

Robert M. McKenzie

Educational Linguistics

The Social Psychology of English as a Global Language

*Attitudes, Awareness and Identity
in the Japanese Context*



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The Social Psychology of English as a Global Language

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Abbreviations

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AET	Assistant English Teacher (Japan)
ALT	Assistant Language Teacher (Japan)
AMTB	Attitude/Motivation Test Battery
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
GV	Glasgow Vernacular
HJE	Heavily-Accented Japanese English
JET	Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LFC	Lingua Franca Core
MANOVA	Multivariate Analysis of Variance
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan
MGT	Matched-Guise Technique
MJE	Moderately-Accented Japanese English
NNS	Non-native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
PCA	Principal Components Analysis
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAT	Speech Accommodation Theory
SD	Standard Deviation
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SSE	Scottish Standard English
SUSE	Southern United States English
VGT	Verbal-Guise Technique

Chapter 1

The Global Spread of English and the Role of English in Japan

1.1 Globalisation, the Spread of English and World Englishes

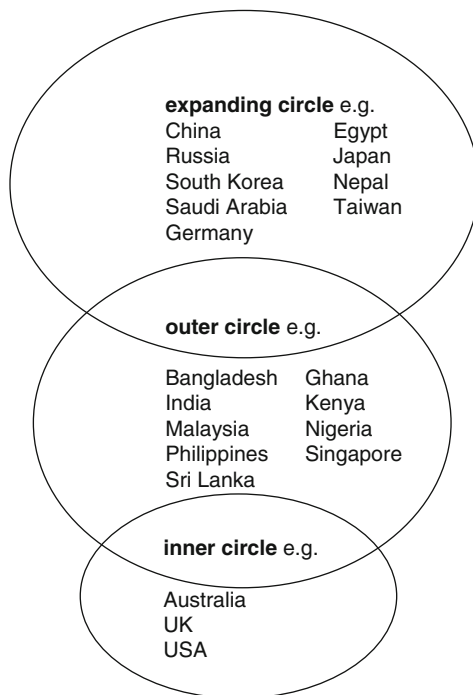
The ongoing and seemingly relentless process of globalisation has, and continues to have, major economic effects. These include increasing levels of financial interdependence between different cultures and areas of the world, demonstrated by the recent ‘credit crunch’, which originated in the United States, spread rapidly to both developed and developing countries and ultimately resulted in a worldwide economic downturn. Perhaps inevitably, there are also linguistic consequences of globalisation and economic interconnectedness (Dornyei et al., 2006: 6–7). For instance, globalisation has resulted in greater competition between languages, on both a regional and a worldwide scale, with both winners and losers (Maurais and Morris, 2003: 1–3). For instance, it has been well-documented by both sociolinguists and applied linguists that the worldwide spread of English, in comparison with other major languages, has been particularly rapid and unprecedented (e.g., Crystal, 2003: 29–71; Seidlhofer, 2004: 209–210, 2008: 60–61; Dornyei et al., 2006: 6–9; Kirkpatrick, 2007: 1–3; Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008: 1–3; Sharifan, 2009: 1–5). Indeed, the importance of English throughout the world is reflected in an the publication of ever-increasing number of monographs and edited volumes (see above) as well as in the continued existence of three well-established journals – namely *English Worldwide* (founded 1979), *World Englishes* (founded 1984), and *English Today* (founded 1985) – whose focus is specifically related to the role of English in a wide range of international contexts.

The spread of English began, on a world scale, in the eighteenth century with European colonisation of Asian and African countries. The growth of the British Empire, in particular, resulted in many of both the colonisers and the colonised associating the English language with power and opportunity. Even following independence, many of the former British colonies retained English as an official language, which perhaps suggests its continued status in these areas. However, it was not until after World War Two, largely as a result of the strengthening economic power and status of the United States, that English has been spoken more internationally. The global spread of English appears to be

continuing unabated. Crystal, for example, has repeatedly revised his estimates of the number of speakers of the language globally and recently noted that ‘... we have moved in 25 years from a fifth to a quarter to a third of the world’s population being speakers of English’ (2008: 5). The language is also spoken increasingly as a lingua franca between individuals from different nations who have learned English as a foreign language as well as to communicate with speakers who have learned English as first language and/or in the former colonies, in all likelihood, as a second language. Dornyei et al. (2006: 8–9) note that the increasing use of English for international purposes calls into question the validity of the notion that those who have learned English as a first language can claim its sole ownership. Indeed, for many, English may no longer be associated with specific countries in, for instance, the US, the UK or Australia, but rather, as representing an ‘imagined’ international community. Jenkins (2009a: 39) notes that ‘beneficial or not, for the time being English as Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as an International Language (EIL) as it is still sometimes known, is a fact of life’ (see [Section 6.1.5](#) for a comprehensive discussion of the current debates surrounding ELF/EIL).

Several attempts have, in fact, been made to classify and account for the different ways in which English is employed in different countries (e.g., Gollach, 1990; Strevens, 1992; McArthur, 1998). However, Kachru (1985, 1992) has undoubtedly provided the most comprehensive and influential model of the worldwide spread of the language. Kachru’s World Englishes model is comprised of three concentric models of English usage: the inner circle; the outer circle; and the expanding circle (see [Fig. 1.1](#)). Each of the three circles represents different types of spread, patterns of acquisition and functions of English in a diversity of cultural contexts. The inner circle consists of countries where English is spoken as a native language (ENL) for a substantial (and often monolingual) majority, such as the UK, the USA, New Zealand and Canada. The English spoken in the inner circle is multifunctional and used in all domains and is often *endonormative*, that is, in terms of appropriateness and correctness inner circle Englishes provide norms and these are propagated through language education and language planning. The outer circle, in contrast, consists of ‘post-colonial’ countries, such as Pakistan, the Philippines, Ghana and Malaysia, where English is spoken as a second language (ESL) and is employed for a range of educational and administrative purposes. The varieties of English spoken in the outer circle are often described as ‘norm-developing’ (e.g., Jenkins, 2009a: 18) in that they are currently undergoing the development of their own standards. However, ‘these Englishes continue to be affected by conflict between linguistic norms and linguistic behaviour, with widespread perceptions among users that Anglo-American norms are somehow superior and that their own variants are therefore deficient’ (Bruthiaux, 2003: 160). The expanding circle comprises countries, such as Germany, Brazil and Japan, where English is learned as a foreign language (EFL) and is used for international communication, such as in business, diplomacy and tourism. In recent years it has certainly been the case that, with regards to the number of speakers,

Fig. 1.1 Kachru's concentric circles of English (adapted from 1996: 2)



the greatest spread has occurred within the expanding circle nations (Jenkins, 2009b: 40). As a result, given the prevalence of English language use throughout the world in the twenty-first century, the expanding circle presumably comprises every nation not included in the inner circle or the outer circle. English tends to be *exonormative* in the expanding circle, in that educators, policy-makers and speakers themselves have traditionally looked towards inner circle models (mainly from the UK or the US) for linguistic norms, although it cannot be taken for granted that learners are actually aiming at mastery of a particular inner circle model (Ferguson, 2006: 159).

Since its inception, the World Englishes model has strongly influenced how academics describe the configuration of English worldwide. This is because it has two major advantages: it provides, at least in the broadest sense, for the plurality of English; and suggests, in linguistic terms, that no one variety of English is better than any other (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 28). Nevertheless, despite the strong influence of the model and its relative merits, it is not without its problems.

First, with regard to inner circle Englishes in particular, the model ignores the fact that although there is relatively little differentiation between written norms, this is not the case between spoken norms. The model, thus, in its broad categorisation of varieties according to large geographical areas, does not take into account the considerable spoken dialectal variation within each of the

varieties identified (e.g., American English, British English, Australian English). This view is shared by Millar (in Afendras et al., 1995: 299) who, as a speaker of Northern Irish English, takes issue with terms such as ‘British English’ (which is used unquestioningly in much of the World Englishes literature). She believes it is not so much a cover term as a ‘masking term’ because it hides major linguistic variation and renders invisible many speakers as well as a number of national identities. In addition, Millar (ibid.: 300) maintains that terms such as ‘American English’ suggest the singular and that the single variety implied is ‘the standard’. Hence, the model reinforces perceptions of inner circle Englishes as monolithic and standardised (Bruthiaux, 2003: 160). In the case of the UK, for example, the concentric circles model perpetuates the notion that RP, spoken by only a small minority of users, remains the preferred model for speakers in the UK, which is clearly a misrepresentation of the linguistic context in the British Isles in the twenty-first century. In fairness, Kachru (1996: 7–8, 1997: 76–78), at least as far as the written form is concerned, has recognised that there exists substantial regional and social variation within these broad categories of inner circle Englishes and has identified ‘loose canons’ in the inner circle, such as Scottish, Chicano and African-American literatures. Kachru (1997: 78) has called for the inclusion of these literatures in World English curricula at University level throughout the inner, outer and expanding circles.

Secondly, a problem exists with the World Englishes model because of its reliance on a fundamental distinction between native speakers of English (i.e., from the inner circle) and non-native speakers of English (i.e., from the outer and expanding circles). There is a problem with this distinction because attempts thus far at precise definitions of the terms ‘native speaker’ (NS) and ‘non-native speaker’ (NNS) have proved highly controversial (e.g., see McKay, 2002: 28–31; Davies, 2003: 214; Kirkpatrick, 2007: 8–10). Firth and Wagner (1997: 292), for example, note that ‘NS and NNS are blanket terms, implying homogeneity through each group, and clear-cut distinctions between them’. The labelling of an individual as a native speaker or, in particular, as a non-native speaker of a language is no less controversial (Jenkins, 2009a: 87–91). For instance, for a majority of Singaporean speakers of English, the language is acquired at a later stage of their development, so, by definition, Singapore English is most often categorised as belonging to the outer circle of Englishes and its speakers as non-native English users. However, for a considerable number, English is acquired from birth and spoken at home as well as for official purposes. Moreover, in Quebec, where some individuals acquire French and English simultaneously (and subsequently use the language in different domains), and likewise amongst the ever-increasing number of multilingual speakers in countries such as India, it can be extremely difficult to identify which is a speaker’s L1, L2 or L3 (see Section 2.2.1.2). Such problems with classification have led Jenkins to maintain ‘it is offensive to label as non-native those who have learnt English and achieved bilingual status as fluent, proficient (but probably not *ambilingual*) users’ (ibid.: 88). Hence, because of this reliance on the native speaker/non-native speaker differentiation, the model, can be

criticised for its over-reliance on both geography and genetic inheritance in its categorisation of speakers of English.

Thirdly, Singh et al. (1995: 284) believe that the labelling of inner circle (old) English and outer circle (new) English is overly value-laden since it suggests that older Englishes are more truly 'English' than those historically younger varieties in the outer circle. Such a distinction seems even more problematic because it has been noted (e.g., *ibid.*: 285) that, historically, all varieties of English other than 'English English' are transplanted.

Fourthly, as can be observed from the discussion above, much of the investigation into World Englishes has focussed upon descriptions of or distinctions between inner circle English and outer circle English. This has led Berns (2005: 85–86) to conclude that although extensive research into English in the inner and outer circles has provided a great deal of information and insight into the spread, functions and status of English in these zones, less is known with regard to English in the expanding circle. Kirkpatrick (2007: 29–30) believes that this is because at the time of the development of the World Englishes model in the 1980s it was not possible to estimate the escalating role the English language would later play in many countries in the expanding circle. Kirkpatrick offers China as an example, and details the increasingly important position which English has attained in the country, including a massive rise in the number of English language learners over the last 10 years as well as a rapid rise in the use of English in computer mediated communication and growing employment of the language as a lingua franca within China. Similarly, Ferguson (2006: 151) discusses the case of Denmark, categorised firmly within the expanding circle, where English, nevertheless, now exists not only as a foreign language, but also has important internal functions, reminiscent of outer circle membership. Indeed, Ferguson (*ibid.*: 151) concludes that English is now so widely employed as a lingua franca, with increasingly 'de-anglicised features', by proficient L2 users in parts of (expanding circle) Europe, that the likelihood is that a separate variety with its own codifiable set of norms will emerge (for a discussion of Euro-English see [Section 6.1.5](#)). Berns (2005: 85–86) recommends that, in order to address the identifiable gap in the World Englishes literature more generally and to provide a broader appreciation of English world-wide, more in-depth studies are required, focussing on the spread, development and acquisition of and attitudes towards English in specific areas of the expanding circle. This is broadly compatible with the view of Canagarajah (2006: 33), who maintains that research should be undertaken into the increasing intranational use of English in the expanding circle. Moreover, because of the growing importance of Asia as an economic area (Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 112) and the development of English as a 'Far East lingua franca' (Kachru, 2006: 185), it would be particularly profitable to examine the functions of English within the specific Asian context of the expanding circle. By focussing on attitudes towards varieties of English in Japan, it is hoped that the book will help broaden understanding of English in the expanding circle in Asia and more generally.

Despite the issues mentioned above the World Englishes model continues to provide 'a useful shorthand for classifying contexts of English world-wide'

(Bruthiaux, 2003: 172). Hence, in the course of the book and despite problems with precise definitions, the terms native/non-native and inner/outer/expanding circle are all employed in the description of the varieties of English speech recorded for the purposes of evaluation (see Section 4.2.2). The terms inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle are defined according to Kachru's (e.g., 1985, 1992) categorisation (see above). For the purposes of the present study, a *native speaker* of a language is defined, following Richards et al. (1992: 241), as an individual who acquired the language in question in early childhood. Defined in this way, the native speakers of the language in question are in sole historic possession of a particular *habitus*, i.e., a set of dispositions acquired in early childhood, which generate attitudes, habits and practices (see Section 2.1.1) which are regular, despite neither being co-ordinated nor governed by any explicit rule (Thomson in editor's introduction, Bourdieu, 1991: 13). A *non-native speaker* can thus be defined as an individual who learns the language after early childhood as a second or foreign language (e.g., Singh et al., 1995: 286). However, as Trudgill notes '... up to the age of eight or so, children are able to acquire a new language more or less perfectly, given adequate exposure. After the age of fourteen, on the other hand, the vast majority of human beings are not able to do this. In between eight and fourteen, there is an enormous amount of variation, and results will be, as it were, in between. The concept of "native speaker", just like most other sociolinguistic concepts, is thus not a matter of either-or. It is a concept which admits of degrees of more-or-less ... it is simply that some people are more native speakers than others' (2008a: 84). Hence, in the context of the following pages, the reader should bear in mind that the use of such a system of classification is not without its problems.

1.2 The English Language in Japan

As detailed in the previous section, according to Kachru's model, English in Japan is categorised within the expanding circle, where the language does not have status of an official language, does not function as a lingua franca and is not a relic of colonisation. Although English has a restricted range of functions in Japan it is taught extensively as a foreign language in the education system and is increasingly employed in international trade, overseas travel and in academic research. English, spoken and written, is also increasingly prevalent in the media in Japan and is a major influence on both the Japanese language and Japanese society. These issues are discussed in more detail in this section of Chapter 1.

1.2.1 History of Japanese Contact with the English Language

Since its earliest inception, Japan has been greatly influenced by its neighbours, China and Korea. In historical terms, the most pervasive language contact with

Japan has been with the Chinese, often through Korea as an intermediary. In particular, the importation of Chinese characters (*kanji*) from the seventh century onwards to represent in script both sounds and semantic values in Japan, had a profound effect, leading in fact to the development of the Japanese writing system. The first contact with Europeans came with the arrival of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the latter part of the sixteenth century. However, due to the isolationist policies of the Tokugawa Government at that time, contact with the Spanish lasted for only 32 years (1592–1624) and with the Portuguese for less than a century (1542–1639). In 1609, the Japanese established trade links with the Dutch and a small Dutch trading post was established in the island of Dejima, situated near Nagasaki in southern Kyushu. For the following 200 years, the Dutch became the dominant European contact with Japan, and Dutch the only European language studied (by an elite group of scholars) in the country. Contact with the Dutch language was very important for the later spread of English in Japan. The groundwork for the study of ‘the West’ was established by those Japanese scholars who studied and translated Dutch and it is clear that the history of English in Japan would be markedly different if it had not been for the presence of the Dutch (Stanlaw, 2004: 47).

The first major contact with English can be traced back to 1853 with the arrival of the American mission to Japan under the charge of Commodore Perry. The aim of the mission was to gain trading concessions for the USA and to bring Japan into the world of ‘civilised nations’. With the subsequent signing of The Kanagawa Treaty of 1854, the period of restrictive policies was officially over. The linguistic landscape of Japan also changed, with scholars shifting from the study of Dutch to English to learn about the west. This shift accelerated with the establishment of the new government in 1868 in the name of the *Meiji* emperor. A process of general modernisation of Japan occurred from 1868 which included an influx of English-speaking foreigners and the widespread study of English in private language academies. It is interesting to note that despite the prevalence of Americans in Japan at this time, the model of English taught in these academies was generally based on Received Pronunciation (RP), and indeed, an approximation to this model was employed by Japanese both in business and for scholarly purposes (Stanlaw, 2004: 61). This is borne out by the alleged reaction of Harold E. Palmer (see below), who, on arrival in Japan, was believed to have been surprised that American teachers of English in Japan tended to speak RP in the classroom and to see this as ‘good pronunciation’ (Smith, 2004: 151–152). The high status of English is reflected by a proposal by Arinori Mori in 1872 to abolish the Japanese language and, instead, adopt English as the national language of Japan. There appear to be four reasons for his proposal: Mori’s perception of spoken Japanese as impoverished compared to European languages; the complexity of the *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* systems of Japanese writing; the fact that Japanese was not an international language; and his view that written Japanese itself is but a corrupted relic of Chinese cultural imperialism (Joseph, 2004a). The proposal, nevertheless, was quashed by the Ministry of Education in 1873.

By the 1880s there was a backlash against the fascination with all things western (Ike, 1995: 5), reflected by a decision taken by the Ministry of Education in 1883 to choose Japanese and not English as the medium of instruction at Tokyo University and by the assassination of Arinori Mori in 1889 by an ultranationalist. Although this backlash against the west continued in Japan into the twentieth century, English nevertheless remained a compulsory subject at middle school, despite a number of calls to make it available only as an elective (ibid.: 6). Moreover, in 1922, Harold E. Palmer, invited to Japan by the Ministry of Education, founded the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) in Tokyo (see Smith, 1998, 2004). Through the work of the IRET, Palmer (and latterly A. S. Hornby) made a significant contribution to English language teaching in Japan, an influence which continues today, particularly in pedagogical research and development (Smith, 1998: 287). However, during the war period (1941–1945), English learning was discouraged. As a result, the Ministry of Education reduced middle school study of English to 4 h/week for boys and dropped it completely for girls (Koike and Tanaka, 1995: 17). Following the end of the war in 1945, Japan remained under occupation by the USA for 7 years. The new constitution, which came into effect in May 1947, introduced a new educational structure: 6 years at primary school, followed by 3 years each at junior and senior high schools and 2 or 4 years at college or university. The first 9 years of schooling were compulsory, a legal requirement that continues to this day. Although English instruction was formally an elective in the school system, in practice it was virtually obligatory (ibid.: 17). The influence of the United States also shifted the instructional model of English from RP to mainstream US English (e.g., Matsuda, 2000: 38; Smith, 2004: 151–152; Yoshikawa, 2005: 351–352). Outside of the school system, learning *eikaiwa* (English conversation) also became popular. The hiring of foreign teachers of English (i.e., from the inner circle of English use) to work in private language schools catered for the increasing demand for English conversation from a wide range of learners, including housewives, students and businessmen. This resulted in increased opportunities for Japanese learners to interact with native speakers of English. Since the 1980s learning English has been promoted by business and government as a strategy to ‘internationalise’ the nation, reflected in the slogan *kokusaika* (internationalisation) (Kubota, 1998: 296–297).

1.2.2 English in the Japanese Education System

Until recently, most students began learning English in Japan in junior high school (i.e., middle school) at approximately 12 years old (grade 7). Although some students learned the language for 3 years only (grades 7–9), the great majority completed a full 6 years of English education. However, in 2002, following a decade of intense debate and deliberation, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) implemented the ‘New

Course of Study' policy, under which elementary schools in Japan could choose to offer English language instruction, to pupils of grade 3 and above, as part of a new subject, 'integrated studies'. Indeed, in its first year of implementation, 'English conversation activities' were carried out at 'approximately 50% of all public elementary schools' (MEXT, 2003: point 2.5). Moreover, in 2006, MEXT proposed, from 2011, that 'English activities' (although not as an academic subject) should be made compulsory for elementary pupils at grades 5 and 6. Butler (2007: 142) also points out that whilst it is not clear whether MEXT intends to make English a compulsory subject at the elementary level more generally, most recently, a great number of municipal councils and individual schools have begun preparations to teach English as an academic subject at this level. It is important to note, nevertheless, that the teaching context of integrated studies is not determined by MEXT itself, but by the local (mainly Japanese) teaching staff. As a result, the Ministry is reportedly undertaking steps to promote teacher-training and resource development in elementary school English instruction (Honma and Takeshita, 2004: 199).

There have also been changes to English language instruction in junior and senior high schools in Japan. This is mainly in response to criticisms of the effectiveness of English language teaching at these institutions by both Japanese industry and government officials, who have generally called for a more practical approach to English language education in Japan because of perceptions of the importance of English in many aspects of trade, science, tourism and other leisure areas (Butler and Iino, 2005: 26). The results of a survey detailing the TOEFL English language examination scores (for 1997–1998), where Japan (along with North Korea) was ranked the lowest of all 26 Asian countries, greatly intensified these criticisms (Kaiser, 2003: 200; Aspinall, 2006: 257). By 2002–2003 the performance of Japanese students in the TOEFL examination had not improved (Gottlieb, 2008: 45). As part of their response, MEXT drew up a 5-year proposal (2003–2008) entitled 'Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"' (MEXT, 2003). In the proposal, the Ministry recognised the importance of English to the future of Japan and to the world generally:

English has played a central role as the common international language in linking people who have different mother tongues. For children living in the 21st century, it is essential for them to acquire communication abilities in English as a common international language. In addition, English abilities are important in terms of linking our country with the rest of the world, obtaining the world's understanding and trust, enhancing our international presence and further developing our nation (ibid.: introduction).

With almost immediate effect, the learning of a foreign language (overwhelmingly English), previously an elective (although, in reality, de facto compulsory) was, nevertheless, formally designated as a compulsory subject at junior and senior high schools throughout Japan. As before, all public junior and senior high schools are currently required to follow the national curriculum for English put forward by the Ministry and to use only those textbooks approved by MEXT. In addition, specific targets in English were set for all junior and senior high school

graduates to attain. The ultimate objectives of the plan are to ensure that all Japanese nationals, upon graduation from junior and senior high schools, are able to communicate in English and that, in addition, university undergraduates attain an ability to use English in their work (Gottlieb, 2005: 73). This is reflected in the frequent use of the word ‘communication’ (41 times) throughout the 15-page document (Torikai, 2005: 250). Although in junior high schools there has been a considerable reduction in the number of hours of English study per year as part of the *yutori kyooiku* (relaxed education) policy, a greater emphasis has been placed on oral-aural skills. Whilst such policy guidelines clearly reflect the desire to move towards a more communicative approach to English language teaching (i.e., less teacher centred and greater student participation), it is highly debatable whether this has been followed in practice (Gottlieb, 2005: 34). Indeed, since approximately 50% of high school students continue to study at post-secondary level, the content of English class activities at high school level remains concentrated on reading, writing and grammar and less on speaking and listening skills, in order to prepare students for the English component of university entrance examinations (Butler and Iino, 2005: 29; Gottlieb, 2005: 31–32) (see below). McArthur (2003: 21) points out that such a focus has wider implications for the English language proficiency of Japanese learners, who, ‘while working meticulously, and on the whole successfully, with the written language, have had great difficulty in speaking and listening to English’.

A further initiative by the Ministry of Education in 2002 was the decision, in a pilot programme, to appoint a number of high schools, as ‘Super English Language High Schools’ (SEL Hi), where English is designated as the language of instruction not only in English language classes but also (partly) in other (unspecified) subjects (MEXT, 2003: point 2.1). The function of the selected schools is to conduct research into classroom practice, teaching methods and other curricular matters (ibid.), with the ultimate objective of contributing to the improvement of English language teaching (ELT) in Japan (Honma and Takeshita, 2005: 364). By the end of 2002, 16 such schools had been established and by the end of 2005 there were 101 in operation (Gottlieb, 2008: 46), with the opportunity for the selection of more schools at local government level (MEXT, 2003: point 2.1). The initial results from the SEL Hi project have been encouraging (Gottlieb, 2008: 51). Moreover, a further policy aim of MEXT is for 10,000 high school students to go overseas to study, per annum, in order to attain more international experience; although in 2003 only 1,000 students actually did so (MEXT, 2003: point 2.3).

In 1987, the Japanese government established the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) in order to recruit young, overseas university graduates as assistant language teachers (ALTs) to participate in foreign language teaching in high schools in Japan. The aims of the JET programme are very specific:

The purpose of this program is to enhance mutual understanding between our country and other countries, and to contribute to the promotion of internationalization in our country through promoting international exchange as well as strengthening foreign language education in our country (MEXT, 2003: note 5).

The great majority of ALTs are employed as assistant teachers of English (AETs) (Lai, 1999: 215), most likely as a reflection of perceptions amongst policy makers in Japan that it is the English language which can contribute most to the ‘promotion of internationalization’ in Japan (see Section 1.2.4.2 below). Moreover, one factor which is of particular importance in the present study is that current Japanese policy towards English explicitly favours speakers from the inner circle, as:

a native speaker of English provides a valuable opportunity for students to learn living English and to familiarize themselves with foreign languages and cultures ... In this way the use of a native speaker of English has great meaning ... Therefore, for the enhancement of the teaching system, the effective use of native speakers of English ... will be promoted (MEXT, 2003: point 2.2).

It is interesting to note that no mention is made of the wide social and geographical diversity within native varieties of English. Nevertheless, the implication seems clear: high school learners of English in Japan should look towards (speakers of) varieties of inner circle speech for ‘notions of correctness’. This is demonstrated by the traditional recruitment policy for the JET programme, with AETs recruited from the inner circle of English use, most particularly the USA (McConnell, 2000: xvii). For example, the official figures for 2007–2008 indicated that out of a total of 4,707 ALTs, 2,701 participants were from the USA, 591 from Canada, 555 from the UK, 281 from Australia, 228 from New Zealand and 93 from the Republic of Ireland (JET Programme, 2007). Much smaller intakes to teach other foreign languages were accepted from China (11) France (10), South Korea (3) and Germany (2). However, in 2000, citizens from several countries in the outer circle of English use became eligible to participate as AETs (Gottlieb, 2005: 72). In 2007–2008, for instance, there were 40 from Jamaica, 37 participants from Singapore, 23 from India, 21 from Trinidad and Tobago, 4 from Barbados, 1 from Kenya and 1 from Pakistan. Although the number of AETs from these countries is relatively small, their recruitment may demonstrate a new awareness amongst policy makers in Japan of the advantages of also exposing high school students to outer circle varieties of English.

A knowledge of English is essential to enter higher education in Japan as every university institution, whether national, private or prefectural (see Section 4.4), includes English as a subject in its entrance examination (Matsuda, 2000: 55). Indeed, a student’s English score is most often given the greatest weight in these examinations (Butler and Iino, 2005: 30). As described above, English entrance examinations tend to focus on reading, writing and grammar at the expense of oral-aural skills. As a result, the specific term employed in Japanese to describe the English tested in these examinations, i.e., *juken eigo*, implies that this is a particular type of English and thus, different from ‘real English’ (Kobayashi, 2000: 23). In recent years, universities in Japan have attained a great deal more self-determination. Hence, at present, there are no national guidelines for foreign language teaching at Japanese universities. In practice, many 4-year universities require students to study one, or at most two, foreign languages (one of), which is almost always English (*ibid.*). English is traditionally taught by (mainly Japanese)

professors of American literature, and, to a lesser extent, British literature, as part of ‘liberal arts’ studies. Most classes tend to be large and meet for only 90 min/week (Matsuda, 2000: 59). In addition, since it is the prestige of the universities which Japanese students enter that determines their future, and not the quality of the research they do there (and since graduation is almost a foregone conclusion) (Ryan and Makarova, 2004: 52), university classes are often poorly attended. There are, however, some signs of change. For instance, in a bid to meet the challenges of the steadily declining birth rate in Japan, which is now affecting student numbers (Honma and Takeshita, 2004: 204), a growing number of universities have begun teaching some undergraduate and postgraduate courses in English (Gottlieb, 2005: 35). This policy has two aims: to recruit higher numbers of international students (*ibid.*) and to establish popular courses which can attract Japanese students (Tanaka and Tanaka, 1995: 126). Moreover, some private universities, such as the prestigious International Christian University in Tokyo, now commonly teach in both English and Japanese. The Ministry of Education has also recently initiated a scholarship scheme for short-term overseas study for Japanese students who utilise exchange agreements between universities in Japan and overseas (MEXT, 2003: point 2.3).

In the private sector, large numbers of individuals continue to learn English in language schools throughout Japan. English language teaching (ELT) is big business in Japan and a healthy ELT publishing industry also exists. It was estimated that as much as 3,000 billion yen (approximately 30 billion US dollars) was spent on the ELT industry in Japan in 1995 alone (Koike and Tanaka, 1995: 19) and, despite the bankruptcy in 2007 of the NOVA chain of language schools, the industry has grown in recent years (Gottlieb, 2008: 55) as well as retained a high profile and widespread brand recognition in Japanese society more generally (Seargeant, 2009: 95). Private language schools can be divided into two distinct groups. The first group, ‘cram schools’, where teachers are invariably Japanese, prepare junior and senior high school students for English (and other) examinations (Neustupny and Tanaka, 2004: 14). The second group, whose teachers are almost always from the inner circle, generally offer courses for adults who wish to improve their proficiency in conversational English, i.e., *eikaiwa* (see Section 1.2.1). Kobayashi (2000: 24) maintains that because of a strong association between English and *kokusaika* (internationalisation) in Japan (see below), the motivating factor for these adults to learn the language is their perceptions that ‘they need to study English to become internationalised’.

1.2.3 *The English Language Media in Japan*

It is important to remember that the ‘Japanese media represent a large, diverse and varied field containing the pursuit of many agendas, conflicting ideologies, technical procedures and distinct styles’ (Clammer, 1997: 133). Nevertheless, the media (together with the ELT industry) in Japan have responded enthusiastically to the association between learning English and internationalisation

described above. This association is particularly evident in the use of English in Japanese television commercials. This is borne out by the results obtained in Haarmann's (1986, 1989) studies of the use of English and French in television advertising in Japan (see Section 3.2.3). Haarmann demonstrated that whilst both languages were employed as symbols of prestige in commercials as a means of enhancing the products advertised, the use of English, in particular, was believed to promote stereotypical associations of 'international appreciation'. In contrast, French was employed in order to promote images of 'high elegance' and 'a sophisticated lifestyle'.

Access to spoken English in Japan is also available from the radio. Although the majority of radio programmes broadcast by both the public (i.e., NHK) and the commercial radio stations are in Japanese (where nevertheless, music from the US and the UK is often played), some specialist English language programmes do exist, principally for English language instruction, news and entertainment (Tanaka, 1995: 45). Moreover, in recent years, access to international radio stations through the internet has become freely available in Japan (and elsewhere), presumably resulting in greater exposure to different varieties of spoken English amongst Japanese who download English language programmes from overseas radio stations.

Since 1992, it has also been possible to watch bilingual television programmes in Japan, or programmes subtitled in Japanese, a great proportion of which are American movies or news (Tanaka, 1995: 46–47). In a recent overview of English programmes on Japanese television, Moody (2006: 212–213) notes that whilst English is not prevalent in dramas or documentaries, there are a growing number of programmes, designed for English language instruction for both children, e.g., *Eigo-de Asobo* (Let's Play English), *Suupa Eigorain* (Super English Alien) and adults e.g., *Bera-Bera* (Fluency Station), *Jissen Bijinesu Eigo* (Practical Business English), *Eikaiwa: Tooku and Tooku* (English Conversation: Talk and Talk). Moody also maintains that the English employed as a target model in such programmes is generally 'North American English' (ibid.). Moreover, with the recent growth of satellite and cable television in Japan it is now possible to access overseas channels, such as stations from CNN (USA) and the BBC (UK). In cinemas, there are also opportunities to watch a large number of English language movies, again subtitled in Japanese, the majority of which are exported from the USA (Tanaka, 1995: 46–47; Gottlieb, 2008: 35).

In terms of the availability of written English, two daily Japan-based English language newspapers are freely available for purchase (*The Japan Times* and *The Daily Yomiuri*) and one weekly publication (*The Japan Times Weekly*). The readership comprises both L1 speakers of English and Japanese. Tanaka (1995: 40–42) maintains that the written variety of English employed in these newspapers is either 'Standard American' or 'Standard British' and that the functions of English language newspapers in Japan are to explain Japan in English as well as to promote comprehensive coverage of world news (thought to be lacking in the Japanese language newspapers). In the case of the latter, both *The Japan Times* and *The Daily Yomiuri* have to compete with *The International*

Herald Tribune (financed by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*), which is also freely available for purchase throughout Japan. It is also important to note that English language newspapers from a great many countries are also widely available on the internet for users throughout the world. The English language newspapers in Japan also provide a valuable forum for vigorous debate on the current and future role of English in Japan (McConnell, 2000: 74). Moreover, imports of academic books, magazines, dictionaries and other language-learning materials in English, predominantly from the US and the UK, are sold throughout Japan (Gottlieb, 2008: 13). Despite the existence of English language newspapers, magazines and books as well as the high profile of the English language generally in Japan, there is, nevertheless, no tradition of native Japanese literature written in English (Seargeant, 2005: 316).

1.2.4 *The Influence of English in Japan*

1.2.4.1 *The Influence of English Loanwords on the Japanese Language*

Whilst Japanese phonology, syntax, pragmatics and discourse remain comparatively impervious to English (Daulton, 2008: 1), perhaps the most salient way in which the English language influences Japanese society (besides the education system) is through the continuing influx and nativisation of English loanwords into the Japanese language. Although *kango* (Sino-Japanese words) are also a major linguistic influence on the Japanese language as a result of the long history of language and cultural contact (see Section 1.2), most Japanese do not perceive these as loanwords (Gottlieb, 2005: 11). During the Meiji period, *gairaigo* (foreign loanwords), from western languages, particularly English, became instrumental in the modernisation of Japan (MacGregor, 2003: 18). Since the end of World War Two, when there was a series of script reforms, the normal practice in writing Japanese has been to supplement *kanji* (Chinese characters) with *hiragana* (Japanese phonetic script derived from *kanji*) to represent features of Japanese and to employ *katakana* (a further Japanese phonetic script derived from *kanji*) for foreign (i.e., European) loanwords and foreign names as well as for italicisation and emotional content (Daulton, 2008: 15–16). From the time of the American occupation onwards (1945–1952), aided by the expanding mass media, the number of English loanwords nativised into Japanese has increased dramatically (Carroll, 2001a: 162). Indeed, it has been estimated that approximately 10% of the lexicon of a standard Japanese dictionary as well as 13% of the words used in daily conversations are foreign words (mostly English) and 60–70% of new words in revised Japanese dictionaries are from English (Honna, 1995: 45). This has led Stanlaw (2004: 81–82) to claim that:

over the last fifty years, the popularity of English in Japan has risen dramatically, but this has found greatest expression not in the creation of large groups of ‘native’ or ‘near-native’ speakers of the language, but rather through the nativization of English loanwords and (English-based neologisms) within the Japanese language system.

There are a number of processes by which English loanwords are adapted into Japanese, namely: orthographical; phonological; morphological; and semantic (for an in-depth description see Kay, 1995: 68–72; Daulton, 2008: 13–28). In any language contact situation there are frequently linguistic (as well as extralinguistic) factors which prevent the nativisation of loanwords (e.g., Gorfach, 1997: 151–153). In the case of Japan, nevertheless, no such linguistic barriers exist (Daulton, 2008: 22) and it is clear that English loanwords play an important role in Japan and are employed by virtually all native speakers of Japanese (Stanlaw, 2004: 300). The function of English loanwords has been the subject of some debate. Honna (1995: 52–54) provides an overview of their role:

- (i) Many technical terms, in a wide range of fields, are imported into Japanese for ‘advanced knowledge’. In recent years, due to the spread of computer technology, words such as ‘hacker’, ‘networking’ and ‘input’ have been incorporated as *hakkaa* (ハッカー) and *nettowaakingu* (ネットワークキング).
- (ii) Related to (i), many English loanwords are incorporated in order to describe new (or pseudo-new) phenomena which did not previously exist in Japan. Examples include: *hoomuresu* (ホームレス) from ‘homeless’, and *kechappu* (ケチャップ) from ‘ketchup’, which do not have Japanese equivalents. Similarly, English loanwords are also employed, especially in advertising, in order to create new images of ‘old things’. For instance, *kitchin* (キッチン) from ‘kitchen’ updates its Japanese equivalents *daidokoro* (台所). In this way, the utilisation of English loanwords in the naming of products can promote images of ‘a sophisticated western lifestyle’ and/or of ‘internationalisation’ (see below).
- (iii) English loanwords can be employed as euphemisms to express difficult sentiments or taboo topics. Examples include: *shirubaashiito* (シルバシート), from ‘silver’ + ‘seat’, denoting ‘a reserved seat on public transport for the elderly’; and *soopurando* (ソープランド), from ‘soap’ + ‘land’, denoting ‘massage parlour’.

In addition, Loveday (1996: 195–197) notes that the use of English loanwords can function as alternative forms of discourse. For instance, English loanwords can be employed as ‘in-group youth language’ (Gottlieb, 2008: 10). The language of adolescents, and, in particular, high school girl language has been greatly influenced by English, e.g., *paro* (パロ), denoting ‘parody’. It is interesting to note that such language is most noticeable in the lyrics of *J-pop* bands (see Moody, 2006; Stanlaw, 2004: Chapter 5). Relatedly, English loanwords also seem to act as a criminal code in ‘achieving external unintelligibility’ for the Japanese underworld (Loveday, 1996: 196). Loveday gives the example *anaunsa* (アナウンサー), from ‘announcer’, denoting ‘informer’. Finally, Gottlieb (2005: 13) maintains that loanwords are often employed simply for fun, as a form of language play.

However, it is important to note that although *katakana* script continues to be the principal medium for English loanwords, it has recently acquired a

somewhat ‘old fashioned image’ in Japan (Inoue, 2005: 174–176). This appears to be largely due to the growing tendency for English (and to a lesser extent, other European languages) to be written in their original Roman script (*roomaji* in Japanese) (ibid.: 174; Coulmas, 1999: 407–408; MacGregor, 2003: 18). This phenomenon is particularly evident in music, fashion, the print media and advertising in Japan (Loveday, 1996: 103–107; Stanlaw, 2004: 141–142). Evidence of a change in progress is supported by the findings of studies undertaken by Backhaus (2005, 2007), demonstrating a transition in the linguistic landscape of Tokyo generally, towards more information provision in languages and scripts other than Japanese, which Backhaus believes has been implemented largely by official agencies (2005: 118–119) and by private agents (2007: 81–83). The change detailed above appears to be a reflection of the shifting relationship between Japanese and English (Inoue, 2005: 176) and hence, is likely to be of major sociolinguistic interest for the future study of the status and use of both languages in Japan.

1.2.4.2 *Nihonjinron*, *Kokusaika* and English

The discourse of *nihonjinron* (literally, ‘theories of Japanese’) is concerned with aspects of the uniqueness of Japan and the Japanese people (e.g., Miller, 1977; Dale, 1986; Yoshino, 1992; Reischauer and Jansen, 1995: Chapter 39). The *nihonjinron* literature has generally espoused the view that the Japanese constitute a culturally unchanging and socially homogeneous ethnicity that differs racially from all other known peoples (Dale, 1986: introduction). The discourse invariably employs a ‘group model’ (or ‘consensus model’), which emphasises a monolithic picture of the Japanese nation, in order to explain Japanese society (e.g., Yoshino, 1992: 17–22; Donahue, 1998: 4–5; Stockwin, 1999: 27; Hasegawa and Hirose, 2005: 219–220). It is interesting to note that Yoshino (1992: 18) believes that the group model serves the interests of the ruling establishment in Japan as it implies that society is ‘hierarchically organised based on the relationship between paternalistic superiors and their subordinates’. Whilst the issue of Japanese national identity has been a popular topic for discussion in Japan since the Meiji period (i.e., from 1868 onwards) (Kubota, 1999: 19), *nihonjinron* as an ideology, in fact, only developed post-1945 (Befu, 1992: 26; Maher and Yashiro, 1995: 9). Publications on Japanese uniqueness peaked in the 1970s and 1980s, written mainly by academics but also by journalists, critics, writers and businessmen (Yoshino, 1992: 9). Stanlaw (2004: 274) points out that the discourse of *nihonjinron* continues to be:

something of a national pastime in Japan. Television talk shows, popular and scholarly magazines and daily newspapers often discuss the problem of ‘who the Japanese are’ or ‘where the Japanese come from’. In these discussions, it is the stress on the uniqueness of being Japanese that is most often emphasized.

The Japanese language is considered a central aspect within the *nihonjinron* framework (e.g., Dale, 1986: 56; Yoshino, 1992: 12; Coulmas, 1999: 406;

Carroll, 2001a: 38), where the language is portrayed as somehow uniquely different in important functions to all other languages (e.g., Maher, 1995: 107; Gottlieb, 2005: 4). Suzuki (1978), for instance, has claimed that the Japanese language is unique because ‘the Japanese have a tendency even today to do without personal pronouns in conversation whenever possible’ (123) and goes on to maintain that ‘western linguists have never found it necessary to deal with problems of this sort because such phenomena do not exist in Occidental languages’ (ibid.), a claim which is clearly false, as any speaker of Spanish or Italian, for instance, can testify. Critics of *nihonjinron* have maintained that the mystification of Japanese culture and language is used as a subtle way of marginalisation (Kachru, 1997: 69). Carroll (2001a: 139–140), for example, writes that:

the *nihonjinron* theories of Japanese uniqueness exclude foreigners by definition, particularly via the argument that no one who has not been born to parents of Japanese blood, grown up in Japanese society, and speaking Japanese from childhood, can ever really understand the language or how it works in that society.

Gottlieb (2005: 5) points out that such a viewpoint persists despite millions of non-Japanese around the world being able to speak, read and write Japanese. In the *nihonjinron* framework, Japan is also portrayed as a linguistically homogeneous country (Gottlieb, 2005: 5). However, a plethora of recent studies focussing specifically on multilingualism in Japan have demonstrated that Japanese society is a great deal more linguistically diverse and complex than much of the earlier literature had suggested (see for example, Maher and Macdonald, 1995; Coulmas and Watanabe, 2002; Gottlieb, 2005: Chapter 2; Liddicoat, 2007). Nevertheless, the myth of linguistic homogeneity appears to have persisted, not least in the minds of language policy makers (Maher, 1995: 109). Indeed, Coulmas and Watanabe (2002: 249) note that ‘... at the present time, Japanese society offers an opportunity to study the transformation of a society operating largely under monolingual assumptions into one which has to come to terms with greater linguistic plurality’.

English plays an important role in the maintenance of the myth of the uniqueness of Japanese culture and language. For example, Coulmas (1999: 406) maintains that perceptions of the uniqueness of the Japanese language for many Japanese are not based upon factual knowledge but rather as a result of ‘superficial exposure to English grammar at school’. Moreover, whereas the Japanese language is often characterised as ‘emotional’, ‘ambiguous’ and ‘indirect’, English, in comparison, is frequently seen as ‘logical’, ‘succinct’ and ‘direct’ (Carroll, 2001a: 170; Matsuda, 2000: 174). Hence the discourse of *nihonjinron* stresses the uniqueness of Japanese language and culture principally in relation to English and ‘the west’ (e.g., Yoshino, 1992: 11–12; Kawai, 2004: 68), a strategy which Kubota (1999: 19) maintains essentialises Japan as ‘the other’, a process she defines as ‘self-Orientalism’ (for a discussion of Orientalism see, for example, Said, 1978). Interestingly, it has also been noted that the myth of the uniqueness of Japanese language and culture has resulted in the teaching of

an ‘essentialised version’ of Japan to an ever-increasing number of overseas learners of English (Liddicoat, 2007: 41).

Since the 1980s, *kokusaika* (internationalism) has been actively promoted by both business and government in Japan (e.g., Reischauer and Jansen, 1995: 395; Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986: 377). In recent years researchers of the social history of Japan have tended to attribute the appearance of *kokusaika* as a direct result of foreign pressure on Japan to open its markets during the 1980s and 1990s (Seargeant, 2008: 132). The term *kokusaika*, however, is somewhat misleading, as its principal ideal is to promote cultural exchange only with the west, and in particular, with the USA (Kubota, 2002: 16). In this way, *kokusaika* is closely related to *nihonjinron*, as both discourses define Japan only in relation to western nations (Kubota, 1998: 296–297). Increasingly, the teaching and learning of English has been identified as a principal strategy to ‘internationalise’ Japan (Gottlieb, 2005: 36–37). As described above, evidence of this desire to internationalise can be found in recent foreign language policy reforms implemented by the Ministry of Education, most notably through the establishment and continued extension of the JET programme (see Section 1.2.2). In addition, the general prevalence of the English language in the Japanese media and the plethora of private language schools throughout Japan offering ‘conversational English’ also denote the association between *kokusaika* and the learning of English for many Japanese (see Section 1.2.2). Tsuda (1997: 25–26) has warned that perceptions of English as an international language in Japan have resulted in the glorification of speakers of varieties of inner circle English, a process he defines as ‘Anglomania’. According to Seargeant (2009: 56), such native speaker teachers of English become ‘specimens of that foreign culture’ and thus, their status as representative of foreign nationals may overshadow any specialised knowledge regarding the English language or any pedagogical skills they may possess. A similar view is held by Kubota (2002: 24), who believes that the ‘Anglicization’ aspect of *kokusaika* focuses specifically on the teaching of ‘North American varieties’ (and to a lesser extent, ‘British varieties’) of English in Japanese schools in order to achieve ‘international understanding’. Nevertheless, she notes that the ways in which the USA and other western nations are represented in English language textbooks and in English language classes in Japan tend to be ‘idealized, simplified and given a certain stereotype’ (1998: 298). However, it is not currently known whether these simplified stereotypes of inner circle countries influence any attitudes which Japanese learners may hold towards standard and non-standard varieties of English spoken in the inner circle.

The above discussion has attempted to contextualise the study as well as to illustrate the complex and changing sociolinguistic landscape of the English language in Japan. The following chapter will give a detailed discussion of the nature of attitudes in general and the importance of language attitudes in second language acquisition studies and in sociolinguistics.

Chapter 2

The Study of Language Attitudes

2.1 Attitudes in Social Psychology

2.1.1 Attitudes and Related Terms

Attitudes have been and indeed continue to be the focus of a great deal of research throughout the social sciences. In particular, attitude has been a central explanatory variable in the field of social psychology more than in any other academic discipline. Despite some fluctuations in its popularity, research on attitudes has been conducted by social psychologists from the 1920s and this research has undergone extensive theoretical and empirical developments since then. Indeed, Edwards (1999: 101), describes the importance of perception (i.e., attitude) as the most pervasive theme in modern social psychology.

Attitudes have been defined from different angles according to different theories, which has resulted in semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term (see below). The working definition preferred for the purposes of this study, is that an *attitude* is ‘a summary evaluation of an object or thought’ (Bohner and Wanke, 2002: 5). In terms of this definition, an attitude is a *hypothetical construct*, that it to say, it is not directly observable but can be inferred from observable responses (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993: 2). Furthermore, attitudes are considered to be sufficiently stable to allow for identification and for measurement. In the language of social psychology, entities which are evaluated are known as *attitudinal objects* and encompass attitudes towards objects, individuals, institutions, events and abstract ideas.

A particular problem with the definition of attitude concerns the overlap with other concepts in social psychology such as ‘belief’, ‘opinion’, ‘value’, ‘habit’, ‘trait’, ‘motive’ and ‘ideology’. Shaw and Wright (1967), however, demonstrated that it is indeed possible to distinguish between attitude and related terms. Precise definitions of related terminology are likely to help the researcher to avoid ambiguity, despite the tendency for the terms to become blurred in everyday usage outside the field of social psychology. *Beliefs* are cognitive in nature and although they can trigger and be triggered by affective

reactions, beliefs essentially account for only one component of attitude. A distinction can be made between *descriptive beliefs*, which involve perceptions or hypotheses about the world, e.g., that a vegetarian diet is essentially healthy and *prescriptive beliefs*, which contain ‘should’ or ‘ought to’ statements, e.g., that pregnant women should not smoke. *Opinions* can be defined as overt beliefs and are verbalisable, whereas attitudes may be *latent* (i.e., dormant) and conveyed by both verbal and non-verbal processes. Moreover, attitudes contain affective reactions and opinions do not (Baker, 1992: 13–14). *Values* can be considered as higher ideals, which individuals strive to achieve. Values are also considered to be more abstract than attitudes since they transcend specific actions and situations (e.g., Schwartz, 2007: 170–171). Individuals have dozens of values but hold a great many more attitudes. For instance, the value of ‘freedom’ may include a number of attitudes towards censorship, public smoking and political correctness (Perloff, 2003: 44). In a language context, a value such as ‘equality’ could encompass any number of underlying attitudes, such as attitudes to language variation, language preference, minority languages or learning foreign languages. In order to highlight the differences between attitudes and a number of related terms, Oppenheim (1992: 177) classified different levels of attitudes. The most superficial level is labelled ‘opinions’, the next ‘attitudes’, at a deeper level ‘values’ and at the deepest level ‘personality’. These vague distinctions between levels can also be considered, from top to bottom, in terms of superficial versus deep, changeable versus stable and specific versus general.

