

Americans Good.

You Yes.

Subject 2-4Picture #4

Why Adult; no accent; not a foreigner. Mature; comfortable; can have a college degree.

Add I don't know if he uses grammar well.

Level 4Subject 4-1Picture #3

Why Maybe a doctor, lawyer, chairman in an office.
 Met Yes, a doctor.
 Media On TV. Host on Midday Live.
 Americans This is good.
 You Yes

Subject 4-2Picture #5

Met Yes. People in supermarket. I ask few question to Black. They was very nice. They answer you back.
 Americans It was O.K. I think. But Americans, it depend if they like the people. They like when they talk with him; they understand him.
 You No. Because I'm not Black.
 Add The voice is different than the whites.

Subject 4-3Picture #1

Why Maybe had a good education; maybe famous in society. He has a good job.
 Met Yes. Persons in an office business. Lawyer or doctor speaks like this.
 Media Yes.
 Americans Very good.
 You Ah, yes.

Subject 4-4Picture #3

Why He speak well; normal, not slow or fast. He speak clearly.
 Met Yes, I had a friend. He speak like him.
 Americans It's not too bad. I like to speak like him.
 Add Lawyer or doctor; something like that.

Level 6Subject 6-1Picture #5

Why Has accent.

Met I met several people among the colored who speak like that. Hard tryers in life; still have to improve more.

Media Like a guy on CBS Reports--colored man, news reporter.

Americans Still don't give too much credit for them to give credit. People must speak good, like an American.

You No.

Subject 6-2Picture #4

Why Middle age. I know he's White; middle education.

Americans You can't correct. He's speaking pretty good.

Subject 6-3Picture #5

Why At first I thought him (Picture #1) but at end it still has little Black people dialect.

Media News reporter.

Americans Nice.

You Yes.

Add Level was very good.

Subject 6-4Picture #1

Why Very intelligent and business man.

Media Yes. On TV most of the reporters speak this way.

Americans It's perfect.

You Yes. I think it's one of the best ways to speak.

Tape 6 (Standard English)
Level 1 - Natives

Subject 1-1
Picture #4

Why His speech was a little slow. He wasn't reading it that well. It was a young voice also.

Met My father. He doesn't read an awful lot, so he would be slower.

Media Archie Bunker

Americans It's slow. Shows you're not very adaptable.

You No.

Add Some people don't read well.

Subject 1-2
Picture #7

Why Doesn't sound too sophisticated. An average person who doesn't want to do much with himself.

Met No.

Media On Taxi, the one that runs the cab thing.

Americans It wouldn't be too great.

You No.

Subject 1-3
Picture #2

Why Speaking slowly, lethargic.

Americans Takes his time. He is educated, but not that well educated.

You It would be acceptable.

Add Wasn't bad. Not as intelligent as the last person (Tape 5) but not as ignorant as a New Yorker.

Subject 1-4
Picture #6

Met Yes, but I wish I didn't. He's a complete jerk.

Media Jerry Lewis, when he was acting like a clown.

Americans They don't think it's that bad, but they think you can improve it.

Add Sounds undecided in his words. When he was talking he wasn't sure what he was saying.

Level 2

Subject 2-1
Picture #6

Why This person is more educated. I think he's a college graduate.

Media In some show, on The Crosswits, the MC.

Americans Good for the Americans.

You A little more clearly; better than the others.

Add I understand him better than the others.

Subject 2-2
Picture #6

Why Not stupid and not very smart.

You Well, yes.

Add He goes to college.

Subject 2-3
Picture #6

Why Sounds young--student.

Met Like the students at Queens College.

Americans Quite young.

You No.

Add Sounds like somebody who works hard; could have a good job in industry.

Subject 2-4
Picture #8

Why Sounds Black. They speak with a different sound.

Met I've heard it in the streets. I don't know them.

Americans I don't know.

You No. This speech is very ugly.