There are a number of other terms which are generally differentiated from attitude in the field of social psychology. *Habits* are thought to be fundamentally behavioural routines whereas attitudes can, at most, be determinants of behaviour (Bohner and Wanke, 2002: 13). Whilst both motives and attitudes are *latent dispositions*, i.e., manifested in observable responses, *motives* are goal specific whereas attitudes are only object specific. Ajzen (1988: 7) differentiates between attitudes and *personality traits*. Although once more both terms are considered to refer to latent constructs, attitude responses are thought to be evaluative whereas *traits* are tendencies to behave in certain ways and are not focussed on any particular external target. Traits are also considered to be more stable, enduring and resistant to transformation than attitudes. *Ideology* refers to ‘a patterned, naturalised set of assumptions and values associated with a particular social or cultural group’ (Garrett et al., 2003: 11). Whereas attitude is a key term in the field of social psychology, it is very much less important in that of sociology, where ideology is central and crucial. In the field of sociology, ideology is often viewed as a *global attitude* in that it most often refers to broad perspectives in society such as the ideological principle of conservatism-liberalism. In the field of social psychology, however, attitudes tend to be specific to objects (Baker, 1992:15). *Language ideology* has become a central concept in sociolinguistics in recent years, where it is considered to help to understand the politics of language in specific multilingual contexts and more generally, where there is language variation and language change (for a discussion see Ager,

2001). Studies which investigate the language attitudes of a community, such as the English language learning community in contemporary Japan, are likely to help in the provision of a methodological framework for the study of the ideological forces which operate in those communities.

2.1.2 Mentalist and Behaviourist Theories of Attitudes

Generally, attitude research has been conducted according to two psychological approaches: the behaviourist view and the mentalist (or cognitive) view. Both theories consider that individuals are not born with attitudes but that they are learned, particularly over the course of socialisation during childhood and adolescence, although, in recent years, some researchers have propagated the notion that some attitudes may be inherited (for a review see Bohner and Wanke: [Chapter 4](#)). Behaviourism is a scientific theory which argues that all human activity may be reduced to behavioural units. The behaviourist view of attitudes argues that they can be inferred from the responses that an individual makes to social situations. Research conducted from this approach is somewhat more straightforward than research conducted from a mentalist approach as no self-reporting from respondents is required. However, the behaviourist approach to attitudes can be criticised for its view of attitude as the only dependent variable and therefore, the sole determinant of the behaviour of an individual (i.e., that there is a perfect correlation between attitude and behaviour). Other factors such as age, gender, provenance, group membership or language background of the individual may additionally influence behaviour. In addition, observation of external behaviour can easily result in mis-categorisation or wrongful explanation and as such, cannot be viewed as a reliable predictor of attitude (Baker, 1992: 15–16). This is because ‘laws of behaviors’ are less evident amongst human populations than amongst physical objects, chemicals or other animals and hence, social scientists and educationalists are less able to make confident assumptions regarding the regularities of human interactions than scientists can about phenomena in the natural world. There is also a growing amount of evidence of the existence of attitudes at the level of latent psychological processes, i.e., where attitudes exist in the mind of the individual but, given current technology, cannot be observed directly. Such evidence suggests that attitudes are more than mere conceptual conveniences designed to describe broad stimulus-response correlations as believed by behaviourists (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993: 6–9). Thus, like behaviourism, the behaviourist view of attitudes has largely been discredited, although it should not be completely discounted because attitudes are often thought to directly influence behaviour (Perloff, 2003: 41).

Most attitude research has taken the mentalist view. A mentalist approach views attitudes as an ‘internal state of readiness’, which when aroused by stimulation of some sort will affect the responses of the individual. The implication is that attitudes are not directly observable but can only be inferred from respondents’ introspection. It is for this reason that researchers must rely upon

the individuals themselves to report their perceptions. Mentalists often assume a tripartite model of attitude formation, differentiating between the cognitive, affective and conative components. Recent research in social psychology suggests that not all of these three components will necessarily be represented in any given attitude and indeed, that the components cannot always be distinguished from one another (Bohner and Wanke, 2002: 5). It is for this reason that the one-dimensional definition of attitude given in the previous section seemed most appropriate, in the present context, as a summary evaluation.

Attitudes may have a *cognitive* component in the mentalist's view in that they encompass an individual's beliefs (see Section 2.1.1) about the world, e.g., a Japanese national may believe that to learn English in Japan will lead to increased employment opportunities. The existence of a cognitive component of an attitude may result in the stereotyping (see Section 2.2.1.1) of the attitudinal object. For example, in a linguistic context, a speech recording can trigger a listener's stereotypes (i.e., where a category of people are assigned a set of characteristics defining the group) (see Section 3.1.3) with regard to the speaker and his/her perceived social group membership, which may or may not be close to the social realities they represent. It should be noted here that stereotyping need not always be viewed as a purely negative behaviour. Tajfel (1981: 147–162) maintains that stereotypes serve a number of functions. First, at an individual level, the complex social world can be made more coherent. Secondly, at an intergroup level, stereotypes can serve a *social-explanatory* function, in that they can create and maintain group ideologies. Stereotypes may also serve a *social-differentiation* function at intergroup level, in that they can create and enhance favourable differentiations between the social group of which an individual is a member (the *ingroup*) and a contrasting group of which the individual is not a member (the *outgroup*). Garrett et al. (2003: 3) believe that stereotypes have a tendency to perpetuate themselves and to function as a repository of common sense beliefs and/or to act as filters through which social life is conducted and interpreted.

Mentalists view the *affective* component of attitude to involve an emotional response to the attitudinal object, e.g., a love of English literature. Affective responses can be verbal or non-verbal in nature. Examples of verbal affective responses include expressions of appreciation, disgust or anger. Non-verbal responses involve bodily reactions and include: changes in galvanic skin response (i.e., electrical conductance of the skin); dilation of the pupils; changes in heart rate; and other reactions of the sympathetic nervous system. Ajzen (1988: 6) maintains that there is a major difficulty in measuring attitudes from non-verbal responses because it is extremely difficult to classify whether changes in bodily function indicate favourable or unfavourable attitudes. Attitudes sometimes contain a strong affective component, even where no cognitive component appears to exist. A listener, for instance, unable to identify a variety of urban speech, such as New York speech, may feel it is 'ugly' nonetheless and evaluate the speech of the speaker negatively (see Section 3.2.1). Perloff (2003: 40) maintains that attitudes invariably have a strong affective component.

The *conative* component of an attitude refers to the individual's predisposition to behave in certain ways, e.g., attending or not attending English language classes. It has traditionally been assumed in social psychology that an individual's evaluations of entities in their social environment have major consequences, including motivating behaviour. There is a great deal of controversy regarding the precise role and utility of attitudes in predicting and explaining behaviour. Social psychologists, however, are generally in agreement, that if measured appropriately, attitudes are a major determinant of behaviour (Bohner and Wanke, 2002: 219–244). However, one difficulty is that external behaviour may consciously or unconsciously be designed to conceal or disguise inner attitudes (Baker, 1992: 16). For example, an individual may appear to be favourably disposed towards a language or language variety but the inner attitude may be disapproving of it. It is also worth noting that there is some evidence to suggest that changes in behaviour can influence attitudes (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993: 499–505; Zimbardo and Leippe, 1991: 87–126).

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: Chapter 10) developed the 'theory of reasoned action' (TRA), in order to predict specific behaviour. The theory has an *expectancy-value* perspective, where humans are considered to be innately active with an in-born curiosity and are motivated to learn about and are engaged in their environment. The theory posits that individuals rationally calculate both the costs and the benefits of undertaking a particular action and carefully consider how others will view the particular behaviour. The focus of the theory is not on the attitudinal object itself (see Section 2.1.1), but rather on the action, e.g., to investigate the attitude of an individual towards smoking cigarettes, the focus would be on smoking and not on the cigarettes as objects. The theory has four major components. First, *attitudes towards behaviour* refers to the individual's judgement of whether to perform the behaviour is 'good' or 'bad' (e.g., whether the individual believes smoking in public is a good or bad thing to do). Secondly, *subjective norm*, refers to the individual's perceptions of the social pressure to perform (or not) the behaviour in question (e.g., whether the individual perceives smoking in public as socially acceptable). Thirdly, *behavioural intention* is the plan or intent to perform the behaviour (e.g., whether the individual plans to smoke in public). Finally, *behaviour* itself, refers to the action taken in a particular situation (e.g., whether the individual's intention to perform (or not) is acted upon). One advantage of the TRA is that because it offers precise strategies for the assessment of attitudes, it is potentially falsifiable. Indeed there is a considerable body of empirical research which indicates that the model can predict actual behaviour (Perloff, 2003: 91). One criticism of the model, however, is that it does not seem to apply to spontaneous acts of behaviour, which refer to emotional outbursts or well-learned and habitual behaviours, such as drug-taking (Erwin, 2001: 119).

Ajzen (1991: 179–211) later extended this model in the 'theory of planned action' (TPA) and added *perceived behavioural control* as a determinant of intention, which relates to the expected ease with which an intended behaviour can be performed. It is thought to be possible to predict the behavioural

performance of the individual from his/her intentions to perform the behaviour and from his/her perception of control over this behaviour (e.g., the individual's perception of whether he/she can prevent himself/herself or others from smoking in public). In situations where an individual believes he/she has total control over behaviour, the intention alone is a sufficient explanation of the action. In addition to the TRA and TPA, a number of other such expectancy-value models have been developed. In these models, attitudes toward behaviour are once again located within a network of predictor variables. Examples include: Bentler and Speckart, 1979; Bagozzi, 1992; Jaccard, 1981.

A major advantage of the tripartite model of the mentalist theory of attitudes is that it recognises the complexity of human beings and attempts to explain why individuals may hold ambivalent attitudes towards issues or other individuals. *Ambivalence* occurs when there is uncertainty, inconsistency or conflict between attitude components. For instance, an individual may believe that smoking should be allowed in public but at the same time fear the effects of passive smoking. In this case, the cognitive component and the affective component of attitude towards smoking are in conflict.

2.1.3 Functions of Attitudes

Attitudes are functionally important to individuals for a number of reasons. One function of an attitude is to contribute to knowledge organisation and to guide approach and avoidance strategies (Perloff, 2003: 74). This *knowledge function* refers to the essential and perhaps automatic process of categorising stimuli in the environment. The categorisation of stimuli is dependent upon context factors and individuals often classify stimuli into dimensions such as good/bad or friendly/hostile. Attitudes are therefore believed to be important because they supply a *cognitive schema*, i.e., attitudes provide a simple structure for the individual to categorise and cope with an otherwise complex and ambiguous environment. Attitudes, therefore, can fulfil a knowledge function because they allow the individual to impose order on the world, make it predictable or to feel that he/she functions effectively (Erwin, 2001: 11). Attitudes may also provide a *utilitarian function* (or instrumental function), where individuals can maximise their rewards and/or effectively avoid punishment. Knowledge itself can help to fulfil the utilitarian function, where the ability to identify whether an object or situation is good or bad (e.g., whether a particular species of snake is poisonous) can be useful in the decision of whether to approach or avoid it. An example of attitudes which serve a utilitarian function are those attitudes based on self-interest, e.g., non-smokers who support stricter smoking regulations (Bohner and Wanke, 2002: 7–8).

An attitude may also serve an individual's higher psychological needs. Prejudicial attitudes, for example, are thought to be examples of attitudes which serve an *ego-defensive function*. Prejudicial attitudes often allow individuals to feel better about themselves and are thought to protect them from the harsh

realities of the world. The prejudiced individual creates targets (e.g., a minority group) and these prejudices are likely to be intensified on occasions where there is a perceived threat to the self. For instance, an individual recently fired from a job is likely to feel more prejudiced immediately after the event than before the event. Although there may be no relationship between a particular minority group and dismissal from the job, the group may be used as a scapegoat to support both the individual's ego and self-esteem (Erwin, 2001: 9). Attitudes may also serve a *social identity function* (or value-expressive function), where the expression of an attitude may affirm the central values of the individual, aid the maintenance of social relationships, maintain self-esteem, reduce inner fear and conflict or cope with threats to the self. For instance, a teenager's attitude towards music or style of dress may help to support the self-image and aid group membership amongst peers. These same attitudes, however, may also emphasise distinctness and indicate non-membership of other groups, e.g., to emphasise independence of the teenager from his/her parents (Erwin, 2001: 10).

An important attribute of an attitude is its *intensity*. The intensity of an attitude refers to the level of vehemence with which it is held by the individual (Oppenheim, 1992: 176). For example, some individuals in Japan may feel strongly that it is important to learn foreign languages and this may propel them to study in the evenings at a language school. For others, however, although they may be favourable towards foreign language learning, it may be less important to them and they may be less likely to enrol on a foreign language course. Both sets of individuals are likely to respond positively to a series of statements in favour of foreign language study. The former group would, however, be expected to agree more strongly to these statements than the latter group. There is, therefore, likely to be a distinction between the intensity with which the two sets of individuals hold the same attitudes towards foreign language learning. Perloff (2003: 56) maintains that attitude intensity is particularly important because strong attitudes are more likely to:

- (i) affect judgements
- (ii) guide behaviour
- (iii) persist
- (iv) be resistant to change

Hence, in any attitude study it is vital to not only identify the individual's attitude towards an object but also to measure the intensity with which it is held.

2.2 Language Attitudes

Attitudes towards global languages such as English are likely to be strong (as are attitudes towards ethnic groups, celebrities or favourite products) and are characterised by well-learned association between the language and the evaluation, which can be activated automatically from memory (Perloff, 2003: 68).

The term ‘language attitudes’, however, is an umbrella term, which encompasses a broad range of possible empirical studies, concerned with a number of specific attitudes. Baker (1992: 29–30) identifies the following major areas:

- (i) attitude towards language variation, dialect and speech style
- (ii) attitude towards learning a new language
- (iii) attitude towards a specific minority language
- (iv) attitude towards language groups, communities and minorities
- (v) attitude towards language lessons
- (vi) attitude of parents towards language lessons
- (vii) attitude towards the uses of a specific language
- (viii) attitude towards language preference

This study will attempt to measure attitudes towards standard/non-standard and native/non-native varieties of English speech amongst a sample of Japanese nationals learning English as a foreign language. It is for this reason that the first, fourth and eighth of the above categories will be the main focus of the research. However, any conclusions drawn are likely to have implications for the second and seventh categories: attitudes to learning a new language and attitudes to the uses of a specific language, i.e., English.

2.2.1 The Importance of Language Attitudes in Second Language Acquisition

Although the systematic study of how learners acquire a foreign language is a relatively recent phenomenon (from the middle of the twentieth century onwards), there is no shortage of theories, approaches and models to explain the acquisition of an L2. *L2 acquisition* can be defined as the way in which individuals acquire a second language and *second language acquisition* (SLA) is the study of this (Ellis, 1997: 3). There are enormous differences in how rapidly foreign language learners acquire the target language and in the level of proficiency they ultimately attain and theories of second language acquisition have attempted to explain the reasons for this. A number of theories central to the study of SLA have highlighted the importance of social factors in L2 proficiency. Although considered important, social factors are only believed to have an indirect influence on L2 proficiency. For instance, social variables such as the socio-economic level, age, gender and ethnic background of the learner can affect his/her opportunities to learn languages, which, in turn, would directly influence proficiency in the target language. Social factors are also thought to determine the attitudes of the learner, considered to be a major determinant of level of success in the acquisition of the L2 (e.g., MacIntyre et al., 1998; Dornyei et al., 2006). Interestingly, learner attitudes towards language variation are also believed to influence levels of proficiency in the L2 (Dornyei and Skehan, 2003). In order to investigate how learner attitudes affect foreign language acquisition,

this section provides a critical overview of those cognitive and sociopsychological theories of SLA which stress the importance of learner attitudes in L2 acquisition.

2.2.1.1 Language Attitudes in Cognitive Theories of Second Language Acquisition: Krashen's Monitor Model

Cognitive approaches to SLA highlight the goals of *cognitive psychologists*, who seek explanations of second language cognition in terms of both information processing and mental representations (Ellis, 1999: 22). Cognitive theories of second language acquisition (as well as theories of L1 acquisition) view linguistic knowledge as no different from other categories of knowledge and consider the strategies responsible for its development to be general in nature and related to and involved in other types of learning. One prominent cognitive theory of second language acquisition is the monitor model (Krashen, 1981). This model posits that there exists both a conscious and a subconscious language system which can both be activated in any language situation. The two systems are believed to be independent from each other. The model emphasises the role of attitudes in second language acquisition and makes a distinction between *attitudinal/motivational variables*, which are related to subconscious acquisition and *language aptitude*, which is related to conscious learning. The model has five main hypotheses (Krashen, 1981):

- (i) *The acquisition-learning hypothesis*: the theory makes a distinction between *learning* (where the learner consciously studies the L2 and attains knowledge about the rules of the language) and *acquisition* (where the learner subconsciously internalises L2 knowledge through the spontaneous and natural use of the language). Language acquisition is believed to be broadly similar to the process which children use to acquire both their L1 and L2, if any.
- (ii) *The natural order hypothesis*: maintains that learners acquire grammatical structures in a natural and predictable order.
- (iii) *The monitor hypothesis*: learners utilise a monitor to edit their language performance. Learners monitor when there is sufficient time to do so, where the focus is on form as opposed to meaning or where learners know the appropriate rules of speech, such as, when language learners know the correct tense to employ or know the rules about singular and plural use.
- (iv) *The input hypothesis*: acquisition is believed to occur when learners have been exposed to and understood input which is at $i + 1$ level (i.e., a little above their current level of competence). The importance of comprehensible input is therefore stressed in the model and it is believed when learners are exposed to such input, they will acquire language structures naturally.
- (v) *The affective filter hypothesis*: The affective filter hypothesis refers to the way in which affective factors relate to SLA. The filter influences the rate

of language development by determining the amount of input the learner comes into contact with and the amount of input which is converted to intake. Attitude towards the target language is viewed as an important affective variable, in addition to motivation, self-confidence and anxiety state. Learners with *high filters* (i.e., with low levels of self confidence and motivation but high levels of anxiety) are considered to receive little linguistic input and allow less in, whereas learners with *low filters* (i.e., with high levels of self confidence and motivation but low levels of anxiety) are believed to obtain and allow in a great deal of linguistic input.

The monitor model has attracted a great deal of criticism, perhaps due to its very prominence in the field of second language acquisition. As acquisition is believed to be subconscious and learning conscious, it is thought to be extremely difficult, if not impossible to test the validity of the monitor model by empirical research. The model, therefore, remains a theoretical concept. Moreover, the model makes no attempt to explain the cognitive processes that are responsible for language acquisition or language learning. Another criticism concerns the explanation how learners *monitor* (the device that the language learner employs to edit their language performance). The model refers to monitoring only in terms of production and does not attempt to explain the reception of utterances by learners. Furthermore, monitoring applies only to syntax, whereas, in reality, foreign language learners also have the ability to edit their discourse, lexis and pronunciation (Ellis, 1985: 265). Finally, the model has also been criticised for its simplistic *dual competence* explanation of variability in the language of the L2 learner, i.e., where learners' knowledge is characterised by only 2 competencies: acquisition and learning. Research findings in SLA, however, have demonstrated that learners have a variable competence, which contains alternative rules to realise the same meaning and which is therefore very similar to native speakers' competence (Ellis, 1985: 266). There are, therefore, serious theoretical problems concerning the monitor model. It has, to a certain extent, been discredited, although it can be considered important in the context of this study because it is one of the few cognitive theories of SLA to recognise the importance of learner attitudes in the acquisition of the L2.

2.2.1.2 Language Attitudes in Social-Psychological Theories and Approaches to Second Language Acquisition

A major premise of this book is that second language acquisition (SLA) is not only a biologically innate but also a sociopsychological phenomenon and that it is vital to investigate the social conditions in which foreign language learning occurs. A similar view is taken by a growing number of SLA researchers who have criticized the psycholinguistic bias within SLA (which favour cognitive-oriented theories and methodologies) and subsequent neglect of the wider social context (e.g., Van Lier, 1994; Firth and Wagner, 1997, 2007; Jenkins, 2006b; Larsen-Freeman, 2007). There are, in fact, a number of sociopsychological

models which attempt to explain the individual factors that affect SLA. These models differ in approach mainly according to the variables they emphasise but most generally consider that learner attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers play an important and sometimes central role in determining levels of success for learners in the acquisition of a foreign language (Dornyei and Skehan, 2003: 613–614). The sociopsychological approach to the study of language only emerged in the 1970s as a distinct area of research within the field of sociolinguistics and has subsequently developed its own theoretical, conceptual and methodological conventions. Sociopsychological models of L2 acquisition tend to focus on issues involving the individual's psychological processes and motivations, as opposed to societal categories as a whole.

1. Early Research: Gardner and Lambert (1972) conducted some of the earliest research into the role of sociopsychological variables in second language acquisition. They demonstrated that there was a statistically significant positive correlation between attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers and motivation on the one hand and achievement in the target language on the other. In general, later studies have demonstrated that a number of other individual factors such as age, personality, gender, intelligence and language aptitude, in addition to affective variables such as attitudes, motivation and language anxiety, appear to influence levels of proficiency in L2 acquisition (see 2 below). In the case of attitudes, sociopsychological research has indicated that learners holding positive attitudes towards the L2, its speakers and its culture are more likely to succeed in acquiring the L2 than those learners who hold negative attitudes. Moreover, learners with positive attitudes are likely to have these attitudes strengthened by success in the acquisition of the L2, whereas negative attitudes may be reinforced by a lack of success (Ellis, 1994: 198–199). It is also possible for foreign language learners to begin with positive attitudes towards the target language but, because of a lack of learning opportunities, they develop more negative attitudes as they fail to make what is considered to be satisfactory progress (Savignon, 1976: 295).

2. The Socio-educational Model: one sociopsychological theory that stresses the importance of attitudes is the socio-educational model of second language acquisition (Gardner, 1985). The model is concerned with the role of a number of various individual characteristics of learners in L2 acquisition, including language attitudes. Two types of attitude are identified: integrativeness and attitudes towards the learning situation. These are considered to be correlated latent variables and influence the learner's levels of motivation to learn a second language. This level of motivation is likely to influence the linguistic outcome, i.e., to have a positive or negative effect on levels of proficiency or achievement in the L2. *Integrativeness* reflects the learner's willingness and interest to acquire the L2, in order to both meet and communicate with speakers within the L2 community, whilst *attitude towards the learning situation* refers to the learner's evaluation of formal language instruction. *Motivation* is conceptualised as encompassing the individual's desire to learn a second language, the effort expended to learn the language (*motivational intensity*) and attitudes towards

learning the language (Gardner et al., 1999: 422). A number of empirical studies have supported the hypothesis of a causal relationship between attitudinal/motivation variables and levels of proficiency in a second language (e.g., Gardner, 1985; Tremblay and Gardner, 1995). In the majority of these cases the attitude measures were obtained prior to the achievement measures, underlining the importance of attitudes as predictive validity coefficients. The individual variables of *language anxiety* (the learner's apprehension when the situation requires the use of the foreign language), intelligence and *language aptitude* (the learner's potential for the successful acquisition of any foreign language) are also considered important individual variables in the second stage of the model. In addition, other factors such as the *sociocultural milieu* (the social and cultural background of the learner), *formal instruction* (formal language study) and the *informal language experience* (where language acquisition is not the primary aim but an outcome nonetheless, e.g., to watch a foreign language film for entertainment), of the learner are also considered to influence the language learning process. The final outcomes of the model are *bilingual proficiency*, such as levels of fluency and *non-linguistic outcomes*, such as attitudes, beliefs and cultural values (see Fig. 2.1 below). The inclusion of attitudes as a non-linguistic outcome implies that attitudes may also be products of language learning and that the model should not be viewed as static but as dynamic and cyclical.

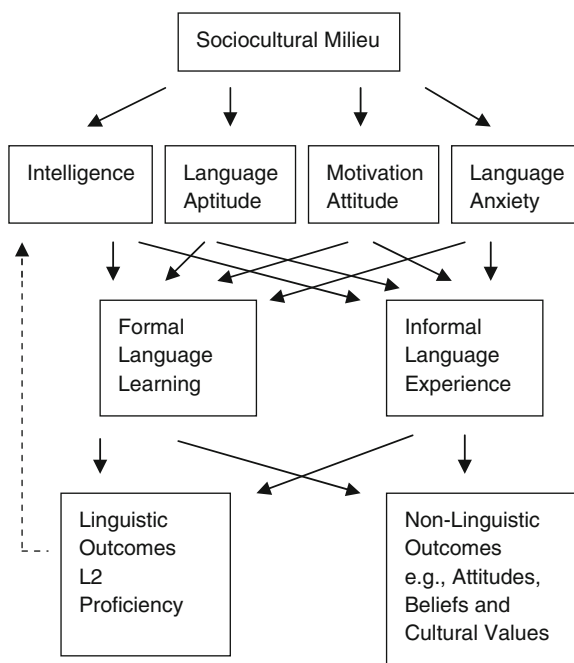


Fig. 2.1 Gardner's socio-educational model (adapted from Gardner, 1985)

Gardner (1985: Appendix) constructed the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB). The AMTB is a multicomponent test of approximately 130 items and was developed in order to measure both attitudinal and motivational factors in L2 acquisition. It is considered that these attitudinal and motivational factors can be grouped according to the aforementioned general categories of integrativeness, attitude towards the learning situation, motivation and language anxiety. The attitudinal factor of integrativeness is assessed by three scales: *attitudes towards the language group* (affective reactions towards the target language community) (ibid.: 45); *integrative orientation towards learning the L2* (willingness to converse with members of the target language group in order to better understand their way of life) (ibid.: 11); and interest in foreign languages. The other attitudinal factor, *attitude towards the learning situation*, refers to evaluative reactions towards the learning environment. One advantage of the socio-educational model in explaining motivations for and attitudes towards second language acquisition is that empirical research has, to some extent, established its validity, particularly in the recognition of integrative attitude as an important variable in L2 proficiency. It also attempts to provide an explanation of how the social and cultural context can indirectly influence levels of proficiency in the L2. It does not, however, explain the effects of social interaction on the development of the *interlanguage* (the systematic knowledge of the L2, which is independent of both the learner's L1 and the target language) or the social aspects of variability in the L2 of the learner. The socio-educational model also only considers ultimate proficiency and does not attempt to explain how learners make progress in the target language. The model, thus, cannot account for the way in which learners develop (Ellis, 1994: 238). Moreover, with the focus firmly in 'integrativeness' (see above) as a central component, the model makes no mention of socio-political factors which may have an effect on both language acquisition and/or language change (Baker, 1996: 107). Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth noting that Yashima (2002, 2009) and Yashima et al. (2004) have suggested recently that in an era of global communication in English *international posture*, defined as the level the individual's openness towards different cultures (Yashima, 2002: 57), is a more appropriate construct for the majority of English language learners in the expanding circle. Yashima maintains this is because the vast majority of learners in the expanding circle learn English not to identify with and/or integrate into a specific community of L1 English speakers but to be connected more fully with 'foreign cultures; and the international community more broadly (2009: 145).

3. The Acculturation Model: this model also recognises the importance of attitude in second language acquisition. The acculturation model, as a theory of L2 acquisition was developed by Schumann (1978a, 1986). It is again sociopsychological in approach and views L2 acquisition as only one factor in the process in which learners adapt to the new culture. The theory posits that the degree to which the learner acculturates to the target language community determines his/her level of success in the acquisition of the second language. In turn, acculturation is dependent upon the degree of social

distance and psychological distance between the learners and the target language culture. Generally, low social and psychological distance is viewed as high acculturation (and likely to result in the successful acquisition of the L2). *Social distance* refers to the extent to which learners become integrated with the target language group and is dependent upon a number of social variables. These social variables are considered to be primary and determine whether a learning situation is 'good' or 'bad'. *Mutual group attitude* is one such social factor and refers to whether the learners group (L1 group) and the target language group (TL group) hold positive or negative attitudes towards each other. The other social variables are thought to include (Schumann, 1978b):

- (i) *Social dominance*: the power relations between the L2 group and the TL group.
- (ii) *Integration pattern*: where the L2 group may *assimilate*, i.e., give up its own lifestyle and values or *acculturate*, i.e., adapt to the lifestyle and values of the TL group but maintain its own for intra-group use.
- (iii) *Enclosure*: where the L2 group and the TL group expect to share the same social facilities (low enclosure) or have different social facilities (high enclosure).
- (iv) *Cohesion*: the extent to which the L2 group is typified by a higher degree of intra-group contact (cohesive) or inter-group contact (non-cohesive).
- (v) *Size*: where the L2 group may be large or small in number, particularly in relation to the TL group.
- (vi) *Convergence*: where the culture of the L2 group may be broadly similar to or different from the TL group.
- (vii) *Intended length of residence*: where the L2 group envisages staying in the target language area for a short time or for an extended period.

Psychological distance refers to the extent to which learners feel comfortable with the learning tasks and is dependent upon a number of affective variables. These affective variables only influence acculturation when social distance is not a determining factor, i.e., when the social variables do not have a positive or a negative influence. *Motivation* is considered to be an important affective variable and is defined as 'the language learner's reasons for attempting to acquire the second language (Schumann, 1978a: 32). Learners may have integrative motivation and/or instrumental motivation to learn the target language. The other affective variables are thought to include:

- (i) *Language shock*: the extent to which the learners feel foolish when they speak the L2.
- (ii) *Culture shock*: the extent to which the learners feel anxious and/or disorientated when they enter the target culture.
- (iii) *Ego permeability*: the extent to which the learners feel inhibited. This is dependent upon whether the learners perceive their L1 to be fixed or flexible.

An advantage of the acculturation model is that the notions of social and psychological distance offer an explanation for the frequent failure of learners to achieve native-like proficiency in the L2. In addition, it also attempts to explain the political factors of second language acquisition in a societal context. One criticism of Schumann's model is that it was designed to apply to natural language acquisition contexts only and it is unlikely to be applicable in an educational context. For instance, the intensity of some of the variables, such as culture shock may be diminished in the language classroom (Gardner, 1985: 137). Moreover, the model fails to take into account how social factors influence the quality of contact that learners experience. One possible reason for this failure is that the acculturation model assumes a direct positive correlation between amount of contact and levels of acquisition (Ellis, 1994: 232–234). In the case of attitudes, the acculturation model does not indicate whether these attitudes are causes or effects of second language acquisition (Baker, 1996: 109). In addition, the acculturation model has yet to be tested by empirical research. The model, therefore, remains purely theoretical.

4. Communication Accommodation theory (CAT): this theory was originally developed by Giles et al. (1973) as speech accommodation theory (SAT), a sociopsychological model that attempted to account for modifications in L1 speech style during interactions. The SAT model underwent a number of developments and revisions (e.g., Giles and Smith, 1979), including a later focus on non-verbal as well as verbal communicative behaviour (Giles and Coupland, 1991). SAT was subsequently renamed communication accommodation theory and advanced from a micro-level theory that explained accent shifts and vocal patterns in conversations into a macro-level theory of communicative processes (Shepard et al., 2001: 34). CAT is derived from Tajfel's (1974, 1981) *social identity theory* (also known as intergroup theory), where the central component is the motivation of the individual to develop or maintain a positive self-image. In social identity theory, individuals are not only concerned with the attainment of inter-individual rewards and a positive self-esteem but also crave a favourable group identity. It is believed that it is the groups that individuals belong to which establish their social identity and they desire to belong to social categories which are likely to afford them a positive social identity. However, where individuals view their present social identity as unsatisfactory, they may attempt to change their group membership in order to view themselves in a more positive manner, i.e., to achieve a more positive social identity. In addition, the theory attempts to explain the conditions under which members of a group seek or create dimensions along which they are positively differentiated from relevant outgroups. Social identity theory considers that this differentiation results in ingroup members developing stereotypes of the outgroup and its members, whereby they are viewed in terms of their outgroup identities (see Section 2.1.2). Hinton (2000: 180) defines a *stereotype* as a type of schema, prototype or social representation, where a category of people are assigned a set of characteristics which define the stereotypical view of this group. In a language context, the main focus of social identity theory has been to investigate

how intergroup uses of language are determined by social and psychological attitudes in interethnic communication.

Communication accommodation theory has also been applied to the L2 context and attempts to explain second language acquisition from an intergroup approach. CAT shares a premise with the acculturation model in that both recognise the importance of the relationship between the community of the language learner as 'ingroup' and the target language community as 'outgroup'. Attitudes are a central component of CAT, as the 'perceived' social distance between the ingroup and the outgroup is considered to be an important determinant of level of achievement in the target language. This differs from the acculturation model where emphasis is placed on the 'actual' social distance. Motivation, and in particular, integrative motivation as a reflection of how learners define themselves in ethnic terms, is considered to be the central determinant of proficiency in the L2. Giles and Byrne (1982: 17–40) maintain that this motivation is determined by five key variables of social-psychological attitudes:

- (i) Identification of the individual with his/her ethnic group: the extent to which the learner perceives himself/herself as a member of a specific ingroup (where the learner's L1 is likely to be an important dimension of the group identity).
- (ii) Inter-ethnic comparison: the extent to which the learner forms favourable or unfavourable comparisons between the ingroup and the target outgroup.
- (iii) Perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality: the extent to which the learner believes the ingroup (including its language) possesses a high or low status, i.e., believes the ingroup shares or is excluded from institutional power.
- (iv) Perceptions of ingroup boundaries: the extent to which the learner views the ingroup as culturally and linguistically related to or separated from the outgroup, i.e., perceives the ingroup boundaries as 'hard' or 'soft'.
- (v) Identification with other social categories of the ingroup: the extent to which the learner identifies with other ingroup social categories such as educational, religious or gender categories and as a result, whether his/her status is perceived as satisfactory or unsatisfactory within the group.

Communication accommodation theory also attempts to explain variation in the L2 speaker's linguistic output, features of which define ingroup membership. Two types of changes in the L2 learner's use of certain linguistic features (known as 'ethnic speech markers') have been identified. *Convergence* is the attenuation of ingroup speech markers and is thought to occur when the learner is positively motivated towards the outgroup, i.e., when the 'socio-psychological set' is favourable. *Divergence*, on the other hand involves the accentuation of ethnic speech markers and is thought to occur when the learner is not positively motivated towards the outgroup, i.e., when the 'socio-psychological set' is unfavourable (Ellis, 1985: 256–257). Moreover, L2 acquisition is believed to

take place when the general predisposition of the learner is towards convergence. *Fossilisation* refers to the process whereby incorrect features of a language become fixed and is believed to occur when the general predisposition of the learner is towards divergence. The learner's motivation to converge towards or diverge from the linguistic norms of the outgroup speech is dependent on the perceived prestige of a particular speech variety (or sound), his/her attitude towards the language and/or culture and the perceived power gained (or not) in the acquisition of the language or language variety (Major, 2001: 78). An advantage of CAT is that it recognises the importance of ethnic identity, which may help to explain the reasons why certain groups maintain their language or language variety, whilst others do not and assimilate towards the speech patterns of the dominant or majority group (Giles, 1979: 267). In this way, it also accounts for variability in a learner's language, as being a result of a conflict in socio-psychological attitudes. A major criticism of CAT is that there has been an insufficient number of *longitudinal studies* (i.e., studies where informants have been studied for extended time periods) conducted to test the model. A second major criticism concerns the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, which is considered to be an oversimplification of the interrelationship between ethnolinguistic groups (Dornyei, 2001: 71). Further research is necessary, in particular, to study the role that social factors play in style shifting. Moreover, studies require to be conducted into whether those L2 learners whose tendency is to converge towards the norms of the target language attain a high level of proficiency in the L2, particularly when they communicate with native speakers. It is also important to note that, in recent years, the use of the term 'fossilisation', to describe distinctive stable features in learners' linguistic output (see above), has become increasingly controversial (e.g., Seidlhofer, 2004: 13; Jenkins, 2006a: 138–140).

Overall, despite fundamental differences between the socioeducational model, the acculturation model and communication accommodation theory, research into SLA in the sociopsychological paradigm has generally highlighted the important influence of the attitude of the individual on levels of achievement in L2 acquisition. It is interesting to note that current SLA research from a sociopsychological perspective continues to emphasise the influential role of attitudes, turning specifically to explorations of the interplay between motivation, attitude and the learning situation as they contribute to longer-term attainment of the target language (Moyer, 2004: 40) (see for example MacIntyre et al., 1998; Gardner et al., 1999; Dornyei, 2001; Yashima et al., 2004; Csizer and Dornyei, 2005; Dornyei et al., 2006; Dornyei and Ushioda, 2009).

Pavlenko (2002: 281–283) has, however, raised a number of objections towards sociopsychological approaches to SLA. One criticism is that sociopsychological approaches to SLA do not pay enough attention to sociohistorical factors of domination and power, such as language prestige and linguistic and cultural boundaries, which may limit the choices that foreign language learners can make when they interact with the L2 speakers and its culture. Pavlenko (2002: 179–180) also argues that sociopsychological approaches have

generally failed to incorporate the reality of the modern world where more than 50% of the human population are bilingual/multilingual and hence, multi-dimensional identities are the norm. It should be noted, nevertheless, that recent SLA research from a sociopsychological perspective has begun to investigate the role of the L2 self and identity in foreign language learning (see Ushioda and Dornyei, 2009: 1–8). Moreover, MacIntyre et al. foresee a great danger of recent research involving purely qualitative descriptions of learners' own interpretations of the language learning experience (see for example Norton, 2000) since such studies may return the field of second language acquisition to a non-paradigmatic state and warn that '... if the social-psychological and political dimensions of language are drained away as the bathwater, we must be careful not to lose the conceptual baby' (2009: 45).

A further criticism of sociopsychological approaches is that the great majority of the studies which support these theories have been conducted in inner-circle English speaking environments in the USA, the UK and Canada and as such, there is a dearth of research conducted in other contexts. Pavlenko (2002: 281) believes that studies undertaken in other contexts may yield entirely different results. This is broadly compatible with the view of Gardner who has recognised 'the need for further research to assess the validity of various models that have been, and are continuing to be, proposed' (2002: 168). It would, therefore be profitable to conduct further research from a sociopsychological perspective into the role of attitudes in L2 acquisition in both outer circle and expanding circle countries of English use, such as India and Japan (see Section 1.1). The results obtained from this research are likely to be useful because they would test the validity of existing findings and perhaps more importantly, would evaluate the applicability of sociopsychological models in other linguistic and cultural contexts.

It has been demonstrated above that the role of attitude in L2 learning has been recognised in a number of sociopsychological models and in Krashen's monitor model of SLA. Indeed, the relationship between attitude and second language acquisition has, to a certain extent, been established (McKenzie, 2008a: 65–66). This relationship, however, appears to be extremely complex in nature and is likely to vary according to the social context. Ellis (1994: 211), for instance, maintains that levels of proficiency in the L2 are not determined by variables such as age, sex, social class or ethnic identity but rather by the attitudes and social conditions associated with these factors. One of the aims of this book, therefore, will be to measure whether and to what extent, such variables influence attitudes.

2.2.2 The Importance of the Study of Language Attitudes in Sociolinguistics

Although the majority of research into language attitudes has been conducted in the field of the social psychology of language, the issue of how individuals

evaluate language and language varieties is also a central area in sociolinguistics. Indeed, Joseph (2004b: 7) suggests that early language attitude research helped enormously in the establishment of sociolinguistics as a distinct field of study in the 1960s. One reason that the study of language attitudes continues to be a key dimension in the building of sociolinguistic theory is because explanations of sociolinguistic phenomena are most likely to reside in sociopsychological processes (Garrett et al., 1999: 322). A further reason for the importance of the study of language attitudes in explaining sociolinguistic phenomena, is that despite the complexity of the relationship and the influence of the wider social context (McKenzie, 2008a: 64), attitudes are considered to be a major determinant of behaviour (see Section 2.1.2). Carranza (1982: 63), for example, believes that language attitudes influence language behaviour in a number of ways, and maintains that language attitudes can contribute to sound changes, define speech communities, reflect intergroup communication and help determine teachers' perceptions of students' abilities. As a result of the influence of language attitudes on behaviour, language attitude research can provide a basis for the explanation of central issues in sociolinguistics, such as language variation and change (Labov, 1984: 33). This is particularly the case where the language attitude research is longitudinal in nature or where follow-up studies are conducted which employ the same research methodology and sample as the original study, which would allow for speculation into whether attitude change has taken place. It has also been argued that attitudes towards languages and language varieties are likely to underpin a number of other short and long term behavioural outcomes considered to be of importance in sociolinguistics, and which can have important experiential consequences (Garrett et al., 2003: 12–13). Attitudes to language varieties, for instance, may affect the extent to which certain groups (such as speakers of regional dialects or minority languages) participate in higher education or influence employment opportunities.

Moreover, language attitudes may determine whether and to what extent languages or dialects spread or decay. In the case of an international language such as English, positive attitudes towards (varieties of) the language are certainly one important factor in and perhaps even the major determinant of its worldwide spread. Indeed, in the case of language spread more generally, it is thought that it can be measured not only through the extent of the use of the language but also through the investigation of the attitudes of individuals towards its use (Fishman and Rubal-Lopez, 1992: 310).

Although the majority of language attitude studies have focussed on native speaker perceptions of languages and language varieties, the perceptions of non-native speakers are also believed to be of importance in sociolinguistics. In particular, studies which investigate the attitudes of L2 learners towards language acquisition contribute to sociolinguistic theory because they raise awareness that language learners have to deal with their own feelings, stereotypes, prejudices and expectations as well as the linguistic features of the language (Friedrich, 2000: 222; McKenzie, 2008a: 66). Sociolinguistic studies of L2 learners should therefore investigate not only what these learners know about

the target language and its varieties but also how this knowledge is categorised in the mind of the learner and used to reflect and refine group preferences and priorities (see Section 2.1.3). The attitudes that language learners hold towards varieties of English speech are also believed to be of value. Friedrich (*ibid.*: 216) argues that educators and language policy makers should be aware of the language attitudes of their students towards varieties of English in order to fully address their needs and deal with the mixed feelings that English, as an international language provokes. Starks and Paltridge (1996: 218) maintain that the choice of a model of English for teaching and learning is influenced by students' attitudes towards English and that it is important to discover what variety of English second and foreign language learners want as an ideal language goal. More generally, they also stress the need for language attitude studies which involve non-native speakers as informants to divide the sample on the basis of variables such as gender and age, which give an indication of attitude change amongst different sections of the language learning population. Although, to date, there has been an insufficient number of such studies conducted, research into attitude change is likely to be valuable for sociolinguists interested in language spread, language maintenance and language decay and/or sociolinguists involved in language planning and foreign language policy.

The importance of the study of language attitudes in the building of sociolinguistic theory may be particularly marked when studying the sociolinguistic situation in Japan. Maher and Yashiro (1995: 4–5) suggest that there currently exists a lack of a *sociolinguistic framework* to describe the seemingly complex language situation in the country (i.e., historically, there have been very few studies which describe the sociolinguistic situation in Japan). There has, for example, been insufficient investigation into the status of minority languages such as Ainu or the Ryukyuan vernaculars (of Okinawa and southern Kyushu), despite the existence of various local action groups founded with the aim of promoting local languages and cultures (Coulmas and Watanabe, 2002: 256). Similarly, there has been a dearth of research investigating levels of Japanese-English and Japanese-Korean bilingualism. Maher and Yashiro (1995: 1–7) maintain that this is largely due to a historical tendency for cultural and linguistic issues to be interpreted from a Western ethnocentric viewpoint and that the perceptions and experiences of the Japanese themselves are not always taken into account. A dearth of language attitude research has contributed to this lack of sociolinguistic framework. Moreover, it is, at present, unknown which social categories are significant with regard to sociolinguistic studies of the Japanese population (although Donahue, 1998: 38–39 has suggested that rural/urban residence may be one possible determining factor). This is not the case in the UK where the most salient social divisions are identified along class lines, whilst in the US, the perception of race is considered to be the most significant variable (Lindemann, 2003: 350), although, of course, this is not to deny the existence of either racism in the UK or of class-prejudice in the US (e.g., Milroy, 2001: 249). It is for this reason that research conducted amongst subsections of the Japanese population, investigating social evaluations of

language is likely to aid in the provision of a sociolinguistic framework for contemporary Japan. This is broadly compatible with the view of Donahue (1998: 4–5), who believes that there is a current paradigm shift in Japanese research generally, where the formerly dominant ‘group model’ is being modified to include social variation amongst the population (see [Section 1.2.4.2](#)).

This chapter has detailed the broader context of the study with a detailed discussion of the nature of attitudes in general and of the importance of language attitudes in second language acquisition studies and in sociolinguistics. The following chapter aims to outline the potential theoretical and methodological value of conducting an in-depth quantitative study investigating the attitudes of Japanese learners towards varieties of English speech.

Chapter 3

Relevant Language Attitude Research

3.1 The Measurement of Language Attitudes

A variety of methods and techniques have been employed in language attitude research since the earliest studies were conducted in the 1960s. These methods and techniques are generally grouped according to three broad categories: *the societal treatment approach*, *the direct approach* and *the indirect approach*. This section provides a critical review of each of these approaches to the measurement of language attitudes and outlines their strengths and their weaknesses.

3.1.1 *The Societal Treatment Approach*

The societal treatment or content analysis approach is little mentioned in mainstream discussions of language attitude research. Studies which employ this approach are generally qualitative and are typically conducted through participant observation, ethnographic studies or other observational studies. There have also been recent calls to utilise (qualitative) discourse-based methods to analyse language attitudes (see Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain, 2009 for an overview of techniques under the umbrella term of discourse-based methods). The approach is designed to be unobtrusive and the researchers themselves infer the attitudes of the informants from their observed behaviour or from document analysis. The approach most often involves a content analysis of the status and/or the stereotypical associations of languages and language varieties and their speakers. Societal treatment analyses are often considered insufficiently rigorous by many mainstream language attitude researchers from the social psychological tradition. It may be most appropriate, however, to undertake a societal treatment approach in contexts where access to informants is not possible under completely natural conditions or where there are limitations on time and/or space. Moreover, this approach may be usefully employed as a preliminary study for more rigorous sociolinguistic analyses which would involve the utilisation of direct or indirect methods of data collection

(Garrett et al., 2003: 16). Examples of studies which employ a societal treatment approach to the investigation of language attitudes are Haarmann (1986, 1989) studies of the use of foreign languages in advertising as symbols of prestige in Japan (see Section 3.2.3).

3.1.2 *The Direct Approach*

The direct approach by its very nature has a greater degree of obtrusiveness because the respondents themselves are expected to give an account of their attitudes. A direct approach to the investigation of attitudes usually entails questioning subjects on their beliefs, feelings and knowledge of the attitudinal object.

Direct methods of language attitude measurement most often base themselves upon of informants' responses to questionnaires or interviews. Henerson et al. (1987: 22–24) divide these into research instruments where the response is by word of mouth and research instruments that call for written responses. Examples of research instruments which call for word of mouth responses include interviews, surveys and polls. An *interview* involves a face-to-face meeting between two or more people where the interviewee(s) respond to questions posed by the interviewer(s). The questions may be predetermined but the interviewer(s) has the freedom to pursue interesting responses if required. The interviewer(s) most often take notes of the informants' responses during the course of the interview and subsequently write a full summary following completion of the meeting. A *survey* refers to a highly structured interview that does not necessarily take place face-to face. For example, surveys are frequently conducted over the telephone. A *poll* is essentially a headcount, where the informants are presented with a limited number of options and respond accordingly. Examples of instruments that call for written responses include questionnaires and attitude scales. *Questionnaires* are most often employed when the researcher requires answers to a variety of questions. They are often designed for each question to measure a discrete concern and yield a score specific to that concern. They can, however, also be designed so that answers to several questions provide an overall score. An *attitude scale* is a specific type of questionnaire, designed to ensure that the sum of several responses yields a single score, which represents one overall attitude. One advantage of attitude scales is that they ensure consistency because erratic items can be discarded. *Erratic items* are those items in a questionnaire which produce responses which are inconsistent with the informant's answers to the other items.

The measurement of language attitudes by direct methods is, however, subject to a number of potential pitfalls which researchers should be aware of, regardless of whether word of mouth or written response procedures are employed. A number of these relate to factors which language attitude researchers must bear in mind in the preparation of interview schedules and

questionnaires. *Strongly slanted questions*, for example, employ ‘loaded’ items, which tend to pressurise informants to answer in a particular way. For this reason, political terms such as ‘socialist’ or ‘democratic’ are best avoided, as are other loaded terms such as ‘black’, ‘free’, ‘healthy’, ‘natural’, ‘regular’, ‘unfaithful’ or ‘modern’ (Oppenheim, 1992: 130). *Hypothetical questions* ask how the informants would behave or react to particular events. Such questions are unlikely to be good predictors of future reactions or behaviour should the action or event actually be encountered. In a classic study, LaPiere (1934), for example, found an enormous discrepancy between the hypothetical stated responses of a number of US hotel managers towards serving Chinese customers and their subsequent actual behaviour (92% of those questioned responded that they would not serve Chinese customers, whereas, in reality, service was refused in only one of the same 251 establishments that a Chinese couple visited). *Multiple questions* include both double negative questions to which a negative answer would be ambiguous and questions where a positive answer could refer to more than one component of the question (Garrett et al., 2003: 28). For instance, questionnaire items such as ‘Students should not have to pay for language tuition’, where a negative response is likely to cause difficulties or ‘Would you prefer to learn English or Spanish?’ where yes/no responses are likely to cause confusion, are best avoided.

Other factors which need to be taken into account in the employment of a direct approach to language attitude measurement relate to tendencies in the informants and are important during the data collection process. These factors raise issues with regard to the validity of the data collected. One such factor is *social desirability bias*, which refers to a tendency for informants to give responses to questions that they believe are the most socially appropriate and desirable. Oppenheim (1992: 139) maintains that social desirability bias is often of greater significance in interviews than in questionnaires. However, conducting interviews individually and guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity with informants is likely to reduce the risk of social desirability bias. *Acquiescence bias* can occur in responses to interview or questionnaire items and refers to the presumed tendency for respondents to agree with items, regardless of content, in to statements presented to them (Schuman and Presser, 1996: 203). These individuals are considered reluctant to look upon the negative aspect of any issue and are thus unwilling to make strong negative responses (Dornyei, 2003: 13). As the informants’ responses would not be a true reflection of their own personal perceptions of the attitudinal statement, the validity of the data collected is questionable. For the reasons detailed above, acquiescence bias can be a particularly serious methodological problem when agree-disagree statements or yes-no questions are employed by the researcher(s) (Schuman and Presser, 1996: 203).

The characteristics of the attitude researchers themselves may additionally affect the validity of the data. This is known as the *interviewer’s paradox/observer’s paradox*. Perry (2005: 102–103) describes two types of researcher effect: *the Pygmalion effect* (due to the researcher’s own judgements/

expectations the abilities of the respondents, for example as proficient language learners); and *the Hawthorne effect* (where respondents may adjust their behaviour as a result of their perceptions of the researcher(s) and of the study itself). An informant's responses to questionnaire or interview items may be affected by personal attributes such as the perceived ethnicity, gender, social status or age of the researcher(s). In addition, Ryan et al. (1988: 1073) maintain that the language employed by the researcher during the process of data collection may also affect the responses given by the informants, for instance, whether the L1/L2 of the researcher or the subject is employed (for a fuller discussion of the potential problems in the direct questioning of language attitudes see Garrett, 2010: Chapter 3).

Perceptual dialectology is a relatively recent type of direct approach employed to measure language attitudes directly. Perceptual dialectology was developed by Preston (1989) and was taken from the field of folk-linguistics. Preston's aim was to broaden the scope of language attitude research by studying anecdotal accounts of how attitudes and beliefs about language varieties develop and persist. In Preston's view the individual's own account of his/her beliefs about language varieties and their speakers offers a more contextualised explanation of language attitudes than the limited scope of questionnaires and interviews frequently utilised in other direct approaches or in the highly structured instruments employed in indirect approaches. A summary of a typical data gathering technique is provided by Preston (1999: xxxiv–xxxv):

- (i) Draw a map: respondents draw boundaries on a blank or minimally detailed map around areas where they believe regional speech varieties exist. Composite maps can then be compiled from the individual task responses. This technique was incorporated from cultural geography (e.g., Gould and White, 1986).
- (ii) Degree of difference: respondents rank speech or regions on a scale of one to four depending on their perceptions of the degree of dialect difference from the 'home' area (where 1 = same, 2 = a little different, 3 = different, 4 = unintelligibly different).
- (iii) 'Correct' and 'pleasant': respondents rank speech or regions for correct and/or pleasant speech. This technique once again was incorporated from cultural geography (e.g., Gould and White, 1986) and reflects the dimensions of status and solidarity well documented in language attitude research (e.g., Edwards, 1999) (see Section 3.1.3).
- (iv) Dialect identification: respondents listen to a scrambled order of speech recordings on a 'dialect continuum' and are asked to state where the speakers are from.
- (v) Qualitative data: respondents are questioned further about the tasks they have undertaken and are subsequently involved in open-ended conversations concerning language varieties and their speakers.

Initial studies of images, perceptions and attitudes using perceptual dialectology approaches focussed on native speaker evaluations of regional varieties

in Japan (Long, 1999a), The Netherlands (Dann, 1999), Turkey (Demirci and Kleiner, 1998), the USA (Hartley, 1999) and the UK (Inoue, 1999). More recent studies have extended the approach to other regions, and concentrate on native speaker perceptions of dialects in areas as divergent as Mali (Canut, 2002), Hungary (Kontra, 2002) and Korea (Long and Yim, 2002). It should be noted that data gathering techniques in perceptual dialectology are often modified to suit the requirements of individual studies. Indeed, Preston (1999: xxxvii) has argued that methodologies and techniques must be further refined and applied to new contexts. This includes the incorporation of presenting specific speech samples to respondents for evaluation, perhaps resulting in the blurring of the boundaries between techniques from perceptual dialectology and procedures from the language attitude tradition. Nevertheless, although there is a recent example of a perceptual dialectology study conducted focussing on language teacher evaluations of English (Jenkins, 2007), at present, there do not appear to be any examples of studies which concentrate specifically on non-native speaker perceptions of language varieties and which employ data elicitation techniques of perceptual dialectology. Indeed, there have been relatively few studies of any kind which investigate non-native speaker evaluations of varieties of English (Starks and Paltridge, 1996: 222) (see Section 3.2.2), and studies which incorporate at least some of the most relevant techniques from perceptual dialectology may help to provide new insights into non-native speaker attitudes.

3.1.3 *The Indirect Approach*

An indirect (or projective measurement) approach to researching attitudes involves more subtle techniques of measurement, where the purpose of the study is made less obvious to the informants. This approach is particularly useful when it would be considered impossible or counter-productive to directly question informants on their perceptions of the attitudinal object. Indirect methods of attitude measurement are generally considered to be able to penetrate deeper than direct methods, often below the level of conscious awareness and/or behind the individual's social façade. The approach can be particularly useful in evoking and outlining stereotypes, self-images and norm concepts (Oppenheim, 1992: 210), such as ideas connected with 'the good learner' or 'the experienced teacher'. An indirect approach to language attitude measurement frequently involves misleading respondents into believing that the questioner is investigating aspects other than language and/or observing respondents without their awareness. Therefore, there are ethical considerations to be taken into account in the employment of this approach, related to the deception of the informants during the period of data collection. One way to deal with issues of deception may be to later *debrief* the research participants, i. e., inform the respondents on the purposes, procedures and scientific value of the study as soon as possible following their participation in the experiment

(Smith and Mackie, 2000: 52) (for up to date overviews of ethical issues in applied/socio linguistics research see, for example, Dornyei, 2003: 91–95, 2007: 63–72; Perry, 2005: 67–70; McKay, 2006: 24–27; Rasinger, 2008: 52–55; Kubanyiova, 2008: 503–518).

The most frequently employed indirect technique in the measurement of language attitudes is the matched-guise technique (MGT). Indeed, the MGT has become virtually synonymous with the indirect approach as a whole (Garrett et al., 2003: 51). The MGT was developed under Lambert and his colleagues in Canada in the late 1950s and aimed to elicit attitudes to both different speech varieties and the speakers of these varieties, by indirect means and under laboratory conditions. The procedure involves respondents listening to a series of single speakers who read out the same prepared text. The texts differ in one respect only; they are read out in a number of accents. For the duration of the task, informants are told that they will listen to a variety of different speakers, when in fact, it is the same speaker recorded speaking in a number of different guises. Respondents are required to listen to each recording and to evaluate the speaker, most often on a bipolar semantic-differential scale, in relation to a number of personality traits (e.g., educated/uneducated, honest/dishonest). The listener-judges' ratings on the semantic-differential scale are thus considered to be representative of their stereotyped reactions to the language or language variety concerned. Generally, attitude researchers have employed a semantic-differential scale with an uneven number of divisions in order to provide informants with a neutral position on the scale. It is also believed that a seven-point scale is the optimum number for most purposes and that fewer divisions irritated respondents whilst a larger number of points were found to produce unsatisfactory distributions (Lemon, 1973: 102). The use of semantic-differential scales has a number of advantages which distinguish it as an instrument of attitude measurement. First, semantic-differential scales offer higher levels of test-retest reliability and validity in comparison with other instruments, such as Thurstone scales and Guttman scales (Osgood et al., 1970: 229–231). Secondly, as they are relatively easy to set up, administer and code, the use of semantic-differential scales are favourably cost-effective (Heise, 1970: 250). Thirdly, they provide a measure of attitude intensity, an important attribute of any attitude held (see Section 2.1.3).

The matched-guise technique aims to control all extraneous variables other than the manipulated independent variables. Thus, considerable care is taken on issues of stimulus control, ensuring that prosodic and paralinguistic features of voice such as pitch, speech rate, voice quality and hesitations remain constant. Attention is also paid to minimising differences in features of reading style and expressiveness and ensuring that the recordings are perceived by the listener-judges as authentic. Furthermore, the order of the bipolar adjective scales is often reversed for 50% of the questionnaire in order to minimise potential fatigue or *ordering effects* (i.e., the positive and negative adjectives are scrambled to avoid any potential left-right bias).

One advantage of employing the matched-guise technique is that the data collected is suitable for statistical analysis. First, a form of factor analysis (most often principal components analysis) is frequently conducted to reduce the number of variables in the study and to locate the salient dimensions amongst the traits that the respondents have judged to be important (for a more detailed discussion see [Section 5.2.4](#)). In the study of speech varieties, the principal dimensions have, to a large extent, been established (Zahn and Hopper, 1985) in terms of *dynamism* (e.g., enthusiastic, ambitious), *superiority* (e.g., educated, high status job) and *attractiveness* (e.g., friendly, sense of humour). A number of researchers (e.g., Giles and Coupland, 1991: [Chapter 2](#); Edwards, 1994: 101; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997: 126; Garrett et al., 2003: 106; Lindemann, 2003: 353) have clearly demonstrated that these dimensions can be further condensed into two particularly salient evaluational categories, which account for most of the attitude variance; *competence* (or *social status*) and *social attractiveness* (or *solidarity*). It is interesting to note that (as stated above), in the field of folk-linguistics (and hence, in perceptual dialectology), these dimensions have generally been interpreted as *correctness* and *pleasantness* as this terminology is believed to better reflect folk-linguistic (i.e., non-linguist) comments about language (Niedzielski and Preston, 1999: [Chapter 1](#)). Following the factor analysis, a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) is likely to be conducted in order to test the significance of the differences between the informants' mean ratings for each of the speakers/speech varieties presented for evaluation on the dimensions previously identified (for a more detailed discussion see [Section 5.2.1](#)).

Giles and Coupland (1991: [Chapter 2](#)) have identified a number of other advantages of MGT studies. They comment that the method is rigorous for eliciting latent attitudes and attempts have been made to control extraneous variables. Secondly, the importance of language code and choice of style in impression formation has been demonstrated from the research findings in MGT studies. Furthermore, matched-guise experiments have been an important factor in establishing a cross-disciplinary interface between sociolinguistic and sociopsychological analyses of language attitudes. The original study of Lambert et al. (1960), which investigated the perceptions of Canadians towards French and English, has generated a number of similar studies worldwide and has added to the understanding of native speaker attitudes towards languages and language varieties, particularly in Wales, Australia, the United States and the Netherlands. This has enabled comparability between studies in different contexts, aiding the development of both the study of language attitudes and sociolinguistic theory generally. Moreover, the dependent variables used in the early matched-guise studies have helped to highlight the distinction between the traits of status and solidarity as two primary evaluative dimensions in the formation of language attitudes (of native speakers of a given language) towards varieties of speech (Ryan et al., 1982: 3–9). The utilisation of semantic differential scales in MGT studies has a further advantage because it allows for the measurement of attitude intensity (see [Section 2.1.3](#)).

There have, however, been a number of criticisms with regard to the way in which the matched-guise technique presents speech varieties for evaluation. Garrett et al. (2003: 57–61) have provided an overview of these criticisms:

- (i) The salience problem: the experimental practice of exposing listener-judges to the repeated message content of a reading passage provided by a series of speech recordings may systematically make speech/language and speech/language variation appear much more salient to the listener-judges, than it is, in fact, outside of the research environment.
- (ii) The perception problem: listener-judges may not perceive the manipulated variable (e.g., non-standard speech) or indeed, misperceive it (e.g., as ‘bad grammar’). In addition, respondents may not identify the speakers as representative of a particular variety or speech area. One possible way to overcome this problem would be to ask judges to identify, during the course of the experiment, where they believe the speaker to come from, i.e., to provide a *dialect-recognition item* (see below).
- (iii) The accent authenticity problem: a related problem is that as many of the prosodic and paralinguistic variations in speech have been minimised, other characteristics that normally co-vary with accent varieties may also be eliminated (e.g., intonational characteristics or features of discourse patterning). This obviously raises the issue of the authenticity of the varieties recorded.
- (iv) The mimicking authenticity problem: where one speaker has to produce a large number of speech recordings of different spoken varieties, it seems unlikely that the recordings of each of these varieties will be truly accurate. Inaccurate speech samples are likely to add to problems of reliability. Therefore, it may be useful to include some transcription of the speech samples in the published study in order to validate (or not) the accuracy of the speech recordings. It may, however, still be possible for respondents to perceive inaccurately mimicked accents as authentic, as they may not be aware of or ignore what is, or what is not incorporated in the speech recordings.
- (v) The community authenticity problem: the labels used to describe speech varieties in publications are sometimes too vague to be meaningful. Umbrella terms such as ‘Scottish English’ or ‘British English’ can be misleading as clearly they can contain many descriptively and perceptually differentiated varieties. In order to minimise this community authenticity problem, it may be helpful to introduce more specific labels or, where appropriate, localised descriptors in line with informants’ usual labelling conventions. In addition, it is important to be aware of the location where the data was collected (known as the *point of data collection*), as language attitudes are likely to differ amongst different speech communities.
- (vi) The style authenticity problem: in matched-guise studies, speakers are generally required to read aloud the same prepared text in a number of different varieties. However, reading aloud is a marked verbal style, likely

to produce a number of distinctive prosodic and sequential phonological features, such as a greater pausing at syntactic boundaries, a higher incidence of ‘spelling pronunciations’ and a more evenly modulated stress pattern. It is for this reason that stimulus recordings of speakers reading out a prepared passage are likely to vary in style from spontaneous speech, which casts doubt upon the authenticity of the data collected. There are also doubts as to whether the use of decontextualised language to measure informants’ attitudes yields findings which can be extended to the use of natural language, where individuals meaningfully and functionally use language as opposed to ‘merely voicing’ utterances. Moreover, it has been found that the geographic origin of the speaker is easier to identify for listeners when the speech sample is spontaneous rather than when the speaker is reading aloud from a prescribed text (Van Bezooijen and Gooskens, 1997: 42). This is because with speech samples of fixed text passages, there is only likely to be geographically related variation in pronunciation at the segmental phonetic level and possibly of some geographically related prosodic features. The role of prosodic features, however, is limited, as the prosody of read speech is generally more standardised. In contrast, spontaneous speech can contain a wider range of cues related to the speaker’s geographic origin and can also vary lexically, syntactically or morphologically (for a discussion of the importance of variety identification see below).

- (vii) The neutrality problem: the concept of a factually neutral text is a controversial one. This is because the ways in which both listeners and readers interact and interpret texts according to individual pre-existing cognitive schemata (see Section 2.1.3), make it questionable whether texts can ever be factually neutral. This was illustrated in a study which investigated cross-generational attitudes to RP, where the authors failed to generate an ‘age neutral’ text, as listeners tended to perceive the same spoken texts differently in relation to the perceived age of the speaker (Giles et al., 1990). In this study, for instance, the utterance, ‘I don’t know what to think’ was perceived by the listener-judges to mean that the speaker was ‘confused’, when spoken in an elderly guise, whereas the perception was that ‘the issues were more complex’, when spoken in a younger guise.

In addition, Bradac et al. (2001: 140–141) criticise the MGT as being *acontextual*, as respondents are not usually informed about the situation in which the messages were produced. For this reason, informants may themselves make inferences about the speakers’ intentions, purposes and goals from the speech recordings. These idiosyncratic inferences could constitute error variance in the study as context is likely to alter the perceptions of speech varieties. Cargile (2002: 178) also believes that contextual features, such as situational formality, can affect speaker evaluations and indeed, more generally, maintains that what a speaker says appears to influence evaluations as much as how (i.e., accent or

vocal pitch) it is said. Moreover, it is believed that speaker evaluations are also sensitive to the conditions under which listener-judges are required to develop impressions of the speaker. The amount of time available for informants to record evaluations appears to be particularly important (*ibid.*: 188). It, therefore, seems appropriate to allow respondents as much time as is necessary to fully develop and mark evaluations when listening to stimulus speech recordings. This could be achieved by presenting relatively lengthy stimulus speech recordings and/or by allowing respondents to listen to each recording more than once, if deemed necessary by the informants themselves. The researcher, however, must provide a balance between the time requirements of the listeners and the potentially confounding effects of listener-fatigue and indeed give due consideration to both factors.

In response to these criticisms, a number of variant forms of the matched-guise technique have been developed. These variants attempt to overcome problems of the MGT, both with the presentation of language varieties and the procedures involved in the collection of evaluations. Perhaps the best known of these variants is the verbal-guise technique (e.g., Ladegaard, 1998; Hartikainen, 2000; McKenzie, 2004). The *verbal-guise technique* differs from the MGT in that a number of different speakers provide the stimulus speech recordings and it is often used to overcome issues related to accent-authenticity and mimicking-authenticity (see iii, iv above), which are prevalent in MGT studies. This approach has, however, sometimes been utilised through necessity, where perceptions of a large number of spoken varieties were being investigated and where it proved impossible to find a single speaker who could convincingly produce all the speech varieties required. Hence, it is important in the employment of the verbal guise-technique to select the speakers very carefully for comparable voice qualities.

A strategy employed in the verbal-guise technique in order to overcome the style-authenticity problem in MGT studies is to record spontaneous speech of different speakers (e.g., El-Dash and Tucker, 1975). Suitable 'factually neutral' stimulus recordings of spontaneous speech may be generated through careful control of the content of the speech event, for instance, by asking the speakers to complete a task, such as giving directions from a map. An interesting recent suggestion has been to make use of commercially available DVDs, where speech is translated into multiple languages as speech stimulus for verbal-guise studies investigating informants' attitudes towards different languages (Connor, 2008: 106).

In addition, specific semantic-differential scales are sometimes specially constructed for studies, as adjectives that elicit reactions from particular speech communities are likely to be highly culture bound (e.g., El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001: 62). Language attitude researchers should, therefore, not suppose that the same set of traits will be salient for different populations. Meaningful bipolar adjectives may be obtained in advance of the main study, e.g., by gathering items from a focus group, representative of the population to be questioned.

The tendency in the majority of language attitude studies has been to presume that respondents who listen to and evaluate stimulus speech are able to accurately and consistently identify the varieties in question, as socially or regionally localised forms. There have, however, been recent calls to include a dialect recognition item in questionnaires, where participants are presented with voice samples and subsequently asked to rate them (e.g., Preston, 1993: 188; McKenzie, 2004: 24). *Dialect Recognition* can be construed as the cognitive mapping of audible speech features on to the individual's records of the usage norms of particular speech communities and to be achieved, the values of the variable features of the variety must be successfully identified and then appropriately mapped by the individual in question (Garrett et al., 2003: 208). Hence, although there is an argument that the ability to recognise speech varieties may have no effect on the attitude of informants, i.e., they respond to the inherent value of the varieties in question (see Section 3.2.1), by this account, respondents' evaluations are more likely to be based upon imposed social norms or connotations when they are able to give a name to the variety under consideration (Williams et al., 1999: 348). Misidentification of speech varieties may, therefore, be a potentially confounding variable in language attitude studies and, as such, is liable to render the data more difficult to interpret (McKenzie, 2008b: 140–141). It should be noted, nevertheless, that patterns of misidentification, may also be useful in themselves. Speech varieties which have not been correctly identified, may, for instance, provide insights into the ideological framework of the respondents. Lindemann (2003: 355–358), for example, maintains that listeners who are unable to correctly identify a particular speech variety may be likely to incorrectly identify the stimulus speech recording as a language or language variety with which they are more familiar and one with which they associate with the misidentified variety of speech. Lindemann (*ibid.*) believes that such identifications are frequently based on the ethnic associations of the listener, where, for example, a speaker from Canada may be wrongly identified as American, if indeed 'Canada' is not a particularly salient category for the listener.

A variety recognition question is, however, arguably more important in attitude studies which involve the evaluations of non-native speakers who are likely to have had less exposure to varieties of L2 speech than native speakers and, as such, may be less familiar with and have more difficulty in identifying particular varieties (i.e., they have more difficulty in achieving accurate cognitive mapping). A similar view is taken by Preston (2008: 37) who notes that because individuals are more aware of the social correlates to variation in their L1, such variation is more salient. Moreover, there is evidence that learners of a given L2 may have greater difficulty in recognizing spoken forms of the L2 since segmental speech seems largely to be determined by the L1 (Harley, 2001: 221–222). Stephan (1997: 93) maintains that although several studies in the field of perceptual dialectology have attempted to measure the recognition rates of native speakers, not much is known about the ability of non-native learners to identify speakers' origins solely from their speech. It is for these reasons that

a dialect recognition item has been incorporated into the design of the present study and that identification of the speech varieties is subsequently examined as a potential predictor variable of attitude.

3.1.4 A Mixed Methodological Approach

It has been emphasised above that there are inherent problems with both direct methods and indirect methods of investigating language attitudes. Over reliance on any single research method may therefore generate skewed results and bring about misleading conclusions. Researchers, therefore, frequently choose to design studies which encompass several techniques and include both indirect and direct methods of language attitude measurement. The aim of this is to discover how these methods may complement each other in order to provide more certainty to the findings, as well as a greater range of insights and more contextual specification of the language attitudes investigated (Garrett et al., 2003: 220). Labov (1966: 11–12), for example, has claimed that direct questioning alone is of very little value and is much better employed in conjunction with indirect methods. In contrast, El-Dash and Busnardo (2001: 61–62) believe that despite the usefulness of the matched-guise technique in identifying population subgroups in attitude studies, it must be complemented by direct methods of data collection, which should involve either written responses or oral interviews. Ladegaard (2000: 230) maintains that because the measurement of attitudes towards languages or language varieties is so complex, researchers need to rely on a number of different techniques of measurement, direct as well as indirect, particularly in the investigation of attitude-behaviour relationships in language. Preston (1999: xxxviii) goes further, welcoming the prospect of more extensive ‘interdisciplinary poaching’, which may, for instance, involve methodological strands from folk-linguistics, such as perceptual dialectology, in combination with classic language attitude research methods, such as the matched-guise technique. In particular, there is an argument for greater theoretical cooperation between linguistic and sociopsychological approaches to the study of language attitudes, which may result in ‘a more linguistically aware social psychology or a more psychologically aware sociolinguistics’ (Edwards, 1999: 108). This theoretical bridging is likely to help social psychologists and linguists to identify the cultural and social forces which form and maintain attitudes as well as the specific linguistic features which trigger attitudinal responses.

3.2 Previous Language Attitude Research

The first section provided a detailed account of the methods employed in the measurement of language attitudes. The section demonstrated that the employment of a mixed methodological approach may be the most profitable and, in

particular, that both direct and indirect methods of language attitude measurement should be employed. This section of the chapter provides a short summary of relevant language attitude research conducted amongst native speakers of English. There follows a more in-depth review of research involving non-native speaker evaluations of English and varieties of English, with an emphasis on Japanese learners of English. The section has a particular focus on the research methods employed, the make-up of the sample and the conclusions drawn in previous language attitude studies and discusses the implications for the research approach and methods employed in the present study.

3.2.1 Attitudes of Native Speakers Towards the English Language

The study of language attitudes has its origins in bilingual settings where Lambert et al. (1960) investigated evaluations of French and English amongst both the Francophone and Anglophone communities in Canada. The researchers developed the matched-guise technique specifically for the study since it was felt that direct questioning would be inappropriate due to the unwillingness of the informants to reveal prejudices. It was discovered that both the English-speaking Canadians and the French-speaking Canadians were more favourable towards the English guises than the French guises. Tucker and Lambert (1969) conducted one of the earliest studies of attitudes towards varieties of English, which once again employed the MGT, amongst a sample of northern white, southern white and southern black college students in the USA. They found that each group of listener-judges made clear distinctions in the social evaluations of American dialects, and rated some dialects more positively than others. This study demonstrated for the first time that nonlinguists differentiate amongst speech varieties within a single language and have stereotyped attitudes towards them. Moreover, it indicated that factors within a population, such as race, might play a significant role in determining these attitudes towards language varieties. A plethora of attitude studies were subsequently conducted worldwide, which have mainly focussed on native speaker attitudes towards varieties of English and other languages. A high degree of consistency has been found from the data collected in these studies, allowing inferences to be drawn regarding the attitudes of native speakers towards varieties of English.

It has been widely demonstrated, for instance, that standard speech varieties tend to be evaluated most positively by native speakers in terms of status (see Section 3.1.3) and as such, are frequently rated highly on traits such as ambition, intelligence and confidence. This appears to be the case both when the judges are speakers of standard varieties and when the judges speak non-standard varieties of English. Rural non-standard speech also tends to be viewed more positively on dimensions of status than urban non-standard speech. In contrast, non-standard speech varieties tend to be evaluated more highly in terms of solidarity (see Section 3.1.3) when compared to varieties of

standard speech. Speakers of non-standard varieties are therefore generally rated highly on dimensions such as honesty and friendliness, particularly when the judges are speakers of a non-standard variety themselves. The distinctions between evaluations of standard and of non-standard varieties of English speech by native speakers has been demonstrated in a number of studies and in a wide range of inner circle countries, e.g., Scotland (McKenzie, 1996), New Zealand (Bayard, 1999), the USA (Labov, 2001), Wales (Garrett et al., 1999), England (Coupland and Bishop, 2007), Canada (Edwards and Jacobsen, 1987), South Africa (Van Der Walt and Van Rooy, 2002), Northern Ireland (Zwickl, 2002) and Australia (Bradley and Bradley, 2001). Jenkins (2007: 72) states that such studies ‘provide overwhelming evidence on the one hand of the primacy of language cues, particularly accent cues, in the making of social judgements, and on the other hand of the notion of the “standard”, articulated principally through accent and lexis, as “legitimate”’.

It should be noted, in the present study that the terms ‘standard’/‘non-standard’ (and hence ‘mainstream’/‘non-mainstream’ to describe varieties of US English) are viewed as sociopsychological constructions and open to social evaluation and that the process of ‘standardisation’ is viewed as an ideology in itself. It is also recognised that, particularly in the spoken form, there exists a multitude of standard Englishes and that notions of what constitutes standard spoken English vary from area to area. Moreover, it is accepted that no general consensus has been reached on the definitions of both standard English and non-standard English (Bex and Watts, 1999: 6), most particularly with regards to spoken forms (e.g., Ferguson, 2006: 168) and thus, they should be read as if in ‘scare quotes’.

In the specific case of the USA, native speaker perceptions of whether varieties of English speech are considered standard or non-standard are largely based on regional lines. Southern United States English and New York English are clearly varieties prejudiced against (Niedzielski and Preston, 1999: 95) and are consistently rated lowly in terms of ‘correctness’ (Lippi-Green, 1997: 57). Southern United States English is generally perceived as those varieties of English spoken in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia and (frequently) Texas, North Carolina and South Carolina. Preston (1986) conducted a study of representations of the United States south amongst a sample of informants from Michigan and found that the great majority of respondents (96%) perceived the heart of the south as the state of Alabama (and hence, presumably the heart of Southern United States English). It is for this reason that a speech recording of a rural speaker from Alabama was employed as stimulus speech for the research purposes of the present study. Preston (2004: 491) believes that ideas of correctness, in general, dominate US perceptions of regional variation and that the areas which are ranked lowest in national assessments of correctness (i.e., the southern states and New York City) are the most salient in terms of regional distinctiveness. The south, in particular, is consistently identified as the most salient dialect region (e.g., Hartley, 1999: 327), which perhaps provides evidence that the speech of the

area is particularly perceived as non-standard. Preston (2004: 485) maintains that ‘the importance of southern speech would appear to lie in its distinctiveness along one particular dimension- it is incorrect English’. It is thought that unfavourable evaluations of southern US speech may be due to associations of the region with historic and divisive conflict, rural poverty, low levels of intelligence and a poor standard of education (Milroy, 2001: 239). In addition, Fought (2002: 128) maintains that evaluations of Southern US English (and the southern states more generally) may be unduly influenced by associations with African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Indeed, in Fought’s study of Californian students’ perceptions of US regions and dialects, a number of respondents noted that the south had ‘an African-American influence’ (ibid.: 128–129). This view was supported by comments made by a female from Alabama during the recording of stimulus speech for the study conducted for this book. The individual in question, BF (see Section 4.2.2), in an informal conversation with the researcher, stated that a number of people, both from areas of the US outwith the southern states and from the UK, enquired as to whether she possessed African-American ancestry. BF indicated that these comments were made in the course of telephone conversations and in face to face meetings, despite her Caucasian features, including blonde hair and blue eyes (for further details on the background of BF see Section 4.2.2). It is interesting that in the case of US speech more generally, and contrary to popular belief, speakers of northern and southern forms currently sound more different than they would have done a century ago (Preston, 2008: 42).

The above evaluations of US speech on racial dimensions may indicate that attitude research can reveal prejudices that might not or, indeed, cannot be expressed in other contexts. It should be noted that there is, however, some evidence that speakers of southern US English are evaluated more positively in terms of ‘friendliness’ (Preston, 2004: 480), particularly amongst southern US residents themselves. Such evidence is compatible with other studies involving the evaluations of speakers of non-standard varieties (see above). In contrast, the speech of the Midwest (generally perceived as the varieties of English spoken in the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota) is consistently rated by native speakers as ‘proper’ or ‘correct’ English (e.g., Fought, 2002: 132). This is even the case with evaluations of urban dialects of industrial cities in the area (L. Milroy, 2001: 239–240). As such, Niedzielski (2002: 322) claims that speakers from this region ‘are quite comfortable in the knowledge that they are the true speakers of SAE (Standard American English) and most of the country is helping them to maintain this belief.’ Lippi-Green (1997: 58) maintains that the judgmental assumption behind these perceptions of the speech of the Midwest is that English in the Midwest is ‘neutral’ and as such, has no accent and is easily understood by all. The English spoken in those salient other regions of the country (i.e., the south and New York City) are the dominion of the ‘uneducated, sloppy, language anarchists’ (ibid).

In the case of the UK, it has been demonstrated that native speakers of English hold particularly negative attitudes towards urban non-standard varieties of speech. Many separate language attitude studies have confirmed that the most stigmatised urban varieties of English in the UK are those vernaculars spoken by working class speakers in the industrial centres of: Birmingham, i.e., *Brummie*; Liverpool, i.e., *Scouse*; London, i.e., *Cockney* and Glasgow, i.e., *Glaswegian* (e.g., Giles and Coupland, 1991; Milroy, 1999b). In the case of the latter, evaluations of Glasgow speech, by both Glaswegians and non-Glaswegians alike, appear to be particularly negative (McKenzie, 1996: 21). This may be because Glasgow vernacular speech is mainly spoken in a city where traditionally associations with high levels of poverty and incidences of violence are made and thus the variety is afforded particularly low status. This finding of unfavourable evaluations of Glasgow vernacular speech has been confirmed in a number of other studies (e.g., Macauley, 1977; Menzies, 1991; Macafee, 1994; Torrance, 2002) with negative comments expressed by both members of the public (e.g., ‘the accent of the lowest state of the Glaswegians is the ugliest accent one can encounter’, informant quoted in Macauley, 1977: 94) and also by linguists themselves (e.g., ‘... a gross, malformed and inexpressive variety of English’, Stephens, 1976: 96). In the city, Glasgow vernacular speech exists alongside the regional standard, Scottish Standard English (SSE), which is mainly associated with educated, middle class speakers. The grammar of SSE is broadly similar to Standard English and spoken with a Scottish accent to differing degrees. According to Stuart-Smith (1999: 205–211), both Glasgow vernacular speech and SSE speech in Glasgow have characteristic accents and they differ from each other in terms of lexical incidence (particularly in the vowel system) and in terms of voice quality. Aitken (1979: 85–119) argues that the two varieties form a linguistic continuum with the two varieties at opposite ends of the scale and that speakers style shift and style drift according to the social context. It is interesting that although it appears that informants in many parts of the UK rate RP more prestigiously than local varieties of speech (e.g., Foulkes and Docherty, 1999: 11) it is often regarded with hostility in Glasgow (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 204). In general, however, in the UK, attitudes towards the standardised varieties of Scottish, Welsh and Irish speakers appear to be very favourable, with the speech of educated Scots (i.e., SSE) evaluated particularly positively (Milroy, 1999b: 189). Zwickl (2002: 244), for instance, points out that, even amongst Northern Irish informants (Belfast), Northern Ireland Standard English does not ‘carry the same positive connotations as an educated Scottish accent in Scotland’. It is for the reasons detailed above that recordings of both Glasgow vernacular speech and Scottish Standard English speech were made for the purposes of stimulus speech in the present study.

The Japanese language, of course, also exhibits substantial regional and social variation. Throughout the feudal period, differences between regional varieties of Japanese were accentuated by the political segmentation of Japan. However, from 1868 onwards, in order to facilitate industrialisation and to foster a sense of national identity, the Government of Japan began to promote

the notion of *kokugo* (national language), based upon the speech of upper-middle class inhabitants of the Yamanote area of Tokyo (Maher, 1995: 105; Carroll, 2001b: 7). Local governments in Japan also aggressively adopted this policy of standardisation under the banners of *futsuugo* (common language) and *hyoojungo* (standard language) (Matsumori, 1995: 31–32). Hence, the *kokugo* variety became the sole medium of education and standardisation was promoted at the expense of other varieties of Japanese and other minority languages, particularly Ainu (Coulmas and Watanabe, 2002: 250–251). Active promotion of the standard variety of Japanese continued until the 1970s in the education system in Japan (Carroll, 2001b: 9). Because of the repression of other spoken varieties, the attitudes of native speakers of Japanese towards non-standard forms of the language were generally unfavourable for most of the twentieth century (Gottlieb, 2005: 9). As demonstrated previously (see Section 1.2.4.2), Japan is a particularly language conscious society. This awareness is highlighted in times of crisis, such as the current decade-long downturn in the Japanese economy, when the Japanese language itself becomes the focus of national debate (Coulmas and Watanabe, 2002: 253–254). Against this backdrop, it is perhaps unsurprising that there have been a number of recent studies focussing specifically on native speaker perceptions of spoken varieties of Japanese. It is interesting to note that recent studies have demonstrated that attitudes towards urban non-standard varieties of Japanese are increasingly favourable (e.g., Carroll, 2001a: 194–195; Maher, 2005: 94–95). This appears to be the case for *Osaka-ben* (Osaka dialect) in particular, perhaps due to its commercial power and high level of use on radio and television (Carroll, 2001a: 195; Ball, 2004: 359). One relatively recent newspaper article reports that the favourability to *Osaka-ben* varies according to both age and regional provenance, with younger Japanese and those born in western Japan (where Osaka is located) being generally more positive (*Yomiuri Shimbun* 8 November 1993, cited in Carroll, 2001a: 194). It is not known whether the language attitudes that Japanese nationals hold towards varieties of the Japanese language influence any attitudes they may hold towards varieties of English (McKenzie, 2004: 19). It is also interesting that linguists have also recently noted that both Ryukyuan (the language of the Okinawan islands) and Ainu are also undergoing a renaissance, particularly amongst younger speakers of the respective languages (e.g., Maher, 1995: 113; Hara, 2005: 194–203).

Edwards (1999: 102–103) believes that there are a number of possible explanations of the uniformity of patterns of evaluation of different speech forms. A first possibility is that language attitudes reflect intrinsic linguistic superiorities or inferiorities between varieties. A second possibility is that language varieties vary in their aesthetic qualities, where some varieties may be, for example, more gentle or melodious. Although both these views have had considerable historical support and may even be currently held by members of the general public, linguists have demonstrated that there is little evidence in support of the idea that some varieties are inherently superior, more correct or more pleasing than other varieties (although see Major (2008) for evidence of ‘salient universal

perceptual factors’). Edwards supports a final possibility, where language attitudes are a reflection of social convention and preference and that to listen to a speech variety acts as a stimulus or trigger that evokes attitudes (including prejudices and stereotypes) about the relevant speech community. This view is broadly compatible with the view of Giles and Coupland (1991: 32–59), who maintain that evaluations of language varieties are a reflection of the levels of status and prestige associated with particular speech communities.

Much of the existing language attitude research involving native speakers has, however, been criticised because the majority of studies have tended to assume a homogeneity in attitudes within the observed speech community (Hoare, 1999: 55). Such studies have failed to take into account the potential differentiating factors within a population, which may be determinants of attitudes towards languages or language varieties. Baker (1992: 41) has pointed out that no comprehensive model or list of these potentially determining factors currently exists. There is, however, a research tradition within the scientific study of language attitudes where the social factors amongst the observed population which are considered influential in attitude construction are identified. One of the earliest studies of this kind was conducted by Labov (1966), who discovered that the ‘age’, ‘class’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘sex’ of the informants influenced their evaluations of New York speech. As detailed previously (see above), Tucker and Lambert (1969) identified ‘race’ as a determining variable amongst the informants in the investigation of a number of speech varieties in the USA. Moreover, more recent research involving native speakers has indicated that there may be multiple indicators of attitude towards a language or language variety (McGroarty, 1996: 8). Baker (1992: Chapter 2) attempted to identify the particular factors which determine the language attitudes in Wales towards English and Welsh. He concluded that any attitudes may be influenced by any combination of the individual’s age, gender, educational background, ability in the language, language background or cultural background.

3.2.2 Language Attitudes and Non-native Speakers

It should be emphasised at the outset of this section that the great majority of language attitude studies have been conducted in either native speaker (NS)-native speaker or native speaker-non-native speaker (NNS) interaction contexts (Jenkins, 2007: 78). Moreover, those studies which have specifically investigated non-native attitudes towards English have most often ignored evaluations of the social and geographical variation within Englishes, whether of the inner, the outer or the expanding circle of English use. The tendency has been to investigate non-native speaker attitudes towards ‘the English language’, conceptualised as a single entity. Such studies have been conducted in a wide range of countries and have examined attitudes towards English language use in both formal and informal domains. Researchers have most often found that

respondents generally have a positive attitude towards the English language, although some reservations about the negative effects of the spread of English on the indigenous languages have also been noted. Examples of studies which have concentrated solely on the attitudes of non-native speakers towards the English language as a whole include: attitudes to teaching English in schools in Singapore (Kwan-Terry, 1993); attitudes and race in the Netherlands (Verkuyten et al., 1994); attitudes towards English amongst students and the Government in China (Yong and Campbell, 1995); attitudes towards the spread of English in Italy (Pulcini, 1997); attitudes towards English and its functions in Finland (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja, 1998); attitudes and motivations towards English in Albania (Dushku, 1998); and attitudes of English teachers in Hong Kong (Tsui and Bunton, 2000). Furthermore, studies have also investigated learner attitudes towards English in relation to other languages, e.g., in Hungary (Dornyei et al., 2006) and in Belgium (Dewaele, 2005).

As stated previously, traditionally, relatively few studies have concentrated specifically on the attitudes of non-native speakers towards varieties of English (Ellis, 1994: 212; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997: 117). This is perhaps surprising as 'one would think the field of NNS [non-native speaker] and NS [native speaker] reactions to varieties of performance would be instructive' (Preston, 1989: 52; parentheses added). In recent years, however, there has been renewed interest in the perceptions of non-native speakers of English language varieties, and researchers have already conducted a number of such studies. The majority of these studies have investigated non-native speaker perceptions of inner circle varieties of English speech. One of the earliest was conducted by Eisenstein (1982), who investigated the attitudes of English language learners in New York towards three varieties of US English: Standard American English, Black American English (now more commonly labelled African American Vernacular English or AAVE) and *New Yorkese* (a non-standard variety of English which is spoken in inner city areas of New York). The results indicated that even during the early stages of language learning, adult ESL students were able to recognise dialect differences in English speech, although it was found that the ability to categorise these specific varieties developed more slowly. Moreover, it was discovered that as the learners gained proficiency in English, their attitudes became increasingly similar to those of native speakers, i.e., towards a preference for the Standard American variety and away from New Yorkese. Eisenstein concluded that the attitudes of the non-native speakers were shaped by personal experience, the opinions of native speakers and general exposure to the English language media. It is interesting to note that Eisenstein also discovered that the learners' attitudes towards the speech varieties affected their intelligibility, where a correlation was found to exist between a negative attitude towards a particular variety and levels of comprehension.

Flaitz (1993) utilised a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the attitudes of 145 French nationals towards American and British culture and American and British English. Regional and social variation within both American English and British English were not considered. The data

obtained indicated that although the respondents were generally favourable towards British culture, they were more positive towards American culture. It was considered that this was due to a particular and genuine fascination with Americans and American culture in France. Conversely, although the informants responded positively to both American English and British English, it was found that they regarded the British variety more favourably on every criterion. Flaitz concluded that the findings substantiated the traditional European notion that 'the British variety' is a superior model for emulation amongst English language learners.

Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) employed the verbal-guise technique (see Section 3.1.3) in order to examine the attitudes of 132 university students of English in Austria. The informants were required to evaluate two 'weak but recognisable' Austrian non-native accents of English and three native English accents: RP, 'near RP' and General American (GA). The results demonstrated the low status of the two non-native speech varieties and the overall preference for the three native accents, particularly RP. In addition, it was found that the respondents had few difficulties in identifying the speakers' countries of origin, with a 'hit-rate' of over 85%. The researchers concluded that the respondents' overall preference for RP was due to their relative familiarity with this variety and because it was the variety generally held up by English teachers in Austria as a model for pronunciation for students of English.

Ladegaard (1998) examined the language attitudes and national stereotypes of 96 secondary school and university students in Denmark by both quantitative and qualitative methods. In the first section of the study, the verbal-guise technique was employed in order to measure attitudes towards five varieties of English speech: Received Pronunciation (RP), Standard American (SA), Cockney, General Australian and Scottish Standard English. The results indicated that overall, RP appeared to be the unsurpassed prestige variety; rated most favourably on all status/competence dimensions. Moreover, RP was viewed as the most suitable model of pronunciation. Perhaps surprisingly, the Scottish English and Australian English varieties were rated more positively on solidarity/social attractiveness dimensions, despite the abundance of American shows in the media in Denmark. The judges were also required to identify the five speech varieties. It was found that RP and SA were the most easily recognisable accents, whereas the Cockney, Scottish and Australian varieties of English were found to be the most difficult to identify. It is interesting to note that familiarity with the speech variety did not necessarily result in a positive evaluation and vice versa. In the second section of the study, the informants were required to complete a questionnaire investigating attitudes towards British and American language and culture. Again, it was found that RP, rather than SA was the preferred model of English language pronunciation. This was thought to be because RP is taught as 'correct' language use by teachers of English at universities and colleges in Denmark. Overall, Ladegaard concluded that although the informants were not native speakers of English, they possessed subconscious information about the speech varieties, which was acquired through

media transmitted stereotypes. Ladegaard maintained that these stereotypes are latent in individuals and that presentation of speech samples may evoke such latent, stereotyped reactions to a particular reference group.

Hartikainen (2000) conducted a quantitative study, also employing the VGT, to measure the attitudes of 137 senior secondary school students in Finland towards six standard varieties of English speech: RP, General American (Mid-Western), General Canadian, Scottish Standard English, Standard Northern Irish English and General Australian. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the data indicated that RP and General Australian were rated the most favourably, whereas the Scottish and Northern Irish varieties were rated the least favourably. The US accent was also rated negatively, again indicating that, in the case of varieties of English, there was no correlation between attitude and familiarity. Further analysis of the data demonstrated a positive correlation between attitudes towards unfamiliar varieties of speech and visits abroad to English speaking countries, English grades at school and parents with high levels of fluency in English. Other background factors, such as age, gender and overall school grades were not found to be significant determinants of the attitudes of the informants. Hartikainen concluded that the encouragement of parents to learn English and direct contact with native English speakers were the most important factors for the informants to hold positive attitudes towards different varieties of English, although it was emphasised that further similar studies should be conducted in order to test the validity of the results obtained. Hartikainen claimed that it would be particularly interesting for further research to be conducted which examines attitudinal differences between non-standard varieties as well as standard varieties of English.

In Brazil, El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) investigated attitudes towards English and Portuguese amongst almost 800 adolescents. In the first part of the study, the researchers employed a matched-guise instrument. In the second part of the study, they employed a *subjective vitality questionnaire*, a direct method of attitude measurement, developed by Bourhis et al. (1981), in order to assess in-group and out-group vitality evaluations of a linguistic minority (see Section 2.2.1.2). Factor analysis indicated that in general, both the Portuguese and the English language were valued highly on dimensions of status. More surprisingly, English was also valued highly on dimensions of solidarity, which was attributed to the symbolic use of English within the adolescent peer group. The informants were also required to identify three different speakers of English and Portuguese: from the USA, Britain and Brazil. The varieties of British English speech and US English speech recorded were not specified. It was also found that the informants had difficulties in identifying the nationality of the speakers, particularly the English guise of the Brazilian speaker.

From the above studies, few clear, consistent patterns immediately emerge with regard to non-native speaker attitudes towards varieties of English. It seems clear, however, that, at least in a European context, RP is generally regarded highly as a model for pronunciation amongst learners of English. The reason for the favourable evaluations of RP may either be due to the language learners'

familiarity with the speech variety through repeated classroom and media exposure or because they have a general awareness of and preference for inner circle standard varieties of English as prestige forms of speech. It is perhaps worth emphasising that in an age of international communication in English, where the language is now spoken most frequently between individuals who have learned English as a second or foreign language, it does appear strange that the use of a relatively restricted form of inner circle English is afforded such high status and indeed, still serves ‘... as an institutionalised pronunciation target for learners in many parts of the world’ (McArthur, 2001: 1). This issue is discussed in a great deal more depth in [Section 6.1.5](#). Moreover, it appears that factors within a given population, such as age, gender, amount of exposure to English language media or levels of proficiency in English may, to some extent, determine non-native speaker attitudes towards the English language.

3.2.3 Attitudes Towards the English Language in Japan

As demonstrated above, research which focuses specifically on non-native attitudes towards varieties of the English language is limited. There have, however, been a number of studies which concentrated on the attitudes of Japanese nationals towards the English language more generally. These investigations began in the 1970s. For example, Chihara and Oller (1978), conducted research into attitudes by direct means, through the administration of a questionnaire to 123 Japanese students. The questionnaire attempted to measure attitudes towards learning English, attitudes towards speakers of English and attitudes towards travelling to English speaking countries. Subsequently, they examined the relationship between these attitudes and levels of proficiency in English. Chihara and Oller concluded that there was a relatively strong correlation between positive attitudes and success in learning English. The study did not, however, focus on different varieties of English or provide information about the sample on the basis of variables such as sex or age.

Haarmann (1986) adopted a societal treatment approach (see [Section 3.1.1](#)) to the investigation of language attitudes in a specific context: the stereotype functions of English and French use in television advertising in Japan. A total of 2,919 Japanese television commercials were recorded over a 7-day period and content analysis subsequently undertaken. Haarmann found that both English and French were employed as symbols of prestige in commercials in order to enhance the images of the products advertised. The use of English in television advertising was believed to promote stereotypical associations of international appreciation, reliability, high quality, confidence, practical use and a practical lifestyle. The use of French, however, was thought to promote stereotypical associations of high elegance, refined taste and a sophisticated lifestyle. No distinction was made between the use of speech and script in these commercials. Haarmann (1986: 212) concluded that ‘the fact that foreign languages are not only a passive component in the mass media, but are frequently applied actively

due to their high prestige, can only be explained by the attitudes Japanese have toward foreign cultures in general and Europe and North America in particular. Thus, the use of foreign languages in the Japanese mass media has much to do with the Japanese views about foreigners, their cultures and languages. When investigating what Japanese think about foreigners, one learns much about the Japanese mentality and the Japanese themselves'.

In an in-depth follow up study, Haarmann (1989) measured attitudes towards the use of English, French and Japanese in Japanese television commercials amongst a sample of 833 university students studying in the Tokyo area. Attitudes were measured directly by means of a series of multiple-choice questions. The choice of university students as informants was quite deliberate, as it was believed that the attitudes of this group were less likely to be shaped by unilateral loyalties to specific organisations or influenced by group solidarity or group pressure. Because of this, it was thought that university students in Japan could be relatively free in their evaluations of language and as such, it would be amongst students that the greatest range of preferences about language use could be found. Haarmann found attitudes towards English in commercials to be generally positive and concluded that for the university students, the English language enjoys fundamental prestige. Attitudes towards French were generally positive, although it was found that there were more negative evaluations of French than of English. Attitudes towards the use of Japanese in commercials ranged from the most positive to the most negative. The most positive evaluations of both English and French were found to be expressed by 'foreign oriented students' whereas the most positive attitudes to Japanese were believed to be held by 'Japanese oriented conservative students'. Informants' evaluations of the three languages were also examined for sex differentiation. Evaluation patterns were found to be broadly similar for both males and females.

Kobayashi (2000) conducted a quantitative study in order to investigate which social variables determined the attitudes of 635 Japanese high school students towards long-term English learning. The results obtained indicated that attitudes towards long-term English study were positively correlated with the expression of an interest in other cultures and a desire to communicate with non-Japanese. Moreover, a strong relationship was found to exist between students' perceptions of the study of English as a main school subject and their attitudes towards long-term English learning. In particular, the researcher found that students who both liked English as a school subject and perceived that they were making progress in the language were most likely to hold positive attitudes towards long-term English study. In contrast, the students' school English grades and their self-reported skills in English were not thought to play a significant role in determining attitudes towards long-term English learning. In addition, gender was found to be a significant variable, with females more likely to hold positive attitudes towards long-term English study. Kobayashi concluded that an understanding of the Japanese context of English language education was vital to help predict attitudes towards English language learning.

Overall, there are three trends from the research detailed above which are particularly relevant to the present study. First, the majority of the studies have demonstrated that attitudes of Japanese learners are generally positive towards the English language and that the language as a whole appears to enjoy fundamental prestige in Japan. Secondly, females were found to be particularly favourable towards English. The existence of gender differences in evaluations of English may indicate that there are further attitude differentiations between subsections of the population in Japan. Thirdly, the findings have demonstrated that, in the case of Japan, learners who held positive attitudes towards English were most likely to succeed in acquiring the language. This evidence, in particular, perhaps outlines the importance of attitude as a determinant of success in the learning of English in Japan.

3.2.4 Attitudes Towards Varieties of English in Japan

It is only relatively recently that the attitudes of Japanese learners to specific varieties of English have been investigated. One of the first studies was conducted by Matsuura et al. (1994), who investigated attitudes towards varieties of English speech, using both indirect and direct methods, amongst a sample of 92 students studying at two Japanese universities. Part 1 of the study employed the matched-guise technique, in order to measure attitudes towards seven recordings of English speech. One of the recordings was of an unspecified variety of American English whereas the other informants were from the outer circle of English use (Malay, Chinese Malay, Bangladeshi, Micronesian, Hong Kong Chinese and Sri Lankan). In part 2 of the study, the informants were required to complete a questionnaire on perceptions of the English language more generally. The following hypotheses were tested and confirmed: (i) the informants viewed the American English speech more positively than the outer circle varieties of speech; (ii) attitudes did not correlate significantly with proficiency in English; (iii) motivational factors contributed to the informants' attitudes towards the outer circle varieties of English speech, i.e., respondents with less instrumental motivation (see Section 2.2.1.2) were likely to be more positive towards native varieties and more negative towards non-native varieties; and (iv) informants who perceived English as a global language were more tolerant of outer circle varieties of English speech.