Level 4

Subject 4-1Picture #7

Why Very relaxed person. Sound also was relaxed.
 Met One of my friend's friends. He is college graduate.
 He studies about computer.
 Americans I'm not sure.

Subject 4-2Picture #4

Why He spoke clearly. But he sounds selfish.
 He's sure about himself.
 Americans Some of them like it.
 You No.

Subject 4-3Picture #4

Why Voice is not very old. I think he's a tourist
 guide or a policeman; a very active person.
 Met Yes.
 Media Yes; some persons.
 Americans Not bad.
 You Yes.

Subject 4-4Picture #7

Why He speak slowly, without feeling.
 Americans He's lazy; is not a good way.
 You No, I don't like it.

Level 6

Subject 6-1Picture #7

Why Not sure about himself. Not uneducated,
but a slow talker.

Americans They don't give him too much credit for this
kind of speech.

Add I don't think he went to college.

Subject 6-2Picture #6

Why I have a friend who is young and speaks like that.
He's a student. He finished college--is studying
law.

Met In California.

You Yes.

Add Everybody has different accents. They can't make
everybody speak the same.

Subject 6-3Picture #2

Why A regular person. He has some education.

Met Yes.

Media Not sure.

Americans Most of the Americans talk like that. They don't
care.

You Better than that.

Add He is a simple office worker.

Subject 6-4Picture #6

Why Voice was young. I think it's a student.

Met I heard a student in school.

Media They speak more perfectly than that one.

Americans I think it's a good way to speak.

You I think so.

Tape 7 (Irish accented English)
Level 1 - Natives

Subject 1-1
Picture #3

Why The Irish accent--typical Irishman.
Met Yeah, a friend whose father and relatives were
 from Ireland and came here.
Media If there's an Irish character actor.
Americans A combination of things native to another language--
 putting their own traits into it. You wonder when
 he'll speak like us.
You A nice sound to it, but practically, I wouldn't
 want to speak like it.
Add It was different. I don't think they (students)
 should have laughed.

Subject 1-2
Picture #4

Met I've heard that accent; to me it sounds Scottish.
 Like some tourists I've met at the World Trade
 Center.
Americans Recognize it as a European country. They don't
 have anything against it.
You Yes, I think it's nice.
Add There was one part that sounded like he rolled
 a word out.

Subject 1-3
Picture #6

Why Sounds like a Cockney accent; not a business man.
 Maybe clerk or construction.
Met I heard it a lot in England.
Media I don't think they'd be on TV with that accent.
Americans A general American would probably be impressed,
 thinking it was English--not knowing about the
 social classes.
You No. I associate it with the lower classes in England.
Add Worker; not intelligent; physical labor. That's
 not the desired accent in England. It's the one
 that people frown upon.

Subject 1-4Picture #5

Why Sounds Irish. I always goof on Irish because I am Irish myself--sounds smart. The brogue sounds so funny.

Media There's one program they show every St. Patrick's Day. An American goes to Ireland and visits his family--meets Maureen O'Hara or something.

Americans Funny, because they're not used to it.

You Yes. It sounds good. I like the way they speak.

Add It's funny because he sounds different. He has a different voice, not like yours or mine. When you're from another country you don't speak properly--not the way we speak. If you laughed at somebody in Ireland, they'd break your face.

Level 2Subject 2-1Picture #9

Why More educated; clear; not hoarse. Average level in society. He has studied, but I can't say too much; working class.

Met Somebody in the bus.

Americans O.K. Average.

You More or less, relatively. He can be understood.

Add I hardly have any friends here outside of my classmates.

Subject 2-2Picture #4

Why He speaks in a very relaxed way.

Media Yes. I don't remember name.

You No. I don't like the way he speaks. He's a very common, vulgar person.

Subject 2-3Picture #2

Why Talkative and funny; likes jokes.

Media Comedians.

You So-so.