Chiba et al. (1995) later expanded this study, which now focussed on the attitudes of 169 Japanese university students towards inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle varieties of English. The researchers once again employed both the verbal-guise technique and a questionnaire. A total of nine speakers were recorded for the verbal-guise experiment. One speaker was from the UK and two speakers were from the USA. The varieties of UK English and US English recorded were not specified. Three of the speakers were Japanese and the others were from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Sri Lanka. Statistical analysis of the data collected again confirmed three hypotheses: (i) informants tended to

rate a speaker more highly when they could identify the nationality of the speaker/the variety of English spoken; (ii) informants with higher levels of instrumental motivation tended to be more positive towards outer circle and expanding circle varieties of English than those with lower levels of instrumental motivation; and (iii) informants with more respect for the American and British varieties of English speech chosen tended to be less tolerant of outer circle and expanding circle varieties of speech. The authors concluded that in order to arouse Japanese EFL students' interest in the concept of English as a world language generally and the acceptance of non-native varieties of English in particular, educators in Japan must be prepared to advocate the existence of World Englishes in addition to the presentation of non-native (i.e., outer circle and expanding circle) varieties in the EFL classroom.

Starks and Paltridge (1996) conducted a language attitude survey of 106 tertiary level Japanese students studying in New Zealand with regard to which variety of English they would like to learn and why. The results indicated that the preferred learner goal was 'a combination of American and British English', closely followed by American English on its own. British English was also ranked highly. New Zealand English was not rated favourably as a learner goal by itself but viewed more favourably as part of a combination of other varieties, i.e., with American English and British English. Again, no mention was made regarding the range of standard and non-standard varieties which exist under the umbrella terms American English, British English and New Zealand English. The informants' evaluations were further analysed on the basis of gender. It was found that there was no sex differentiation with regard to either the combination of American/British English or towards American English as a preferred learner goal. The females in the sample, however, tended to display a stronger preference for British English, whilst the males displayed a stronger preference for New Zealand English, either alone or in combination with other varieties of English. These differences were thought to indicate that it was Japanese males who were leading attitude changes amongst Japanese learners of English. This attitude change was believed to be in the direction away from a preference towards British English towards a preference for American English as a language-learning goal. Japanese males were also thought to be more likely to accept 'local' varieties of English, as they were most positive towards New Zealand English. Starks and Paltridge identified a need to undertake further and more in-depth studies which would focus on the measurement of non-native speaker attitudes towards English. It was hoped that in the future, language attitude studies which involve non-native speakers would examine differences in gender evaluations amongst the sample, in addition to other social variables. Such studies, they maintained, would be important for the provision of language planning and language learning programmes, particularly as the English language is no longer seen as the property of native speakers of English but rather as the property of both native and non-native users of the language.

Matsuura et al. (1999) investigated 106 Japanese university students' intelligibility and comprehensibility evaluations of two 'familiar' and 'unfamiliar' varieties of English speech: American speech and Irish speech. Again, it was not specified if the varieties were standard forms or non-standard forms of spoken English. The respondents listened to six speech recordings, consisting of 3 American and 3 Irish speakers and were asked to identify the nationality of the speaker and the intelligibility of the speech in a multiple choice questionnaire. A test was then administered to check the respondents' comprehension of each speech sample. It was discovered that although the amount of prior exposure to and familiarity with the speech variety amongst the informants can contribute to higher perceived comprehensibility, they do not necessarily understand the message any better. It was clear, however, that familiarity and exposure to a speech variety had a positive psychological effect on the listeners. Matsuura et al. concluded that whilst there was a requirement for larger-scale studies which measure attitudes towards varieties of English to be conducted, it was considered that if language learners were given more exposure to a wider range of speech varieties, this could lead to less inhibition, less bias towards and more tolerance of different varieties of English. The findings were thought to have pedagogical implications for English language teaching in educational institutions in Japan, particularly for the recruitment policy in respect of language lecturers who speak different varieties of English, and for the development of materials which reflect the contemporary use of English.

Matsuda (2000) conducted a qualitative study of attitudes towards inner circle and outer circle varieties of English amongst a class of 33 senior high school students in Tokyo. Classroom observation of the informants was conducted for a number of English lessons and ten participants were selected for individual/pair in-depth interviews. The overall findings suggested that the informants held positive attitudes towards the English language, in particular, towards American English and British English, which were viewed as the only 'correct' forms of the language. Informants did not necessarily hold negative attitudes towards outer circle varieties of English (such as Singapore English), or their speakers. There did, however, appear to be a lack of awareness or interest in these varieties. Informants were found to have ambivalent feelings towards a Japanese accent, suggesting that, although it is unavoidable for Japanese speakers, a Japanese accent was perceived as incorrect English that deviated from the 'real' English of native speakers. This America-centric (and to a lesser extent, UK-centric) perception of English was felt to be problematic for learners of English in Japan. Matsuda maintained that this was because students in Japan generally learn English for international communication, which frequently involves communication with native and non-native speakers of different varieties of English and rarely involves communication solely with speakers of American English or with British English. In order to prepare students for international communication in English, Matsuda believed it was vital to increase the exposure to and to raise the awareness of different varieties of English amongst both students and teachers of English. It was, however, felt

that this would require a great deal of cooperation and coordination between policy makers at the Ministry of Education, curriculum writers, materials writers and English teachers at educational institutions in Japan. This is broadly compatible with the view of Kubota (1998), who maintains that generally, there is an over reliance upon Standard Anglo-American English in Japan to provide the models and norms for language use. Kubota maintained that this reliance is likely to have social and linguistic implications and may unduly affect the Japanese population's views of language, culture, race, ethnicity and identity. She advocates that English teachers in Japan should expose their students as much as possible to help students recognise multiple identities of English and to broaden students' cultural and linguistic perspectives of the world.

McKenzie (2003) conducted a quantitative study, which employed both direct and indirect methods, to measure attitudes towards two specific varieties of speech in the UK: Scottish Standard English speech and non-standard Glasgow vernacular speech. The sample consisted of 32 Japanese respondents who studied a range of subjects at either the University of Glasgow or the University of Stirling, approximately 30 miles away. Part 1 of the study attempted to measure the informants' attitudes directly by asking them to rate the speech varieties as 'good English' or 'bad English' or 'other' and state the reasons for the choice made. Part 2 of the study employed the matched-guise technique, and attempted to measure the attitudes of the informants indirectly. The results obtained suggested a general tolerance of both the standard and non-standard varieties of Scottish English speech and indicated that both gender and familiarity with the speech variety were not significant variables in determining the language attitudes of the informants. In a follow-up study, McKenzie (2004) employed the same research instrument, which this time compared the attitudes of 16 Japanese informants who were students at Glasgow University with the attitudes of 16 informants who studied at two national universities in Japan. The results once again indicated a general tolerance amongst the informants of both Scottish Standard English speech and non-standard Glasgow vernacular speech. The attitudes of the informants, however, were found to be significantly more favourable towards Scottish Standard English speech than Glasgow vernacular speech (at a $p < 0.05$, level of significance). In contrast, no significant differences were found to exist between the evaluations of respondents studying in Japan and in Glasgow or between the evaluations of the male and the female respondents. Thus, neither the gender of the informants nor their familiarity with the speech variety appeared to account for the significantly stronger preferences expressed for Scottish Standard English speech than for Glasgow vernacular speech. McKenzie called for additional in-depth attitude studies to be undertaken in Japan, focussing specifically on perceptions of varieties of native/non-native and standard/non-standard forms of English speech. It was considered that further research would help to determine the validity of the results obtained in this and other similar studies, in addition to aiding linguists in the provision of a sociolinguistic framework for

contemporary Japan. Moreover, a requirement was identified for further research to be conducted, specifically on the identification of the social variables within the Japanese population, which may account for the differences in evaluations of standard varieties and of non-standard varieties of English speech.

In a relatively recent study, Cargile et al. (2006) employed a verbal-guise study and a follow-up language awareness questionnaire in order to investigate the attitudes of 113 Japanese undergraduates towards two varieties of US English speech: African-American vernacular English (AAVE) and (California) mainstream US English (MUSE). The results indicated that the informants rated the MUSE speech significantly more positively than AAVE speech in terms of status. However, no significant differences were demonstrated between MUSE and AAVE in terms of attractiveness. Cargile et al. concluded that the patterns of evaluation made by the Japanese informants were very similar to those made by US informants (although the follow-up questionnaire found that the Japanese informants displayed significantly lower levels of language awareness of AAVE when compared to MUSE). Since it is currently unknown whether the broadly negative evaluations amongst Japanese learners are specific to AAVE, the researchers also called for further research to be conducted measuring contemporary Japanese attitudes towards other varieties of non-standard English. Such studies, it was felt, would help establish what is considered 'standard English' within Japan and elsewhere.

In summary, it was found from the limited number of previous studies conducted, which have concentrated specifically on social evaluations of varieties of English in Japan, that learners generally hold positive attitudes towards the English language and are believed to be more favourable towards inner circle varieties of English than outer circle or expanding circle varieties of English. Moreover, some evidence has been found to suggest that Japanese learners are particularly favourable towards American English and, to a lesser extent, British English. For a number of reasons, however, it is clear that further investigation is required.

First, although it seems clear that Japanese learners of English, as indicated above, are positive towards standard varieties of American and British English, it remains unclear to what extent English language learners in Japan consider non-standard or regional varieties of inner circle varieties of English as acceptable models for learning. This is because there has been no in-depth study of Japanese attitudes towards standard and non-standard varieties of English speech. Previous studies have either been too small in scale (McKenzie, 2003, 2004; Cargile et al., 2006) or have required informants to evaluate only broad categories of speech, such as British English, American English, Irish English or New Zealand English (e.g., Chiba et al., 1995; Starks and Paltridge, 1996; Matsuura et al., 1999). Indeed, the general use of such vague labels, such as American English, can create problems as there is often no clear consensus even amongst linguists, regarding their definition. For instance, British English has been used explicitly or implicitly as a cover term: for the type of English spoken

and written in England; for varieties of English used in the UK (i.e., Scotland, Wales and England); for varieties of English in the British Isles (i.e., Scotland, Wales, England and Ireland); and more broadly, for the varieties whose model or reference norm is still ‘British’ (i.e., English) Standard English which includes the varieties of English spoken and/or written in Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Africa and the Caribbean (Hansen, 1997: 59–62). Similarly, although much of the research involving non-native speakers have investigated learner attitudes towards ‘General American’ (see Section 3.2.2), it has been noted that there are, in fact, no native speakers of this ‘dialect-free’ form of English (Preston, 2008: 37–42). Prior language attitude research has thus tended to ignore the substantial regional and social variation within these broad geographical areas and the resultant phonetic, lexical and morphological differences between varieties. Edwards (1999: 104–105) maintains that it is constructive to relate speech evaluations of particular speech varieties to specific linguistic features. He maintains that this would increase understanding amongst both psychologists and linguists of how specific aspects of speech elicit specific types of evaluative reactions. According to Edwards, it may, for example be worthwhile to investigate attitudes towards [k] and [x] amongst native English speakers in Scotland, where RP speakers pronounce *loch* and *lock* identically with a final [k], whereas in Scottish Standard English and some other varieties of Scottish English speech, the pronunciation most often involves a final [x] in *loch* and [k] in *lock*. It may also be profitable to investigate the relationship between specific linguistic features and the speech evaluations of standard and non-standard varieties of English, amongst non-native speakers of English. It is for this reason that both background information about the speakers and transcription of the speech stimulus recordings are given in the present study.

Secondly, in contrast to the growing accumulation of qualitative research, there has been a dearth of in-depth quantitative studies investigating the attitudes of Japanese learners of English towards varieties of English speech. Although it is worthwhile to conduct qualitative or ‘new paradigm’ research (see Coolican, 1996: 98–100), there are many advantages of the quantitative-dominant approach to human investigation (although it is important to note that any approach, whether quantitative or qualitative or mixed, can ever be truly unbiased or value-free). Malim and Birch (1997: 39–40), for example, maintain that as data can be collected from a great many informants, it is possible to generalise the findings to the wider population. In contrast, since qualitative studies tend to investigate individual/low numbers of cases, the specific insights gained, although valuable in terms of the particular individuals studied, may not be generalisable to others (Dornyei, 2007: 41). Thus, quantitative research, if sufficiently rigorous in design, can offer a more highly structured, better regulated and more well-grounded means of achieving a macro-perspective of national and/or global trends (Dornyei, 2007: 29). Malim and Birch (1997: 39–40) also claim that the findings from quantitative studies are often more reliable. This is because the analysis of qualitative data is

more subjective as interpretation is in the hands of the researcher alone. These researchers have the sole responsibility for including descriptions of what information to include in the study and have the choice to exclude information that does not support their theory. This implies that in qualitative studies the interpretation of the data may not be value free and that the results obtained from the data collected may not be free from subjectivity. Gortlach (1999: 18) also maintains that qualitative research in linguistics generally ‘... fails to convince and to lay proper foundations for comparisons and generalizations – or at least explore how far comparisons are meaningful’. However, a quantitative approach is advantageous because any data obtained lends itself to statistical analysis, which allows for the discovery of patterning in situations, which, with qualitative data collection, might otherwise merely be seen as random variation (Saville-Troike, 1982: 171). It should be noted, however, that although statistical analysis throughout the social sciences had become increasingly sophisticated since the 1970s, this has not been reflected in much of the research published in Applied Linguistics journals (see, for example, Brown, 2004 for an overview).

Quantitative research is also relatively straightforward to replicate, which means that follow up studies can be undertaken. This allows for the validity of any data obtained to be tested and in the case of attitude research, is likely to provide valuable information of any attitude change amongst the population. In Japan itself, Loveday (1996: 163) maintains that open-style interviewing of Japanese informants about attitudes towards English (and ‘the west’) should not be conducted by non-Japanese, as it would have a nullifying effect on the validity of the responses. This is because he believes that Japanese informants are less likely to reveal their ‘true attitudes’ towards foreign languages to non-Japanese. A quantitative approach to the investigation of language attitudes, through the employment of modern and refined techniques of statistical analyses, may, therefore, be more appropriate for the purposes of the present study.

Thirdly, the previous studies have tended to employ either solely direct methods or solely indirect methods of language attitude measurement. Over-reliance on any single method may, however, generate skewed results and bring about misleading conclusions. Hence, it is likely to be profitable to design a study which employs a mixed methodological approach (see Section 3.1.4), and which utilises both direct means and indirect means to measure Japanese learners’ attitudes towards varieties of English speech. A mixed methodological approach would be advantageous because of the likelihood that it would provide more certainty to the findings obtained as well as potentially allowing for a greater range of insights and more contextual specification of the language attitudes investigated (Garrett et al., 2003: 227–228).

Fourthly, none of the previous studies have provided detailed information about their samples in terms of social variables. Prior research which has related attitude measures to variables has tended to be bivariate rather than multivariate. However, multivariate research and analysis, by its very nature, investigating the potential multiple causation and/or effects, generally allow for

increased sophistication and more refined and informed conclusions (Baker, 1992: 2–3). Hence, there is a requirement for a large-scale study to be conducted which examines differences in attitudes towards English amongst a range of subsections of the population in Japan. Such a study may enable researchers to ascertain whether, to what extent and in what ways variables such as regional provenance, socio-economic status or language ability may account for differences in attitudes towards varieties of English speech. As explained previously (see Section 2.2.2), the examination of social variables is particularly important when conducting sociolinguistic studies in the context of Japan. This is because it is, at present, unknown which social variables are significant within the population of the country and further research is required to aid in the provision of a sociolinguistic framework for the complex language context in contemporary Japan (Maher, 1995: 1–18). Moreover, there is currently a paradigm shift in research on Japan, more generally, resulting in a movement away from the formerly dominant ‘group model’ towards the provision of information on social variation amongst the population (Donahue, 1998: 4–5).

Fifthly, there has been a tendency in prior research to presume that the Japanese informants listening to and evaluating the stimulus speech, have accurately identified the varieties in question, as socially or regionally localised forms (e.g., McKenzie, 2003, 2004). As detailed previously, misidentification of the speech varieties, however, could reduce the validity of any results obtained, particularly when it involves the evaluations of non-native English speaker informants, who are likely to have had less exposure to varieties of English speech (see Section 3.1.3). It may, therefore, be profitable to undertake further studies, which incorporate a ‘dialect recognition’ item in a research instrument in order to discover whether Japanese (and indeed other) learners can identify standard and non-standard forms of inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle English.

Finally, the lack of an extensive body of research on the language attitudes of Japanese (and other) nationals towards varieties of English is problematic, as the success of any language policy is dependent upon how well it conforms to the attitudes of those individuals affected by the policy and its success in convincing those individuals who hold negative attitudes (Lewis, 1981). An understanding of the attitudes of language towards variation within the English language, in Japan and elsewhere in the expanding circle, is therefore essential to the implementation of English language policy in Japanese (and other) schools, colleges and universities.

The above analysis has outlined the potential theoretical and methodological value of conducting further in-depth attitude research on attitudes towards varieties of English speech in Japan (and indeed elsewhere). The following chapter will provide a detailed description of both the research approach and the methods employed in this study in addition to a justification of their selection.

Chapter 4

The Research Design of the Study

4.1 The Aims of the Study

As described previously (see [Section 3.2.4](#)), a thorough examination of the existing attitude studies, which have concentrated specifically on social evaluations of varieties of English in Japan and elsewhere, has demonstrated the potential theoretical, methodological and pedagogical value of conducting further in-depth research on the attitudes of Japanese learners towards variation in English speech. In particular, there is a clear justification for the investigation of attitudes towards non-standard as well as standard varieties of inner circle English speech. Furthermore, the previous chapter also highlighted both the importance of including a dialect recognition item in attitude studies and the need to determine whether, and to what extent, social variables within the population may account for differences in attitudes towards varieties of English speech. In short, the objective of the present study is to address the gaps identified in the previous chapter.

In addition, it is hoped that the study will help inform educators and policy makers, in particular, with regard to the choice of linguistic model in English language teaching both within and outwith Japan and, more generally, to contribute to the widening and deepening of sociolinguistic enquiry in Japan and elsewhere in the expanding circle.

4.1.1 The Research Questions

In light of these considerations, the following research questions were constructed for the purposes of the present study:

- (i) Are learners able to identify varieties of English speech?
- (ii) Do learners of English hold different attitudes towards
 - (a) standard and non-standard varieties of English speech and
 - (b) native and non-native varieties of English speech? How are the varieties perceived by the learners?

- (iii) What social variables (if any) appear to be significant in determining the learners' attitudes towards the different varieties of English speech?
- (iv) Do the language attitudes that learners hold towards varieties of their native language influence any perceptions they may have of varieties of English?
- (v) What are the pedagogical implications (if any) of the findings for the choice of linguistic model(s) employed in EFL classrooms?
- (vi) What are the methodological implications (if any) of the findings for conducting language attitude research amongst learners of English?

It should be noted that due to the limited number of previous studies concentrating specifically on social evaluations of varieties of English in Japan, and indeed elsewhere, it was not possible to predict, a priori, the direction of the responses to the research questions detailed above. Hence, hypotheses for each of these questions were not considered appropriate and, as such, are not provided.

4.2 The Varieties of Speech Selected

As described above, one of the main overall objectives of the evaluative study is to measure the attitudes of learners in Japan towards varieties of English speech. In particular, the present study sought to investigate possible differences in attitude towards:

- (i) standard as opposed to non-standard varieties of English speech
- (ii) native as opposed to non-native varieties of English speech

In order to achieve these objectives, six varieties of English speech were recorded and subsequently utilised for the purposes of evaluation by the informants chosen to participate in the study. As it was considered vital to give listener-judges a sufficient period of time in order to fully develop and record evaluations of stimulus speech, it was thought necessary to present relatively lengthy samples of each of the six varieties. Thus, although it would also have been interesting to present a greater number of varieties of English speech for evaluation, it was felt that listener-fatigue might compromise the validity of the data collected if more than six speech recordings of the required length were utilised. The varieties of English chosen consisted of four native (inner circle) varieties and two non-native (expanding circle) varieties. Two of the recorded native varieties of English are spoken in the UK: Glasgow vernacular speech and Scottish Standard English. The other two native varieties of English recorded are spoken in the United States: Southern United States English and Midwest United States English. In addition, recordings of two Japanese non-native speakers of English were included for the purposes of speech evaluation (see below).

The UK varieties selected as stimulus speech for the present study are both spoken in Glasgow. Speakers of Glasgow vernacular speech (GV) were recorded

to represent a non-standard variety of UK English. Glasgow vernacular English (GV), historically based on West-Central Scots and strongly influenced by Irish English (Macafee, 1994: 26–30; Stuart-Smith, 1999: 203–204), was chosen because attitude studies in the UK involving native speakers have consistently demonstrated that evaluations of this variety are particularly unfavourable, amongst Glaswegians and non-Glaswegians alike (e.g., Macauley, 1977; Macafee, 1994; Torrance, 2002). In contrast, a number of speakers of the form of Scottish Standard English spoken in Glasgow (SSE) (e.g., Stuart-Smith, 1999: 203) were recorded to represent a standard regional variety of UK English. This variety was chosen as stimulus speech because previous research has indicated that native speaker attitudes towards varieties of Scottish Standard English tend to be very favourable, even in comparison with other standard UK varieties (e.g., McKenzie, 1996; Milroy, 1999b). It seemed appropriate to the aims and design of the study to use two varieties from the same area which attract such strongly differentiated responses amongst native speakers.

The US varieties selected for evaluative purposes were Southern United States English and Midwest United States English. The Southern US variety was chosen because there is a great deal of evidence which suggests that native speakers from the United States tend to evaluate the variety very unfavourably in comparison with other varieties of US English (e.g., Hartley, 1999; Preston, 2004). During the process of collecting the speech samples for the study, recordings were made of speakers from a number of states in the south of the USA. The speech recording selected for the purposes of the present study was of a speaker from Alabama, the state generally considered to represent the ‘heart of the south’ and hence, the variety of English spoken in this state is generally considered most representative of Southern United States English (Preston, 1986). In contrast, a speaker from the Midwest (Ohio) of the United States was recorded because the varieties of English spoken in the states which constitute this area are generally perceived by native speakers of English in the US to represent mainstream (i.e., standard) US English. It appears to be for this reason that Midwest United States English is consistently rated very favourably (at least amongst native speakers), particularly on the dimension of ‘correctness’ (e.g., Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy, 2001; Fought, 2002; Niedzielski, 2002). For a more detailed discussion of native speaker attitudes towards varieties of United States English see [Section 3.2.1](#).

In short, the four native English speech varieties were selected specifically because previous native speaker attitude research has demonstrated that together they constitute examples of the least and the most favourably evaluated speech varieties, in the UK (Glasgow vernacular speech and Scottish Standard English) and in the US (Southern US English and Midwest US English). It would, therefore, be both interesting and informative to discover whether evaluations of these varieties amongst non-native speakers of English are broadly similar to native speaker evaluations.

The non-native speakers of English recorded were both Japanese nationals who spoke Japanese as their first language. Although both speakers were at an

advanced level in English (see Section 4.2.1 below), one speaker spoke moderately-accented Japanese English whilst the other speaker spoke heavily-accented Japanese English. Recordings of these two speakers were included to examine possible differences in attitude towards native and non-native varieties of English. Moreover, previous attitude research has demonstrated that the degree of accentedness (e.g., from mild to broad) may also affect listener evaluations, with ratings less favourable the more heavily-accented the speaker sounded (Giles and Coupland, 1991: 39). A number of previous studies have indicated that this may be particularly the case when the speech sample is provided by a non-native speaker of the language in question (e.g., Ryan et al., 1977; Cargile, 1996; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997) and it is for this reason that speech samples of both moderately-accented Japanese English and heavily-accented Japanese English are included in the present study for the purposes of evaluation. Japanese speakers of English (as opposed to other non-native speakers of English) were recorded because it was considered to be of particular value to investigate the attitudes of Japanese learners towards the local variety of English and to validate (or not) the findings of the few previous studies in Japan, which have generally suggested that learners of English have ambivalent feelings towards Japanese English (e.g., Chiba et al., 1995; Matsuda, 2000).

As described previously (see Section 1.1), it has proved somewhat problematic to define concepts of ‘standard English’/‘non-standard English’, ‘mainstream English’/‘non-mainstream English’ and ‘native speaker’/‘non-native speaker’ and no general consensus on precise definitions of these terms has been reached by linguists. This should be borne in mind by the reader in relation to the employment of these terms to describe the varieties of English speech chosen for evaluative purposes in course of this book. Moreover, it is also important to consider that each of the speech samples selected as representative of the six varieties of English are merely an example of that particular variety and that other individuals in the same area or with the same social class, age, educational background or gender may not speak identically (Hiraga, 2005: 295).

4.2.1 The Recording of the Speech Varieties

For the purposes of speech stimulus for the evaluative study, a large database of high quality digital audio-recordings was created. Recordings were made of 20 female speakers of English, aged between 21 and 56 years of age, with a mean age of 33.3 years. The breakdown of the nationality of the speakers was as follows: eight from the USA; eight from Japan; and four from Scotland. Some speakers were recorded in Scotland, some in Japan. It was originally envisaged that a field trip to the United States would be necessary in order to record speakers of the varieties of US English chosen for the study. However, representative speakers of the required varieties were identified, contacted and subsequently recorded in Glasgow and Edinburgh with the kind help of a number

of US institutions in Scotland: The American Womens' Club of Central Scotland (AWCCS); The Andrew Hook Center for American Studies at the University of Glasgow; and The United States Consulate General in Edinburgh. Advanced level Japanese speakers of English were recruited mainly amongst the student population at the University of Glasgow and the University of Edinburgh. In addition, a further two Japanese speakers of English were recorded during an overseas trip to Japan by the researcher. As the majority of the recordings were made in Glasgow it was relatively straightforward to find and record speakers of different varieties of Scottish English and, likewise, relatively easy to record speech representative of GV and SSE.

Speakers were asked to complete three tasks during the recordings. Task 1 and task 2 required speakers to provide a description of their daily routine and to discuss a favourite free time activity. These tasks were initially selected because both activities have been employed previously to collect speech samples in language attitude studies (e.g., Kunschak, 2003; Dailey et al., 2005). However, in the case of the present study, the speech recordings made from both of these tasks were ultimately unsuitable. This was because it was felt that the descriptions of both the daily routine and the free time activity were not 'factually neutral' as they tended to reveal information with regard to factors such as the speaker's age, social class, nationality, place of residence or educational background. In task 3, speakers gave directions on the same fictitious map (see Appendix A). The map-task was adapted from a previous linguistic study (Lindemann, 2002) where a map was employed to investigate the relationship between the attitudes that native speakers of English hold towards non-native speakers and level of comprehension of non-native English speech. The map-task was specifically chosen because it was considered 'factually neutral' and potential extraneous variables (such as the factors detailed above) were controlled.

It was decided to record only female speakers of English as it was felt that this would both restrict the complexity of the eventual study design (Garrett et al., 2003: 99) and provide further control over potential confounding variables. In addition, the majority of previous language attitude studies have tended to present recordings of male speakers for evaluation. Thus, in the present study, it was hoped that a focus on female speech may help redress this gender imbalance.

4.2.2 Background of the Selected Speakers

In an attempt to further minimise potential extraneous factors amongst the selected speakers and speech recordings, a number of other factors were controlled. First, the six speakers finally chosen to provide the speech samples are all relatively young adults (the age range of the speakers is relatively narrow; between 22 and 34 years of age, with a mean age of 28.0 years, $SD = 4.50$). In addition, the speech samples selected are broadly similar in length, ranging

from 1 min 14s to 1 min 30s (the map-task recordings for the total speakers ranged from 29s to over 3 min in length). Therefore, it was felt that such relatively minor differences in the length of the recordings would not unduly affect the validity of the data collected. Moreover, although the map-task was considered ‘factually-neutral’ (see Section 4.2.1 above), the six speech recordings were again screened for obvious references made to the speakers’ nationality, social class, regional provenance or variety of English spoken. The speakers were also selected for comparable voice qualities and overall, the recordings were considered representative samples of the varieties of English chosen for evaluation purposes (the authenticity of the recordings was, at the earliest stage of the pilot study, validated by a number of listener-judges from Japan, the USA and Scotland). During the course of the recordings, the speakers were asked to provide background information relating to their age, place of birth and upbringing, current place of residence and occupation. Each speaker was also asked to state which variety of English he/she perceives himself/herself to speak and to provide any other information which may have influenced his/her spoken English. This information relating to the chosen speakers is detailed below:

Speaker 1: TB (Mid-West mainstream US English). Female, 34 years of age, born and raised in a small town in Iowa, the United States of America. TB completed an undergraduate degree in Washington DC and, at the time of the recording, had recently completed a Masters’ degree at the Glasgow School of Art. At the time of the recording, TB worked as an artist and travelled extensively between Iowa and the west of Scotland. TB perceives herself as a speaker of ‘American’ and notes that ‘I’m told that my accent is very neutral and easy to understand’.

Speaker 2: BF (non-mainstream Southern US English). Female, 24 years of age, born in a rural area to the south of Montgomery, Alabama in the United States of America. She received her school education there but has not, as yet, undertaken a course of further or higher education. BF had very recently relocated to Falkirk, Scotland (in order to be with her Scottish husband) and, when the recording was made, worked as an administrator. She perceives herself to speak a ‘southern dialect’ and commented that other native speakers, both in ‘other parts of the US’ and in ‘the UK’ ‘thought she was either black or had black roots’, despite her Caucasian appearance (for further details see Section 3.2.1).

Speaker 3: RB (Scottish Standard English). Female, 30 years of age, born and raised in a small town near Glasgow, Scotland. RB completed her university education in Glasgow and spent 2 years abroad as a teacher of English, which is also her current occupation. At the time of the recording RB resided and worked in Glasgow. RB perceives herself as a speaker of ‘English’ and mentions that ‘my accent has possibly softened as I’ve lived outside Scotland for several years and in my job I’ve got used to finding the easiest ways to make myself understood’.

Speaker 4: YM (Glasgow vernacular speech). Female, 27 years of age, born, raised and currently resides in Clydebank, near Glasgow, Scotland. When the recording was made YM worked as a secretary and was undertaking an occupation-related undergraduate degree at the University of Glasgow. YM perceives herself as a speaker of ‘Glaswegian’ and maintains that the nature of the recording task (the map-task) had an influence on her speech as ‘my directions are clear and direct because I drive and am used to giving directions to other drivers’.

Speaker 5: SI (moderately-accented Japanese English). Female, 31 years of age, born and raised in Tokyo, Japan. SI perceives her native language as Japanese. She completed both an undergraduate and a Masters’ degree at a prestigious national university in Tokyo. At the time of the recording, SI resided in Edinburgh, Scotland, where she was undertaking a Ph.D. at the University of Edinburgh. Thus, her level of English is at a relatively advanced level. SI was forthcoming with regard to her English and perceives herself as a speaker of ‘Japanese-English English’. She also notes that ‘most of my teachers were from England, so I think I have some English accents. But I think I use some American terminology because I often see American films, read American books, and last year I often hanged (sic) around with Americans’.

Speaker 6: MM (heavily-accented Japanese English). Female, 22 years of age, and born and raised near Nagoya, Japan. MM perceives her native language as Japanese. At the time of the recording, MM had almost completed her undergraduate degree at a private university in Nagoya (she was, nevertheless, recorded in Glasgow where she was studying as a year abroad exchange student).

A summary of the speakers and the speech varieties chosen for evaluative purposes is detailed below (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Speakers and speech varieties chosen for the study

Speaker	Speech variety	Description	Coded reference
1: TB	Mid-West United States English	Native/inner circle/mainstream English	MWUSE
2: BF	Southern United States English	Native/inner circle/non-mainstream English	SUSE
3: RB	Scottish Standard English	Native/inner circle standard English	SSE
4: YM	Glasgow Vernacular	Native/inner circle/non-standard English	GV
5: SI	Moderately- accented Japanese English	Non-native/expanding circle English	MJE
6: MM	Heavily-accented Japanese English	Non-native/expanding circle English	HJE

4.2.3 Transcript of Speakers

Speaker 1: Mid-West United States English (1 min 29 s)

so you wanna walk straight until you reach the church at the church make a left walk straight until you reach the mountains. . .huh make a right and walk with the mountains on your left side when you reach the end of the mountain range you're gonna cont. . .you're gonna jog to the r. . .to the left and then. . .right walk straight until you go under the bridge after the bridge make a left and then walk straight until you see a lake when you hit the lake em. . .make a right and walk with the lake on your left side when you get to the end of the lake make a right walk straight for quite a while you're gonna pass a volcano on your right but keep walking straight until you get to the airport and then when you get to the airport make a left go straight 'til you reach a factory make another left and then you're gonna go straight until you pass. . .you'll pass a hospital on your right side at the end after the hospital make a. . .a right and then walk straight until you get to the castle.

Speaker 2: Southern United Stated English (1 min 15 s)

ok. . .from the start position. . .em. . .you will first see a church on the right hand side of the road. . .from the church you will go up a hill em. . .around a bend and then you will come to see some mountains on the left hand side of the road. . .there will be a slight bend to the. . .left of mountains you go down a little valley on the right side of the mountains and you will go up a small hill. . .after you go up the small hill you will um go across a bridge um from the bridge you will take a slight sharp right hand turn um to. . .to you come to a. . .lake from the lake you will go down until you will see a volcano on the left hand side of. . .the right hand side of the road. . .then you will from the volcano you will go down and you will see a airport on the left hand side of the road then from the airport you will drive on a straight road until you see a. . .factory from the factory you will drive up a straight road till you see a hospital on the left hand side from the hospital you will go down another straight road until you reach the castle.

Speaker 3: Scottish Standard English (1 min 30 s)

O.K. . .go straight ahead which is. . .to the east to begin with until you get to a church and then you're going to turn left. . .em going to the north keep going until the path turns really sharply to the right hand side. . .eh follow that along and you'll pass mountains on yer left. . .and past them there's a wee kink in the path but keep going straight on until you get to the bridge which you should go

under and not over em. . . then. . . s. . . immediately after that turn left and keep going until the path turns round to the right. . . em about the same time there's a lake on your left and go along the south side of the lake. . . then turn sharply to the right after you get to the end of the lake and you're to go south for quite a long distance. . . eh keep going past the smoking volcano and until you get to the airport and then. . . turn sharply left the airport will be on your right and. . . keep going to the east until you get to a factory when you'll turn very sharply to the left again and continue north all the way up until you get to the hospital where you'll turn right. . . the hospital will be on your right and go straight ahead until you get to the castle which is on your left.

Speaker 4: Glasgow vernacular (1 min 18 s)

ok from where ye are you just walk straight along until you get tae the church. . . at the church yer gonnae take a left keep walking all the way up until you get to just before a set of mountains. . . at the mountains or jist before you would turn right walk away by the mountains keep walking the road swings round to the left a wee bit. . . go to the bridge walk under the bridge jist after the bridge you would take a left then you come to a lake. . . jist before the lake you would take a right so that you're walking along by the lake then after the lake turn right again now you're walking along by the lake then after the lake turn right again now you're walking along a long stretch of road and you will pass a. . . volcano on the right hand side jist after the volcano you will come to a an airport. . . big airport at the airport you wid take a left and walk all the way along until you come to a factory. . . at the factory you would take a then turn left left again walk all the way along then yi would come to a hospital at the hospital take a right walk along. . . good wee bit along and then jist at the church. . . sorry it's not a church it's a castle ye turn left into the castle and that's you there.

Speaker 5: Moderately-accented Japanese English (1 min 14 s)

and to go to a castle. . . em if you can see a church in front of you. . . keep going this street until a church. . . and turn. . . left in front of it and take the first. . . to. . . right and. . . you will walk along the mountains and under the bridge turn left and take the first to. . . the right in front of a lake and turn right and keep going straight ahead until you come to an airport. . . and. . . turn left in front of it and you'll see a factory in front of you and turn. . . left in front of that and. . . keep walking and you will see a hospital and. . . turn right at the end of the hospital and you will see a castle on your left.

Speaker 6: Heavily-accented Japanese English (1 min 21 s)

mm. . . firstly walk towards to the church and turn left and just keep straight about 10 km then turn right and you'll see the mountain and keep straight. . . along the street. . . then you'll see the bridge then turn left and. . . yeah (laughs) just keep along the street and you'll see the lake so please keep along the lake and turn. . . right end of the lake and just keep straight and you'll see the volcano but please keep straight and then you'll see the airport so please to tu. . . turn left and walk toward to the factory then turn ri. . . turn left just keep straight to. . . until you see the hospital then turn right and just keep straight and then you'll see the castle.

4.3 The Choice of Background Variables in the Study

As described previously (see [Section 2.2.2](#)), there is a current paradigm shift in research on Japan generally, where the formerly dominant 'group model' is being modified to take account of social variation amongst the population (Donahue, 1998: 4–5). The provision of detailed social information of the sample is particularly important when conducting sociolinguistic research in Japan as it is currently unknown which social variables are significant within the population of the country. This has contributed to a lack of sociolinguistic framework to describe the complex language situation in contemporary Japan (Maher and Yashiro, 1995: 1–18).

As far as language attitudes are concerned, Baker (1992: 41) has pointed out that no comprehensive model or list of such potentially determining social factors currently exists. In light of this, Starks and Paltridge (1996: 218) have suggested that it would be profitable for researchers to provide detailed social features of the informants, whenever possible, when conducting surveys involving the attitudes of non-native speakers towards varieties of English. Indeed, a limited number of previous studies, which have concentrated specifically on social evaluations of varieties of English in Japan, have, in fact, examined whether, and to what extent variables within the population, such as the respondents' levels of prior exposure to particular speech varieties (Matsuura et al., 1999; McKenzie, 2004) or the gender of the informants (Starks and Paltridge, 1996; McKenzie, 2003, 2004) can account for variations in their attitudes (see [Section 3.2.4](#)). Hence, in order to determine the validity (or not) of the results obtained in these studies, background information regarding both the gender and the level of previous exposure to varieties of English of the informants is given in the present study.

Information regarding the regional provenance of the informants is also provided. In a previous large-scale longitudinal study of attitudes towards English, German, Russian and French amongst foreign language learners in Hungary, geography was found to be a major influence, with a preference

expressed for different languages in rural areas and urban areas of the country (Dornyei and Clement, 2001; Dornyei et al., 2006: Chapter 4). Hence, in the present study, the informants were asked to state whether they perceived themselves to be from a rural or an urban area of Japan. Information regarding the regional provenance of the informants may be particularly important when undertaking research in Japan because there is some evidence that the rural-urban distinction may be a salient social factor amongst the Japanese themselves (e.g., Donahue, 1998: 38–39; Fukuchi and Sakomoto, 2005: 336–344; Carroll, 2001a: 195–198).

Self-perceived proficiency in English was also investigated as a potential predictor of attitude. *Self-perceived proficiency* can be described as a reflection of the learner's perception of his/her proficiency in the target language (Dewaele, 2005: 124). Details of the Japanese students' own perceptions of their overall level in English were included in the study for the reason that previous studies have linked the individual's perception of his/her proficiency in the target language with both a willingness to communicate and attitudes towards learning the language. In turn, there is evidence that both these factors are predictors of future progress in the language (e.g., MacIntyre et al., 1998: 556; Kobayashi, 2000: 91; Yashima et al., 2004: 141–145) (see also Section 2.2.1.2). Practical considerations regarding data collection from the relatively large number of informants in the study meant that although there was sufficient time available to record the informants' perceptions of their English level as well as their attitudes towards varieties of English, there was an insufficient amount of time available to administer an appropriate English language test.

The study also attempts to measure attitudes towards variation in L1 (i.e., evaluations of varieties of Japanese). Such information is given in the study because it is, at present, unknown whether the language attitudes that Japanese nationals hold towards varieties of the Japanese language influence any attitudes they may hold to varieties of English (McKenzie, 2004: 19, 2008a: 69). One aim of the present study, thus, is to investigate the influence (if any) that such perceptions of varieties of Japanese may have (see Section 4.5.3).

It should be noted, however, that a number of other potentially extraneous variables were controlled for the purposes of the present study. For instance, both the occupation and the age of the informants were controlled. This was achieved through the sole recruitment of informants who were university students and thus, the ages were believed to be broadly similar. As a further control, each informant was also required to state his/her date of birth (see Appendix B: Section 4). In addition, information regarding nationality and L1 was required, thus ensuring that only informants who perceived themselves to be both Japanese and native speakers of Japanese were included in the study. Socio-economic status was not investigated as a potential predictor variable because it is generally accepted that class-consciousness amongst the Japanese is relatively weak (e.g., Stanlaw, 2004: 243; Carroll, 2001a: 92; Donahue, 1998: 131; Loveday, 1996: 174) and, in Japan, 'virtually no one identifies as being working class' (Savage, 2000: 35). Indeed, this is borne out by a plethora of

government public opinion studies in Japan which confirm that over 90% of respondents perceive themselves in the broad 'middle class' (for an overview Carroll, 2001a: 207), sharing middle-class incomes, ambitions and lifestyles (Loveday, 1996: 174). Donahue (1998: 131) argues that because Japan has the most equal distribution of income amongst the major industrialised countries, the Japanese have a strong basis for assuming themselves to be 'middle class'. However, Carroll (2001a: 3) maintains that although class differences do, in fact, exist in Japan, it is the Japanese themselves who are reluctant to identify themselves as anything other than middle class, a notion which, she believes is perpetuated by the state. Carroll (*ibid.*) concedes that although socio-economic class 'might very well lead to divergent language attitudes and behaviour . . . it is inaccessible to analysis on the basis of survey data'.

In summary, the informants were requested to provide personal information related to the following:

- (i) gender
- (ii) previous exposure to English
- (iii) regional provenance
- (iv) self-perceived proficiency in English
- (v) attitudes towards varieties of Japanese speech

4.4 The Choice of Informants

The population selected for the present study was principally Japanese nationals currently learning English at universities in Japan. It was decided to recruit a relatively large number of students for two reasons. First, although there can be no absolute rule regarding the size of the sample, the employment of only a small number of respondents has a tendency to magnify the effects of individual variation and hence, has a tendency to compromise the reliability of the data collected (for a more detailed discussion see Hollenbeck et al., 2006; Peterson et al., 2006). Thus, it was decided to involve a relatively large number of participants in the investigation in order to make the sample more representative of the target population as a whole (the total number of informants was 558; see Section 5.1). The second reason for the choice of a large number of informants was because of the relatively high number of dependent and independent variables in the study. In order to attain such a high number of participants, students were recruited from a number of university institutions in Japan.

It is worth noting that there is considerable variation between universities in Japan. Institutions vary enormously in terms of location, courses offered and academic level. The Japanese university system also differs in terms of management and is made up of national/public institutions and private institutions. As it was considered vital to recruit a group of students which reflect this diversity, a considerable period of time was spent on the selection process. In the majority

of cases, initial contact with the institution in Japan was established through email correspondence with either the International Office or the Dean of the Faculty. When permission to access students for research purposes was granted, teaching staff at each participating institution were encouraged to identify and subsequently provide information on the likely number of students able to participate in the study. In this way, an estimate of the total sample could be made.

The database of participating institutions represents a wide geographical spread of universities throughout Japan (although no students from universities in Hokkaido and Okinawa, the least populated regions of Japan, could be found to participate in the study). Indeed, the informants recruited for the study were, at the time of the data collection, studying at universities in three principal regions of Japan: Kanto, Kansai and Kyushu. Similarly, a representative mixture of universities in terms of size, academic level and management has been obtained. An overview of the participating institutions is detailed in Table 4.2 below.

The choice of university students as informants was made for a number of reasons. First, due to restrictions of both time and money in the fieldwork trip

Table 4.2 Participating institutions in the study

Institution	Location	Management	Number of informants	Principal faculty of informants
Yokohama University	Yokohama	National	64	Engineering
Hosei University	Tokyo	Private	69	Business/ Language and Culture
ICU (International Christian University)	Tokyo	Private	74	Social Science/ International Studies
Jissen Women's University	Tokyo	Private	28	Language and Literature
Keio University	Tokyo/Kanagawa	Private	92	Social Science/ Law
Tsuda College	Kodaira	Private	47	Communication
Daitobunka University	Saitama	Private	72	Humanities
Kansai University	Osaka	Private	11	Linguistics
Ritsumeikan University	Kyoto	Private	8	Education
Saga University	Saga	National	28	Economics/ International Culture
Kyushu University	Fukuoka	National	65	Engineering/ Computing Science

to Japan, it was not possible to conduct a long-term study. Educational establishments provide a large pre-constructed pool of potential participants and, therefore, from a practical point of view, university students were selected as participants. From this point of view, the sample adopted can be referred to as a 'convenience' sample. Secondly, it was decided to focus on the perceptions of university students because it was felt that this group would be more likely to reveal their 'true attitudes' towards foreign languages to an overseas fieldworker (see [Section 3.2.2](#)). Moreover, it was felt that it may be particularly informative to focus on the perceptions of young, educated Japanese who are likely both to be exposed to the widest range of varieties of English and most affected by current English language policy in Japan. It is also precisely this group who are most likely to exert influence on future language policy in Japan (Loveday, 1996: 175).

As detailed above, a considerable number of informants participated in the present study. Moreover, in order to achieve representativeness of the wider population of Japanese university students currently learning English, the informants were recruited from different types of universities throughout Japan. It was believed, therefore, that the diversity of the informants recruited for the study negated any requirement for strict sampling procedures in the selection of potential informants. In addition, the sample size of 558 seems sufficiently large to allow for generalisations to be drawn on the perceptions of the informants, especially when compared to sample sizes of previous attitude studies.

4.5 The Research Instrument

This section provides a description and rationale for each of the research instruments employed in the study. The construction of the research instruments involved a great deal of consideration of the methods developed for the measurement of language attitudes in previous studies. A summary of this can be found in Chapter 3. The research instrument employed in the present study comprises four main parts.

4.5.1 *Part One: The Verbal-Guise Technique*

The aim of this section of the research instrument is to investigate, by indirect means, the language attitudes of the informants towards varieties of English speech. It was stated previously (see [Section 3.1.3](#)) that an indirect approach to researching attitudes most often involves the aim of the study being concealed from the informants, in order to penetrate below the level of conscious awareness or behind the of social façade the individual. As the other sections of the research instrument directly question the informants on their evaluations of

language varieties, it was decided to position the indirect technique at the beginning of the data collection process. Although the most frequently utilised indirect technique in the measurement of language attitudes is the matched-guise technique, in this instance, it was decided to employ the verbal-guise technique. This decision was taken for three reasons. First, it was felt that the use of spontaneous speech was more authentic than a read pre-prepared text. Secondly, the careful control of the speech event, through the employment of the map-task (see Section 4.2.1) enabled the recording of suitable ‘factually neutral’ stimulus speech. Thirdly, from a practical point of view, it would prove impossible to find a single speaker who could convincingly produce all six varieties of English speech selected for evaluation (for further information on the advantages of the verbal-guise technique, see Section 3.1.3).

In accordance with previous attitude studies, a semantic-differential scale was utilised for the purposes of the verbal-guise section of the research instrument. In previous studies investigating attitudes towards English in Japan, the tendency amongst researchers has been to employ traits in the semantic-differential scale on the basis of those commonly utilised in earlier attitude studies involving non-Japanese informants. However, there is evidence to indicate that different speech communities may react to any given adjective in different ways; in other words, reactions of informants are likely to be highly culture bound (El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001: 62) and context dependent (Jowell et al., 2007: 5). Hence, language attitude researchers should not suppose that the same traits will be salient for different populations. Since appropriate item selection is vital to ensure the collection of valid and reliable data in survey type research instruments (e.g., Davies, 2008: 134–135) there is, thus, a case for replacing adjectives used in previous studies with items that take account of the specific cultural context of the study (Garrett et al., 2003: 60). Therefore, for the purposes of the present study, a specific semantic-differential scale was specially constructed. The bi-polar adjectives employed in the seven-point semantic-differential scale in the present study were obtained during the pilot study, where Japanese students, considered comparable judges to the listener-judges selected for the main study, were asked to provide descriptions of each of the six speakers (see Section 4.6). In total, the eight most frequent descriptions (along with their bi-polar opposites) were selected and subsequently positioned in a randomised order to form the semantic-differential scale, i.e., the ‘socially most desirable’ traits were positioned sometimes on the left and sometimes on the right in order to avoid any left-right bias amongst the informants (for a discussion see Oppenheim, 1992: 235–236; Dornyei, 2003: 40). It was felt that the traits selected for the study may reflect a range of non-overlapping characteristics on principal dimensions of ‘social attractiveness’ and ‘competence’ (see Section 3.1.3). The final version of the semantic-differential scale is given below (for the complete version of the research instrument, see Appendix B: Section 1) (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 The semantic-differential scale constructed for the verbal-guise study

Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not pleasant
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not confident
Unclear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Clear
Modest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not modest
Not funny	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Funny
Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not intelligent
Not gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Gentle
Not fluent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Fluent

4.5.2 Part Two: Dialect Recognition Item

The objective of this section of the research instrument is to ascertain whether the Japanese informants can correctly identify the varieties of English speech chosen for evaluation purposes. As detailed previously (see Section 3.1.3), the majority of previous language attitudes studies have not required listener-judges to identify the regional provenance of the speakers, i.e., indicate where they believe speakers are from (Garrett et al., 2003: 58). There is, however, some doubt as to whether listener-judges are, in fact, always evaluating the speech varieties that the speech recordings are intended to represent, i.e., whether the listener-judges achieve accurate cognitive-mapping. Hence, misidentification of speech varieties is likely to make the data collected in such studies more difficult to interpret. For this reason, there have been recent calls to include a dialect recognition item in language attitude studies (e.g., Preston, 1993: 188; Williams et al., 1999: 346; McKenzie, 2004: 24, 2008b: 140–141). In the present study, a variety recognition question is included for a number of reasons. First, it is hoped that the responses will provide information with regard to how accurately and consistently the students are able to identify the six varieties of English speech included in the study. Secondly, as the study attempts to measure speech evaluations of learners who are likely to have less exposure to varieties of English than native speakers, the inclusion of a variety recognition question is arguably more important (see Section 3.1.3). Thirdly, as dialect identifications are frequently based on ethnic associations of the listener (Lindemann, 2003: 355) (e.g., where, for instance, a speaker from Canada may be wrongly identified as American; see Section 3.1.3), patterns of identification/misidentification may provide information with regard to the cues which listeners base their identification upon, as well as give an insight into their ideological framework (Van Bezooijen and Gooskens, 1997: 32; Williams et al., 1999: 358). This is because listeners who are unable to correctly identify a particular speech variety are likely to incorrectly identify the stimulus speech as a language or language variety with which they are more familiar and one which they associate with the misidentified variety of speech (Lindemann, 2003: 355–358). In short, a dialect recognition item was included in order to make the

data collected in the study more straightforward to interpret (for a more detailed discussion see [Section 3.1.3](#)).

In order to ascertain identification (or not) of the six speech varieties chosen for evaluation purposes, the informants were asked the following two questions:

- (i) Where do you think the speaker comes from?
- (ii) How did you make this decision?

It should be noted that, for the purposes of analysis, the identification was considered successful if the informants recognised correctly the country of the speaker (i.e., the USA, the UK or Japan) and hence, the respondents were not required to identify the particular variety of English or region where it is spoken (if applicable).

4.5.3 Part Three: Perceptual Dialectology

Part 3 of the research instrument attempts, by direct methods, to gather information regarding the informants' perceptions of variation within Japanese speech. The objective of collecting such data is to investigate whether the language attitudes that Japanese learners of English hold towards varieties of the Japanese language influence any attitudes they may hold towards varieties of English. As there are a number of problems with the utilisation of questionnaires and interviews as direct methods of language attitude measurement (see [Section 3.1.2](#)), it was decided to employ data gathering techniques from the field of perceptual dialectology (Preston, 1989). Thus, the informants were presented with a map of Japan, marked only with the prefectural boundaries and the major cities. The informants were then asked to perform the following tasks:

- (i) On the map, circle the areas on the map of Japan where people speak varieties of Japanese different from standard Japanese.
- (ii) How would you describe the speakers of these varieties of Japanese?

In this way, it was believed that it was possible to categorise the informants' attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Japanese as either 'positive', 'neutral' or 'negative'.

4.5.4 Part Four: Background Information of Participants

As described previously (see [Sections 4.1](#) and [4.3](#)), one aim of the study is to examine the significance of a number of social factors in determining the informants' attitudes towards different varieties of English speech. As such, this section of the research instrument required the respondents to provide

details of their gender, rural/urban provenance, self-perceived proficiency in English and any periods of time spent in English-speaking countries.

In an effort to control other potentially confounding factors, additional personal information was requested regarding the respondent's nationality, native language, age, current place of residence and place of birth. In light of this, the sample appeared to be composed solely of university students of Japanese nationality, who spoke Japanese as a first language, were born in and, at the time of the data collection, lived and studied in Japan. Moreover, the age range of the sample was felt to be relatively narrow, with the overwhelming majority of the informants aged between 18 and 22 years of age. Hence, in terms of these social factors the sample was considered relatively homogeneous.

4.6 The Pilot Study

The piloting of the research instrument is an important component of any research project (Cohen et al., 2000: 260) and indeed, is likely to be imperative when the aim of the study is to specifically investigate the evaluations of the respondents. Indeed, it has been noted that although the pilot stages of a research instrument may be relatively time-consuming, the process, in the longer term, is likely to save considerable time, effort and resources with regards to the study as a whole (Rasinger, 2008: 67). In general, the overall goals of the pilot study are to allow the researcher to collect feedback with regard to how the instrument works and to determine whether it performs the purpose for which it was designed, i.e., the pilot study aims to increase the reliability, validity and practicability of the research instrument (Cohen et al., 2000: 260).

The initial stage of the pilot study was conducted at the University of Edinburgh with 21 Japanese students of English. The principal aim of this stage of the pilot study was to generate meaningful traits to construct a semantic-differential scale for later use in the verbal-guise test in the main study. The informants were all undergraduates from a number of universities in Japan and were participants on a 4-month English language exchange program at the University of Edinburgh. Hence, it was felt that the Japanese students in Edinburgh were likely to hold attitudes towards varieties of English speech broadly similar to their contemporaries studying at universities in Japan and thus, it was highly likely that the traits generated in the pilot study would be salient for the informants in the main study. In order to generate the traits, the informants in the pilot study were requested to listen to and to provide one or two adjectives in order to describe each of the six speakers presented. The descriptions were then collected and the most frequent utilised to construct the semantic-differential scale (see Appendix B: Section 1). In response to the six speech recordings presented, the informants provided a large number of adjectives, 34 in total. However, a number of the items provided were either broadly similar in nature (e.g., pleasant/nice) or were bi-polar opposites (e.g., clear/not

clear). It was, therefore, possible to condense the number of descriptions to 16 items and subsequently to select them as semantic-differential labels for the main study (see Appendix B, Section 1).

The second stage of the pilot study was conducted at the Language Centre, the University of Glasgow with 24 Japanese students from Waseda University, Tokyo. The informants were all undergraduate students on an accredited 9-month 'Liberal Arts' exchange program at the University of Glasgow. Again, following the completion of the program, the students were scheduled to return to their university in Japan in order to resume their academic studies. The main objective of the second stage of the pilot study was to allow for a final piloting of the research instrument, and, in particular, to discover whether the traits generated by the informants in the initial pilot study in the construction of the semantic-differential scale were also meaningful for the Waseda University informants. The manner and ease with which the informants completed the verbal-guise task and subsequent comments by a number of the informants following the completion of the data collection did indeed appear to indicate the salience of the traits for the respondents. The ordering of the research instrument (with the initial positioning of the verbal-guise technique, followed by the dialect identification item and perceptual dialectology task) proved feasible, hence maintaining a methodologically sound order of administration, i.e., from indirect to more direct measures of attitude measurement.

4.7 Procedure: The Administration of the Research Instrument

Since there exists a great deal of evidence which indicates that the administration procedures of a given research instrument can be an important factor in determining the quality of informants' responses (Dornyei, 2007: 113–114), a great deal of attention was paid to the planning and execution of the administrative process of the instruments employed in the current study. The data collection itself was undertaken in Japan in 2005 and 2006. As detailed previously (see Section 4.4), data was collected in person by the researcher from Japanese learners of English at a total of eleven universities throughout the country. Visits were made to a total of 24 classes. Due to the nature of the study and, hence, the composition of the research instrument, and in keeping with a plethora of studies in the field of Applied Linguistics involving language learners (Dornyei, 2007: 113), it was possible for a single researcher to collect data from a relatively large number of individuals in a single location. It was, therefore, possible to include the responses of a large number of informants in the study. At each participating institution, all the data was collected in the students' regular assigned classrooms, most frequently during a customary scheduled class of one and a half hours (known as *koma* in Japanese). This period of time was sufficient for both the data collection itself and for the subsequent debriefing.

In order to ensure uniformity of measurement, the procedures involved in each class visit were standardised. For example, prior to each class visit, contact was made, at least 7 days in advance, with each of the regular class teachers. In the course of this contact, the class teachers were requested to inform their students of the planned visit by the researcher. In this way, the students were forewarned and thus had a choice of declining to take part in the study. Moreover, during the initial contact with the researcher, all the class teachers were made aware that, due to the indirect approach employed in Section 1 of the study (see below), it was imperative that the participants were not informed about the objectives of the study (or given any descriptions relating to the speech samples) until after the data collection process was complete (each class teacher was again given a reminder on the day of the data collection). Furthermore, the whole administration procedure was conducted in English, although if the informants came across unknown English vocabulary when completing the research instrument, a Japanese translation, if requested, was provided. All four sections of the research instrument were also administered in the same order, one after the other, without any substantial intervals in between. However, in the verbal-guise study, the order in which the speech samples were played to the informants was randomised. This decision was quite deliberate and undertaken in order to ensure that any potential ordering effects in the presentation of the speech samples were minimised.

The instructions employed during each of the data collection sessions were also standardised. At the beginning of each session, for instance, following an introduction made by the regular class teacher, the researcher stressed to the participants that the study was not a test and that any responses made were anonymous. Invaluable information gained during the pilot stages was utilised, prior to the first session of data collection, to draw up a set of written instructions for the administration of the four sections of the research instrument. It was felt that the written instructions provided a high level of consistency and were subsequently employed in each of the 24 sessions. The procedure for each section of the research instrument is detailed below.

Section 1: The Verbal-Guise Instrument

- (i) Allow participants opportunity to read task and adjectives. Explain/translate if necessary.
- (ii) Play each of the six speech samples (approximately 1 min each) once only, pause the CD between each sample for approximately 1–2 min to allow informants to mark responses. Stress the importance of completing responses for all speakers.

Section 2: Dialect Recognition Item

- (i) Allow participants opportunity to read task. Explain/translate if necessary.
- (ii) Again, play each of the six speech samples once only, pause CD between each sample for approximately 1–2 min to allow informants

to mark responses. Remind informants to complete both parts of the question.

Section 3: Perceptual Dialectology

This section aims to investigate whether *broad* perceptions of *non-standard varieties* of Japanese speech influence attitudes towards varieties of English. Hence, informants are not required to complete the map in detail.

- (i) Allow participants opportunity to read task. Explain/translate if necessary.
- (ii) Participants should be encouraged to draw as many/as few circles as they feel necessary.
- (iii) Stress that informants should describe *speakers* of non-standard varieties (not the speech). Informants are likely to provide a range of descriptions for different (speakers of) varieties of Japanese. Remind informants to complete both parts of the question.

Section 4: Background Information

- (i) Allow participants opportunity to read task. Explain/translate if necessary.
- (ii) Remind participants to complete all the questions (and stress not to be modest in the assessment of their proficiency in English).

Although ethical concerns tend to be a greater issue in qualitative than in quantitative research (Dornyei, 2007: 63–64), due to the nature of present study (involving indirect as well as direct approaches to attitude measurement), it was also necessary to recognise the importance of research ethics and hence, to address potential ethical concerns. In light of this, it was considered imperative to debrief the participants on the purposes, procedures and scientific value of the study immediately afterwards (see Section 3.1.3). Hence, in the final 30–40 min of the scheduled class, a short lecture on the methods employed in language attitude studies was given by the researcher, followed by a question and answer session between the researcher, the informants and the class teacher. It should be noted, nevertheless, the data collected in the present study, in keeping with the great majority of applied linguistic research, does not pose any obvious threat to the research participants (Dornyei, 2007: 71).

This chapter of the book has described in detail the research approach and the various data collection procedures employed in the current study in addition to an explanation for their selection. The following chapter will present and discuss the results of the analyses of the data collected during the fieldwork trip to Japan.

Chapter 5

Results and Discussion

As detailed previously (see Section 4.1.1), the following research questions directed the analysis and reference will be made to them throughout:

- (i) Are learners able to identify varieties of English speech?
- (ii) Do learners of English hold different attitudes towards
 - (a) standard and non-standard varieties of English speech and
 - (b) native and non-native varieties of English speech? How are the varieties perceived by the learners?
- (iii) What social variables (if any) appear to be significant in determining the learners' attitudes towards the different varieties of English speech?
- (iv) Do the language attitudes that learners hold towards varieties of their native language influence any perceptions they may have of varieties of English?
- (v) What are the pedagogical implications (if any) of the findings for the choice of linguistic model(s) employed in EFL classrooms?
- (vi) What are the methodological implications (if any) of the findings for conducting language attitude research amongst learners of English?

5.1 Description of Participants

Before the analyses of the data are provided, a description of the informants included in the study is required. As described previously (see Section 4.4), data was collected from students from eleven universities throughout Japan. At the time of the fieldwork visit, all the informants were studying English at their respective universities, either as a principal subject or as a major component in another discipline. At each of the participating universities, where possible, data was collected from informants from different faculties. Moreover, although the great majority of students were undergraduates, a number of postgraduate students also participated. A total of five hundred and ninety-seven students took part in the study. However, the responses of a number of informants who did not report their nationality as Japanese and/or as native speakers of

Japanese were discarded. In light of this, the sample appeared to be composed solely of university students of Japanese nationality, who spoke Japanese as a first language, were born in and, at the time of the data collection, lived in and studied in Japan. Moreover, due to their late arrival to class during the data collection sessions, a relatively small number of students did not complete all four sections of the research instrument. The incomplete responses of these participants were also discarded. In total, the responses of 39 students were not included in the study.

The revised number of informants in the study was five hundred and fifty-eight. All data were complete with few exceptions. As the number of missing values was extremely small (seven in total) and in a seemingly random fashion, a mean substitution strategy was employed (see for example, Clark-Carter, 1997: 269–270). Five hundred and thirteen of the participants were undergraduates whilst 45 were graduate students. The age range of the sample was between 17 and 58, with the overwhelming majority of the respondents who participated in the study aged between 18 and 22 years of age (mean = 20.22, SD = 2.99). In light of the information detailed above, the informants selected for inclusion in the study were considered representative of Japanese students learning the English language in universities in Japan (although it is worth noting that no students from universities in either Okinawa or Hokkaido took part in the study). Information on the distribution of the participants according to gender, regional provenance, self-perceived competence in English and period of time spent in English-speaking countries is also detailed in Sections 5.4.1, 5.4.2, 5.4.3 and 5.4.4.

5.2 Overview of the Statistical Techniques Employed in the Data Analyses

In order to investigate the research questions detailed above, once the numerical data had been coded, entered and checked for errors, analyses was conducted with the use of SPSS (version 15.0). Although with any research there is always a question of bias, the use of strict statistical procedures allows the interpretation of the data to be as objective as possible. The main target of most quantitative studies is to be able to produce findings which can be generalised in some way or another to the wider population (Sarantakos, 1998: 401). In the case of the present study, this involves choosing appropriate methods of analysis, which enables the researcher to generalise the findings beyond the boundaries of the relatively large number of learners recruited and to make inferences about the wider population of English language learners in Japan. In order to achieve this target, several parametric tests of significance were employed to check the significance of any differences in the informants' evaluations of the speakers in the verbal-guise section of the study. There are a number of important conditions which must be met in order to apply parametric tests of

significance. First, the data must have an interval or ratio level of measurement. In the present study, the variables are indeed of the interval type (i.e., the intervals between all points on the scale are the same). Secondly, parametric tests of significance are, strictly speaking, applicable only where the population from which the sample is taken is normally distributed. However, this requirement can be relaxed in the case of large samples. In the case of the present study, the recruitment of 558 informants is a sufficiently large sample of the wider population of English language learners in Japan to apply the tests. Although there is a wide range of parametric tests of significance from which to choose from (for an overview see Tabachnik and Fidell, 2001) the rationale for employing analysis of variance, the *t*-test, and multivariate analysis of variance specifically to analyse the data was because the great majority of verbal-guise studies have utilised combinations of these three statistical techniques. Hence, the utilisation of these particular statistical tests of parametric significance allows for better comparison between any findings obtained in the present study and the results obtained from previous studies of a similar nature.

In addition, researchers frequently aim to examine *correlations* (i.e., associations) between variables in large sets of data to identify and/or confirm the existence of a smaller set of underlying latent (i.e., unobserved) factors. The main reason for examining the underlying structure of the data is to enable the researcher to describe what is being observed in a more parsimonious way (Breakwall et al., 2000: 384). In the case of the present study, there is a requirement to choose an appropriate statistical technique which allows the researcher to identify any relationships amongst the speaker evaluations for each of the eight traits on the semantic-differential scale in the verbal-guise section of the study and, if possible, to subsequently condense the eight traits to a smaller set of underlying dimensions which can account for the variance in the speaker evaluations. To achieve this objective, a single 'data reduction' technique was employed; a form of factor analysis called principal components analysis. Again, whilst there are a number of data reduction techniques to choose from (again, for an overview see Tabachnik and Fidell, 2001), the rationale for specifically employing principal components analysis was due to its frequent utilisation in previous language attitude studies of a similar nature and hence, the employment of the technique in the present study allows for greater ease of comparison of the results obtained.

To summarise, during the course of the data analyses, a number of statistical techniques were utilised:

- (i) analysis of variance
- (ii) the *t*-test
- (iii) multivariate analysis of variance
- (iv) principal components analysis

A description of each technique follows. Those readers who do not have a detailed knowledge of quantitative research methods and/or statistics may find it helpful.

5.2.1 Analysis of Variance

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to compare two or more means in order to estimate the significance of the differences between them. ANOVA does this by comparing the variance (i.e., the variability in scores) *within* samples (believed to be due to the effect of the independent variable) and *between* samples (believed to be due to random factors). The advantage of employing ANOVA is that, unlike the *t*-test (see below), it allows for the simultaneous comparison of more than two conditions (sets of means).

There are two steps involved in conducting ANOVA:

- (i) An overall statistic is obtained, referred to as the *F*-ratio (*F*), the between samples variance and within samples variance ratio. A sufficiently large (and hence, statistically significant) *F*-ratio, $p < 0.05$, indicates that there is a significant difference 'somewhere' between the sample means (or sets of scores). Thus, the null hypothesis, which states that the sample means are equal, can be rejected. It is also important to assess the strength (of association) of any significant effect found. This is known as the *effect size* (i.e., the size of the difference between the two sample means). The effect size is commonly given as the statistic, eta squared, the values of which may range from 0 to 1. Although there is some debate regarding the appropriate cut-off points for the strength of any given effect size (see Muijs, 2004: 195). Cohen (1977: 285–287) suggests guidelines for interpreting the values of eta squared where: 0.01= a small effect size; 0.06= a moderate effect size; and 0.14= a large effect size.
- (ii) Because ANOVA does not indicate, when more than two groups are involved, which groups (or sample means) differ (see above), a post-hoc multiple comparison test (such as the Scheffe test or the Bonferroni test for pairwise comparisons) is frequently conducted in order to investigate which sets of scores are producing the effect.

In the present study, two different types of ANOVA are employed:

- (i) Between (or independent) groups analysis of variance: which is employed when two or more different groups of informants are measured for each of the groups of scores.
- (ii) Within groups (or repeated measures) analysis of variance: which is employed when the same informants are measured under two or more different conditions or measured at two or more different time periods.

The reader should note that with large sample sizes (such as in the present study), statistically significant results are sometimes found which would not have occurred with a smaller sample; the researcher must be extremely cautious in interpreting such data. It is also important to be aware, particularly when conducting a repeated measures or between groups ANOVA that a number of

conditions must be met, most specifically in terms of sphericity or homogeneity assumptions (for a more detailed overview see, for example, Pallant, 2001: 170–172; Tabachnik and Fidell, 2001: 56–86).

5.2.2 *The t-Test*

The *t*-test is traditionally one of the most popular tests employed in language studies to assess the statistical significance of the difference between the means of two sets of scores (Brown, 1988: 164). Unlike with ANOVA (see above) it cannot be employed to compare the means of three or more sets of scores. However, similar to ANOVA. There are also two main types of *t*-test:

- (i) Independent (or unrelated) samples *t*-test: which is employed to compare the mean scores of two different groups of informants.
- (ii) Paired samples (or repeated measures) *t*-test: which is employed to compare the mean scores for the same informants on two different conditions or at two different time periods.

5.2.3 *Multivariate Analysis of Variance*

Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) is, in fact, an extension of the ANOVA test and is employed when the researcher wishes to examine the effects of the independent variable(s) (e.g., gender) on two or more related dependent variables (as in the present study, where scores for individual speaker evaluations are measured on the same scale). Although some researchers choose to conduct multiple tests of ANOVA, Bryman and Cramer (2005: 267) point out that there are two main advantages of employing MANOVA instead. First, MANOVA reduces the possibility of a Type I error (i.e., when the researcher chooses to reject the null hypothesis although, it is, in fact, true). Secondly, because MANOVA allows for the analysis of several dependent variables together, it provides a more sensitive measure of the effects of the independent variable(s).

There are three steps involved in conducting MANOVA:

- (i) The data should be examined and, where appropriate, analysis conducted in order to determine whether the assumptions underlying the test have been met (see Tabachnik and Fidell, 2001: 322–331).
- (ii) As with the case of the ANOVA test, an overall F-ratio is obtained. The statistic, eta squared, indicates the effect size (see Section 5.2.1).
- (iii) When a significant effect is found and where there are three or more levels of the independent variable, follow-up analyses is necessary in order to identify where the differences lie. This most often involves conducting *univariate* (i.e., separate) tests of ANOVA on each of the dependent variables (involving, for instance, separate Bonferroni adjustments).

As in the case of ANOVA and the *t*-test, there are also two types of MANOVA: between (or unrelated) samples MANOVA and paired samples (or repeated measures) MANOVA.

5.2.4 *Principal Components Analysis*

Although many researchers use the terms interchangeably, principal components analysis (PCA) is, in fact, part of the family of factor analysis. The aim of PCA is to discover if any variables are grouped together, and, if so, how large a set they form. PCA allows the researcher to condense a larger set of variables (or scale items) down to a smaller and/or more manageable number of components (or supervariables). The components extracted thus summarise the correlations amongst the larger sets of variables. PCA is frequently employed to confirm whether the extracted components are consistent with the results of previous research as well as to prepare the data for subsequent analyses, for instance, with multiple regression or ANOVA techniques. There are three main stages to conduct principal components analysis:

- (i) Assessment of the suitability of the data for PCA: Tabachnik and Fidell (2001: 587–590) detail a number of underlying assumptions which must be met.
- (ii) Components extraction: where only components with eigen values of 1.0 or above are retained (and where this is confirmed in the scree plot of the component loadings).
- (iii) Components Rotation and Interpretation: where the components are often ‘rotated’ according the *Varimax* approach (which, to provide greater clarity, attempts to minimise the number of variables which have high loadings).

The reader should be aware that PCA requires a degree of judgement on the part of the researcher, particularly on the number of factors to extract (Pallant, 2001: 154). As a guideline, however, Tabachnik and Fidell (2001: 588) recommend that in order to gain reliable correlation coefficients (i.e., to attain a high degree of confidence in the components matrix), it is ‘comfortable’ to have at least 300 informants and that a sample of over 500 informants is likely to yield ‘very good’ results.

5.3 The Verbal-Guise Study: Results of the Speaker Evaluations

This section details the results of Part 1 of the research instrument, the verbal-guise study. As stated previously (see Section 4.5.1), the aim of this section of the research instrument is to investigate, by indirect means, the language attitudes of the informants towards varieties of English speech. In order to

achieve this objective, six varieties of English speech were recorded and utilised for the purposes of evaluation by the informants. As a reminder to the reader, a summary of the speakers and the speech varieties chosen for evaluative purposes is again detailed below (Table 5.1):

Table 5.1 Speakers and speech varieties chosen for the study

Speaker	Speech variety	Description	Coded reference
1: TB	Mid-West United States English	Native/inner circle/mainstream English	MWUSE
2: BF	Southern United States English	Native/inner circle/non-mainstream English	SUSE
3: RB	Scottish Standard English	Native/inner circle standard English	SSE
4: YM	Glasgow Vernacular	Native/inner circle/non-standard English	GV
5: SI	Moderately-accented Japanese English	Non-native/expanding circle English	MJE
6: MM	Heavily-accented Japanese English	Non-native/expanding circle English	HJE

The informants' responses were then tabulated for each of the eight bi-polar traits. Due to the random positioning of the positive and negative traits for evaluation on the semantic-differential scale (see Section 4.5.1), a number of the responses were transposed, i.e., the lowest scores were converted to highest scores and vice versa. Hence, in the present study, a value of seven always corresponds to the most favourable rating and, in contrast, a value of one always indicates the least favourable rating.

5.3.1 *Speaker Evaluations: Preliminary Data*

The first stage of the analyses of the data collected in verbal-guise section of the research instrument was to calculate descriptive statistics for all the evaluations of each speaker for each of the eight traits. This data is summarised below:

The results of Table 5.2 below, where 7=the most positive evaluation and 1=the least positive, strongly suggest that, as in the Pilot Study (see Section 4.6), the Japanese informants were able to discern differences between the six speakers and indeed, based solely upon the speech samples presented for evaluation, were willing to make judgements regarding each of the speaker's personal characteristics and abilities.

Hence, the results above suggest that the Japanese informants are able to differentiate between speech varieties within a single language of which they are not native speakers (i.e., English) and have stereotypical attitudes towards them (see Section 2.1.2).

Table 5.2 The mean evaluations (and standard deviations) for speaker: individual traits ($N = 588$)

Trait	Speaker					
	MWUSE	SUSE	SSE	GV	MJE	HJE
Pleasant	3.72 (1.65)	4.19 (1.48)	3.67 (1.35)	3.80 (1.40)	3.64 (1.22)	4.11 (1.56)
Confident	4.61 (1.63)	4.72 (1.56)	4.07 (1.54)	4.58 (1.49)	3.39 (1.49)	3.27 (1.53)
Clear	4.97 (1.54)	5.05 (1.53)	4.13 (1.56)	3.45 (1.63)	4.13 (1.46)	4.51 (1.70)
Modest	3.78 (1.52)	3.80 (1.37)	4.03 (1.31)	4.29 (1.26)	4.20 (1.19)	4.30 (1.41)
Funny	2.70 (1.25)	3.26 (1.30)	2.73 (1.34)	3.43 (1.39)	3.04 (1.25)	4.02 (1.56)
Intelligent	4.73 (1.48)	4.41 (1.50)	3.99 (1.36)	4.49 (1.36)	3.80 (1.28)	3.04 (1.54)
Gentle	3.84 (1.57)	4.34 (1.45)	4.15 (1.39)	4.41 (1.31)	4.25 (1.20)	4.48 (1.52)
Fluent	5.53 (1.45)	5.61 (1.34)	4.50 (1.61)	5.19 (1.54)	3.52 (1.46)	2.47 (1.41)

5.3.2 Speaker Evaluations: All Traits

The first stage of the analysis involved the calculation of means and standard deviations of the evaluations for each speaker as presented in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker: all traits

	Mean	Std. deviation	N
SUSE	4.4225	0.74620	558
MWUSE	4.2357	0.77535	558
GV	4.2052	0.71410	558
SSE	3.9091	0.71060	558
HJE	3.7737	0.73553	558
MJE	3.7464	0.65850	558

Subsequently, a one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted in order to compare the overall mean evaluations of the six speakers on all eight traits. The results showed a significant overall effect for all the 6 speakers: Mauchly's Test = 0.898, consequently sphericity was assumed; $F(5, 2785) = 91.09$, $p < 0.005$; multivariate eta squared = 0.416, which suggests a large effect size.

In order to examine the individual differences between the evaluations of the six speakers a pairwise comparison analysis was conducted for the repeated measures factor (see Appendix C). However, when conducting

multiple *t*-tests there is always a problem of an increased risk of a *Type I* Error (i.e., when the researcher chooses to reject the null hypothesis although, it is, in fact, true). To control for this, a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of 0.01 was employed, based upon a division of the alpha level (0.05) by the number of contrasts conducted (5).

The Pairwise Comparisons table in Appendix C shows all the possible comparisons for the six levels of the repeated measures variable. All comparisons are adjusted for the Bonferroni method. When the results were analysed for contrasts between the mean speaker evaluations for all eight traits, a number of differences between the six speakers reached statistical significance (even allowing for the Bonferroni adjusted alpha level).

The ranking of the six speakers for all the traits is summarised below (in descending order of evaluation). The presence of a line between the speakers indicates there is a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the informants' evaluations:

Southern United States English
Mid-West United States English
Glasgow Vernacular
Scottish Standard English
Heavily-accented Japanese English
Moderately-accented Japanese English

The results above demonstrate that when the evaluations of all eight traits are averaged together for each of the six speakers, a clear pattern emerges: native/inner circle speakers of English are rated significantly higher than non-native/expanding circle speakers. This finding is consistent with data from the limited number of studies previously conducted, which have concentrated specifically on social evaluations of varieties of English in Japan, that learners are generally more favourable towards inner circle varieties of English than outer circle or expanding circle varieties (see Section 3.2.4). In addition, the rankings above indicate that the Japanese informants judged both speakers of US varieties more positively than the speakers of UK varieties, although it should be noted that the difference is not significant. Again, this overall preference for US varieties of English mirrors the evaluative results found in equivalent studies involving Japanese learners of English. It is interesting that when the overall evaluations of the speakers of standard and non-standard varieties of both UK and US English are compared, a significant preference for the non-standard variety is demonstrated. This finding is contrary to the evaluation patterns found amongst native speakers in the US and in the UK, whose responses tend to indicate an overall preference for the standard variety. The scree plot of the ranking for the speakers on all the traits can be found in Appendix C.

It is clear from the results presented above that clear patterns exist amongst the informants' ratings of all eight traits for the six speakers. However, the above analysis does not indicate whether and, if so, how many evaluative

dimensions are located amongst these eight traits. As detailed previously (see Sections 3.1.3 and 3.2.1), the results from a plethora of attitude studies involving the evaluations of inner circle varieties of English by native speakers of English, both in the UK and in the US, have clearly demonstrated the existence of two non-overlapping dimensions found to account for most of the attitude variance: competence (or status) and social attractiveness (or solidarity). A high degree of consistency has been found in the data collected in these studies, allowing inferences to be drawn regarding the attitudes of native speakers towards varieties of English speech. In particular, it has been widely demonstrated that speakers of standard varieties tend to be rated most positively in terms of competence (i.e., on traits such as intelligence and confidence) but lower on social attractiveness (i.e., on traits such as pleasantness and gentleness). In contrast, speakers of non-standard varieties tend to be rated more favourably in terms of social attractiveness but less positively in terms of competence (again, see Sections 3.1.3 and 3.2.1). Edwards (1982: 23–33) reports that the high degree of consistency in these results is equally present in the evaluations of both listener-judges who speak standard varieties and the evaluations of those who speak non-standard varieties of English. It was therefore felt profitable to undertake further exploratory analyses in order to confirm whether the dimensions found to account for most of the attitude variance amongst native speakers of English, namely competence (or status) and social attractiveness (or solidarity), are also located in the responses of the Japanese learners of English who took part in the present study.

5.3.3 Principal Components Analysis: The Reduction of the Data Collected

In order to locate the evaluative dimensions within the data collected in the verbal-guise section of the study, the overall mean evaluations of the six speakers for each of the eight traits on the semantic-differential scale were tabulated to give six overall scores for each trait and subsequently subjected to principal components analysis (PCA). The fact that all 558 of the informants rated each of the six speakers on every one of eight traits resulted in over 26,000 responses, and thus, in excess of 4,000 responses for each of the eight traits.

Subsequent principal components revealed the presence of two components with eigen values in excess of one, and these components together accounted for 41.63% of the variance (26.495 and 15.136% respectively). In addition, an inspection of the scree plot (see Appendix D) revealed a clear break following the second component.

Employing Catell's (1966) scree test, it was decided to retain the two components for further investigation. At this point, a decision was made on how strong a loading must be for inclusion in the index. Although there is a tendency for this decision to be arbitrary and the cut-off point can vary between 0.3 and

0.5 (Dancy and Reidy, 1999: 431), for the purposes of this study a prudent level of 0.5 was decided upon. To aid in the interpretation of these two components, Varimax rotation (with Kaiser Normalization) was performed. The rotated solution (see Appendix E) revealed the presence of a simple structure, where both components showed a number of strong loadings and where all the traits loaded substantially (i.e., 0.5 or above) on one or other of the components. The table demonstrates that the intelligent, confident, fluent and clear traits loaded on to component 1, and the gentle, pleasant, funny and modest traits loaded on to component 2. The loading of only two underlying dimensions amongst the informants' mean evaluations of the six speakers suggests that the Japanese learners who participated in the present study held strong stereotypes with regard to varieties of English speech and are able to consistently assign individual characteristics which define stereotypical views of the speakers of each of these speech varieties (for example see Hinton, 2000: 180; Edwards, 1982: 29). It is important to note that the loadings on these two components are consistent with previous language attitude studies, involving the evaluation of native speakers, as the competence (or social status) traits loaded strongly on Component 1, and the social attractiveness (or solidarity) traits loaded strongly on Component 2. The results of the PCA address the question of whether the traits selected for the main study during the initial stage of the pilot study (see Section 4.5.1) reflect a range of non-overlapping characteristics on these two principal dimensions and hence, support the use of both 'competence' and 'social attractiveness' as separate and distinct scales relating to the speaker evaluations of the Japanese learners of English in the main study.

5.3.4 Speaker Evaluations: Analysis of Components Extracted

Following the extraction by principal components analysis of the two non-overlapping dimensions of speaker competence and speaker social attractiveness, the speaker evaluations collected during the verbal-guise study were analysed for both dimensions. This section presents the results of the analyses.

5.3.4.1 Competence

A one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted in order to compare the overall mean evaluations of the six speakers on the competence dimension (i.e., the sum of the mean evaluations of the traits of intelligence, clarity, fluency and confidence). The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for each speaker are presented in Table 5.4 below.

The results of a repeated measures ANOVA indicated a significant overall effect for competence for all the 6 speakers: Mauchly's Test = 0.847,

Table 5.4 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker competence

	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>N</i>
MWUSE	4.9588	1.03000	558
SUSE	4.9453	0.98447	558
GV	4.4283	0.99697	558
SSE	4.0820	1.10982	558
MJE	3.7092	0.91689	558
HJE	3.3194	0.96749	558

consequently sphericity was assumed; $F(5, 2785) = 266.90$, $p < 0.005$; multi-variate eta squared = 0.655, which again suggests a large effect size.

In order to examine the individual differences between the evaluations of the six speakers a pairwise comparison analysis was conducted for the repeated measures factor (see Appendix F). The results of the pairwise comparisons shows all the possible comparisons for the each of the six speakers (Bonferroni adjusted).

When the results were analysed for contrasts between the mean evaluations for speaker competence, a number of differences between the six speakers reached statistical significance.

The ranking of the six speakers for competence is summarised below (in descending order of evaluation). The presence of a line between the speakers indicates there is a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the informants' evaluations:

Mid-West United States English
Southern United States English
Glasgow Vernacular
Scottish Standard English
Moderately-accented Japanese English
Heavily-accented Japanese English

The results above again demonstrate that in terms of the competence dimension, the Japanese informants' rate speakers of native/inner circle Englishes significantly higher than speakers of non-native/expanding circle varieties. Again, this finding parallels the results obtained from the limited number of studies previously conducted, which have measured evaluations of varieties of speech in Japan, where learners tended to express a preference for native varieties of English. When the overall differences between the informants' ratings are compared, a clear hierarchy emerges where, again, speakers of US English are preferred, followed by the speakers of UK English and the Japanese speakers of English the least preferred. This tripartite hierarchy of ratings on the competence dimension corresponds with the results of the overall speaker ratings on all eight traits (see Section 5.3.2). However, a number of differences are evident between speaker evaluations on all eight traits and on competence. For example, when the ratings of the eight traits are averaged together, the

Japanese informants demonstrated a significantly more positive evaluation of the non-standard (i.e., non-mainstream) speaker of US English (SUSE). In contrast, in terms of competence, a preference for the standard (i.e., mainstream) speaker of US English (MWUSE) was expressed, although the difference was not found to be significant. It is interesting that although the two Japanese speakers were ranked lowest in terms of competence, the heavily-accented speaker was rated significantly less positively than the moderately-accented speaker. This result suggests that Japanese learners hold particularly negative perceptions of Japanese accented English, where the more recognisably 'Japanese' the speaker is perceived to sound, the more negatively she will be rated. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The scree plot of the ranking for speaker competence can be found in Appendix G.

5.3.4.2 Social Attractiveness

A one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted in order to compare the mean evaluations of the six speakers on the social attractiveness dimension (i.e., the sum of the mean evaluations of the traits of modesty, pleasantness, fun and gentleness). The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for each speaker are presented in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker social attractiveness

	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>N</i>
HJE	4.2280	0.87753	558
GV	3.9821	0.80388	558
SUSE	3.8996	0.85258	558
MJE	3.7836	0.68346	558
SSE	3.6447	0.76680	558
MWUSE	3.5125	0.98306	558

An analysis of variance showed a significant overall effect for social attractiveness for all the 6 speakers: Mauchly's Test = 0.796, consequently sphericity was assumed; $F(5, 2,785) = 57.09$, $p < 0.005$, multivariate eta squared = 0.283, which once again suggests a large effect size.

In order to examine the individual differences between the evaluations of the 6 speakers for social attractiveness, a pairwise comparison analysis was conducted for the repeated measures factor.

The Pairwise Comparisons table (see Appendix H) shows all the possible comparisons for the six speakers (Bonferroni adjusted). When the results were analysed for contrasts between the mean evaluations for speaker social attractiveness, a number of differences between the six speakers reached statistical significance, even allowing for the Bonferroni adjusted alpha level.

The ranking of the six speakers for social attractiveness is summarised below (in descending order of evaluation). The presence of a line between the speakers

indicates there is a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the informants' evaluations:

Heavily-accented Japanese English

Glasgow Vernacular

Southern United States English

Moderately-accented Japanese English

Scottish Standard English

Mid-West United States English

The results detailed above demonstrate that in terms of social attractiveness, the speaker of heavily-accented Japanese English was rated significantly more favourably than the other five speakers. This finding is intriguing. The positive evaluation may indicate that the Japanese learners of English identify strongly with the speaker, i.e., there is a high degree of solidarity with the HJE speech. It seems reasonable to assume that one reason for this is simply that the respondents are familiar with this variety. This familiarity with HJE appears to be reflected in the high percentage of 'correct identifications' found in the results of 'dialect identification item' included in the present study (see Section 5.6.1). In contrast, the speaker of moderately-accented Japanese English was rated much less positively on social attractiveness, and indeed this speaker was rated significantly less favourably than the speakers of non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of UK and US English. This relatively low rating may indicate that the MJE speaker is perceived as outgroup (see Section 2.2.1.2), i.e., although the speaker is afforded relatively high status (see above), she may no longer be judged by the informants as a 'true' speaker of Japanese English. Such a pattern of evaluations perhaps raises questions regarding the acceptability of such speech as a model for learning English in Japan. These issues will be further addressed in Sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.5. The rankings above indicate that when the evaluations for the social attractiveness of speakers of standard and non-standard varieties are compared, a preference is again expressed for the non-standard speaker. This pattern is consistent with native speaker evaluations in the UK and in the US, where a preference for the non-standard variety on dimensions of social attractiveness also tends to be demonstrated (see Section 3.2.1). The scree plot of the ranking for speaker social attractiveness can be found in Appendix I.

5.4 Effects of Background Variables on Speaker Evaluations

This section details the results of Part 4 of the research instrument where the informants provided background information regarding their gender, rural/urban provenance, self-perceived competence in English and periods of time spent in English-speaking countries. As explained previously (see Section 4.5.4), the personal information was requested from the informants in order to investigate whether, to what extent and in what ways variations in the informants'

social background may account for differences in attitudes towards the varieties of speech selected for evaluation. In an attempt to provide greater clarity to the results, analysis was conducted to investigate the potential influence of each of the social variables on the two non-overlapping dimensions extracted previously, namely, speaker competence and speaker social attractiveness. The analysis was divided into two principal stages. First, the independent (social) variables were analysed individually to determine the significant main effects (if any) in the informants' ratings in terms of competence and social attractiveness of each speaker. A *main effect* occurs when the independent variable, irrespective of any other variable, has a unique and overall significant effect on the dependent variable. Secondly, the independent variables which demonstrated main effects were subsequently analysed in combination, in order to identify any interaction effects. An *interaction effect* occurs when the effect of one independent variable differs depending on the level of a second independent variable (i.e., when the relationship between dependent and independent variables is mediated by a third variable).

5.4.1 Gender

This section of the chapter details the results of the effects of gender on the speaker evaluations. Information on the respondents' gender was collected from their responses in section three of the research instrument. A summary of the data collected is presented below (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Distribution of informants according to gender

Value label	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Male	227	40.68
Female	331	59.32
Total	558	100

5.4.1.1 Competence

A one-way between groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted in order to investigate the overall effects of differences in the respondents' gender on speaker competence (i.e., the intelligent, clear, fluent and confident traits). The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for speaker competence according to gender are detailed in Table 5.7 below. As a reminder to the reader, a mean value of seven corresponds to the most favourable evaluation, whilst a mean value of one indicated the least favourable rating.

The results from the MANOVA demonstrated a significant overall effect of gender on evaluations of speaker competence: $F(6, 551) = 3.41, p < 0.05$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.96; partial eta squared = 0.036, which suggests a small to moderate

Table 5.7 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker competence according to gender

Speaker competence	Gender	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>N</i>
MWUSE	Male	4.7852	1.03766	227
	Female	5.0778	1.00914	331
	Total	4.9588	1.03000	558
SUSE	Male	4.8194	0.97330	227
	Female	5.0317	0.98422	331
	Total	4.9453	0.98447	558
SSE	Male	3.9681	1.10975	227
	Female	4.1601	1.10476	331
	Total	4.0820	1.10982	558
GV	Male	4.4328	1.02575	227
	Female	4.4252	0.97831	331
	Total	4.4283	0.99697	558
MJE	Male	3.6454	0.88361	227
	Female	3.7530	0.93784	331
	Total	3.7092	0.91689	558
HJE	Male	3.3932	0.95842	227
	Female	3.2689	0.97187	331
	Total	3.3194	0.96749	558

effect size. When the results for the effects of gender on the six speaker ratings were considered separately, three differences reached statistical significance:

- (i) SSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 4.06$, $p < 0.05$, partial eta squared = 0.007, which suggests a negligible to small (although statistically significant) effect size.
- (ii) SUSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 6.32$, $p < 0.05$, partial eta squared = 0.011, which again suggests a small effect size.
- (iii) MWUSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 11.06$, $p < 0.05$, partial eta squared = 0.02, which suggests a small to moderate effect size

As indicated above, when the results were analysed to determine the main effects of gender on speaker competence, there were significant differences between male and female evaluations of the speakers of three native/inner circle varieties of English (SSE, SUSE, MWUSE). In each of these cases, the female informants rated the speaker significantly more favourably when compared to the male informants. In contrast, the male participants tended to be more favourable towards the speakers of non-native/outer circle varieties (i.e., HJE and MJE) when compared to the responses of the female participants, although the differences in results were not found to be significant. These findings are consistent with the evaluative results found in equivalent studies involving native speakers of English in the UK and in the US, where a particular preference for ‘status’ varieties has repeatedly been found amongst females. However, as stated previously (see Section 3.2.3), although there is some

evidence to suggest that female learners of English are generally positive towards the English language (e.g., Kobayashi, 2000) and that Japanese males are more likely to accept non-prestige varieties of English (e.g., Starks and Paltridge, 1996), there has been a dearth of in-depth quantitative studies investigating the evaluations of non-native speakers towards specific varieties of English and which have examined the effects of gender and other social variables amongst the sample (see Section 3.2.2). Thus, the gender differences found amongst the informants' evaluations in the present study are of great importance and demonstrate, for the first time, that female learners of English in Japan are significantly more favourable than male learners towards native varieties of English and hence, indicates that the gender of the language learner can account for differences in attitudes towards specific varieties of English speech.

5.4.1.2 Social Attractiveness

The results from the MANOVA showed that although there were differences in the evaluations for speaker social attractiveness according to gender, no significant overall effect was found between the responses of the male group and the female group: $F(6, 551) = 1.47, p > 0.05$ ($p = 1.88$); Wilks' Lambda = 0.98; partial eta squared = 0.016, which suggests a negligible to small (although not significant) effect size. It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the informants' gender do not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of social attractiveness.

5.4.2 Self-perceived Competence in English

This section details the results of the effect of levels of self-perceived competence in English on the informants' evaluations of the six speakers. As a reminder to the reader, 'self-perceived competence' was defined as a reflection of the learners' perception of his/her proficiency in the target language (Dewaele, 2005: 124). In order to measure self-perceived competence in English, the respondents were asked to state whether their language ability in English was 'a little', 'good' or 'very good'. In order to avoid confusion with 'speaker competence', hereafter, for the remaining sections, self-perceived *competence* in English is referred to as self-perceived *proficiency* in English. A summary of the data is presented below.

The results of Table 5.8 demonstrate the relatively low number of informants (31 out of 558) who perceived themselves to have attained a 'very good' level of English. The number of informants who chose this category was considered too low to subject to statistical analyses. Hence, a decision was taken to combine the 'good' and 'very good' scores and subsequently to reclassify them into a single category, 'higher proficiency'. In addition, it was decided to reclassify the 'a little' category as 'lower proficiency'. Hence, the independent variable was subsequently composed of two distinct levels:

Table 5.8 (Initial) Distribution of informants according to self-perceived proficiency in English

Value label	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Little	349	62.54
Good	178	31.90
Very good	31	5.56
Total	558	100

informants who perceived themselves to have attained a lower proficiency in English and informants who perceived themselves to have attained a higher proficiency in English. A summary of the collected data, reclassified into two levels, is presented below (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 (Reclassified) Distribution of informants according to self-perceived proficiency in English

Value label	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Lower proficiency	349	62.54
Higher proficiency	209	37.46
Total	558	100

5.4.2.1 Competence

The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for speaker competence according to self-perceived proficiency in English are detailed in Table 5.10 below.

A multivariate analysis of variance demonstrated a significant overall effect for self-perceived proficiency in English for speaker competence: $F(6, 551) = 6.48, p < 0.001$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.934; partial eta squared = 0.066, which suggests a moderate to large effect size. Furthermore, the results indicated that when the effects of self-perceived proficiency in English on the six dependent variables were considered separately, four differences reached statistical significance:

- (i) HJE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 8.98, p < 0.005$, partial eta squared = 0.017, which suggests a small to moderate effect size.
- (ii) SSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 10.54, p < 0.005$, partial eta squared = 0.015, which again suggests a small to moderate effect size.
- (iii) SUSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 18.31, p < 0.001$, partial eta squared = 0.034, which once more suggests a small to moderate effect size.
- (iv) MWUSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 5.52, p < 0.05$, partial eta squared = 0.009, which suggests a negligible to small (although statistically significant) effect size.

Hence, as can be seen above, when the results were analysed to determine the main effects of self-perceived proficiency in English on speaker

Table 5.10 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker competence according to self-perceived proficiency in English

Speaker competence	Self-perceived proficiency in English	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>N</i>
MWUSE	Lower proficiency	4.8818	0.99469	349
	Higher proficiency	5.0873	1.07662	209
	Total	4.9588	1.03000	558
SUSE	Lower proficiency	4.8052	0.92246	349
	Higher proficiency	5.1794	1.04098	209
	Total	4.9453	0.98447	558
SSE	Lower proficiency	3.9756	1.05835	349
	Higher proficiency	4.2596	1.17205	209
	Total	4.0820	1.10982	558
GV	Lower proficiency	4.4198	0.97029	349
	Higher proficiency	4.4426	1.04222	209
	Total	4.4283	0.99697	558
MJE	Lower proficiency	3.6583	0.87089	349
	Higher proficiency	3.7943	0.98524	209
	Total	3.7092	0.91689	558
HJE	Lower proficiency	3.4176	0.94792	349
	Higher proficiency	3.1555	0.97984	209
	Total	3.3194	0.96749	558

competence, there were significant differences in the evaluations of speakers of three native/inner circle varieties of English (SSE, SUSE and MWUSE). The results for each of these speakers demonstrate that the ratings of those informants who believed they had attained a higher level of proficiency were significantly more favourable when compared to informants who believed they had attained a lower level of competence in English. The greater preference for native/inner circle varieties of English amongst informants with a higher level of English is consistent with the findings of Eisenstein's (1982) study of the attitudes of English language learners in New York. Eisenstein found that as the learners gained proficiency in English, their attitudes became increasingly similar to those of native speakers (i.e., towards a greater preference for prestige varieties).

In contrast, with regard to the HJE speaker, the evaluations of the higher proficiency group were significantly less favourable than the lower proficiency group. Again, this may reflect a greater similarity to native speaker attitudes, where listener-judges tend to downgrade non-prestige varieties in terms of competence.

5.4.2.2 Social Attractiveness

The results from the MANOVA showed that although there were differences in the evaluations for speaker social attractiveness according to self-perceived competence in English, no significant overall effect was found between the

responses of the lower proficiency group and the higher proficiency group: $F(6, 551) = 0.712, p > 0.05 (p = 0.640)$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.99; partial eta squared = 0.008, which suggests a negligible effect size. It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the informants' self-perceived competence in English do not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of social attractiveness.

5.4.3 Previous Exposure to English

This section details the results of the effect of level of prior exposure to varieties of English on speaker evaluations. To capture this rather vague concept, it was decided to collect data relating to periods spent in English-speaking countries. To minimise the influence of interviewer bias (see Section 3.1.2), no precise definition of what constitutes 'an English-speaking country' was provided for the informants. In order to differentiate between levels of previous exposure to varieties of English, a cut-off point of a combined total of 3 months or more was employed. Three months in an English-speaking country was decided upon as a cut-off point because previous studies involving Japanese learners of English found this period of time to have a significant effect on the results of the study (e.g., Yashima, 2002). In summary, the independent variable was composed of two distinct levels: informants who had spent less than 3 months in English-speaking countries and informants who had spent 3 months or more in English-speaking countries. A summary of the data is presented below (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Distribution of informants according to previous exposure to English

Value label	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Less than 3 months in an English-speaking country	446	79.93
3 months or more in an English-speaking country	112	20.07
Total	558	100

5.4.3.1 Competence

The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for speaker competence according to level of previous exposure to English are detailed in Table 5.12 below.

A MANOVA showed a significant overall effect for previous exposure to English on evaluations of speaker competence: $F(6, 551) = 7.46, p < 0.05$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.92; partial eta squared = 0.075, which suggests a moderate to large effect size. Moreover, it was found that when the results for the effects of previous exposure to English on the ratings of the six speakers were considered separately, four differences reached statistical significance (even allowing for the adjusted alpha levels due to violations of test assumptions; see above):

Table 5.12 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker competence according to previous exposure to English

Speaker competence	Level of English exposure	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>N</i>
MWUSE	Less than 3 months	4.9019	1.05271	446
	3 months or more	5.1853	0.90341	112
	Total	4.9588	1.03000	558
SUSE	Less than 3 months	4.8812	0.94551	446
	3 months or more	5.2009	1.09403	112
	Total	4.9453	0.98447	558
SSE	Less than 3 months	3.9787	1.05872	446
	3 months or more	4.4933	1.21387	112
	Total	4.0820	1.10982	558
GV	Less than 3 months	4.4439	0.98952	446
	3 months or more	4.3661	1.02828	112
	Total	4.4283	0.99697	558
MJE	Less than 3 months	3.7046	0.88672	446
	3 months or more	3.7277	1.03244	112
	Total	3.7092	0.91689	558
HJE	Less than 3 months	3.3885	0.97743	446
	3 months or more	3.0446	0.87843	112
	Total	3.3194	0.96749	558

- (i) HJE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 11.52$, $p < 0.001$, partial eta squared = 0.02, which suggests a small to moderate effect size.
- (ii) SSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 19.90$, $p < 0.001$, partial eta squared = 0.035, which again suggests a small to moderate effect size.
- (iii) SUSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 9.59$, $p < 0.01$, partial eta squared = 0.017, which once more suggests a small to moderate effect size.
- (iv) MWUSE speaker: $F(1, 556) = 6.85$, $p < 0.01$, partial eta squared = 0.012, which again suggests a small to moderate effect size.