Subject 2-4Picture - no choice (None of the pictures resemble the person)

Why Twenty-two to twenty-five years old.
 You Maybe.
 Add You can't tell the personality from somebody's speech.

Level 4Subject 4-1Picture #6

Why Sounded foreign--Middle East or Greece or South America
 Americans For foreign people this is good.
 You I think I do speak like that
 Add All students in ELI from different countries--they speak like that.

Subject 4-2Picture #7

Why Not American; German accent or something.
 Americans No, they don't like accent.
 You No. He's got an accent.

Subject 4-3Picture #8

Why The way he put words together in his pronunciation. He didn't take a good education; low level in the society.
 Met No, I never met.
 Media No, I don't know.
 Americans It's not good.
 You No, I don't.

Subject 4-4
Picture #1

Why Like a priest I know. All the priests are the same for me. They speak like him--la la la la.... (imitated intonation).

Media When Pope Paul died, the reporter asked something to someone who speak like him.

Americans Not normal.

You No.

Add They learned to speak like that in the monastery.

Level 6

Subject 6-1
Picture #1

Why Doesn't look like American. Is foreign speaker--German or Austrian.

Met Yes. Heavy accent on 'r' like people from Austria.

Americans They like it better than born here with accent.

You No.

Subject 6-2
Picture #7

Why Sounds foreign, like Italian.

Met Yes, in my building.

Americans They don't speak clear; they don't understand them.

You No.

Subject 6-3
Picture #10

Why Accent. Strange for me. Seems to be foreign person, but the voice--I guess German.

Subject 6-4
Picture #7

Met Yes. He's not from America.

Americans Americans no like; maybe somebody else from his own country.

You No, I haven't come from Russia.

Add Maybe from Russia.

Tape 8 (Standard English)
Level: Natives

Subject 1-1
Picture #2

Why Younger; slight accent. Could have been Oriental but spoke too well to be a tourist. Well educated.
Met Business people--announcers at times.
Yes Yes

Subject 1-2
Picture #10

Why Voice was mumbled; sounded slurrish.
Met I haven't heard anybody speak that way.
Americans Not something they particularly care to hear.
You No.

Subject 1-3
Picture #3

Why Sounded introverted and shy.
Met I must have.
Media No. In media mostly have Midwestern accent.
Americans Neutral. Would have to get to know the person.
You No. But I wouldn't be as upset as if I spoke like #2.
Add Work involves intelligence but not interacting with a lot of people.

Subject 1-4
Picture #3

Why Not old, not Black. Sounds like a man that would either own a business or be in a very top job.
Met Sure do.
Media Charlton Heston or Clark Gable.
Americans Think it's proper--the aristocratic way, the way the rich speak.
You No. I wouldn't want to change my voice. I'd rather speak my normal thing--whether I'm rich or poor.
Add If I could improve my intellectual capability, that would be the best thing that could happen, not changing my voice.

Level 2Subject 2-1Picture #8

Why The majority of people from this social class speak hoarsely and people don't understand them. I've heard Black people speak, and you can't understand anything.

Media No.

Americans According to people from this lower class it's O.K.

You No! No!

Add Isn't well educated--maybe a truck driver.

Subject 2-2Picture #8

Why He has a Black accent.

Met Yes, Black people.

Media Someone on 11 Alive--young Black man on comedy show.

You No.

Add Intonation is common and relaxed at the same time.

Subject 2-3Picture #5

Why Heavy voice because he is fat.

Americans He's not clever.

You No.

Subject 2-4Picture #3

Why Sounds like a tired person--old, over 40; a little fat.

Met My stepfather, but in Spanish.

You Now, no. When I get old, I may.

Level 4Subject 4-1Picture #4

Why Feel like policeman or bus driver.
 Met Yes. Shopping--take bus.
 Media Actors in movie and show.
 Americans Don't know.
 You So-so.

Subject 4-2Picture #6

Why He talk like he's young--slowly--not sure of
 himself. Good English you can understand.
 Americans Yes. He sound American. They like you--
 using good words--yes. But not sure of yourself,
 no.

Subject 4-3Picture #5

Why Voice is low. Not very tall--heavy.
 Met Fat or short people.
 Media Yes, but I don't remember.
 Americans Maybe. Eighty percent think good.
 You Yes

Subject 4-4Picture #4

Why English is not bad.
 Met A lot of people speak like that.
 Not a good intonation.
 Americans They say it's so-so.
 You No.

Level 6Subject 6-1Picture #2

Why Color of skin very light.
 Met People graduating from law school.
 Media Many people.
 Americans Not bad. Is O.K.
 You Yes. I don't mind speak like that.
 Add Educated. Psychology or science.

Subject 6-2Picture #1

Why Well educated.
 Met Yes. He's a business man.
 Media Majority of people on TV.
 Americans They think it's good.
 You Oh yes.

Subject 6-3Picture #1

Why Sounded educated. Because of his face and gesture.
 Met Yes. Educated people.
 Media Sure. Announcer on programs about scientific things.

Subject 6-4Picture #3

Why Voice was older.
 Met Spoke like older teachers that I have.
 Media Newscaster.
 Americans Yes, because he's American.
 You It depends on the society where I go.

Tape 9 (Hawaiian Pidgin)
Level: Natives

Subject 1-1
Picture #9

Why An accent--a certain rhythm to the way he spoke. Probably Slavic, Polish or something like that.

Met Yes--a few people; parents of friends from Poland or Russia.

Americans Not pronounced enough.

You No.

Add Once in a while a word was slightly different.

Subject 1-2
Picture #9

Why His tone would go up and down. It wasn't clear. He sounded older.

Met I've heard older people speak that way. In my church a lot of the older men speak that way.

Americans I don't think they would mind. It's not as though he spoke this way all his life.

Add It's very difficult to understand him and visualize what he tries to say. A lot of words were mumbled, like he was tired.

Subject 1-3
Picture #10

Why Doesn't speak very fluently like an American; sounds like a foreigner.

Met New immigrants. I could tell he was foreign--not European or Middle Eastern.

Americans If the person is here for a short time they'd be impressed. If the person is here a long time they'd think he was lazy for not learning to speak better.

You No.

Add I must sound this way to others when I speak Hebrew.

Subject 1-4
Picture #10

Why Sounded like he was Chinese. Has a firm hold on what he's talking about.

Media In a cartoon--the Chinese guy and his son; also a movie about a Chinese detective.

Americans In Chinatown they would think it was fine. In general, not normal for everybody, but O.K. to talk like this. Sounds educated.

You No. O.K. for him, but I'd rather speak like an American.

Add When he first began, he sounded like a normal American. But then when you hear further, then his nationality came out. All of a sudden you would hear his voice get lower, the way the Chinese talk.

Level 2

Subject 2-1
Picture #5

Why Could be a salesman or cashier. Not clear--spoke hoarsely. Could be Black.

Met It's possible--in the subway--on the bus.

Americans Very bad.

You No.

Add Has a middle-level education.

Subject 2-2
Picture #10

Why Heavy accent. You couldn't tell what he was saying. Man looked foreign.

Subject 2-3
Picture #3

Why Sounds old.

Media An old actor.

Americans A gentleman.

You Yes.

Subject 2-4
Picture #5

Why A somewhat fat person. Older. Over 40.
Middle class.

You No! No! No! Makes too much noise speaking.
Is hoarse. Words weren't very clear.

Level 4

Subject 4-1
Picture #10

Why I think he was foreign; also Oriental.

Met Like my Oriental classmates.

Americans For foreigners, that's good.

Subject 4-2
Picture #3

Why The way he was talking--not young, not old;
maybe middle-aged man.

Met Usually doctor, but middle-aged doctor.

Americans Yes, good.

You If I got old, yes.

Subject 4-3
Picture #9

Why I think he is older. In beginning he is speak
slowly. In the end he speak fast.