As can be seen above, when the results were analysed to determine the effect of levels of exposure to English on speaker competence, there were significant differences in the evaluations of the speakers of three native/inner circle varieties of English (SSE, SUSE, MWUSE). Although these three speakers, in general, were ranked highly in terms of competence by the sample, in each case, those informants who had greater experience of travelling to English-speaking countries rated each speaker significantly more favourably when compared to informants with less experience of English-speaking countries. This preference for native/inner circle varieties of English amongst informants with greater experience is likely to be due to their greater levels of contact with native speakers of English. The results are broadly compatible with those of Ladegaard (1998) who conducted a study into the attitudes of English language learners in Denmark. Laadegaard found that attitudes towards varieties of English speech amongst learners of English in Denmark were broadly similar to the patterns of evaluation found amongst native speakers, where a general

tendency was found for listener-judges to rate prestige varieties most favourably in terms of competence. He concluded that the learners had acquired subconscious information about speech varieties through English language media transmitted stereotypes. It is reasonable to assume that as the learners' exposure to the English language media increases, the more similar to native speaker perceptions their evaluations become. The results are also consistent with Eisenstein's (1982) findings in New York where it was demonstrated that as contact between non-native speakers and speakers of the target language increased, learners' attitudes towards varieties of English became increasingly similar to those of the native speakers, i.e., towards a preference for prestige varieties. It is interesting that the results for levels of exposure to English mirror the findings for both gender and self-perceived proficiency in English (see Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2), where both female informants and those learners with higher levels of proficiency in English evaluated the SSE, SUSE and MWUSE speakers significantly more favourably than either male informants or those learners with lower levels of proficiency in English.

In contrast, those informants who had less experience of travelling to English-speaking countries rated the HJE speaker significantly more positively than learners with greater experience did. This finding may reflect lower levels of exposure to the English language media amongst the informants with less experience of travelling to English-speaking countries and thus, less awareness of prestige and non-prestige varieties of English. This explanation is supported by the finding that respondents with greater exposure tended to evaluate the MJE speaker more positively (although the result is not significant), perhaps suggesting that these informants are less critical of the moderately-accented Japanese English speaker. These results are intriguing because they are consistent with the findings of a study conducted by Chiba et al. (1995) who found that amongst a sample of 169 Japanese university students, informants with more respect for American and British varieties of speech (i.e., in the present study, those with greater exposure to English) tended to be less favourable towards outer circle or expanding circle varieties of English. Again, it is intriguing that the findings for the effect of levels of exposure to English on the ratings for the HJE speaker are replicated for results for self-perceived proficiency, where informants who had attained higher levels of proficiency in English rated the HJE speaker significantly less favourably than informants who had attained lower levels of proficiency (see previous section).

5.4.3.2 Social Attractiveness

A multivariate analysis of variance showed that although there were differences in the evaluations for speaker social attractiveness according to levels of previous exposure to English, no significant overall effect was found between the responses of the less than 3 months group and the 3 months or more in an English-speaking country group: $F(6, 551) = 1.83$, $p > 0.05$ ($p = 0.92$); Wilks' Lambda = 0.98; partial eta squared = 0.20, which

suggests a small (although not significant) effect size. It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the informants' previous level of exposure to English do not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of social attractiveness.

5.4.4 Regional Provenance

This section of the chapter details the results of the effects of regional provenance on the informants' ratings of the six speakers, obtained in the verbal-guise section of the research instrument. In order to measure regional provenance, the informants were asked to state whether they perceived themselves to be from a rural or an urban area of Japan. This section of the chapter details the results of the effects of regional provenance on the informants' ratings of the six speakers, obtained in the verbal-guise section of the research instrument.

In order to measure regional provenance, the informants were asked to state whether they perceived themselves to be from a rural or an urban area of Japan. A summary of the data collected is presented below (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 Distribution of informants according to regional provenance

Value label	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Rural	310	55.56
Urban	248	44.44
Total	558	100

5.4.4.1 Competence

The results from the MANOVA showed that although there were differences in the evaluations for speaker social attractiveness according to regional provenance, no significant overall effect was found between the responses of the rural group and the urban group: $F(6,551) = 1.17, p > 0.05$ ($p = 0.320$); Wilks' Lambda = 0.99; partial eta squared = 0.013, which again suggests a negligible to small (although not significant) effect size.

It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the informants' regional provenance do not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of competence.

5.4.4.2 Social Attractiveness

Similarly, The results from the MANOVA showed that although there were differences in the evaluations for speaker social attractiveness according to regional provenance, no significant overall effect was found between the responses of the rural group and the urban group: $F(6, 551) = 0.725, p > 0.05$

($p = 0.629$); Wilks' Lambda = 0.99; partial eta squared = 0.008, which suggests a negligible effect size.

It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the informants' regional provenance also do not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of social attractiveness.

5.4.5 Summary of Main Effects of Background Variables on Speaker Evaluations

The results demonstrated main effects of social factors on the informants' ratings of the following speakers:

- (i) HJE: significant main effects were found for self-perceived proficiency in English and exposure to English on speaker competence.
- (ii) SSE: significant main effects were found for gender, self-perceived proficiency in English and exposure to English on speaker competence.
- (iii) SUSE: again, significant main effects were found for gender, self-perceived proficiency in English and exposure to English on speaker competence.
- (iv) MWUSE: once more, significant main effects were found for gender, self-perceived proficiency in English and exposure to English on speaker competence.

Although several significant main effects were found for the competence of the speakers (see above), it is important to be aware, in general, that main effects should be interpreted with caution because the presence of any interaction effects also have to be taken into account (Shaughnessy et al., 2003: 273–274). This is because either the presence or absence of interaction effects between the independent variables chosen for the study are critical in determining the external validity of the main effects found, i.e., whether the findings for the main effects are generalisable (ibid.: 280–281). Hence, it was imperative to undertake further analysis in order to detect the existence and determine the implications of any additional interaction effects. In this way, the main effects demonstrated for speaker competence can be interpreted with greater confidence.

5.4.6 Interaction Effects of Background Variables on Speaker Evaluations

The results of the MANOVAs in the previous section demonstrated that social factors amongst the informants are a greater influence on the ratings of speaker competence than on social attractiveness. Indeed, the results confirmed the existence of significant main effects for several background variables on the informants' evaluations of the competence of the HJE, SSE, SUSE and MWUSE speakers whilst no main effects were found for the ratings of the six

speakers in terms of social attractiveness. Separate between-groups ANOVAs were subsequently conducted for the competence ratings of each of the four speakers to confirm (or not) whether any additional interaction effects existed where a main effect was previously demonstrated.

Although for reasons of space the analysis is not presented in this book, the results of the ANOVAs indicated that there were no significant interaction effects between any of the background variables on the informants' evaluations of the competence of the HJE, SSE, SUSE and MWUSE speakers. The absence of any interaction effects between the potentially determining social factors investigated in the study provides greater external validity for the main effects demonstrated in Section 5.4. Thus, it is possible to state with greater confidence that the informants' gender, exposure to English and self-perceived competence in English have a unique and direct influence on the informants' mean ratings of the HJE, SSE, SUSE and MWUSE speakers on the intelligent, clear, fluent and confident traits. In other words, differences in gender, level of self-perceived competence in English and level of exposure to English can, to some extent, account for differences in the attitudes Japanese learners of English hold towards different varieties of English speech.

5.5 Effects of Perceptions of Non-standard Japanese on Speaker Evaluations

This section details the results of Part 3 of the research instrument, the perceptual dialectology study. As stated previously (see Section 4.5.3), the main objective of this part of the research instrument was to measure, by direct means, the language attitudes of the respondents towards non-standard varieties of Japanese speech. This information was obtained in order to investigate whether any differences between the informants' perceptions of non-standard Japanese in any way shaped the results of the speaker evaluations obtained in the verbal-guise study (see Section 5.2) and hence, had an effect on any attitudes they may hold towards varieties of English.

As a reminder to the reader, the informants were initially presented with a map of Japan, marked only with the prefectural boundaries and major cities and subsequently asked to perform the following tasks:

- (i) On the map, circle the areas on the map of Japan where people speak varieties of Japanese different from standard Japanese.
- (ii) How would you describe the speakers of these varieties of Japanese?

5.5.1 Preliminary Analysis

In order to prepare the data for more complex statistical analyses, initial categorisation of the responses given by the informants to the two tasks was

undertaken. In the case of the first task, the purpose was to discover the location(s) in Japan where the informants identified speakers of non-standard Japanese to reside. Although the data collected in this task was not strictly relevant to the main objectives of the study, the informants nevertheless provided a range of interesting responses. The responses demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the informants identified at least one core dialectal area where non-standard Japanese is spoken, namely, around the city of Osaka (commonly known as *Osaka-ben* in Japanese). In addition, the responses of the vast majority of the informants demonstrated that the variety of Japanese spoken in Tokyo was identified as ‘standard’ (known as *hyoojugo* in Japanese). Such a pattern of responses is broadly compatible with the findings of similar studies investigating folk perceptions of varieties of Japanese (e.g., Shibatani, 1990; Long, 1999b; Ball, 2004).

The aim of the second task was to collect data on the respondents’ perceptions of the speakers of non-standard Japanese identified in task one. Again, the informants provided a wide range of responses to the second question. From the descriptions given, it was felt that it was indeed possible to classify the responses into broad categories of ‘neutral’, ‘negative’ or ‘positive’. The categorisation of the informants’ descriptions of speakers of non-standard Japanese is detailed below:

Table 5.14 Distribution of informants according to perceptions of non-standard Japanese

Value label	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Positive (attitude)	239	42.83
Negative (attitude)	97	17.38
Neutral (attitude)	222	39.78
Total	558	100

Table 5.14 above indicated that a relatively large percentage (42.83%) of the total number of informants evaluated speakers of varieties of non-standard Japanese positively. Informants making this choice tended to focus on the ‘friendliness’, ‘kindliness’ or the ‘gentleness’ of the speakers or of the historical and cultural importance of the identified non-standard varieties. The much lower percentage of respondents (17.38%) who evaluated the speech negatively tended to comment upon the ‘strangeness’, ‘lack of intelligibility’ (due mainly to the perceived pace of the speech or the unknown vocabulary), or, particularly with regard to *Osaka-ben*, remarked upon the ‘aggressiveness’ of the speakers. The remaining informants (39.78%) who evaluated the speakers in neutral terms tended to identify the names of speech spoken in the area(s) circled and/or provided a description of the salient linguistic features of the variety. The informants who expressed either positive or negative evaluations of speakers of non-standard Japanese tended to write much more detailed descriptions when compared to those informants who were more neutral in their

evaluations. In light of this finding, it is possible to speculate that the respondents who hold stronger attitudes (i.e., either positive or negative) have a greater awareness of regional and social variation within the Japanese language. In addition, it is also interesting that the informants who were favourable towards non-standard speakers of Japanese tended to be the most vehement in their responses. This suggests that more positive attitudes towards (speakers of) non-standard varieties of English are held with the greatest intensity and hence, these attitudes are much more likely to persist, be resistant to change, guide the behaviour and affect the judgements of the individuals who hold them (Perloff, 2003: 56) (see Section 2.1.3). Generally, the descriptions provided by the informants demonstrated a broad tolerance (if not a reserved approval) for (speakers of) non-standard varieties of Japanese speech although it is clear that some differences in perceptions exist between the informants.

The following extracts represent a range of comments given in the responses to task two. It is hoped that their inclusion will help provide the reader with a deeper insight into both the attitudes of the informants towards non-standard Japanese and to the process of categorisation. The informant codes are given in parenthesis.

Positive attitude

I used to think they were provincial in my childhood. Now I think they are lucky, we have to preserve it (105)
 dialect is soft and standard language is hard (304)
 The varieties of Japanese show the varieties of Japanese culture (383)
 non-standard Japanese is the true Japanese (412)
 They have various cultures and traditions. They are excellent (116)
 unique and diverse (075)
 Natural and warm, varieties is interesting. Standard sounds automatic (084)
 all dialects, cute and attractive! (359)
 I think the speakers who speak dialect are more friendly than the speakers speak standard Japanese (430)
 friendly, indigenous, cute, close, kind, humane (068)
 surprising, curious, strange, fresh, good (356)
 Generally I have something intimate, kind or warm image toward the speakers of these variety of Japanese (072)
 polite, original, funny (342)
 Speakers of *Osaka-ben* are always interesting (063)
 In Osaka, the speakers are confident and funny (248)
 People in Osaka and Kyoto say *okini* (thank you). I like this word (046)

Negative attitude

I can't understand the words they pronounce (455)
 incomprehensible, stern, slow (246)
 I can't understand because of their strong accent (506)
 People in Osaka is noisy (027)
 The speakers of Osaka are louder (158)
 Osaka and Nara (nearby) are angry (331)
 they are like barbarian (406)
 stubborn, distant (067)
 very strange and very, very country (041)
 Those who speak non-standard Japanese are regarded as rural, not sophisticated (371)

Neutral attitude

- They speak with a little different accent (381)
- words, intonation, sentence endings, pace are all different (487)
- different words, intonations, accents (550)
- They are different from us in intonation (152)
- There is a big difference between varieties of Japanese and standard Japanese (352)
- Osaka-ben, Kyoto-ben, Hakata-ben, Okinawa-ben* (556)
- I describe them by their dialect (107)
- I think the more apart from Tokyo, the more the accent becomes strong (360)
- The areas are distant from Tokyo (403)
- I can only circle regions (460)

5.5.1.1 Competence

A one-way between groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted in order to investigate the effects of differences in the respondents' perceptions of non-standard varieties of Japanese on the evaluations of speaker competence (i.e., the intelligent, clear, fluent and confident traits).

The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for speaker competence according to perceptions of non-standard Japanese are detailed in Table 5.15 below.

The results from the MANOVA showed a significant overall effect for the negative, neutral and positive attitudes towards non-standard Japanese on evaluations of speaker competence: $F(12, 1102) = 1.78, p < 0.05$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.96; partial eta squared = 0.019, which suggests a small to moderate effect size.

More specifically, the analysis indicated that when the effects of differences in perception of non-standard Japanese on the six speakers were analysed separately, only one difference reached statistical significance:

- (i) HJE speaker: $F(2, 555) = 5.73$, partial eta squared = 0.02, which again suggests a small to moderate effect size.

This result demonstrates a difference between informants who held neutral attitudes and those who held either positive or negative attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Japanese. The results reveal that learners of English who were broadly neutral in their evaluations of speakers of non-standard Japanese judged the HJE speaker significantly less favourably. It may well be that these individuals have lower levels of awareness of regional and social variation in the Japanese language and because of this are less likely to accept Japanese-accented English (for a fuller discussion see Section 6.1.4).

5.5.1.2 Social Attractiveness

A MANOVA showed that although there were differences in the evaluations for speaker social attractiveness according to perception of non-standard Japanese, no significant overall effect was found between the responses of the

Table 5.15 Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker competence according to perceptions of non-standard Japanese

Speaker competence	Perceptions of NS Japanese	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>N</i>
MWUSE	Negative	4.9974	1.04862	97
	Neutral	4.9696	1.02813	222
	Positive	4.9331	1.02782	239
	Total	4.9588	1.03000	558
SUSE	Negative	4.9278	1.03138	97
	Neutral	4.9876	0.96025	222
	Positive	4.9132	0.98999	239
	Total	4.9453	0.98447	558
SSE	Negative	4.0670	1.14650	97
	Neutral	3.9673	1.11540	222
	Positive	4.1946	1.08262	239
	Total	4.0820	1.10982	558
GV	Negative	4.6057	1.14555	97
	Neutral	4.3727	0.94016	222
	Positive	4.4079	0.97978	239
	Total	4.4283	0.99697	558
MJE	Negative	3.7062	0.88830	97
	Neutral	3.6971	0.90202	222
	Positive	3.7218	0.94518	239
	Total	3.7092	0.91689	558
HJE	Negative	3.5129	1.04543	97
	Neutral	3.1588	0.88211	222
	Positive	3.3902	0.99141	239
	Total	3.3194	0.96749	558

negative attitude group, the neutral attitude group and positive attitude group: $F(12, 1102) = 0.716$, $p > 0.05$ ($p = 0.735$); Wilks' Lambda = 0.99; partial eta squared = 0.0089, which suggests a negligible effect size. It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the informants' perceptions of non-standard varieties of Japanese do not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of social attractiveness.

5.5.2 Summary of Effects of Perceptions of Non-standard Japanese and Background Variables on Speaker Evaluations

Although for reasons of space the results are not presented in this book, a three-way between groups analysis of variance indicated that there were no interaction effects between perceptions of non-standard Japanese, self-perceived proficiency in English and exposure to English. The absence of any interaction

effects between perceptions of non-standard Japanese, self-perceived competence in English and exposure to English on the informants' ratings of the competence of the HJE speaker (demonstrated above) provides greater external validity for the main effect of perceptions of non-standard Japanese demonstrated in Section 5.6.1. Hence, it can be asserted with greater confidence that differences in the informants' attitudes to non-standard Japanese have a unique and direct influence on their perceptions of heavily-accented Japanese English. This finding is important as it substantiates 'perceptions of L1' as an explanatory variable, which can account for differences between Japanese learners' attitudes towards varieties of English. Moreover, the finding suggests that when conducting surveys involving the attitudes of non-native speakers towards varieties of English, whenever possible, it would be profitable to include details regarding learners' perceptions of L1 as well as providing information on other potentially determining factors.

5.6 Identification of (Speakers of) Varieties of English

This section details the results of Part 2 of the research instrument, the dialect recognition item. As stated previously (see Section 4.5.2), the main objective of this part of the research instrument was to ascertain how accurately and consistently the informants could correctly identify the six varieties of English speech selected for evaluation purposes. In the present study, the inclusion of variety recognition questions is arguably more important as the study attempts to measure speech evaluations of learners of English who are likely to have had less exposure to varieties of English than native speakers of the language. Moreover, as dialect identifications are frequently based on the ethnic associations of the listener (Lindemann, 2003: 355), it was considered vital to examine patterns of identification/misidentification in order to gain a deeper understanding of the cues with which the Japanese learners based their identifications upon, as well as to give an insight into their ideological framework (Van Bezooijen and Gooskens, 1997: 32). It was also important to determine the influence (if any) that mis(identifications) had on the learners' ratings for the competence and the social attractiveness of the speakers. In short, it was felt that the inclusion of a dialect recognition item would allow for a more straightforward interpretation of the data collected in the other three sections of the study.

As a reminder to the reader, to determine recognition rates and examine patterns of identification/misidentification of the six speech varieties included for evaluation purposes, the learners were asked the following two questions:

- (i) Where do you think the speaker comes from?
- (ii) How did you make this decision?

5.6.1 Recognition Rates

The first stage of the data analysis was to ascertain recognition rates for the six (speakers of) varieties of English presented. In order to achieve this, the informants' responses to question one (detailed above) were categorised as either 'correct' or 'incorrect'. The decision of whether an individual informant's answers were considered correct or incorrect, at times, proved somewhat problematic, largely due to the idiosyncratic nature of the responses provided. For instance, although the first question specifically requested the listeners to identify the country where each of the speakers come from, several of the informants identified either the variety of English spoken or the nationality of the speaker. In addition, a number of spelling mistakes were evident in the learners' responses. A relatively large number of respondents also frequently identified the provenance of the Scottish speakers (SSE and GV) as 'the UK' or 'Britain', which again made categorisation problematic. Under the circumstances (i.e., where the listeners were learners of English studying in Japan), a decision was taken not to impose an unrealistically narrow interpretation of the informants' responses. It was for this reason that inaccuracies in both terminology and spelling were liberally interpreted and that variations on both 'the UK' and 'Britain' were accepted as appropriate identifications of the provenance of the SSE and GV speakers. The percentages of the correctly and incorrectly identified place of origin for the six speakers are summarised below (Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 Percentages (and frequencies) of correct and incorrect identifications for speakers' place of origin ($N = 558$)

Recognition	Speaker					
	MWUSE	SUSE	SSE	MJE	HJE	GV
Correct	54.66 (305)	59.14 (330)	32.08 (179)	29.93 (167)	90.14 (503)	31.00 (173)
Incorrect	45.34 (253)	40.86 (228)	67.92 (379)	70.1 (391)	9.86 (55)	69.00 (385)
Total	100 (558)	100 (558)	100 (558)	100 (558)	100 (558)	100 (558)

It is evident from the results above that there were great differences between the informants' recognition rates of the place of origin of the six speakers. The HJE speaker was clearly the most accurately identified by the listeners (90.14%). Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the Japanese learners of English are most familiar with this variety of English and, as described previously, the relatively positive overall evaluations of the HJE speaker in terms of social attractiveness (the speaker was ranked first on this dimension) is likely to reflect a high degree of solidarity amongst the Japanese learners, many of whom are also likely to speak heavily-accented Japanese English.

The recognition rates for the speakers of SUSE (59.14%) and MWUSE (54.66%) were also relatively high, where in both cases more than half the listeners identified the speakers' origin accurately as the USA. This finding is likely to reflect the general prevalence of American culture in Japanese society. More specifically, the recognition rates are likely to reflect the general familiarity which the learners have with US varieties of English, most likely gained by watching American television programmes which dominate the English language media in Japan (Stanlaw, 2004: Chapter 12) and/or through repeated exposure to recordings of speakers of US varieties of English in the language classroom in Japan (Kubota, 1998: 298, 2002: 24; Matsuda, 2000: 38) (see Sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4). Intriguingly, and somewhat contrary to expectation, a higher recognition rate was found for the (non-mainstream) SUSE speaker than the (mainstream) MWUSE speaker. This finding may be explained by the increased levels of exposure given to Southern United States speech in the US-dominated English language media in Japan because of the recent extensive coverage of the devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. In order to validate (or not) this explanation, it would be profitable to administer, at some point in the future, the dialect recognition item to a similar group of informants in Japan, and presumably, when Southern United States speech is less prevalent in the English language media in the country.

The informants demonstrated considerable difficulty in terms of the correct identification of the SSE speaker (32.08%) and the GV speaker (31.00%). The most plausible explanation for the relatively low recognition rates is that, due to the lack of exposure in Japan, the learners do not have sufficient experience and awareness of these varieties, i.e., they do not have reliable perceptual records of the outgroup norms (Williams et al., 1999: 352). This explanation is supported by the slightly higher recognition rate for the speaker of Scottish Standard English than the speaker of Glasgow vernacular, as it is reasonable to assume, at least in the case of the UK, that the Japanese learners are more likely to be exposed to higher levels of standard local varieties of (UK) English than to non-standard local varieties. In addition, the broad grammatical similarities between varieties of Scottish Standard English and varieties of Standard English (see Section 3.2.1) may allow for more accurate identification of the SSE speaker amongst the informants.

The task of identifying the provenance of the MJE speaker was clearly a difficult one for the listeners, with a recognition rate of only 29.93%. It is certainly plausible that the relatively low levels of accurate identification are at least partly as a result of changes in the speaker's English. Although at the time of recording, the speaker continued to perceive herself to speak 'Japanese-English English', her English is likely to have been influenced by contact with native speakers of English in the UK and the USA during extensive and continuous periods of academic study in both countries (see Section 4.2.2). The low level of accurate identification of the MJE speaker appears to validate the previous explanation provided for the relatively unfavourable evaluations of the speaker in terms of social attractiveness found in the verbal-guise study,

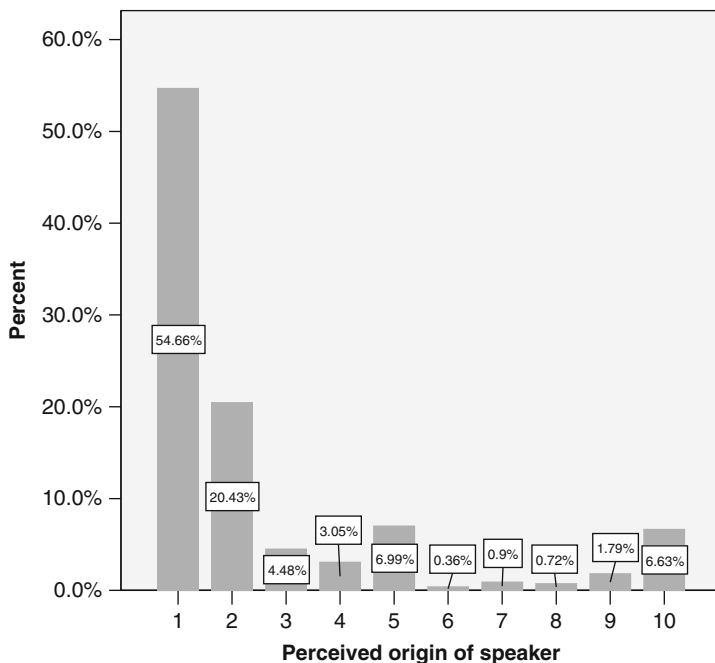
which were thought to indicate that the Japanese informants perceived the MJE speaker as outgroup.

The recognition rates detailed above may appear somewhat low when compared to the results of previous matched-guise/verbal-guise studies, involving either native speakers or non-native speakers and which included a dialect recognition item, where higher rates of accurate identification were found (e.g., Williams et al., 1999; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997). However, the vast majority of these studies asked listeners to select from a predetermined list, thus, limiting the types of misidentification possible (Lindemann, 2003: 353). However, in the present study, as the recognition questions were open-ended (and hence, no predetermined list of response options were provided), it would be reasonable to expect the listeners' recognition rates to be lower. Nevertheless, as open-ended questions tend to permit greater freedom of expression and thus, provide a far greater 'richness' than closed-ended items (Dornyei, 2003: 47), there is a greater likelihood that the responses to the dialect recognition questions in the present study will provide a deeper insight into the informants' cognitive mapping of audible speech features on to their individual records of the usage norms of particular speech communities (Garrett et al., 2003: 208). Moreover, because the choice of the speakers' place of origin was not limited in any way, the patterns of misidentification found amongst the listeners' responses to the open-ended recognition questions in the present study are also likely to provide greater insight into the ideological framework of the informants (Lindemann, 2003: 355–358) (see Section 3.1.3). It is for the reasons detailed above that more extensive analysis of correct and incorrect identifications was undertaken. The results of this analysis are detailed in the section below.

5.6.2 Analysis of Identifications and Misidentifications

In order to examine the identifications and misidentifications of the speakers' place of origin more fully, it was necessary to classify the listeners' responses into distinct geographical areas as well as examine their reasons for the choices they made. Before the classification process had begun, the original intention had been to employ the same set of geographical descriptors for each of the speakers. However, because of the considerable differences between the informants' responses to the US/UK speakers of English on the one hand, and to the Japanese speakers of English on the other, it was necessary to devise one set of descriptors for the native speakers and another for the non-native speakers. It is for this reason that a decision was taken to present and discuss separately the results of the informants' identifications and misidentifications of the provenance of the US, UK and Japanese speakers of English. The findings are presented below.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below indicate that although 54.66 and 59.14% of the informants identified accurately the place of origin of the MWUSE and SUSE



Key:

1=USA

2=UK

3=Canada

4=Australia/NZ

5=Other Europe (Expanding circle)

6=Japan

7=Other East Asia (Expanding circle)

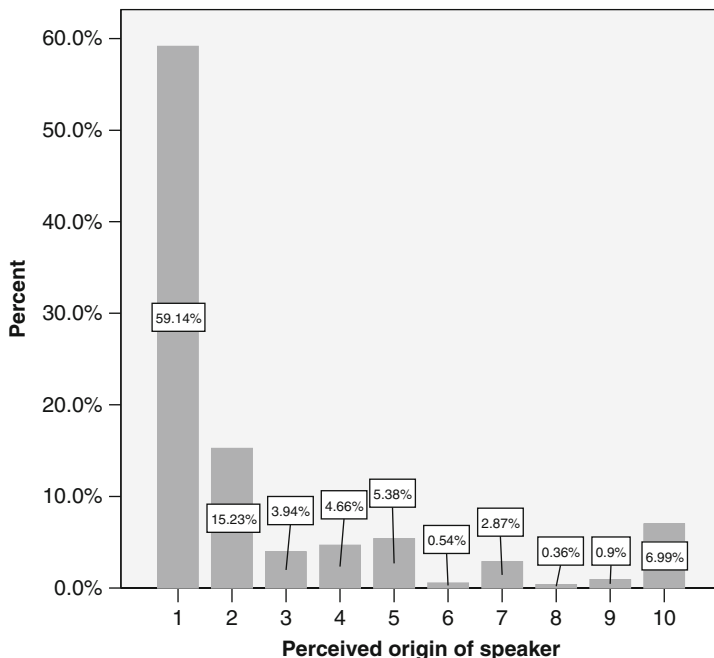
8=Other Expanding circle

9=Outer circle

10=Unsure

Fig. 5.1 Informants' classification of place of origin of Mid-West US English speaker

speakers as 'the USA', 82.62 and 82.97% were able to identify the speech as inner circle English. This finding suggests that although some confusion exists, the great majority of learners in Japan are able to recognise non-mainstream as well as mainstream varieties of US English as inner circle speech. The high recognition rates are likely to be because of the prevalence of US English in Japan. The results also demonstrate that in terms of identification, the distinction between native and non-native English speech is particularly salient for the listeners and that recognition is occurring at some level of awareness. The relatively high proportion of informants who accurately identified the place of origin of the MWUSE and SUSE speaker as 'the USA' generally commented upon the speakers' pronunciation. These informants also tended to focus on the 'ease of comprehensibility' or 'familiarity of the speech'. Some differences were found for the method by which informants' recognised the MWUSE speaker and the SUSE speaker. In the case of the MWUSE speaker, a number of the



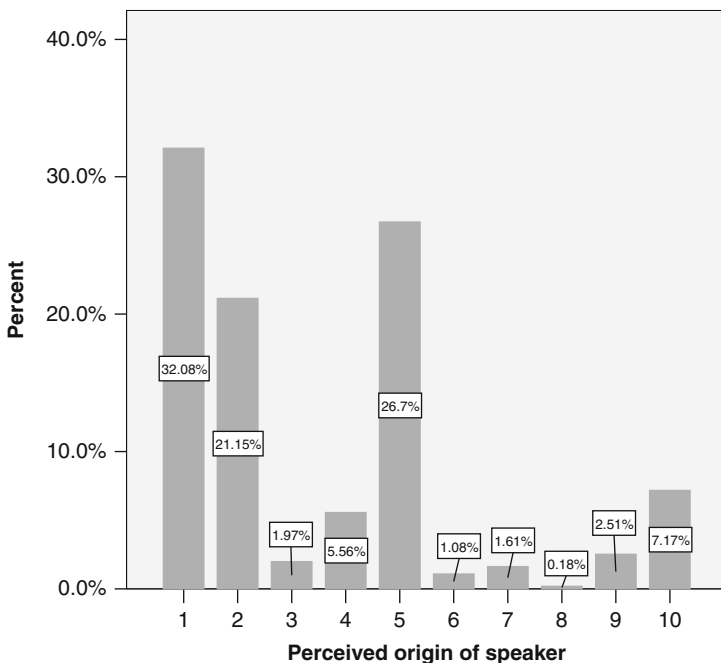
Key:

1 = USA	6 = Japan
2 = UK	7 = Other East Asia (Expanding circle)
3 = Canada	8 = Other Expanding circle
4 = Australia/NZ	9 = Outer circle
5 = Other Europe (Expanding circle)	10 = Unsure

Fig. 5.2 Informants’ classification of place of origin of Southern US English speaker

listeners focussed on the speech as ‘standard’ or ‘normal’ English’, which suggests an awareness amongst the informants of mainstream speech as a ‘prestige variety’ (borne out by the generally favourable ratings for the competence of the MWUSE speaker in the verbal-guise section of the study). In contrast, listeners who correctly identified the provenance of the SUSE speaker generally commented upon the specific features of the speakers’ pronunciation (see below). The relatively low proportion of listeners who failed to recognise the place of origin of the speakers of the US varieties of English tended to comment upon specific features of the speakers’ pronunciation and grammar, particularly when the speaker was identified incorrectly to be from ‘England’ or ‘Europe’ (see end of this section).

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 below demonstrate that although a relatively low proportion (32.08 and 31.0%) of listeners were able to identify accurately the place of origin of the SSE and GV speakers as ‘Scotland/the UK’, a substantially higher proportion (60.76 and 46.41%) could recognise the speech as inner circle

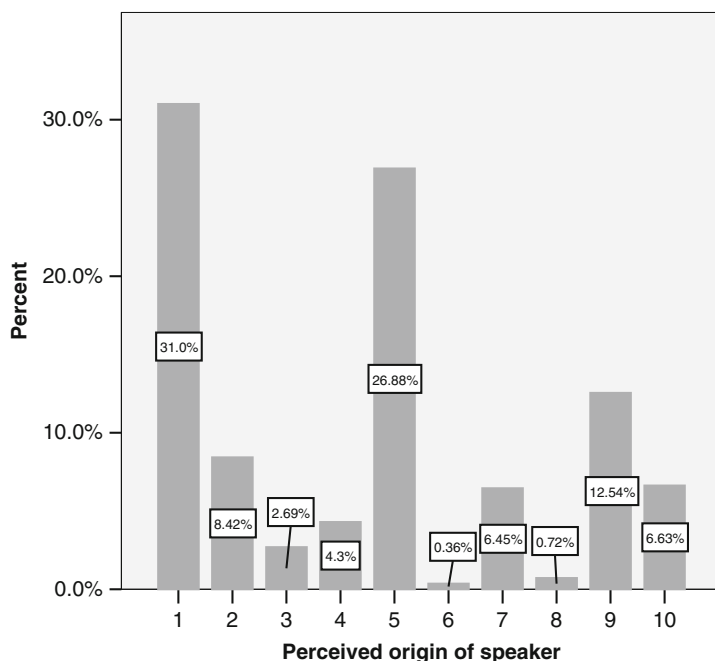


Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1 = Scotland/UK | 6 = Japan |
| 2 = USA | 7 = Other East Asia (Expanding circle) |
| 3 = Canada | 8 = Other Expanding circle |
| 4 = Australia/NZ | 9 = Outer circle |
| 5 = Other Europe (Expanding circle) | 10 = Unsure |

Fig. 5.3 Informants' classification of place of origin of Scottish Standard English speaker

English. The recognition rates may initially appear surprising considering the relative lack of awareness the learners had of these varieties (see above). However, this finding again suggests that, in terms of recognition, the native/non-native distinction is salient for the Japanese learners and, for the great majority, recognition is indeed occurring at some conscious or unconscious level. This appears to be particularly the case for the speaker of the standard variety of UK English (SSE). Informants who correctly identified the provenance of the SSE speaker tended to comment upon the 'fluency' of her pronunciation and/or its 'distinctiveness' in comparison to 'American English'. Those informants who did not recognise the place of origin of the SSE speaker generally commented upon the 'strangeness' of the speech, its perceived similarity to other varieties of English or, when identified as a native speaker of English, the 'fluency' of the speaker. However, the results for the perceived origin of the GV speaker indicate a greater degree of confusion amongst the listeners, where a relatively large proportion of informants believed the provenance of the speaker to be



Key:

1=Scotland/UK

2=USA

3=Canada

4=Australia/NZ

5=Other Europe (Expanding circle)

6=Japan

7=Other East Asia (Expanding circle)

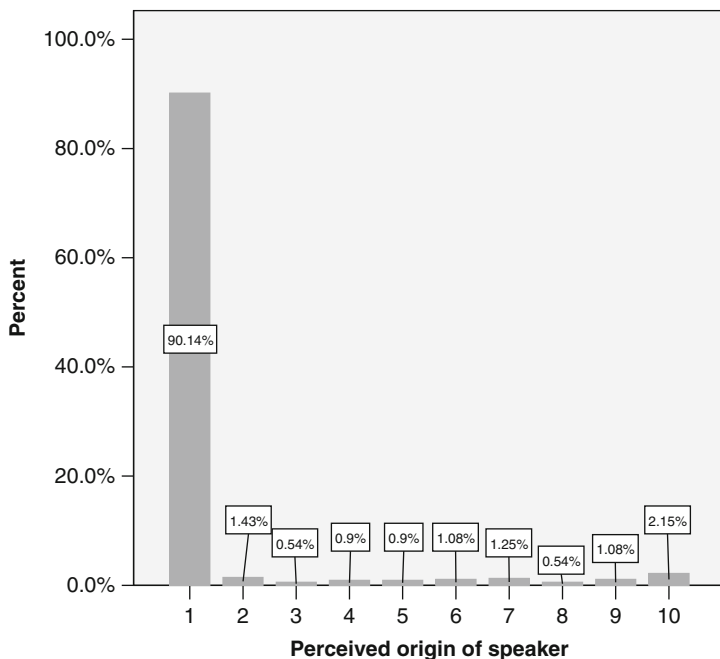
8=Other Expanding circle

9=Outer circle

10=Unsure

Fig. 5.4 Informants' classification of place of origin of Glasgow Vernacular speaker

'Other Europe', i.e., from the expanding circle. Whilst this finding, of course, supports the notion that local non-standard varieties of UK English are generally unfamiliar to learners of English in Japan (see above), given that the great majority of listeners who misidentified the GV speaker as 'European', mentioned France, Germany or Italy explicitly, it also appears to be the case that specific features of Glasgow vernacular speech, which these listeners do not generally associate with native-speaker varieties of English, may have led the informants to make this choice. The comments provided by these informants suggest these specific features are related to pronunciation (see below). Listeners who recognised the provenance of the GV speaker as 'Scotland' generally remarked upon either specific lexical items existing in the speech (in particular 'wee') or the speaker's pronunciation. In contrast, those informants who failed to recognise the speaker's place of origin tended to focus upon the pronunciation of specific words or phonemes and/or commented upon the difficulty of classifying the speech as native or non-native English.

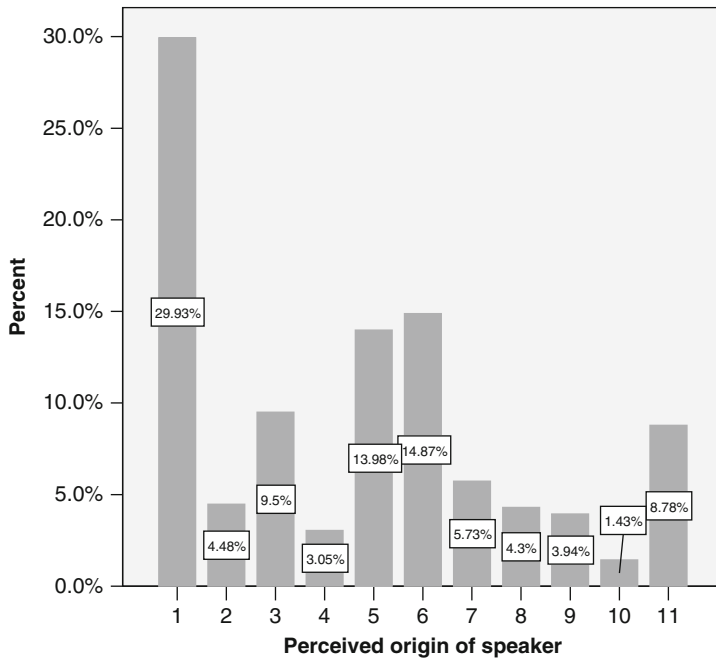


Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 = Japan | 6 = UK |
| 2 = Korea | 7 = USA |
| 3 = China | 8 = Australia/NZ/Canada |
| 4 = Other (Expanding circle) Asia | 9 = Outer Circle |
| 5 = Other (Expanding circle) Europe | 10 = Unsure ³ |

Fig. 5.5 Informants' classification of place of origin of heavily-accented Japanese English speaker

Figure 5.5 indicates that the relatively low proportion (9.86%) of informants who failed to recognise the place of origin of the HJE speaker as 'Japan', were, nevertheless, generally able to identify her as a non-native speaker of English, again suggesting that the native/non-native distinction is primary for the listeners. Although it is possible to speculate that the high recognition rate relates specifically to this speaker, it is more likely to have occurred as a result of the learners' general familiarity with Japanese (speakers of) English. The relatively high proportion of listeners who were able to identify the speaker's provenance as 'Japan' tended to be somewhat negative and focussed on 'the lack of fluency' or 'bad pronunciation' of the speaker. More positive comments included the 'ease of comprehensibility' and 'familiarity of the speech'. Many of the informants commented on the similarities between the speech and their own variety of English. Several listeners described the '*katakana*-like' nature of the speech (i.e., the effect on the



Key:
 1 = Japan
 2 = Korea
 3 = China
 4 = Other (Expanding circle) Asia
 5 = Other (Expanding circle) Europe
 6 = UK
 7 = USA
 8 = Australia/NZ/Canada
 9 = Outer Circle
 10 = Other Expanding circle
 11 = Unsure

Fig. 5.6 Informants' classification of place of origin of moderately-accented Japanese English speaker

English pronunciation of the HJE speaker as a result of the syllabary developed in the Japanese writing system for pronouncing foreign loan words). It is reasonable to assume that this '*katakana* effect' (e.g., Martin, 2004: 50–55) is a key feature of the English spoken by many Japanese (e.g., *ibid.*: 53; Stanlaw, 2004: 32–43) and hence, is likely to be a salient attribute for the Japanese learners in recognising the provenance of HJE speaker as 'Japan'. In light of this, it is perhaps not surprising that the HJE speaker was rated highly by the informants in terms of 'solidarity' in the verbal-guise study (see Section 5.3.4). The relatively low proportion of listeners who failed to identify the provenance of the HJE speaker accurately tended to comment upon the speech as 'Asian' or, on the speaker's 'clear pronunciation'. In contrast, the results for the perceived origin of the MJE speaker (Fig. 5.6) demonstrated greater levels of confusion amongst the listeners, where less than half of the informants

(46.96%) identified the provenance of the speaker as ‘Asia’. This confusion is reflected in the relatively high proportion of listeners who believed the speaker to be either a native speaker of English (24.9%), from the outer circle of English use (3.4%) or were unsure (8.78%), suggesting a high degree of difficulty amongst the informants in classifying the speech as inner circle, outer circle or expanding circle English. The wide variety of misidentifications found also provides further evidence that the learners generally perceived the MJE speaker as outgroup, presumably because of the general absence of a ‘*katakana*-effect’ on the speaker’s pronunciation, following prolonged contact with native speakers of English in the UK and in the USA (see above). The relatively low proportion of informants who accurately identified the provenance of the MJE speaker as ‘Japan’ generally commented upon the speaker’s ‘Japanese pronunciation’. These informants also tended to focus on the ‘clarity’ of speech. In contrast, those informants who failed to recognise the speaker’s place of origin tended to identify the speaker as ‘non-native’ or to comment upon the ‘broad similarities’ between the speech and other varieties of English or, identified the speaker as a non-native speaker of English.

The following comments were provided by informants in answer to question 2 in the dialect recognition item (i.e., how did you make this decision?). As they are considered generally representative of the informants’ responses to each of the six speakers, it is hoped that their inclusion will give the reader a deeper insight into both the process of recognition and the ideological framework of the informants. In order to provide greater clarity, information is provided regarding to which speaker each of the comments relate, and whether the identification was correct or incorrect. Where applicable, information regarding the misidentified provenance of the speaker is also provided. As previously, the subject codes are provided in parenthesis.

MWUSE Speaker

Correct Identification

- Really smooth and easy to understand (491)
- Speaking fluently. Clear pronunciation (027)
- The lack of accent for me is a sign of standard English (487)
- We can hear this kind of English from CNN (316)
- It’s pretty easy to understand her English because I used to take many American professor’s class (519)
- She seems confident (212)
- She is absolutely American (306)

Incorrect Identification

- grammar and intonation (Canada) (132)
- I think to speak her is similar to my English teacher speaks (England) (95)
- her English sounds sophisticated (London English) (069)

SUSE Speaker

Correct Identification

- She speaks fluently and pronunciation of castle is American English (057)
- the way she pronounces bend, hill and lake (554)

because pronunciation is fluent (417)
Her English is beautiful (297)

Incorrect Identification

sounds grammar (England) (409)
I think that she is from somewhere in Europe which has close language to English (Germany) (208)
The speaker may come from (sic) Australia. Could tell the way someone is fluent but her pronunciation is strange (Australia) (318)

SSE Speaker

Correct Identification

the pronunciation sounds different from Americans and some people in the UK (040)
fluent pronunciation (424)
the sounds distinct (281)

Incorrect Identification

It's sound like British English but here are some other accent (Australia) (082)
I thought she spoke fluently (USA) (152)
I feel the two speech varieties are similar to each other (France) (352)
The way of speaking is a little bit softer than American people (Europe) (073)

GV Speaker

Correct Identification

The pronunciation is different from what we usually hear (349)
this speech sample is not familiar to me but she speaks like she's from UK and not London, I think. Maybe northern part (75)
Characteristic pronunciation and sounds (314)

Incorrect Identification

I felt her English was very fluent. And her pronunciation was unclear, so I couldn't hear clearly (Australia) (345)
Doesn't sound like a native speaker (Russia) (261)
the way she pronounces the word bridge and right all the words that has t in it' (Germany) (346)
pronunciation of r is special (Italy) (016)
I have heard a similar accent in the French movie (France) (496)
r pronunciation (France) (115)
She speaks with a trill at times- bridge (Italy) (418)
She speaks with an accent. bridge lake (France) (316)

HJE Speaker

Correct Identification

Her pronunciation is similar to me (553)
not fluent (133)
from the horrible pronunciation (415)
she couldn't distinguish between r and l sound (526)
she does not use native speech (101)
she cut the accent one by one (135)
Because I always like hear her English in Japan (342)
she is speaking as if she is reading katakana Japanese '(301)
words near katakana (190)
I thought her pronunciation was katakana (325)

Incorrect Identification

I think she isn't a native English speaker. Friend of mine who is a Indian Singapore speaks like this speak (Singapore) (077)
 Asian English (Korea) (543)
 easy to understand (China) (034)
 Sounds Asian (Singapore) (295)
 clear pronunciation (Germany) (413)

MJE Speaker*Correct Identification*

Her intonation is Japanese (163)
 pronunciation and grammar is a bit awkward (554)
 Japanese is trying to speak like English (420)

Incorrect Identification

not a native speaker (France) (488)
 I think she speaks English as a second language (China) (309)
 German pronunciation is close to Japanese (Germany) (169)
 I decided her English was sophisticated (England) (456)
 grammar and intonation (UK) (198)

5.6.3 Speaker Evaluations and (Mis)Identification

This section investigates whether any differences found between correct and incorrect identifications in the dialect recognition section of the research instrument had a significant effect on the mean evaluations of each of the six speakers in terms of competence and social attractiveness. As a reminder to the reader, a mean value of seven corresponds to the most favourable rating and, in contrast, a value of one indicates the least favourable rating. The first stage of the analyses was to calculate descriptive statistics for the competence and social attractiveness of all six speakers according to correct and incorrect identifications. This data is summarised below:

The results from Table 5.17 below demonstrate a general tendency towards more positive evaluations for correctly identified speakers than for incorrectly identified speakers. This pattern is evident for the evaluations of all four speakers of inner circle English included in the study (i.e., SSE, GV, MWUSE and SUSE) and is equally true for the competence and for the social attractiveness ratings for each of the speakers. This finding indicates that when the Japanese learners are more familiar with a variety of English, they are more likely to rate it highly in terms of status and solidarity. The informants also tended to rate the competence and social attractiveness of the speaker of moderately-accented Japanese English more highly when the provenance of the speaker was correctly identified as 'Japan', suggesting that the pattern of evaluation is not only found for native varieties of English but also for non-native varieties of English. In contrast, the listeners as a whole responded somewhat less favourably to the HJE speaker in terms of competence and social attractiveness when the place of

Table 5.17 Mean evaluations (and standard deviations) for speaker competence and social attractiveness according to correct and incorrect identifications ($N = 588$)

Speaker	Recognition					
	Competence			Social attractiveness		
	Correct	Incorrect	Total	Correct	Incorrect	Total
MWUSE	5.10 (1.00)	4.79 (1.04)	4.96 (1.03)	3.52 (0.99)	3.50 (0.99)	3.51 (0.98)
SUSE	5.03 (0.96)	4.82 (1.01)	4.95 (0.98)	3.92 (0.82)	3.89 (0.87)	3.90 (0.85)
SSE	4.22 (1.16)	4.02 (1.08)	4.08 (1.11)	3.72 (0.72)	3.60 (0.78)	3.64 (0.77)
GV	5.10 (1.00)	4.29 (1.00)	4.29 (1.00)	4.02 (0.79)	3.96 (0.81)	3.98 (0.80)
MJE	3.75 (0.92)	3.69 (0.92)	3.71 (0.92)	3.83 (0.74)	3.76 (0.66)	3.78 (0.68)
HJE	3.30 (0.96)	3.49 (0.96)	3.32 (0.97)	4.20 (0.88)	4.46 (0.81)	4.23 (0.88)

origin was correctly identified as 'Japan'. Initially this finding appears to contradict the pattern of evaluations demonstrated above and indicates an underlying aversion to heavily-accented Japanese English. However, given that a very low proportion of the informants (9.86%) failed to recognise the provenance of the speaker specifically as 'Japan', the effects of individual variation amongst the ratings of these informants will be magnified, and hence there is a greater likelihood that the reliability of this result is compromised. Hence, serious doubts exist regarding the extent to which this finding can be generalised for the wider population of English language learners in Japan.