Met Like my neighbor, maybe 50 years old. He live
alone.

Americans I don't remember; so-so.

You I think I can learn more good later. Now I would
like to speak like this.

Subject 4-4
Picture #10

Why Not well educated.

Met Yes, here.

Media Yes.

Americans Not too bad.

You No.

Level 6Subject 6-1Picture #10

Why He has like Chinese accent.
 Met ELI people in Queens College.
 Americans They make fun of Chinese accent because they sound cute.
 You No.
 Add They cut things off words. I never met anyone say they don't like the people. From my opinion, people just people.

Subject 6-2Picture #9

Why Didn't read with punctuation. Sounds like he's not well educated. Sounds old.
 Media Yes; no name.
 Americans That's O.K.
 You When I'm old.

Subject 6-3Picture #10

Why It has a Chinese accent. He's a visitor.
 Met Yes; foreign students.
 Americans No.
 You No.

ADDITIONAL STUDENT COMMENTS

Natives

Level 1

- N-2: Desired speech - one with the English accent. Myself, there's a lot to be improved. I'm not in the top ten, you know. A lot has to do with people you hang around with--where you live.
- N-3: I was in london only one to one and a half weeks, and I noticed reactions to different accents.

Level 2

- 2-1: Noticed different accents - after two weeks, in the bus when I took it, people spoke differently.
- 2-2: Noticed different accents - when I came to college after being here three months. I was not friendly with many people before college.
Desired speech - I don't want to follow anybody else.
- 2-3: Noticed difference - people in America speak differently from the way I learned in Japan. I studied the British way. I noticed the difference with the first American I spoke to--maybe in a few days.
- 2-4: I have almost no English-speaking friends. I only relate with students in my classes. I am quiet outside. I speak with nobody. I don't watch TV, not radio either--only music in Spanish.
Noticed difference - in a few days; one or two weeks.
Desired speech - the best one. Correct grammar - to be understood clearly; to use the right word.

Level 4

- 4-1: Noticed difference - first when I came here I can feel some, like music. After several months I could tell the difference between voices, and recently I can feel different accents. (Student has been here for about one year).
Desired speech - all of the sounds are similar for me. This is hard. I like to speak English; it doesn't matter how. Sure, I want to choose the best one (#2 and #5).

Level 4 (continued)

4-3: When I first came here, I couldn't understand what they were saying.

Desired speech - four years ago I would say British English. No would say New York speech.

4-4: Here in the United States I don't have the opportunity to hear a lot of Americans; only my teachers. They speak well. I hear different people; they have different education. In my country, we speak Spanish different ways--one city to another city. I don't know what which is better.

Desired speech - in my own way, I don't want to speak like other person.

Level 6

6-1: Noticed difference - since I start to listen people better. Even myself, I start to recognize accent. I meet many people from different parts of the United States. It took me about two years to learn that.

Desired English - Like my husband. He works in a trade agency and speaks very good English; also teachers, they speak quite well.

6-2: Noticed difference - after six months. At the beginning I couldn't understand anything.

Desired speech - the businessman I know. (Mentioned as an example of someone resembling speaker on Tape 8).

6-3: Time to notice difference - maybe six months to notice different accents.

Desired speech - John Newman, my teacher. Also, I love Martin Luther King's speech. I like Faulkner--have educated language; talk about literature and philosophy.

At first I was thinking everybody talking same. I remember first time I was with my family and they made fun of English speech; they have thick accent. Different between British and American accent. President Carter--first time it was really hard to understand. He eats his words. One of our teachers, also; she's from Southwest; also she talks in her mouth.

Level 6 (continued)

6-4: Noticed difference - as I got off from the plane, I noticed the dialect here was different, because at home I went to the British Institute for English. Then I heard British. I can see there are a lot of differences. I met a Black guy and he spoke to me and that was different from American, because I had American friends before I came here.

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