The next stage of analysis was to determine the significance of the effects of mis(identification) on the informants' evaluations of the competence and social attractiveness of the each of the speakers. In order to achieve this and, as a result of differences in listeners' recognition rates, it was necessary to conduct a series of between groups multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) involving the informants' ratings for each of the six speakers in terms of competence and social attractiveness together with correct and incorrect identifications. The results indicated that although (mis)identification had a degree of bearing on the informants' ratings for social attractiveness, in each case the differences between the mean evaluations failed to reach significance. In contrast, in terms of competence, significant effects were demonstrated for the evaluations of three speakers: SUSE $F(1,556) = 5.460$, $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.02$); MWUSE $F(1,556) = 13.104$, $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.000$); GV $F(1,556) = 24.4357$, $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.000$). It is important to stress that in each case recognition of the speaker's place of origin resulted in a significantly more positive evaluation. This finding is consistent with the results found for levels of exposure to English on speaker competence (see Section 5.4.4), where learners who had greater experience of travelling to English-speaking countries rated three native speakers of English

(SSE, SUSE, MWUSE) significantly more favourably than learners with less experience. From these two findings, it is reasonable to expect that a positive correlation exists between informants' familiarity with inner circle varieties of English speech and their evaluations of the status of these varieties.

Kubota (1998) has stated a need for teachers of English in Japan to expose their students to and familiarise them with outer circle and expanding circle varieties of English. The results detailed above demonstrate that it would be beneficial to introduce non-standard native varieties of English speech to Japanese learners, with the aim of reducing the ambivalence there appears to be about such varieties and to further broaden students' cultural and linguistic perspectives of the world. These issues are addressed more fully in the following chapter.

This chapter has presented detailed analyses of the data collected in the four sections of research instrument. Some preliminary comments of the findings obtained have also been offered. The following chapter provides a more in-depth discussion of the data and findings from each section of the research instrument in relation to the research questions.

Chapter 6

Wider Implications and Conclusions

6.1 The Research Questions

In order to maintain the focus of the study the findings are discussed in terms of, and in the order of, the research questions introduced earlier in the book. It should be noted that as many of the findings are inevitably interwoven, a degree of overlap is unavoidable in the discussion of each of the research questions.

6.1.1 Are Learners Able to Identify Varieties of English Speech?

A dialect recognition item was employed to investigate the issue of how accurately and consistently the informants could identify the six varieties of English speech selected for evaluation: Scottish Standard English (SSE); Glasgow vernacular (GV); Southern United States English (SUSE); Midwest United States English (MWUSE); moderately-accented Japanese English (MJE) and heavily-accented Japanese English (HJE). Analyses were also conducted to determine any effects that (mis)identifications had on the informants' ratings of the competence and social attractiveness of each of the speakers. The inclusion of a dialect recognition item was considered to be of particular importance because the study examined specifically the evaluations of non-native learners, who were likely to have had less exposure to the varieties of English and hence, were envisaged to be less familiar with them. In short, it was felt that the inclusion of a dialect recognition item would help to gain a deeper understanding of the cues upon which the learners based their (mis)identification(s) and would allow for a more straightforward interpretation of the data collected in the other sections of the research instrument.

Analysis of the data collected revealed that there were indeed great differences between the informants' recognition rates for the place of origin of the six speakers. The recognition rates for both the mainstream variety of US English, MWUSE (54.66%), and the non-mainstream variety of US English, SUSE (59.14%) were relatively high. As described in the previous chapter, the most

plausible explanation for the high ‘hit rate’ for the two varieties is the prevalence of American culture in Japanese society. This prevalence is demonstrated by the dominance of US news, movies and soap operas in the English language media in Japan (e.g., Tanaka, 1995; Tsuda, 1997; Stanlaw, 2004: Chapter 12) and hence, a reliance upon US varieties of English (perhaps together with RP) to provide the models and norms for English language use in the country (Kubota, 1998). The familiarity that many of the informants have with United States varieties of English is borne out by the extremely high levels of identification of the speakers of SUSE (82.97%) and MWUSE (82.62%) as inner circle varieties of English. Moreover, many of the learners, in response to the question ‘how did you make this decision?’ typically commented upon the ‘clarity’ of the speech and their ‘ease of understanding’, which again suggests a relative familiarity with US varieties of English. As described previously (see Section 5.6.1), the higher recognition rate found for the (non-mainstream) SUSE speaker may be explained by the comprehensive coverage of the events of Hurricane Katrina and subsequent prevalence of speakers of Southern United States English in the US-dominated English language media in Japan (and elsewhere) in the months prior to the fieldwork visit, and hence, the greater awareness of these varieties that learners of English may have had during the data collection period. Nevertheless, the possibility exists that the continued presence in the Japanese media of well-known ‘Southern’ US figures such as Bill Clinton and George W. Bush may, in fact, have allowed many of the informants to recognise southern US speech more easily. Hence, in order to identify (and potentially discount) the effect of short-term events on expressed attitudes (see Stoop, 2007: 95–100), it would be profitable, at some point in the future, to measure recognition of Southern United States varieties of English amongst other learners of English. Such a study is likely to determine whether any ‘Katrina effect’ is indeed temporary.

However, the informants demonstrated considerably more difficulty in terms of the correct identification of the standard variety of UK English, Scottish Standard English (32.08%), and the non-standard variety, Glasgow vernacular (31.00%), selected for evaluation. The most plausible explanation for the relatively low hit-rates is that, because of a lack of exposure, the learners are broadly unfamiliar with localised UK varieties of English speech and, thus, do not have sufficient experience and awareness of these forms of speech to achieve accurate identification. Furthermore, the higher rate of recognition for the Scottish Standard English speech in comparison with the Glasgow vernacular speech is likely to reflect the somewhat greater exposure afforded to standard varieties than non-standard varieties of UK English in the English language media and in the language classroom, both inside and outside Japan. Moreover, a comparatively high proportion of learners (60.76%) recognised the SSE speech as inner circle English, which strongly suggests an ability to distinguish between native and non-native varieties of English. Such awareness is manifested in many of the learners’ comments, where there was a propensity to describe the ‘fluency’ of the SSE speaker and the ‘distinctiveness’ of the speech from ‘American English’.

In contrast, a much lower proportion of the informants were able to recognise the non-standard variety of UK English, GV (46.41%), as inner circle speech. Intriguingly, a relatively large proportion of the informants (26.88%) perceived the place of origin of the GV speaker as ‘other Europe’ (i.e., from the expanding circle), and in particular, from France, Germany or Italy. Whilst this finding clearly demonstrates a lack of exposure to local varieties of non-standard UK speech amongst non-native speakers of English, it also suggests that an inherent linguistic feature(s) of the Glasgow vernacular itself may have played an important role in the informants’ categorisation; those learners who failed to recognise the provenance of the GV speaker and identified her as French, German or Italian frequently commented upon the speakers pronunciation of the phoneme /r/ (see Section 5.6.2), the implication of which, is that it is indeed this specific linguistic feature of Glasgow vernacular speech which triggered misidentification amongst these particular informants. It should also be noted, nevertheless, as in the current study, that ‘the use of natural speech makes it more difficult to isolate the precise linguistic variants that naïve listeners attend to in making explicit categorisation judgements . . . further research using both natural and synthetic stimuli is needed to explore the role of individual linguistic variants, and the combinations of variants, that are salient for naïve listeners in perceptual dialect categorization studies’ (Clopper and Pisoni, 2006: 214). The relatively high proportion of informants who identified the GV speech as a non-native variety of English may have also contributed to the comparatively high ratings for the social attractiveness of the GV speaker (see Section 5.3.4.2), and hence, may help to explain the solidarity which learners demonstrated with the speaker (see Section 6.1.2). Moreover, the generally positive evaluations amongst those informants who misidentified the place of origin of the GV speaker as ‘other Europe’ reveals a tendency amongst these Japanese learners of English to perceive non-native northern and western European varieties of English as more prestigious than those varieties of English spoken by Japanese. It may also be the case that learners in other East Asian countries tend to evaluate ‘European varieties’ of English more favourably in comparison with the English spoken by their compatriots.

The HJE speaker was the most accurately identified (90.14%) of the six speakers, which clearly demonstrates a high degree of familiarity with heavily-accented Japanese English speech. Moreover, the generally positive ratings for the HJE speaker on the dimension of social attractiveness (see Section 6.1.2 below) suggests that there exists a high degree of solidarity with the speaker amongst the learners, many of whom are themselves likely to be speakers of heavily-accented Japanese English. Nevertheless, the relatively low ratings for the competence of the HJE speaker demonstrated that the learners generally perceive heavily-accented Japanese English as both ‘lacking in prestige’ and ‘incorrect’. Such evidence of conflicting attitudes towards the HJE speaker (and hence, heavily-accented Japanese English) is reinforced by the responses of the learners to the question ‘how did you make this decision?’, where, on the one

hand, there was a tendency to comment upon the ‘ease of comprehensibility’ and ‘familiarity’ of the speech and, on the other, the ‘lack of fluency’ and ‘incorrect pronunciation’ of the speaker.

The recognition rate for the place of origin of the MJE speaker (29.93%), in contrast, was very much lower. It is indeed possible that the relatively low level of accurate identification is solely as a result of the impact of prolonged periods of academic study in the UK and the USA on the spoken English of the MJE speaker. However, it is interesting to note that many more informants perceived the MJE speaker to be from the expanding circle (62.37%) than from the inner circle of English use (24.90%). Therefore, the ability to distinguish between expanding circle and inner circle native varieties of English that the learners appear to possess, again demonstrates that the native/non-native distinction is paramount for the informants in the identification process, and suggests that recognition is occurring at some level of awareness (despite a general tendency to actively categorise the speaker of moderately-accented Japanese English as outgroup).

As noted previously, in the majority of prior language attitude studies which included a dialect recognition item, recognition of a variety was generally construed as a process of cognitive mapping of audible speech features on to the individual’s records of the usage norms of particular speech communities (and in order to be achieved, the values of the variable features of the variety must be successfully identified and then appropriately mapped by the individual in question) (see Section 3.1.3). Nevertheless, in the case of the present study, the association between high levels of identification and solidarity with the HJE speaker and, in the case of the MJE speaker, a low hit-rate and a lack of solidarity, indicates that processes such as *claiming* (for identification) and *denial* (for misidentification) (for example, see Eagly and Chaiken, 1993: Chapter 10; Devine, 1995; Kwantes et al., 2005) may be important in the learners’ recognition of varieties of English spoken by Japanese. The existence of such processes provides evidence that Japanese learners’ recognition of forms of English spoken by Japanese speakers of English is influenced by ‘active in-grouping processes’ (Tajfel, 1974) (see Section 2.2.1.2). Indeed, in a study by Garrett et al. of native speaker attitudes towards varieties of English in Wales, evidence was found that ‘dialect recognition is part of a more elaborate process of “social cognition”, reflecting ideologies and preferences in listeners’ communities and strategies in representing them’ (2003: 227). In this sense, *social cognition* refers to the cognitive processes and structures which influence and are influenced by social behaviour (Hogg and Vaughan, 1995: 564).

Williams et al. (1999), in a study of Welsh teenagers’ attitudes towards (speakers of) English in Wales, extend the argument further by maintaining that *affect* (i.e., emotions, moods and preferences) may also play a role in dialect recognition. Williams et al. found that the teenagers did not only recognise (or fail to identify) speakers as belonging to specific communities, but also tended to appropriate a ‘likeable speaker’ into their own in-group. Williams et al. concluded that there might be a group-level affective dimension of variety recognition which is ‘likely to dominate in recognition tasks in which accurate

cognitive mapping cannot be achieved: for example, when listeners are inexperienced' (358). Because language learners are likely to have had less exposure to varieties of English speech than native speakers of the language (i.e., they are comparatively less experienced), the claim by Williams et al. may have a particular relevance in the recognition of varieties of the L2. Although compelling, the claim is highly speculative, because, at present, no convincing theory exists which can account for the role of emotion in dialect recognition. Moreover, although psychologists, for analytic convenience, tend to divide affect and cognition, and there is some evidence that people can know how they feel about an object before they recognize it, e.g., when listening to opening bars of music (Fiske and Taylor, 1991: 452), in the course of any given individual's lived experience, affect and cognition occur in a 'simultaneous mix' (ibid: 410). As Van Lier (2008: 180) notes, this is equally the case in the field of second language acquisition since 'language learning is physical as well as cognitive, individual and social, multisensory and situated in activity'. There are also problems in comparing affect and cognition, since in different disciplines they have been distinguished in different ways, e.g., sensory vs. inferential, physiological vs. mental, motor vs. perceptual, innate vs. learned, preference vs. knowledge and liking vs. discrimination (Fiske and Taylor, 1991: 457). Nevertheless, the focus on emotion reflects a current trend in social psychology generally, where researchers, who have traditionally focussed only on describing the *cognitive* processes and structures which influence social behaviour, are currently also turning their attention to the role that *affect* may also play (Hogg and Vaughan, 1995: 73; Fiske and Taylor, 1991: 409–461; Eich and Schooler, 2000: 3; Forgas, 2001: 21–22). As a result, the study of the interaction between affect and cognition is currently one of the most active and rapidly developing areas within psychological science (Eich and Schooler, 2000: 3). Indeed, researchers have already demonstrated, for instance, that 'racial schemas have a strong affective component, so that the mere sight of an individual from a particular group may trigger emotions like fear and suspicion and evaluative judgements which are negative and derogatory' (Augoustinos and Walker, 1995: 48). Hence, given social psychologists 'increased knowledge of affective influences on individual-level judgements and processing of information' (Kelly, 2001: 177), it would be of potential worth, if a suitable techniques of measurement can be developed, to conduct further research into the interaction of affect and cognition in dialect recognition when conducting attitude studies involving the evaluations of non-native speakers of English in a wide range of countries, especially when speech from the individual's own country are selected to be the object of evaluation.

The patterns of misidentification are also interesting in themselves as it is reasonable to assume that if learners had little or no experience and awareness of the varieties which they did not identify accurately, their responses would be random (Williams et al., 1999: 352). However, a high degree of consistency, in fact, was found amongst the informants' misidentifications for the place of origin for all six speakers (see Section 5.6.2). For instance, as described above, informants who failed to identify the provenance of the MWUSE and SUSE

speakers as ‘the United States’ or the SSE speaker as ‘Scotland/the UK’ were, nevertheless, generally able to recognise the speech as inner circle English. This finding supports the assertion that the native/non-native distinction is a salient one for the informants and suggests strongly that there is a tendency for the Japanese learners to classify speakers initially as either native or non-native before attempting to further categorise them; perhaps based upon more specific ethnic associations (see, for example, Lindemann, 2003, for a detailed discussion of the categorisation of speaker ethnicity).

Further analyses were also conducted to determine the significance of the effects of (mis)identification on the learners’ ratings for the competence and social attractiveness of the six speakers. Although the results indicated that no significant effects were found for misidentification on social attractiveness, in terms of competence, main effects were found for the SUSE, MWUSE and GV speakers, where, in each case, accurate identification of the speaker’s place of origin resulted in a more favourable evaluation. This finding clearly demonstrates that, as far as ratings of inner circle varieties of English are concerned, recognition has a positive effect on evaluations of the competence of the speakers of these varieties, and hence, on the prestige of inner circle varieties of English speech. In turn, the results imply that, as informants who recognised a particular variety of inner circle English were most likely to be familiar with it, it is reasonable to assume that familiarity, through repeated prior exposure, also had a positive influence on the learners’ attitudes towards the status of native varieties of English speech.

As described previously, a plethora of language attitude studies have demonstrated that native speakers of English consistently evaluate standard varieties of inner circle English more highly in terms of prestige than non-standard varieties (see Section 3.2.1). Milroy (1999a) has attributed the consistency found in these studies to the existence of a ‘standard language ideology’, often promoted indirectly by linguists, where in any given geographical area, a specific variety of English is recognised as ‘the standard’. This variety is thus considered to embody ‘notions of correctness’ and, as such, speakers of this ‘prestige variety’ are afforded a degree of respect in the society as a whole (Bex and Watts, 1999: 7), although speakers of the standard variety may be downgraded in terms of social attractiveness (solidarity) (see Section 3.2.1). In the case of the present study, the significantly more favourable ratings for the competence of speakers of varieties of inner circle English whose provenance was identified points to the construction of a ‘native speaker ideology’ amongst the informants and implies that these learners of English tend to look towards (both standard and non-standard) varieties of inner circle English for ‘notions of correctness’. It would, of course, be of considerable value to investigate whether learners of English in other Asian countries in, for example, China, South Korea or Thailand also construct ‘native speaker ideologies’.

The discussion above demonstrates that what constitutes ‘recognition’ of a language or a language variety is a complex process. Despite the enormous amount of valuable research which has been undertaken in the field of psycholinguistics to understand the ways in which individuals perceive, process and

encode variation in spoken language, until recently, much of the knowledge gained has largely been ignored by sociolinguists (Clopper and Pisoni, 2005: 314). For instance, it is only in recent years that sociolinguists and social psychologists, investigating the attitudes of native speakers towards a given language, have begun to incorporate a ‘dialect recognition item’ into the design of their studies, in an attempt to measure recognition rates for speech varieties. However, relatively little is currently known about the ability of non-native language learners to identify speakers’ origins solely from their speech or any influence which (mis)identification may have on the listeners’ judgements of (speakers) of varieties of L2 speech (Stephan, 1997: 93). Although there is a requirement for further research of a similar nature, it is hoped that the findings from the present study demonstrate the value of including a dialect recognition item in the research instrument when measuring the perceptions of non-native learners of varieties of English speech, as well as providing a basis for comparison with future studies, where the objective is to measure the recognition rates and patterns of categorisation of varieties of English speech amongst learners of English. Moreover, it has been widely demonstrated by speech perception researchers that, through a combination of experience of and exposure to both the speech community and the world in general, individuals retain a memory of the varieties of their native language(s) to the extent that they can imitate, identify the place of origin and make judgements about social characteristics of speakers of these varieties (Clopper and Pisoni, 2005: 327–334). The results of a study by Ladegaard (1998), examining stereotypes and evaluations of English speech in a northern European context (Denmark), found that language learners may be capable of making comparable discriminations between varieties of the target language. The researcher concluded that ‘even though the judges are not native speakers of English, we may assume some degree of familiarity with the accents employed in this experiment since they sometimes appear in the media. It is possible therefore, that the subjects possess some kind of stored, “subconscious information”, based on previously acquired media-transmitted stereotypes’ (269). The findings of the present study imply that the East Asian learners also retain representations of varieties of English and drew upon this resource, whether consciously or unconsciously, in order to both complete the recognition task and to assign individual characteristics to the speakers in the verbal-guise section of the research instrument (see below).

6.1.2 Do Learners of English Hold Different Attitudes Towards (a) Standard|Non-standard and (b) Native|Non-native Varieties of English Speech? How Are the Varieties Perceived by the Learners?

In order to penetrate below the informants’ level of conscious awareness, an indirect method of attitude measurement, the verbal-guise technique, was

employed to investigate the learners' perceptions of six varieties of English speech selected for evaluation. Preliminary analysis demonstrated that, based solely upon the relatively short speech samples selected for evaluation, the language learners were able to discern differences between the speech varieties and were also willing to make judgements regarding the personality and ability of each of the speakers in accordance with the eight bi-polar traits included in the semantic-differential scale.

As detailed in [Chapter 5](#), in order to gain a better insight into the attitudes of the informants, it was necessary to undertake further exploratory analyses in order to locate the dimensions which account for the variance in evaluations. Subsequent principal components analysis (PCA) revealed the presence of 'competence' (or status) and 'social attractiveness' (or solidarity) as separate and distinct scales relating to the speaker ratings. Although the results of a plethora of attitude studies involving native speaker judgements of inner circle varieties of English have consistently demonstrated the existence of these two non-overlapping dimensions, prior language attitude research involving non-native speakers of English, with one notable exception (El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001, with learners in Brazil; see [Section 3.2.2](#)), has generally not attempted to identify which categories are most salient for the informants. Hence, the result found in the present study is intriguing as it demonstrates that the same set of dimensions (i.e., competence and social attractiveness) also appear to be salient for Japanese learners' evaluations of speech varieties within a single language (i.e., English) of which they are not native speakers. As a reminder to the reader, the rankings of the six speakers in terms of both competence and social attractiveness are detailed below (in descending order of evaluation). The presence of a line between the speakers indicates a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) in the informants' evaluations:

Competence

Mid-West United States English
Southern United States English
Glasgow Vernacular
Scottish Standard English
Moderately-accented Japanese English
 Heavily-accented Japanese English

Social attractiveness

Heavily-accented Japanese English
 Glasgow Vernacular
 Southern United States English
Moderately-accented Japanese English
 Scottish Standard English
 Mid-West United States English

The rankings above demonstrate that, in terms of competence, the learners rated speakers of inner circle varieties of English more positively than speakers of varieties of expanding circle English. Moreover, the results indicate a particular positive bias for (mainstream and non-mainstream) varieties of United States English as prestige forms of speech. Hence, when the overall differences between the informants' ratings are compared, a clear hierarchy emerges, where speakers of US English are preferred, followed by the speakers of UK varieties with the Japanese speakers of English the least preferred. This tripartite

hierarchy of evaluations on the competence dimension is consistent with the results of the limited number of previous studies conducted, which have concentrated specifically on social evaluations of English in Asia, where evidence was also found to suggest that learners were more favourable towards inner circle varieties of English than (outer or) expanding circle varieties of English (e.g., Chiba et al., 1995; Matsuda, 2000) and, were particularly favourable towards ‘American English’ (e.g., Starks and Paltridge, 1996; Matsuura et al., 1999).

Nevertheless, as described previously, there is a high degree of ambiguity concerning the findings obtained in much of this previous research (see Section 3.2.4). For instance, the majority of these studies were very small in scale. Furthermore, because the informants were generally required to evaluate only broad categories of speech, such as ‘British English’ or ‘American English’, conceptualised as single entities, prior studies tended to ignore the substantial regional and social variation within these broad geographical areas and the resultant phonetic, lexical and morphological differences between the varieties. Therefore, the results of the present study serve to clarify the earlier findings, by demonstrating that, at least in terms of competence, evaluations of non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of inner circle English speech likewise tend to fall into the tripartite hierarchical pattern.

A possible explanation for the relatively unfavourable responses to the competence of non-native speakers of English is that the informants, through media transmitted stereotypes and the study of English in the classroom (e.g., Yashima, 2002: 58) (see Sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3), have been ‘persuaded’ that their distinctive speech style (in this case Japanese accented English) has little intrinsic value or status and that assimilation to the prestige varieties (i.e., ‘native speaker Englishes’) is the most desirable outcome. This explanation is supported by the results of the learners’ ratings of the two non-native speakers of English, where the heavily-accented speaker was rated the lowest for competence, and significantly less favourably than the moderately-accented speaker, suggesting that the more ‘Japanese’/‘non-native’ the speaker is perceived to sound, the less favourably she was evaluated in terms of competence. In the specific case of Japan, it is also possible that the learners’ perceptions of the uniqueness of the Japanese language and culture (i.e., theories of *nihonjinron*), to some extent, influenced their evaluations of the six speakers. As described previously (see Section 1.2.4), although theories of *nihonjinron* have tended to stress the general superiority of Japanese language and culture, a central component of the *nihonjinron* discourse characterises the English language (and communication style) as more ‘logical’, ‘succinct’ and ‘direct’ than the Japanese language, which is considered more ‘emotional’, ‘ambiguous’ and ‘indirect’ (e.g., Kubota, 1998: 299–300; Matsuda, 2000: 174; Carroll, 2001a: 170). Indeed, there have been claims that English language textbooks employed in schools and universities in Japan have traditionally emphasised ‘the superiority of English, native speakers of English, as well as their culture and society’ (Kubota, 1998: 298). However, non-native speakers are represented as ‘inferior to the Anglo speaker of English’ (ibid). Hence, from this viewpoint, it is logical

to assume that perceptions of the superiority of native speakers in relation to non-native speakers of English led the Japanese learners to evaluate the speakers of US and UK varieties more highly than the Japanese speakers in terms of prestige. Nevertheless, it is likely to be of considerable benefit to investigate whether the evaluations of learners from other countries within the expanding circle in Asia (and elsewhere) are similarly broadly positive towards native English speakers in terms of status/competence.

In terms of social attractiveness, the picture is very different. The Japanese learners expressed a clear preference for the speaker of heavily-accented Japanese English. This finding implies that the learners identify with the HJE speaker and, hence, perceive a high degree of solidarity with the heavily-accented Japanese speech. It is, thus, reasonable to assume that the HJE speech itself is a salient marker of ingroup identity (see Section 2.2.1.2) amongst the Japanese learners of English. This assumption is supported by the results of the 'dialect recognition item' included in the study, where in excess of 90% of the learners were able to achieve accurate identification of the place of origin of the HJE speaker as 'Japan' (see above). In contrast, the speaker of moderately-accented Japanese English was rated much less favourably in terms of social attractiveness. This finding demonstrated that the degree of accentedness influences evaluations of speaker social attractiveness and suggests strongly that the MJE speaker is perceived as outgroup by the learners, i.e., not/no longer perceived as representative of an L1 Japanese national speaking English. It is reasonable to assume that this is the reason why only a relatively low percentage of the informants (29.93%) achieved accurate identification of the provenance of the MJE speaker as 'Japan' and, indeed, a broadly similar percentage (28.84%) actually misidentified the speaker to be from the inner circle. The findings of a study by Garrett et al. (2003) point in a similar direction. Garrett et al. found that the perceived 'authentic Welshness' of the speech influenced the informants' evaluations, with speakers deemed 'more Welsh' than others generally rated more favourably. In the case of the present study, the informants' general categorisation of the relatively 'native like' pronunciation features of the MJE speaker (see Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3) as outgroup (i.e., the 'disavowing' of the nationality of the speaker as Japanese) casts doubt upon the appropriateness of 'native-like proficiency' as the ultimate and the most desirable goal of English language learners and questions the choice of moderately-accented non-native English speech as linguistic models to be employed, by both policy makers and educators, in English language classrooms in Japan and elsewhere in the expanding circle of English use (see Section 6.1.5 for a fuller discussion).

It is interesting that the rankings also indicate that when the informants' ratings for the social attractiveness of speakers of standard and non-standard varieties of UK and US speech are compared, a clear preference is expressed for the non-standard varieties. This pattern mirrors native speaker evaluations in the UK and the US (e.g., Fraser, 1973; Hiraga, 2005), where a preference for the non-standard variety on dimensions of social attractiveness also tends to be demonstrated. However, in the case of the present study, the differences in

ratings between speakers of varieties of inner circle speech in terms of social attractiveness are in sharp contrast to the findings for competence, where the learners' responses indicated a general tolerance towards standard as well as non-standard varieties of native English. As the social attractiveness dimension is composed of the 'gentle', 'pleasant', 'funny' and 'modest' traits on the semantic-differential scale, it is very likely that there exists an affective component to the favourable evaluations of the speakers of non-standard varieties of inner circle English. This is consistent with the data obtained in a study by Cargile (1996: 109), who found that native listeners in the USA reacted emotionally as well as cognitively to 'Japanese-accented speech'. Moreover, it has been noted that 'emotions may be associated with the experience of interacting with, or thinking about, a speaker – especially one who represents a clearly defined social group' (Cargile and Giles, 1997: 196). In the case of the present study, this affective response may imply an underlying appreciation amongst the informants of the relatively low status afforded to Southern United States English speech and Glasgow vernacular speech amongst native speakers of English in the US and in the UK and suggests a degree of solidarity with speakers of these non-standard speech varieties. This explanation is supported by the informants' responses to the speaker of (mainstream) Mid-West United States English, who was rated most positively in terms of competence but most unfavourably in terms of social attractiveness. These results may reflect the learners' awareness of the prestige which mainstream varieties of US are afforded in the English language media in Japan generally, whilst also revealing an underlying aversion amongst the informants towards the power and influence which speakers of these varieties hold both within and outwith Japan.

Moreover, the learners' favourable evaluations of the GV and SUSE speakers in terms of both competence and social attractiveness demonstrate a broad tolerance towards non-standard varieties of UK and US speech and suggests that both recruiting teachers of English who speak non-standard varieties of inner circle English and exposing English language learners to non-standard as well as standard varieties of inner circle speech would not significantly reduce their motivation for acquiring the language (see [Section 2.2.1.2](#)). At the same time, increased exposure to both non-standard and standard varieties of English speech would help familiarise learners with local varieties of English, which they are increasingly likely to hear outside the language classroom. This view is broadly compatible with that of Deterding (2005: 437–438), who believes that as most learners of English will interact with a wide range of individuals, many of whom are likely to speak non-standard varieties of English, in order to prepare for such interactions, it is important that students are not exposed to a few select standard varieties of English speech only.

In summary, in contrast to the findings of equivalent studies involving non-native users of English, where speech perceptions of English were assumed to be uni-dimensional, the results of the present study provide evidence that the informants' ratings of speakers of varieties of English speech are located on separate and distinct dimensions of 'competence' and 'social attractiveness'.

This finding is intriguing as it both indicates a greater awareness of varieties of English speech on the part of learners and demonstrates that their perceptions of these varieties are much more complex than thought previously. Moreover, the informants' ratings of the competence of the speakers provide an interesting analogy with the evaluation patterns found amongst native speakers in the US and the UK, whose responses have consistently demonstrated an overall preference for (speakers of) standard varieties, whilst (speakers of) non-standard varieties tend to be downgraded. However, in the case of the present study, in terms of competence (speakers of), both standard and non-standard varieties of inner circle English, in general, were afforded high status, whereas there was a tendency for (speakers of) expanding circle varieties of English to be evaluated unfavourably. On the other hand, the learners' ratings of the social attractiveness of the speakers provide evidence that there exists a high degree of solidarity with the Japanese speaker of heavily-accented English and, intriguingly, to a lesser extent, a degree of solidarity with the speakers of non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of UK and US English. The inconsistencies found to exist between the informants' evaluations of the competence and of the social attractiveness of the speakers imply that the cognitive component and the affective component of the attitudes of the Japanese learners towards varieties of English speech are complex, and, to some extent, in conflict. The findings also indicate that, in contrast to the majority of previous language attitude studies, where perceptions of non-native varieties were simply assumed to be similar to those of non-standard varieties (Lindemann, 2005: 210), learners of English, in fact, evaluate non-native and non-standard/non-mainstream native varieties of English differently. It is important that both policy makers and educators involved in English language education, both in Japan, and elsewhere in the expanding circle, recognise the complexity of learners attitudes towards: (i) standard and non standard varieties of English speech and, (ii) native and non-native varieties of English speech, and take these attitudes into account. This issue is discussed in greater detail in Section 6.1.5.

6.1.3 What Social Variables (If Any) Appear to Be Significant in Determining the Learners' Attitudes Towards the Different Varieties of English Speech?

In order to measure whether, to what extent and in what ways factors in the learners' social background may account for differences in attitudes towards the speech varieties selected for evaluation, the informants were asked, in the final section of the research instrument, to provide background information about themselves. Background details were requested as criticisms have been made about much of the existing language attitude research, involving both native and non-native speakers, because researchers have frequently assumed a homogeneity within the observed speech communities and hence, have

generally failed to take into account the potential differentiating factors within a population, which may be determinants of attitudes towards languages and language varieties (e.g., Hoare, 1999: 55; Starks and Paltridge, 1996: 219). As a result, Baker (1992: 41) has pointed out, as far as language attitudes are concerned, no model has been developed and not even a list of such potentially determining social factors currently exists. Such a framework, nevertheless, would be of particular value when conducting attitude studies amongst the Japanese, as there is currently a paradigm shift in research in Japan more generally, resulting in a movement away from the formerly dominant 'group model' (where homogeneity was assumed), and towards the determination of the specific social variables which are significant within the population as a whole (Donahue, 1998: 4–5). Kubota (1999: 13–14) maintains that much of the current research in Applied Linguistics on L2 teaching and learning in Asia generally systematically, and, she believes, incorrectly stereotypes 'Eastern culture' with labels such as 'harmony', 'indirection', 'memorization' and 'conserving knowledge'. Kubota noted that 'the assumption underlying this approach is that there is a systematic, culturally determined way in which all members in a certain culture think, behave and act' (ibid.: 14). Moreover, it has been argued that research into social diversity within the Japanese population is required to aid in the provision of a sociolinguistic framework to describe the complex language context in contemporary Japan (Maher and Yashiro, 1995: 1–18) (see [Section 2.2.2](#)).

In light of the information gained from the limited number of previous studies which have, in fact, been conducted and have concentrated specifically on social evaluations of English in the expanding circle whilst also attempting to account for social variation amongst the population, it was felt, in the case of the present study, that it would be profitable to investigate the informants' gender, previous exposure to English, regional provenance and self-perceived competence in English as potential predictor variables of the learners' attitudes towards the six varieties of English speech (e.g., Starks and Paltridge, 1996; Matsuura et al., 1999; McKenzie, 2003) (see [Section 4.3](#)). In an effort to control other potentially confounding variables, additional personal information was requested regarding the informants' nationality, age, current place of residence and place of birth. The sample was composed solely of university students of Japanese nationality, who spoke Japanese as a native language, were born in and, at the time of the data collection, lived and studied in Japan. Moreover, the age range of the sample was relatively narrow, with the overwhelming majority aged between 18 and 22 years of age (mean = 20.22, S.D. = 2.99). In terms of these social factors, the sample was considered relatively homogeneous.

The first stage of the analyses was to determine the existence of any main effects for the independent (social) variables on the learners' evaluations of the competence and social attractiveness of each of the speakers. In terms of competence, a significant main effect was found for gender on three inner circle varieties of English, where, in each case, the female informants rated the speaker more favourably than the male informants did. This result is consistent with the

findings of studies involving the evaluations of native speakers in the UK and the US, where there is some evidence to suggest females have a particular preference for 'status varieties' (e.g., Labov, 1966; Baker, 1992) (see Section 3.2.1). However, although the results obtained in a similar (qualitative) attitude study in Japan by Kobayashi (2000, 2002) found that female learners were generally positive towards 'the English language', conceptualised as a single entity, the findings from the present study are the first to demonstrate a particular preference amongst females for both standard and non-standard varieties of inner circle speech. It is reasonable to assume that the difference in gender evaluations is unlikely to be due to inherent biological differences. It is more likely to be located in the 'socio-cultural behaviours' of males and females (Baker, 1992: 42), i.e., the assumptions and expectations of ascribed gender roles thrust upon the individual by social expectation (Bergvall, 1999: 282). In particular, the greater preference for native varieties amongst females may, as Kobayashi (2000: 111–113) has argued, reflect the feminisation of the English language teaching profession in Japan generally as well as a greater awareness amongst females of the particular social and career advantages, both inside and outwith Japan, that learning English offers. A similar view is espoused by Ryan (2009: 135) who maintains that foreign languages in general, and English most specifically, tend to be perceived amongst the wider Japanese population as 'feminine subjects'. The greater 'feminisation' of English in particular may be because 'the mass media and the English language teaching industry in Japan, when targeting women, promulgate the association of English with feminised idealised careers by employing terms such as intellectual, international and professional' (Kobayashi, 2002: 188). As a result, Japanese females appear more likely to favour 'prestige' varieties of English and hence, adhere to the 'native speaker ideology' which seems to pervade English language learning and teaching in Japan (see Section 6.1.1). It is not known whether the English language profession in other countries in East Asia and the expanding circle are as feminised.

In contrast, although there was some evidence that male informants were more tolerant of heavily-accented Japanese English than female informants were, analysis revealed that the difference in ratings was not significant. The analysis, thus, does not support the results of a previous study by Starks and Paltridge (1996) amongst Japanese learners of English in New Zealand, where the researchers found a tendency for males to be more tolerant of non-prestige varieties of English.

A significant main effect was also demonstrated for self-perceived competence in English (to avoid confusion, hereafter referred to as 'self-perceived proficiency'), on the informants' ratings of the SSE, SUSE and MWUSE speakers. In each case, those learners who perceived that they had attained a higher level of proficiency in English were significantly more favourable towards (speakers of) the three native varieties of English when compared to informants who had attained a lower level of proficiency. It should be noted that no significant effect was found for self-perceived proficiency on the

judgements of the competence of the other native speaker, Glasgow vernacular. This is likely to be as a result of the relatively high proportion of informants who misidentified Glasgow vernacular speech as ‘expanding circle English’ (see [Section 5.6.2](#)). The findings from a study conducted by Eisenstein (1982) amongst English language learners in New York point in a similar direction. Eisenstein found that as learners gained proficiency in the language, their attitudes increasingly paralleled those of native speakers, i.e., towards a greater preference for the ‘perceived prestige varieties’. The finding is perhaps unsurprising when the results obtained from a plethora of attitude studies in the field of social psychology are considered, where it has been demonstrated that individuals may acquire attitudes by imitating other people’s attitudes. It is believed that ‘such role models may be particularly influential the more one identifies with the model and the more one desires to fit into the group’ (Bohner and Wanke, 2002: 86).

In the case of the present study, previous exposure to English was also found to have a significant main effect on the learners’ evaluations of the competence of the three inner circle speakers, where, in each case, informants who had spent more than the cut-off point of 3 months in an ‘English-speaking country’ were most positive towards the SSE, SUSE and MWUSE speakers (see [Section 5.4.4.1](#)). The finding is broadly compatible with the results of a study by Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), who investigated the attitudes of university students studying English in Austria towards native and non-native varieties of English. In finding an overall preference for RP, the researchers concluded that ‘among native accents the respondents prefer the one with which they are most familiar’ (126). It is interesting to note, however, that the findings from the present study are in direct contrast with the majority of results found amongst native speakers of English in the USA, where the varieties ranked lowest in national assessments of ‘correctness’ (status/competence), i.e., New Yorkese and Southern United States English, are the most salient in terms of distinctiveness (Preston, 2004: 491) (see [Section 3.2.1](#) for a more detailed discussion).

Self-perceived proficiency and previous exposure to English were also found to play a significant role as determinants of attitude towards the HJE speaker, where informants with higher levels of proficiency and greater experience of travelling to English-speaking countries tended to evaluate the Japanese speaker of heavily-accented English most negatively in terms of competence. Again the results seem to reflect the greater preference for (speakers of) native varieties of English amongst learners with higher levels of proficiency in English and learners with greater levels of contact with both standard and non-standard native speakers of the language. The results are also consistent with the findings of a study by Chiba et al. (1995), who found that learners with ‘higher levels of respect’ for US and UK varieties of English were generally less positive towards non-native varieties of the language. It is perhaps not surprising that broad similarities exist between the findings for previous exposure to English and self-perceived proficiency in English, as it is not unreasonable to assume that learners who have travelled more extensively to English-speaking countries

have had greater opportunities to practise communicating in the language, would, thus, be more likely to have perceived themselves to have attained a more advanced level of proficiency than other Japanese learners of English. In contrast, regional provenance does not appear to influence learners' attitudes towards varieties of English speech. This result is interesting, given that 'geography', in contrast, was found to play a role in determining the attitudes of language learners in Hungary (Dornyei and Clement, 2001; Dornyei et al., 2006) and also that the 'rural-urban distinction' is thought to be a salient social factor amongst the Japanese themselves (e.g., Donahue, 1998: 38–39; Fukuchi and Sakomoto, 2005: 336–344; Carroll, 2001a: 195–198). In order to determine the validity of this finding it would be of value to conduct further equivalent language attitude research amongst the English language learning population, in Japan and other areas of the expanding circle, detailing information regarding the regional provenance of the informants.

In terms of social attractiveness, no significant main effects were found for the informants' ratings. In other words, differences in the informants' gender, self-perceived proficiency in English, previous exposure to English and regional provenance do not appear to explain differences in the levels of solidarity expressed for speakers of varieties of English speech. It is indeed possible, albeit highly unlikely, that there are no potentially differentiating social factors amongst the population of learners of English in Japan which influence their evaluations in terms of social attractiveness (i.e., the attitudes of the learners are relatively homogeneous). However, it would be of value, in the future, to conduct comparable studies to investigate the influence which other social variables may have on non-native users' social attractiveness ratings of English language speakers and hence, to investigate the potential factors within the population which may account for the affective component of learners' attitudes towards varieties of English speech (see above).

The next stage of the analyses was to detect the existence of any interaction effects between the social factors where main effects were demonstrated. The analysis indicated that there were no significant interaction effects between gender, previous exposure to English and self-perceived proficiency on the evaluations of the six speakers (subsequent analysis also revealed that no interaction effects were present between the three factors and regional provenance). The absence of interaction effects provide greater external validity for the main effects found (Shaughnessy et al., 2003: 280–281). In other words, the results provide greater confidence in and generalisability of the main effects demonstrated.

To sum up, differences in gender, level of self-perceived competence in English and level of exposure to English have clear, unique and direct influences upon the attitudes of learners towards varieties of English. These three social factors are likely to be of particular importance in determining perceptions of the relative prestige of different varieties of English speech with the result that both female learners of English and those learners with greater contact with native speakers of the language tend to favour non-standard as well as standard

varieties of inner circle English over forms of English spoken in the expanding circle. In the case of the present study, regional provenance was not found to have a significant main effect on the informants' evaluations of the competence or social attractiveness of the six speakers (see above). Therefore, the results of the study demonstrate clearly that social variation within the population can account for variations in attitudes towards forms of English speech and thus, challenges the suitability of the formerly dominant 'group model', which, by definition, has assumed a homogeneity in perceptions amongst Japanese nationals (see above). When the undisputable effect of social factors in determining levels of achievement in L2 and the central role that attitudes are believed to play in influencing these levels of success in the target language are taken into account (see [Section 2.2.1.2](#)), it is perhaps not surprising that certain social variables also appear to be determinants of learners' attitudes towards languages and language varieties.

Moreover, the findings obtained in the present study undoubtedly have implications for English language policy in Japan and elsewhere in the expanding circle and suggest that particular social groups may have to be targeted separately (Starks and Paltridge, 1996: 220) or indeed specifically. For instance, because females were found to have a greater preference for inner circle varieties, there appears to be a particular requirement to familiarise female students of English with expanding circle varieties of English in order to reduce the ambivalence there appears to be about such varieties and to further broaden their cultural and linguistic perspectives of the (English-speaking) world (Kachru, 1997: 79–81; Kubota, 1998: 304–305). Moreover, given that the limited number of similar studies conducted found that English language learners were more favourable towards inner circle varieties than outer or expanding circle varieties of English (e.g., Matsuura et al., 1994; Matsuda, 2000; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997) (see [Section 3.2.4](#)), evidence that different sections of the population hold different perceptions of varieties of English indicates that the beginnings of a change in attitude towards native and non-native English speech changes may be occurring (Starks and Paltridge, 1996: 221–222; Baker, 1992: 120). For example, it may well be that learners with higher levels of exposure to and familiarity with varieties of English are leading attitude change towards a greater acceptance of non-standard/non-mainstream as well as standard/mainstream varieties of inner circle speech. If this is indeed the case, and given the increasing power of the English language media and the rising importance of English throughout the world generally (e.g., Tanaka, 1995: 49; Gottlieb, 2005: 67–73), such information is vital for both language planners and educators involved with English language education with respect to curriculum design, teacher recruitment and the specific choice(s) of linguistic model(s) employed in language classrooms. These issues will be examined further in [Section 6.1.5](#). Nevertheless, although the findings provide evidence of the subsections of the population in which attitude change may be occurring, there is a need for similar studies to be undertaken amongst learners in Japan and elsewhere in the expanding circle in order to validate (or not) the findings

obtained in the present study, as well as to investigate whether other factors within the population such as age, race/ethnicity, level of education, personality or family income are predictors of attitude towards varieties of English speech. In particular, there is a clear requirement for longitudinal studies to be undertaken in order to be better able to determine the direction of any attitude change towards varieties of English amongst language learning populations (see Section 6.1.6).

6.1.4 Do the Language Attitudes that Learners Hold Towards Varieties of Their Native Language Influence Perceptions They May Have of Varieties of English?

A further objective of the study was to investigate attitudes towards regional and social variation in the L1 (in this case Japanese) as a potential predictor of the learners' evaluations of varieties of English speech. Although it is not currently known whether the language attitudes that Japanese and other learners hold towards varieties of their L1 influence any attitudes they may hold towards varieties of English (McKenzie, 2004: 19), with regard to the Japanese language itself, recent studies have shown that perceptions of non-standard varieties of Japanese speech are increasingly favourable (for an overview see Carroll, 2001a: 192–195). In light of this information, it was felt that the attitude change amongst (sections of) the Japanese population towards a greater tolerance of non-standard forms of Japanese should be investigated as a potential determinant of perceptions of varieties of English.

In order to investigate the learners' perceptions of non-standard varieties of Japanese speech, a direct method of language attitude measurement, incorporated from the field of perceptual dialectology, was utilised (see Section 4.5.3). Initial analysis demonstrated that although a large proportion of the informants generally viewed varieties of non-standard Japanese positively, in fact, it was still possible to classify attitudes as broadly 'positive', 'negative' or 'neutral'. The next stage of the analysis was to determine the existence of any main effects for these perceptions on the competence and social attractiveness evaluations of the six speakers of English. In terms of competence, a main effect was indeed demonstrated for the ratings of the speaker of heavily-accented Japanese English. Analysis of the data also indicated that those learners of English who were broadly neutral in their evaluations of non-standard forms of their L1 (i.e., held attitudes with the least intensity; see Section 2.1.3) tended to evaluate the competence of the HJE speaker most unfavourably. In other words, this result demonstrated that Japanese learners of English who possess less linguistic awareness of and have had less exposure to regional and social variation in the Japanese language are more likely to rate heavily-accented Japanese English as 'lacking in prestige' and 'incorrect' (see Sections 5.3.4 and 5.6.1). This finding is broadly similar to the results of a relatively recent study by

Kunschak (2003), amongst US college students learning German, who found that a positive correlation existed between informants awareness of and attitudes towards variation in L1 (English) and attitudes towards language variation in L2 (German). It should be noted, however, that any similarities in the findings should be treated with extreme caution, as Kunschak did not include any recordings of non-native speakers for evaluation. The results of the study, nevertheless, provide further evidence of the potential links between attitudes towards varieties of L1 and attitudes towards varieties of the target language. In contrast, in terms of social attractiveness, no significant main effects were found for the learners' evaluations. In order to provide greater generalisability for the results obtained from these studies it would be beneficial, in future, to conduct studies of a similar nature involving learners from the outer circle and expanding circle of English use outwith Japan and Germany.

Subsequent analysis was conducted to detect the existence of any interaction effects between attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Japanese and gender, regional provenance, previous exposure to English and self-perceived competence in English. No interaction effects were demonstrated between perceptions of L1 and any of the social factors for ratings of the competence and the social attractiveness of the six speakers. Thus, the absence of any interaction effects provides greater external validity for the main effect demonstrated of attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Japanese as a determinant of the status of the HJE speaker. The implication of this finding seems clear; enhanced awareness of social and regional variation within the Japanese language amongst Japanese learners, most likely acquired originally outwith formal instructional settings (Kunschak, 2003: 146), can have a positive effect upon their perceptions of the correctness and status of forms of English spoken by Japanese. Hence, the general attitude changes currently occurring amongst Japanese nationals (see above; [Section 3.2.1](#)), towards a greater acceptance (and presumably, a greater awareness) of varieties of Japanese speech, may, in future, result in increased tolerance of local varieties of English speech amongst Japanese learners. Nevertheless, in the meantime, in the earliest possible stages of language study, it would be of considerable value to incorporate discussion about and exposure to standard and non-standard varieties of Japanese into the English language classroom in Japanese schools in order to equip learners with levels of variation awareness sufficient to later cope with the cultural and linguistic bias that appears to exist towards particular forms of both non-standard native and non-native varieties of English and their speakers, both inside and outwith Japan (see [Sections 3.2.1](#), [3.2.2](#) and [3.2.4](#)). This issue will be discussed more fully in the following section. Moreover, the findings also point to 'perceptions of L1' as a potential determinant of perceptions of varieties of English and hence, as a valuable construct for studying the attitudes of non-native speakers. The present study, nevertheless, should be looked upon as both exploratory and preliminary. As this was the first attempt to measure the effects of attitudes towards L1 on perceptions of L2 amongst learners of English in Japan, and East Asia more generally, it is necessary to refine the methodological

investigation of the issue. As stated above, it would also be interesting to investigate the generalisability of the findings with learners of English (and other languages) amongst language learning populations in other contexts.

6.1.5 What Are the Pedagogical Implications (If Any) of the Findings for the Choice of Linguistic Model(s) Employed in EFL Classrooms?

Although the main objective of the study was to measure the attitudes of Japanese learners towards varieties of English speech, it was felt that the results obtained may also help inform educators and policy makers with regard to the choice of linguistic model employed in English language classrooms both inside and outwith Japan. This issue, whilst not central to the aims of this book, is complex and the subject of a great deal of current debate within the field of Applied Linguistics (see for example, Jenkins, 2000, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006; Dziubalska-Kolaczyk and Przedlacka, 2008; Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008) and, thus, deserves some attention. As Jenkins (2000: 5) notes, until relatively recently, in order to learn the language successfully, it was considered necessary for learners of English to approximate as closely as possible to a particular ‘native standard’, particularly with regard to pronunciation. As a result, as described previously (see Section 1.2.1), in the specific case of Japan, the varieties chosen as appropriate teaching models in English language classrooms were initially (pre-World War II), RP and later (post 1945), General American (i.e., mainstream United States English) (e.g., Matsuda, 2003: 494; Smith, 2004: 151–152; Yoshikawa, 2005: 351–352). Nevertheless, at different times, and for a range of reasons, researchers have suggested that other varieties of English might serve as a spoken model in EFL classrooms throughout the expanding circle. However, since this is not the main focus of the book, only a brief overview of these proposals is provided (for a more detailed discussion see Jenkins, 2000: Chapter 1, 2006b: 171–173; McArthur, 2002: Chapter 8; Kirkpatrick, 2007: Chapter 11). Abercrombie, for instance, criticised RP as unsuitable because of ‘its peculiar social position, which makes people hostile to it’ and as ‘it is a phonetically difficult accent’ for English language learners to emulate (1956: 55). Instead, he proposed ‘Scottish English’ to serve as a model of pronunciation because it is ‘undoubtedly easier for most foreigners’ (ibid.). This view has been echoed more recently by Trudgill (2008b: 216) who notes that since ‘Scottish English’ has only twelve vowels, perhaps there is no need for learners to spend time to distinguish between all 21 vowels which the RP variety, for instance, can contain. Modiano argued that ‘Mid-Atlantic English’, ‘as a form of the language in which decidedly British pronunciations have been neutralized’ (1996: 207), should replace ‘British English’ as the educational standard in English language classrooms in Europe. However, Modiano is somewhat vague with regards to the precise linguistic features

of ‘Mid-Atlantic English’, although he does indicate that one characteristic is ‘the lack of pronunciation that can be exclusively associated with the standards in American and British English’ (211). Interestingly, as a result of increased use of English as a lingua franca in (northern) Europe it may well be that a Euro-English variety will emerge which, in time, would be codified (Jenkins et al., 2001: 13–14, Kirkpatrick, 2007: 166).

Other researchers have instead proposed simplified versions of English as general pedagogical models. Although not only developed as spoken model, as long ago as the 1930s, Ogden devised ‘Basic English’ (British American Scientific International Commercial English) ‘in an attempt to give to everyone a second, or international language which will take as little of the learner’s time as possible’ (Ogden, 1938: 91). Basic English consisted of only 850 English words, including only sixteen verbs (for a detailed description see Richards, 1943: Chapter 2). Despite the initial promotion of Basic English in Japan and elsewhere (Smith, 2004: 68), support for its use diminished in the early 1950s (Howatt, 1984: 255). Similarly, Quirk later proposed that ‘Nuclear English’, as an artificially constructed ‘culture-free’ form of the language, should be the ‘nuclear medium for international use’ (1981: 155). Although Quirk maintained that the advantages of Nuclear English as a spoken and written model were that it was easier and faster to learn than any variety of ‘natural English’ and also that it was ‘communicatively adequate’ (ibid.), unfortunately, no detailed description of its linguistic characteristics was ever provided.

More recently, Jenkins (2000), in an attempt to improve mutual intelligibility in interactions between non-native speakers and to allow learners to ‘preserve their L1 identity’, advocated ‘Lingua Franca Core’ (LFC) as a pronunciation target for English language learners, as part of her research into English as a lingua franca (ELF). LFC consists of ‘a scaled-down list of supposedly more teachable and learnable pronunciation targets’ (Dauer, 2005: 544), with a focus on segmentals (i.e., consonants and vowels) whilst downplaying the importance of suprasegmentals (i.e., word stress, intonation and rhythm). Jenkins is much more specific regarding the particular consonants, vowels and prosodic features which make up the ‘core phonology’ of the Lingua Franca Core (see Jenkins, 2000: Chapter 6; Dauer, 2005: 544–545; Seidlhofer, 2008: 65–70; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 155–164). It is worth noting that Jenkins herself has emphasised repeatedly that the core features of the model may, in future, require modification in light of empirical research (e.g., 2000: 235, 2008: 202). Research into ELF lexis, phonology and lexicogrammar is, in fact, currently being conducted. In the case of the latter, one research finding points to a tendency for ELF speakers throughout the expanding circle to zero mark the third person –s in the present tense (Jenkins, 2009b: 43). Seidlhofer also points out that such studies and, indeed, additional future research into the Lingua Franca Core/ELF is necessary to ‘highlight those features that tend to be crucial for international intelligibility’ (2008: 71). Nevertheless, the very existence of English as a lingua franca/Lingua Franca Core has been criticised in recent years, principally as a result of an increasing awareness amongst researchers

within the field of Applied Linguistics of the multiplicity of Englishes which ‘runs counter to the view that a common linguistic (formal) core of an international variety of English can be codified, standardized, and then taught’ (Berns, 2008: 331). In fairness, Jenkins has also recently stated that the LFC as a pronunciation target is likely to be of particular use only for non-native speaker-non-native speaker communication in English (2008: 204). Nevertheless, since research into the LFC specifically (and indeed ELF more generally), is, at present, in the earlier stages of development, it is currently unknown whether teachers and students of English will themselves develop positive attitudes towards the model, or whether, as in previous models of ‘reduced English’ (see above), it will largely be evaluated as ‘inferior English’ (Ferguson, 2006: 177). Interestingly, a similar academic debate is currently taking place amongst Japanese linguists and language teachers with regards to the merits (or not) of the potential development of a simplified ‘learner variety’ of the Japanese language, known as *yasashii nihongo* (‘easy Japanese’).

In Japan itself, ‘Englic’ was proposed as an alternative model (Tanaka, 1995: 127). The objective of Englic was to dissociate English as much as possible from the thought and culture of the USA, the UK and other inner circle countries (Tanaka and Tanaka, 1995: 127; Kachru, 1997: 73). However, once again, no description of the linguistic features of Englic has ever been provided. Also in Japan, the Department of World Englishes at Chukyo University in Nagoya, has recently stipulated that the target variety of written and spoken English for their students to attain ‘is not British or American English but an educated Japanese English which possesses international intelligibility’ (Yoshikawa, 2005: 352).

Kirkpatrick (2006: 71–83, 2007: 184–197) has summarised the above list of potential choices of linguistic models to be employed in English language classrooms into three separate categories: (exonormative) native models; (endonormative) nativised models; and lingua franca models. First, native forms of English speech have historically been selected to serve as pedagogical models in language classrooms in the majority of outer circle and, presumably, in all expanding circle countries. Although such models may be advantageous for students (and teachers) of English who intend to visit and/or study in the inner circle, pedagogical issues remain regarding how to deal with the considerable variation, particularly in the spoken form, within and between inner circle varieties of English (see Section 3.2.4) as well as whether the chosen native speaker model is, in fact, attainable for the great majority of adult students and teachers of the language. Secondly, in terms of a nativised model (currently employed in parts of the outer circle, most notably in Nigeria and, to a lesser extent, in Singapore: see McKay and Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 105–108), one pedagogical benefit of its selection is that, as native speakers of the particular variety, local teachers are highly proficient. Moreover, the local form of English is likely to be attainable for students. However, with regard to the expanding circle most particularly, the developing form of local English may not yet be codified and hence, major problems are likely to exist in the availability of

classroom textbooks and language tests based upon this variety. Thirdly, a lingua franca model (see above) may be advantageous for students, provided learners are actually allowed to transfer the ‘pragmatic norms’ of their L1, since classroom activities are then more likely to be focussed firmly on the achievement of successful intercultural communication between non-native speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, as described above, doubts remain as to whether an English lingua franca core can, in fact, be codified and indeed, whether the lingua franca approach would be acceptable for teachers and learners of English themselves.

However, in the case of the current study, analyses of the results obtained demonstrated a greater awareness than previously suspected amongst Japanese learners with regards to social and regional variation within English speech. Moreover, the findings indicated that the attitudes which Japanese learners hold towards varieties of English tend to be complex and are often contradictory (see Section 6.1.2). For instance, the results demonstrated that if ‘status’ (i.e., competence) were the overriding factor then either mainstream or non-mainstream varieties of US English would be likely candidates as linguistic models. In contrast, the results also indicated that if ‘solidarity’ (i.e., social attractiveness) were the determining factor then heavily-accented Japanese English or non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of UK/US English would be more appropriate models for Japanese learners of English. Hence, given the high degrees of awareness and complexity of attitudes towards varieties of English speech amongst learners, provided mutual intelligibility can be maintained, it seems unreasonable to impose a single or indeed, a restricted range of pedagogical models for English learners in the classroom. This seems as unrealistic as exposing learners only to male speakers, or speakers of English over a certain age. Thus, it may be beneficial to expose (teachers and) students to as wide a range of (native and non-native) English speech varieties as possible, and is desirable, according to the language learning context. This is also the view of Tanaka and Tanaka (1995: 129), who maintain that ‘if we can keep mutual intelligibility, the choice of variety or varieties of English from the continuum of the “standard” British/American English to the English-based pidgins and creoles, depends on our own goals and needs.’ A similar view is held by Canagarajah (2006: 26) who maintains that as ‘a proficient speaker of English today needs to shuttle between different communities, recognizing the systematic and legitimate status of different varieties of English . . . to be really proficient in English in the postmodern world, one has to be multidialectal’. Ferguson notes that students, through classroom lessons in the skill of listening, could gain greater awareness of variation in spoken English by greater exposure to ‘the diversity of accents and grammatical features found in spoken English worldwide, in the inner as well as the outer and expanding circles’ (2006: 174).

Erling (2004) also found an impressive knowledge of varieties of English amongst learners of English at a university in Berlin. She concluded that there should be ‘an opening up to the teaching of (at least awareness of) other varieties of English outside the US and the UK’ (ibid.: 218). This view is broadly

compatible with that of Kubota (1998: 304) who maintained that, in the case of Japan, there is a particular need for teachers of English to expose and familiarise their students with outer circle and expanding circle varieties of English as much as possible to help students recognise multiple identities of English and to broaden students' cultural and linguistic perspectives of the world. Moreover, increasing learners' awareness of varieties of English from the outer and expanding circles may help combat the current general reliance on standard forms of Anglo-American English, which has social and linguistic implications, including maintaining stereotypical images of the Japanese language and nation (through the discourse of *nihonjinron*: see above), by defining Japan's position in the world only in relation to 'the west' (ibid: 298; Kachru, 1997: 69–70; Stanlaw, 2004: Chapters 11 and 12). It has also been argued that since English is now spoken most frequently amongst L2 speakers in international contexts, speakers from the inner circle no longer have the right to dictate standards of L2 use (Jenkins, 2000: 16).

As a result of increasing globalization greater numbers of Japanese (and indeed other) nationals are living and working or studying overseas (Ike, 1995: 9; McKenzie, 2004: 17, 2008c: 269). Tanaka (1995: 49), for example, estimated that in excess of 10% of the Japanese population travels abroad each year. Increasing numbers of foreign travellers, many of whom are either native or non-native speakers of English, also visit and work in Japan. As a result, it is increasingly likely that learners of English in Japan (and elsewhere) need to interact with a wide range of speakers of non-standard varieties of English (Deterding, 2005: 437–438). Moreover, there seems to be a need to expose learners to a wide range of English speech since there is recent empirical evidence involving Spanish, Chinese and Japanese learners that being exposed to a particular variety of English has a significant positive effect on comprehension of that variety (Major et al., 2002: 187, 2005: 62). As described above, the findings of the current study point in a similar direction, demonstrating that the learners' familiarity with forms of native English speech have a positive influence on their attitudes towards those varieties. It is for these reasons that it would be beneficial to introduce non-standard varieties of inner circle English (as well as outer and expanding circle varieties) to English language learners in order to increase awareness of these varieties.

It is, however, imperative that teachers of English, in Japan and elsewhere in the expanding circle, themselves develop a more tolerant approach towards traditionally less prestigious varieties of native English speech. This may be achieved through exposing these teachers to non-standard varieties of native English speech, a view shared by Kachru, who advocates a multimodal approach to teacher-training, where trainee teachers of English should be exposed to a paradigm based on diversity (1997: 79). Although in Japan, for instance, changes to teacher education programs are notoriously difficult to implement (Matsuda, 2009), it would also be of value to increase the quantity of sociolinguistic study in the syllabuses of both initial and ongoing language teacher-training courses. This is broadly compatible with the 'growing

consensus among researchers on the importance of language awareness for teachers and teacher trainers and educators in all three circles . . . teachers and learners, it is widely agreed need to learn not a variety of English but about Englishes' (Jenkins, 2006b: 173). It is vital nevertheless, that in the process of such sociolinguistic study a clear differentiation is made to trainee teachers between models of English as 'points of reference' rather than as 'norms of use' (McKenzie, 2008a: 79; Quay, 2004) (see below).

The findings of the current study also have implications in terms of recruitment policy of English language teachers in schools and universities. In the specific case of Japanese schools, there has been an increasing emphasis in the English classroom on teaching oral skills for 'international understanding' (Kam, 2004: 9; Honna and Takeshita, 2004: 210). In order to achieve this objective, in 1987, the Japanese Government established the Japan Exchange and Teaching programme (JET), recruiting young, native-speaking university graduates as assistant language teachers (ALTs), to participate in foreign language teaching in high schools in Japan. As described previously (see Section 1.2.2), the vast majority of ALTs are employed as teachers of the English language (AETs) (Lai, 1999: 215), with participants recruited traditionally from the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, Ireland and New Zealand (McConnell, 2000: xvii). The findings of the present study demonstrate that it would be of benefit to actively recruit teachers of inner circle countries for the JET programme who speak non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of English, in order to expose and familiarise high school students in Japan with a wider range of pedagogical models. Indeed, this is likely to be broadly consistent with current Ministry of Education (MEXT) thinking, borne out by the relatively recent policy implementation in 2000, where citizens of Singapore, the Philippines and Jamaica also became eligible to be employed as AETs in the JET programme (Gottlieb, 2005: 72), thus suggesting an eagerness to expose students to a wider range of (outer circle) varieties of English. There have also been recent moves to actively recruit more English teachers from the outer and expanding circles to take part in the English program in the Department of World Englishes at Chukyo University in Japan (Yoshikawa, 2005: 359–360). Whilst this policy is a positive move and to be generally applauded, the findings of the present study indicate that it would be beneficial for students if trained teachers of English, who speak non-standard varieties of inner circle English, were also integrated into the programme. A similar view is taken by Kachru, who recognises the pedagogical advantages of recruiting teachers from the inner circle (as well as the outer circle) who speak a range of English varieties, as faculty for English Language Departments at universities in Asia generally (1997: 80–81).

The measures described above could result in a deeper linguistic and cultural awareness of inner circle countries amongst teachers and learners of English and help to deconstruct trivialised and simplified stereotypes which are so prevalent in English language textbooks in Japan (Kubota, 1998: 298–299) and in the Japanese media generally (Tanaka, 1995: 40). Moreover, the

apparent tolerance towards both standard/mainstream and non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of inner circle English speech may also have pedagogical implications for the choice of linguistic model employed in English language teaching in areas of the inner circle where non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of English are spoken widely. The results obtained in the current study demonstrate that exposing English language learners to both local standard/mainstream and non-standard/non-mainstream varieties of English speech would not significantly reduce their motivation for acquiring the language (see Section 2.2.1.2), whilst at the same time familiarising learners with local varieties of English which they are likely to hear frequently outside of the classroom.

The discussion above has concentrated solely on the benefits of increasing learners' exposure to a wider range of varieties of English speech. The findings of the current study, nevertheless, have additional implications for the form(s) of English which Japanese and other learners from the expanding circle should themselves aim to speak. Although the question of norms is complex, it has been suggested that the solution must be multifaceted (Peter, 1994: 393). As described previously (see Section 6.1.1), the generally unfavourable evaluations of the competence (status) and social attractiveness (solidarity) of the moderately-accented speaker of Japanese English, and subsequent 'disavowing' of the nationality of the speaker as 'Japanese', casts doubt upon both this form of English as a suitable model for use in English language classrooms in Japan and on the appropriateness of 'native-like proficiency' as the ultimate and desirable goal for Japanese learners of English to attain. This is a view paralleled by Ferguson (2006: 159) who, in discussing the situation in the *outer circle*, believes L2 speakers of English are open to ridicule if their spoken English seems to express a desire to disassociate from the identity and norms of the local community.

In contrast, in the case of heavily-accented Japanese speaker, the high degree of solidarity expressed by the learners suggests that heavily-accented Japanese English is a more suitable objective for Japanese learners of English to achieve, provided intelligibility for the listener (who may equally be a native or a non-native speaker of English) is not unduly hindered. A similar view is held by Jenkins, who notes that although some learners desire a 'native accent', there are 'sound social-psychological reasons for not pushing learners of English to attempt to approximate an L1 accent too closely' and that any alternative should 'express the identities of its L2 speakers' (2000: 17).

Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind by the reader that language learners are active agents in deciding which target language variety to employ and thus, will actively choose whether, and if so to what extent, to give precedence to 'status' and 'solidarity' when making such choices in learning the L2 (McKenzie, 2008a: 79–80). Indeed, the construct of 'learner agency' has emerged in recent years as an important issue in the field of Applied Linguistics and there have been a number of calls to investigate the multifaceted nature of the construct more fully in relation to foreign language learning (for excellent

overviews of ‘learner agency’ see Joseph, 2006a, b: 136–139; Van Lier, 2008). As described previously (see Section 2.2.1) empirical research in the field of second language acquisition indicates that learner attitudes towards (varieties of) the target language can play an important role in determining levels of proficiency. Hence, ‘... it is important to recognize the power colonizers have exerted to impose English, but equally important to recognize the agency of learners to both pursue and resist the acquisition of English’ (McKay and Bokhorst-Heng, 2008:25). It does seem a little strange, nevertheless, that learners and teachers of English in the outer and expanding circles have not been consulted more frequently regarding their preferred models of English (Kirkpatrick, 2006: 72) and thus, it is clearly worthwhile to conduct further research of this nature in order to better understand learner attitudes towards specific varieties of the language (see section below for a more detailed discussion).

As described previously, it is vital that those concerned with English language education in the expanding circle are made aware of the general complexity of learners’ attitudes towards social and regional variation in English and that these attitudes are subsequently taken into account (see Section 6.1.1). The pedagogical measures suggested above also imply that any changes should be implemented, not only in English language classrooms, but also at institutional and governmental levels. It is for this reason that a great deal of cooperation and coordination between scholars, educators and policy makers is clearly required when determining the future of English language education in Japan, elsewhere in East Asia and throughout the expanding circle generally.

6.1.6 What Are the Methodological Implications (If Any) of the Findings for Conducting Language Attitude Research Amongst Learners of English?

During the course of the present study, considerable time and effort was invested in research design. From the findings obtained, for several reasons, it is felt that the research approach and the various data collection methods employed, informed by attitude research in the social sciences generally, are of considerable methodological value for conducting language attitude research amongst learners of English, most particularly in Japan, but also in other countries. First, by employing a quantitative-dominant methodology to investigate the attitudes of Japanese learners towards varieties of English speech, and the subsequent bivariate and multivariate analyses which this approach afforded, more light has been cast upon the findings obtained in previous qualitative studies. For instance, rigorous statistical analysis of the data has revealed the existence of conflicting affective as well as cognitive components in the informants’ attitudes, suggesting that attitudes towards varieties of English speech are considerably more complex than previously thought. Moreover, because of the overall quantitative approach, the study is relatively

straightforward to replicate. Such replication permits both the validity and the reliability of the data obtained in the study to be tested by follow-up research. It also provides a basis for a longitudinal study, which, in turn, if conducted, is likely to provide valuable information regarding any attitude change amongst the wider population of English language learners in Japan (Starks and Paltridge, 1996: 221).

In addition, with regard to considerations of time and economy, employing largely quantitative methods of investigation has allowed data collection to be conducted from a relatively large number of students of English, from a range of universities in Japan. As a result, the sample is more likely to be representative of the wider population of learners studying English at universities in Japan. Hence, the effects of individual variation are minimised and inferences and generalisations regarding the perceptions of the learners can be made with greater confidence, particularly when compared to the sample sizes of earlier equivalent language attitude studies both in Japan and elsewhere (see [Section 4.4](#)). Moreover, the inclusion of a relatively large number of informants (558) has permitted the utilisation of more sophisticated statistical techniques to analyse the data, thus allowing for more fine-grained results and greater objectivity in the interpretation of the data collected. In short, the use of a quantitative-dominant approach in the present study, with the use of modern and rigorous techniques of statistical analyses, perhaps frequently lacking in much of the quantitative studies published in *Applied Linguistics* journals over the last 30 years (e.g., Brown, 2004: 372–373), has afforded greater clarification of the language attitudes of the learners when compared to the confusion of results produced by the earlier qualitative and small-scale quantitative studies (see [Section 3.2.4](#)).

Secondly, the depth and texture of the results obtained in the study indicate the methodological value of employing the verbal-guise technique in order to measure learners' social evaluations of varieties of English speech in Japan. In particular, the construction of a semantic-differential scale, obtained from the descriptions provided by comparable Japanese learners in the first stage of the pilot study (see [Section 4.6](#)), made it possible to achieve more meaningful responses to the speech stimulus from the Japanese learners of English who participated in the main study. The use of a semantic-differential scale also offered an insight into the intensity of the attitudes held by the informants. As described previously (see [Section 2.1](#)), it is vital to measure attitude intensity because strongly held attitudes are more likely to affect judgements, guide behaviour, persist and be resistant to change (Perloff, 2003: 56). Furthermore, the use of an indirect method of language attitude measurement allowed for a deeper penetration of the learners' attitudes, i.e., below the level of conscious awareness (Oppenheim, 1992: 210), which, in turn, afforded a deeper insight into the evaluative dimensions upon which Japanese learners' evaluations of varieties of English tend to be located (see [Section 5.3.3](#)). Analysis of the data collected from the verbal-guise section of the research instrument also underlined the importance of considering the findings obtained in attitude studies

involving the speech evaluations of native speakers of English, when selecting varieties of English as speech stimulus for attitudes studies involving learners of English. The results of the present study, for example, have highlighted the merit of including non-standard varieties in addition to standard varieties of inner circle English in attitude research involving non-native speakers as well as native speakers of English. Similarly, the results also demonstrate the potential value of including local forms of expanding circle English as stimulus speech when investigating the social evaluations of learners of the language. Furthermore, as described previously (see [Section 4.2.1](#)), since the majority of previous studies have presented only recordings of male speakers of English for evaluation; a decision was taken to record only female speakers. The results of the current study confirm that learners are also able to discern differences between female speakers of English, and based upon relatively short samples of recorded speech, were also willing and able to make judgements regarding the speakers' personalities and abilities.

Thirdly, the study appears to be the first to incorporate direct methods of language attitude measurement from the field of perceptual dialectology into the design of a study concentrating specifically on learner perceptions of language varieties (although, notably, Jenkins recent (2007) monograph employed a map labelling task to investigate English teachers' perceptions of 'ELF accents'). The present study, hence, answers Preston's call to refine the methods and techniques of perceptual dialectology and to apply them to new contexts (Preston, 1999: xxxvii–xxxviii). Although a great deal more remains to be done (see [Section 6.1.2](#)), the findings obtained in the dialect recognition section of the research instrument provide an introductory framework for and demonstrate the potential value of employing relevant data elicitation techniques from perceptual dialectology in studies investigating learners' evaluations of varieties of English speech. Furthermore, the complementary combination of including a direct method in addition to an indirect method of language attitude measurement, gives greater credibility to the findings obtained amongst the learners of English who participated in the study. Similarly, the findings detailed in [Chapter 5](#) and in [Section 6.1.1](#) of this chapter reveal the particular methodological value of including a dialect recognition item in attitude studies which involve the evaluations of learners of English. For example, analysis of the data obtained from the variety recognition question gave a valuable insight into the cues upon which the learners of English based their (mis)identifications and indicated that they tend to look to native speakers of English to provide 'notions of correctness'. This finding allows for a deeper understanding of the ideological forces which operate in the particular language learning community (see [Section 2.1.1](#)), i.e., the findings indicate a tendency amongst Japanese learners of English to construct 'a native speaker ideology' (see [Section 6.1.1](#)). It may also be the case that learners of English in other areas of the expanding circle, in East Asia and elsewhere, are also particularly positive towards native speakers of English. Moreover, the data obtained in the dialect recognition section of the research instrument brought to light the potential active role that

affect may also play in the recognition process, in particular, in identifying (or not) the forms of English spoken in the learners' own country. In short, given the complexity of what was found to constitute 'recognition' of a variety of English amongst the learners in the present study, the inclusion of a variety recognition question in the research instrument is of vital methodological and theoretical importance when conducting attitude research amongst non-native users of a given language.

Fourthly, as detailed previously, few of the prior similar studies have provided detailed information about their samples in terms of social variables (see Section 3.2.4). However, analyses of the data collected in the current study demonstrated that a number of social factors within the population were significant in determining the learners' perceptions of varieties of English speech. Hence, the findings are of great methodological importance to researchers in Japan generally because they generate useful information in terms of which particular social variables amongst the Japanese population can account for variations in attitude. Such information is also vital because the findings are likely to help language attitude researchers draw up of a list of factors or indeed, develop an overall model which can be tested in order to determine whether particular social factors can account for the attitudes of learners towards varieties of English speech. As described previously (see Section 6.1.3), the findings are also of great benefit to both language policy makers and educators, as the differences found between the speaker evaluations of subsections of language learning population in Japan may be a reflection of attitude change generally or that different sections of population have different attitudes. The findings, thus, have specific implications for future English language policy in Japan and indeed elsewhere in the expanding circle (Starks and Paltridge, 1996: 221–222).

Fifthly, previous attitude studies investigating the attitudes of learners of English (and language attitude studies generally) have tended to ignore the well-established body of attitude research in the field of social psychology and throughout the social sciences generally. As a result, much of the research and discussion about attitudes towards particular languages or language varieties has often been naïve, ill-defined and prone to replicate previous mistakes (Baker, 1992: 8). It is perhaps for this reason that language attitude research is viewed by some sociolinguists as '... a discrete, banded and even dogmatic methodology' (Garrett et al., 2003: 228) and that sociopsychological approaches to L2 learning (of which attitude is frequently a central explanatory variable; see Section 2.2.1.2) have been heavily criticised in recent years (e.g., Pavlenko, 2002: 278–282). Although researchers need to bear in mind that all measurement, by its very nature, contains a degree of error (see Davies, 2008: 135–136 for an overview) the criticisms mentioned above have, however, failed to take into account recent advances in attitude theory and methodological investigation in the social sciences more generally (see for example, Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Bohnet and Wanke, 2002; Perloff, 2003) where 'attitudes remain quite properly, a cornerstone of social psychology' (Edwards, 2004:

139) and the study of language attitudes itself has ‘rightly been recognised as a central concern in sociolinguistics’ (Garrett, 2001: 630). Indeed, it has recently been argued that to appreciate in any depth the complex social reality in which identity, language attitudes and language behaviour interact, theoretical perspectives from the fields of both social psychology and sociolinguistics should be applied (Zwickl, 2002: 5; McKenzie, 2008a: 64). In the case of the present study, the sociopsychological approach taken has, in fact, attempted to contextualise the design of the study as well as the analyses and subsequent interpretation of the data obtained firmly within the wealth of literature in social psychology on attitude theory, attitude research and attitude change (Baker, 1992: 8).

6.2 Final Remarks and the Future

As indicated in the opening chapters, the main focus of this book has been on the social psychology of English as a global language. More specifically, in an era of increasing globalization and the worldwide spread of English as a means of international communication, the previous chapters have highlighted the particular relevance of investigating non-native speakers’ attitudes towards and awareness of English language variation.

The previous section has outlined the methodological value of the in-depth quantitative study. Nevertheless, although the findings have cast a great deal of light upon and provided a useful initial framework for understanding the complex nature of the attitudes of learners towards varieties of English speech, it is clear that a number of limitations exist and, as a result, there is undoubtedly much more work that remains to be done. First, for both theoretical and practical reasons, the informants chosen to participate in the study consisted entirely of Japanese students currently learning English at universities in Japan (see Section 4.4). Clearly, in order to be able to generalise the findings beyond this particular group, it would be desirable to replicate the study with a broader range of Japanese learners (including a greater number of informants from Okinawa, Kyushu and Hokkaido) and, more generally, to compare with perceptions of learners of English from elsewhere in the expanding circle. Likewise, when undertaking equivalent studies in the future, if both time and economy permit, it may be prudent to employ systematic probability sampling because of the greater likelihood of high reliability, degree of representativeness and the high generalisability of the results generated (Sarantakos, 1998: 140–141).

Secondly, although considerable care was taken to minimise the effects of potentially confounding variables in the verbal-guise section of the study (see Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), the possibility exists, however unlikely, that the differences found between the learners’ evaluations of the speech varieties may have been due to non-linguistic factors, such as the personality or voice quality of the individual speakers, or the speed, length and content of the speech

(Hiraga, 2005: 299). In order to discount this possibility and to validate the findings obtained in the current study, verbal-guise studies of a similar nature should be conducted amongst learners of English. Moreover, the informants' comments in the dialect recognition section of the research instrument indicate that non-native listener-judges tend to identify and evaluate L2 speakers according to pronunciation features (see Section 5.6.2). However, it is not known which specific linguistic features (or combinations of) are responsible for the evaluations elicited. Further research is required in order to determine which linguistic elements of particular varieties of L2 speech are most salient for Japanese and other learners of English and thus, upon which they are most likely to base their evaluations (for a fuller discussion of the issue see Section 3.2.4).

Thirdly, the findings of the study demonstrated 'perceptions of varieties of Japanese' as a potential predictor of attitudes towards varieties of English. However, as discussed in Section 6.1.4, the present study has only begun to explore the relationship between 'perceptions of L1' and 'attitudes towards L2'. More work incorporating this variable, with an improved methodological investigation, is essential. Analyses of the data collected also demonstrated the importance of specific social factors in determining the learners' attitudes towards varieties of English speech. There is also a requirement, nevertheless, to examine whether, to what extent and in what ways other differences in the social background amongst the language learning population in Japan and elsewhere influence perceptions of varieties of English (see Section 6.1.3). For instance, findings from research on attitudes towards the Welsh language have consistently demonstrated age to be an influential variable (Baker, 1992: 41–42). In future studies, one way to measure the effect of age on attitudes towards English would be to examine and compare evaluations in *apparent time* (i.e., to select and compare the evaluations of English language variation amongst a sample incorporating learners of different age groups). A second technique would be to conduct the study several times over a period of years (i.e., to undertake a longitudinal study). Both techniques may provide valuable information in terms of the direction of any attitude change occurring amongst particular English language learning communities. There is also a requirement for longitudinal studies to be conducted in order to be able to measure whether and if so, to what extent the attitudes that informants hold towards varieties of English are a determinant of their level of long-term success in the acquisition of the target language. It is important to note, nevertheless, that longitudinal studies, by their very nature, require a great deal more time and effort than latitudinal studies and hence, researchers who can afford to undertake them are in the minority (Lasagabaster, 2005: 311).

Fourthly, in an attempt to restrict the complexity of the eventual study design and to minimise potentially extraneous variables, it was decided to record only female speakers of English for the purposes of evaluation. Hence, in order to validate (or not) the findings of the verbal-guise section of the research instrument, it would also be worthwhile to investigate Japanese and

other learners' evaluations of male speakers of English. A further reason for employing male speakers in future studies of a similar nature is that the significant differences found between male and female informants' evaluations of inner circle English in the present study could, in fact, be as a result of employing female speakers only. Likewise, to minimise the potential confounding effects of listener-fatigue, recordings of only six speakers (and hence, six varieties of English) were presented for the purposes of evaluation. In order to reveal more about learner attitudes towards varieties of English speech, future studies should present recordings of speakers of other varieties of English for evaluation. Much remains to be understood, for example, regarding learners' perceptions of non-standard and standard varieties of inner circle English in Australia, Canada or South Africa (i.e., outside the UK and the USA). This is particularly the case with regards to learner attitudes towards variation in spoken English since there exists a vast amount of regional (as well as social) phonological differentiation, even amongst those who claim to speak 'standard English' (Ferguson, 2006: 173). In addition, there is a requirement for further in-depth studies to be conducted investigating learners' attitudes towards outer circle varieties of English as well as their perceptions of forms of English spoken in the expanding circle outwith Japan. The findings obtained from such studies, it is felt, would help build up a more detailed picture of learners attitudes towards varieties of English and elsewhere in the expanding circle, and thus, the information gained is likely to have further pedagogical implications for the choice of linguistic model employed in English language classrooms by both policy makers and educators.

Fifthly, the results of the study pointed to the presence of an *affective* component in addition to a *cognitive* component of the learners' attitudes towards varieties of English, and in particular, towards forms of English spoken by Japanese (see Section 6.1.2). As described previously (see Section 6.1.1), this is broadly compatible with the results of a study by Cargile (1996: 109) who reported that listeners in the USA reacted emotionally as well as cognitively towards 'Japanese-accented' speakers of English. Further research concentrating specifically on the affective dimension of learners' evaluations of English language varieties is important in order to determine the precise role which mood, emotion and preference may play in the formation and intensity of their attitudes. Relatedly, although statistical analyses of the data collected revealed that complex (and often contradictory) components were found to comprise learners' attitudes towards varieties of English speech, there was no attempt to incorporate a behavioural aspect into the design of the study. Despite the difficulties involved in the measurement of any conative (i.e., behavioural) component of an attitude, social psychologists, nevertheless, are generally in agreement, that if measured appropriately, attitudes are a major determinant of behaviour (see Section 2.1.2). Indeed, in the case of language attitudes, the results of the small number of studies which have attempted to measure the conative component suggest that language attitudes are likely to predict broad behavioural patterns of (socio)linguistic behaviour amongst learners of English

in Denmark (Ladegaard, 2000: 230). Therefore, in future studies, it would be worthwhile for researchers investigating the evaluations of learners of English in other areas of the expanding circle (including Japan) to incorporate a behavioural measure in the research design in order to predict linguistic behaviour, for instance by employing and testing an expectancy-value model (see Section 2.1.2).

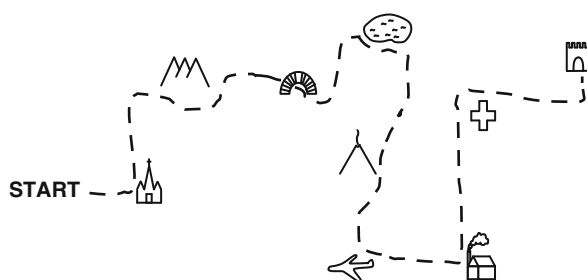
Sixthly, there are undoubtedly other ways in which techniques from the field of perceptual dialectology could be incorporated into the design of studies investigating the language attitudes of non-native learners of English (and indeed, of other languages). The use of such techniques is likely to be of particular benefit when there is a specific requirement to incorporate a dialect recognition as part of the language attitude study. For instance, to measure recognition rates, learners could be presented with a detailed map of the world and subsequently requested to identify speakers' places of origin on the map when listening to speech stimulus. As a follow-up task, to measure attitudes, informants could be asked to rank the regions/countries identified for 'correct' and/or 'pleasant' speech, thus reflecting the dimensions of competence (status) and social attractiveness (solidarity) extracted in the current study. In this way, techniques incorporated from perceptual dialectology may be employed advantageously in different sections of the same research instrument in order to measure both attitudes and dialect recognition.

Overall, it is clear that there is much to be gained from conducting research into learner attitudes towards English speech varieties. Although a great deal remains to be done, it is hoped that the depth and quality of the findings obtained in the current study point to the potential advantages for language attitude researchers of incorporating methods and techniques of attitude measurement from the strong tradition which exists in the field of social psychology, as well as the importance of taking the plethora of research findings from the field into account, when investigating the language attitudes of learners of English generally.

Appendix A

Speech Collection: Map Task

Please give directions from the START position to the CASTLE.



Key

airport



church



bridge



mountains



castle



factory



lake



hospital



volcano



Appendix B

Research Instrument

Research Project

The information given will be used for a University research project. It will be treated in the strictest confidence and will be used for no other purpose. This is not a test.

Section 1

You will hear 6 people give directions to a castle.

Listen to the recordings and circle where you would put each speaker on the following scale.

Example, 1 = very pleasant, 7 = very unpleasant.

Speaker A

pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not pleasant
confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not confident
unclear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	clear
modest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not modest
not funny	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	funny
intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not intelligent
not gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	gentle
not fluent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	fluent

Section 2

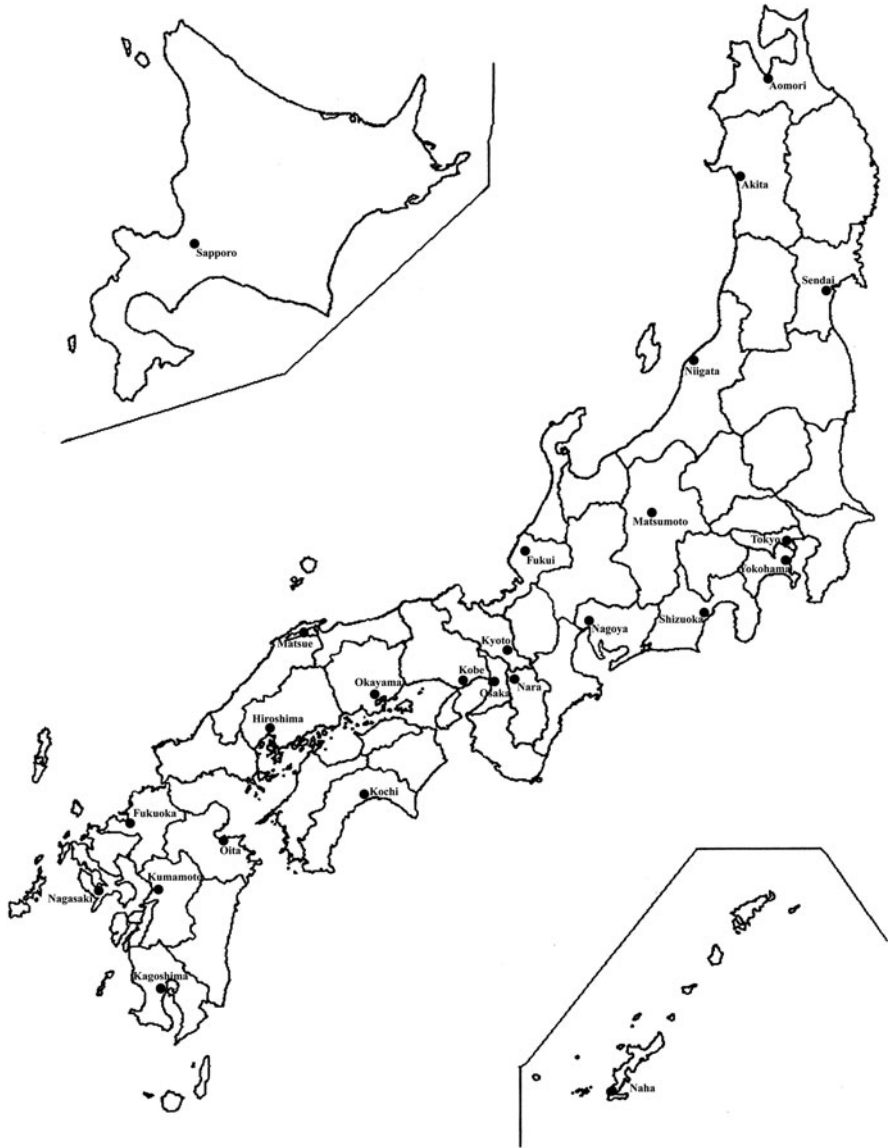
Listen to the recordings again and answer the following questions:

Speaker A

Where do you think the speaker comes from?

How did you make this decision?

Section 3



- (i) On the map, draw circles around the areas of Japan where people speak varieties (多様な日本語) of Japanese different from standard Japanese (標準日本語).

(ii) How would you describe the speakers of these varieties of Japanese?

Section 4: Personal Details

Initials (イニシャル) _____ Sex _____
Date of Birth _____

Nationality _____
Native Language (母国語) _____

Subject of Study _____

Undergraduate student (大学生) Postgraduate student (大学院生)

Where do you come from? _____
How long have you lived there? _____(years) _____(months)

How would you classify the area of Japan you come from?
rural urban

Where do you live now? _____
How long have you lived there? _____(years) _____(months)

How long have you studied English? _____(years)
In your opinion, what is your language ability in English?

a little good very good

Have you ever lived in or visited English-speaking countries?

yes no

If yes: Where? _____
How long? _____(years) _____(months) _____(weeks)

Thank you for your co-operation
ご協力ありがとうございました

Appendix C

Post Hoc Test: Pairwise Comparisons for Speaker: All Traits

(I) speaker	(J) speaker	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval for difference ^a	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
MJE	HJE	-0.027	0.037	1.000	-0.135	0.081
	SSE	-0.163 ^b	0.036	0.000	-0.269	-0.056
	GV	-0.459 ^b	0.040	0.000	-0.577	-0.340
	MWUSE	-0.489 ^b	0.040	0.000	-0.607	-0.371
	SUSE	-0.676 ^b	0.040	0.000	-0.793	-0.560
HJE	MJE	0.027	0.037	1.000	-0.081	0.135
	SSE	-0.135 ^b	0.042	0.023	-0.260	-0.010
	GV	-0.431 ^b	0.042	0.000	-0.556	-0.307
	MWUSE	-0.462 ^b	0.046	0.000	-0.597	-0.326
	SUSE	-0.649 ^b	0.044	0.000	-0.777	-0.520
SSE	MJE	0.163 ^b	0.036	0.000	0.056	0.269
	HJE	0.135 ^b	0.042	0.023	0.010	0.260
	GV	-0.296 ^b	0.042	0.000	-0.419	-0.173
	MWUSE	-0.327 ^b	0.041	0.000	-0.448	-0.205
	SUSE	-0.513 ^b	0.041	0.000	-0.635	-0.392
GV	MJE	0.459 ^b	0.040	0.000	0.340	0.577
	HJE	0.431 ^b	0.042	0.000	0.307	0.556
	SSE	0.296 ^b	0.042	0.000	0.173	0.419
	MWUSE	-0.030	0.041	1.000	-0.152	0.092
	SUSE	-0.217 ^b	0.042	0.000	-0.341	-0.094
MWUSE	MJE	0.489 ^b	0.040	0.000	0.371	0.607
	HJE	0.462 ^b	0.046	0.000	0.326	0.597
	SSE	0.327 ^b	0.041	0.000	0.205	0.448
	GV	0.030	0.041	1.000	-0.092	0.152
	SUSE	-0.187 ^b	0.042	0.000	-0.311	-0.063
SUSE	MJE	0.676 ^b	0.040	0.000	0.560	0.793
	HJE	0.649 ^b	0.044	0.000	0.520	0.777
	SSE	0.513 ^b	0.041	0.000	0.392	0.635

(I) speaker	(J) speaker	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval for difference ^a	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
	GV	0.217 ^b	0.042	0.000	0.094	0.341
	MWUSE	0.187 ^b	0.042	0.000	0.063	0.311

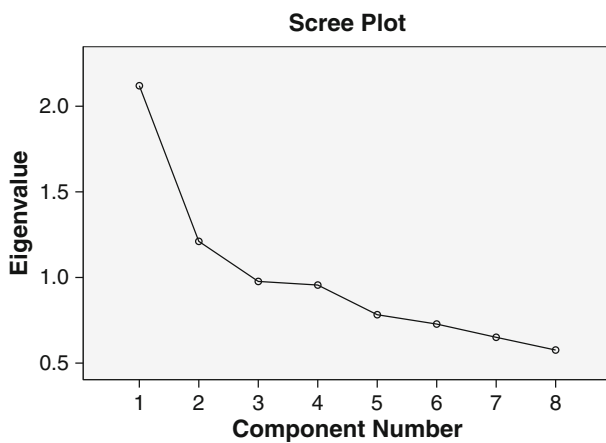
Based on estimated marginal means.

^aAdjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

^bThe mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix D

Principal Components Analysis. Scree Plot: Sum of Speakers



Appendix E

The Rotated Component Matrix: Sum of Speakers

	Component	
	1	2
Intelligent	0.740	
Confident	0.678	
Fluent	0.555	
Clear	0.529	0.343
Gentle		0.694
Pleasant		0.584
Funny	-0.329	0.538
Modest		0.527

Extraction method: principal components analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization.

Rotation converged in three iterations.

Appendix F

Post Hoc Test: Pairwise Comparisons for Speaker Competence

(I) Speaker competence	(J) Speaker competence	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval for difference ^a	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
HJE	MJE	-0.390 ^b	0.050	0.000	-0.538	-0.242
	SSE	-0.763 ^b	0.063	0.000	-0.947	-0.578
	GV	-1.109 ^b	0.057	0.000	-1.277	-0.941
	SUSE	-1.626 ^b	0.060	0.000	-1.803	-1.449
	MWUSE	-1.639 ^b	0.062	0.000	-1.824	-1.455
MJE	HJE	0.390 ^b	0.050	0.000	0.242	0.538
	SSE	-0.373 ^b	0.054	0.000	-0.533	-0.213
	GV	-0.719 ^b	0.057	0.000	-0.887	-0.552
	SUSE	-1.236 ^b	0.053	0.000	-1.393	-1.079
	MWUSE	-1.250 ^b	0.055	0.000	-1.412	-1.087
SSE	HJE	0.763 ^b	0.063	0.000	0.578	0.947
	MJE	0.373 ^b	0.054	0.000	0.213	0.533
	GV	-0.346 ^b	0.062	0.000	-0.529	-0.163
	SUSE	-0.863 ^b	0.060	0.000	-1.041	-0.685
	MWUSE	-0.877 ^b	0.062	0.000	-1.061	-0.693
GV	HJE	1.109 ^b	0.057	0.000	0.941	1.277
	MJE	0.719 ^b	0.057	0.000	0.552	0.887
	SSE	0.346 ^b	0.062	0.000	0.163	0.529
	SUSE	-0.517 ^b	0.054	0.000	-0.675	-0.359
	MWUSE	-0.530 ^b	0.055	0.000	-0.694	-0.367
SUSE	HJE	1.626 ^b	0.060	0.000	1.449	1.803
	MJE	1.236 ^b	0.053	0.000	1.079	1.393
	GSE	0.863 ^b	0.060	0.000	0.685	1.041
	GV	0.517 ^b	0.054	0.000	0.359	0.675
	MWUSE	-0.013	0.054	1.000	-0.173	0.147
MWUSE	HJE	1.639 ^b	0.062	0.000	1.455	1.824

(I) Speaker competence	(J) Speaker competence	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval for difference ^a	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
	MJE	1.250 ^b	0.055	0.000	1.087	1.412
	SSE	0.877 ^b	0.062	0.000	0.693	1.061
	GV	0.530 ^b	0.055	0.000	0.367	0.694
	SUSE	0.013	0.054	1.000	-0.147	0.173

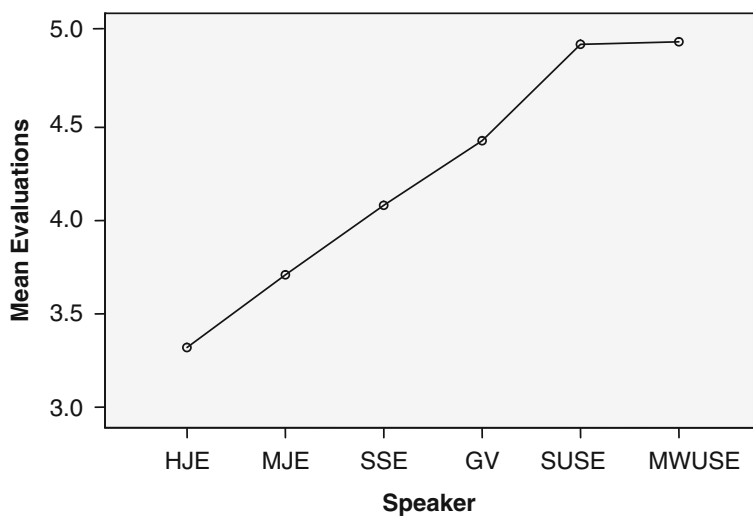
Based on estimated marginal means.

^a Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

^b The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix G

Scree Plot of Mean Evaluations for Speaker Competence



Appendix H

Post Hoc Test: Pairwise Comparisons for Speaker Social Attractiveness

(I) speaker attractiveness	(J) Speaker attractiveness	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval for difference ^a	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
MWUSE	SSE	-0.132	0.048	0.090	-0.273	0.009
	MJE	-0.271 ^b	0.049	0.000	-0.415	-0.127
	SUSE	-0.387 ^b	0.048	0.000	-0.530	-0.244
	GV	-0.470 ^b	0.048	0.000	-0.612	-0.327
	HJE	-0.716 ^b	0.059	0.000	-0.890	-0.541
SSE	MWUSE	0.132	0.048	0.090	-0.009	0.273
	MJE	-0.139 ^b	0.041	0.010	-0.259	-0.019
	SUSE	-0.255 ^b	0.045	0.000	-0.387	-0.123
	GV	-0.337 ^b	0.046	0.000	-0.474	-0.200
	HJE	-0.583 ^b	0.049	0.000	-0.728	-0.439
MJE	MWUSE	0.271 ^b	0.049	0.000	0.127	0.415
	SSE	0.139 ^b	0.041	0.010	0.019	0.259
	SUSE	-0.116	0.045	0.141	-0.247	0.015
	GV	-0.198 ^b	0.042	0.000	-0.323	-0.073
	HJE	-0.444 ^b	0.043	0.000	-0.571	-0.318
SUSE	MWUSE	0.387 ^b	0.048	0.000	0.244	0.530
	SSE	0.255 ^b	0.045	0.000	0.123	0.387
	MJE	0.116	0.045	0.141	-0.015	0.247
	GV	-0.082	0.048	1.000	-0.223	0.058
	HJE	-0.328 ^b	0.050	0.000	-0.476	-0.181
GV	MWUSE	0.470 ^b	0.048	0.000	0.327	0.612
	SSE	0.337 ^b	0.046	0.000	0.200	0.474
	MJE	0.198 ^b	0.042	0.000	0.073	0.323
	SUSE	0.082	0.048	1.000	-0.058	0.223
	HJE	-0.246 ^b	0.049	0.000	-0.391	-0.101
HJE	MWUSE	0.716 ^b	0.059	0.000	0.541	0.890

(I) speaker attractiveness	(J) Speaker attractiveness	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval for difference ^a	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
	SSE	0.583 ^b	0.049	0.000	0.439	0.728
	MJE	0.444 ^b	0.043	0.000	0.318	0.571
	SUSE	0.328 ^b	0.050	0.000	0.181	0.476
	GV	0.246 ^b	0.049	0.000	0.101	0.391

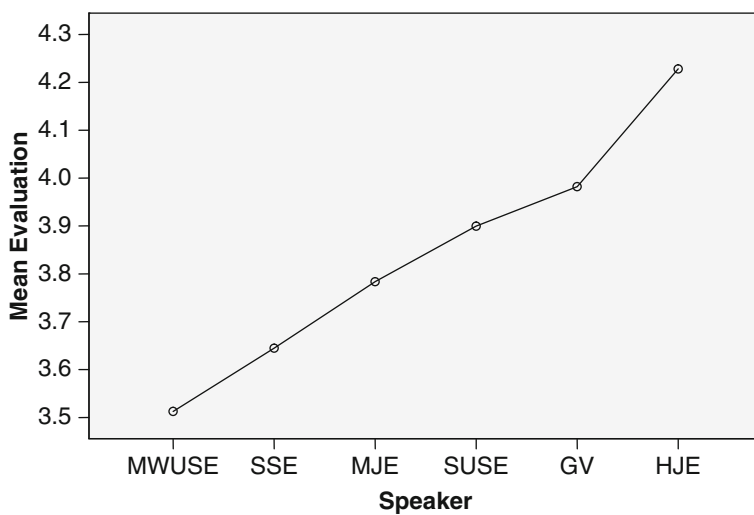
Based on estimated marginal means.

^aAdjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

^bThe mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix I

Scree Plot of Mean Evaluation Rankings for Speaker Social Attractiveness



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