NATIVE SPEAKERS' PERCEPTIONS OF
NON-NATIVE SPEECH   AND THE
IMPORTANCE OF PRONUNCIATION TO
THEIR EVALUATION

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Preface:

This study of perceptions of the speech of non-native speakers draws on a tradition and methodology commonly associated with sociolinguistics and the sociology of language to investigate a phenomenon which is of relevence to applied linguistics and the teaching of foreign languages. It is hoped that despite drawing on two seemingly separate areas of linguistic research, it will demonstrate a cohesive albeit unfamiliar approach to a familiar problem within the 'form versus content[1] controversy in applied linguistics: the question of whether or not pronunciation should be taught to foreign students, This study demonstrates that the assumption at present prevalent in applied linguistics: that the end goal of students (and teachers) should be 'communicative competence[1] and 'comprehensibility', is severely limited, in that it does not take into account the factor of native speakers reactions towards 'foreign'-sounding speech. It is shown that non-native speakers whose pronunciation is close to the native norm are more favourably perceived in terms of command of the target language, personality, status, and career prospects, than those whose 'communicative competence* is comparable, but whose pronunciation is less 'native-like',

Titles of Chapters and Appendices

List of Abbreviations.

IL   Interlanguage

L1   Native language

L2   Foreign language

Syn   Syntax

Pron   Pronunciation

w/c   Working-class

m/c   Middle-class

.lst of Tables and Charts.

Introduction.

Because of the current focus on 'communicative language teaching' in applied linguistic theory and foreign language teaching generally, contemporary foreign language teaching methods tend to concentrate on the achievement by students of the highest possible level of 'communicative competence' in the target language. With this focus in teaching on language 'content', correspondingly less attention is paid to 'form'. Furthermore, where 'form' is considered, it is the syntactic form of the language which is studied, and little attention is paid to phonological form or pronunciation. Apart from the belief that teaching pronunciation is incompatible with a communicative approach, a common justification for the current lack of emphasis on pronunciation in the language course is the belief that foreign accents are 'charming' and 'individual' and therefore there is no need to make foreigners speak like natives, or that communication is not seriously impeded by an accent (Dulay et al. 1982: 112 cite Henry Kissinger and Greta Garbo as proof of this claim!). However, now that more and more students are learning languages for vocational reasons rather than purely out of social or academic motivation, not to mention the large number of 'non-native speakers' who settle in any country on political, personal or occupational grounds, this view may be somewhat inadequate. As Seren-Rosso writes: *a foreign accent is not necessarily music to the native ear. What may seem charming on a movi.e. screen can be nerve-racking after a five-hour business meeting* (1978: 16), and Pedoya (1974) describes the reactions of native speakers experienced by students of French as a foreign language to their accents as follows:

> Les apprenants appr^hendent l'impatience manifesto par les fran$ais devant un accent 6tranger, Les seuls interlocuteurs avec lesquels les apprenants peuvent communiquer restent les membres du groupe-classe, Sorti de ce cadre, l'apprenant a beaucoup de mal 6 se faire comprendre et est tout d fait d6sorient6 par les attitudes de rejet venant de ses interlocuteurs francais (Pedoya 1974; 206)

Moreover, the common assumption outlined above, that pronunciation should not be taught to foreign students, is not compatible with certain recent research findings in the area of psycho- and sociolinguistics. In this paper I suggest that there may be a paradox in the neglect of pronunciation teaching in order to concentrate on 'communicative[1] language teaching: that the lack of attention paid to students[1] pronunciation may actually detract from, and even seriously hinder, communication from taking place.

I believe there are four ways in which poor pronunciation may impede non-native speakers' communication with native speakers;

i) The student may have such a strong 'foreign accent[1] that her IL speech is partially or wholly unintelligible to the native speaker. This is particularly the case when the student's LI does not contain phonemic contrasts which are present in the L2, e.g., Japanese students frequently have difficulties distinguishing /I/ and /r/, both in production and in perception, because in their LI these are allophones of the same phoneme, (see Tarone 1987: 70-83).

ii) It has been convincingly demonstrated (see for example Wollf 1959) that, on hearing even a slight accent, the native speaker may experience difficulty in

understanding a foreign speaker, particularly if her accent betrays a nationality against which the native is biased. As soon as the native speaker hears a foreign accent, she may assume she will not understand the foreigner's speech, and this assumption may actually lead to difficulties in comprehension.

iii) It has been shown that the psychological state of the foreign language learner has important bearings on her degree of success, both for her long-term learning and in individual communicative situations. For example, *the less anxious the learner, the better language acquisition proceeds. Similarly, relaxed and comfortable students apparently learn more in shorter periods of time* (Dulay et al. 1982: 51). It is my belief (although I know of no published work on the subject) that self-consciousness about her 'strong[1] accent when speaking a foreign language may greatly increase a student's anxiety level, thus inhibiting both the learning process and communication.

iv) Language attitude studies investigating the reactions of British respondents to speakers of both standard and non-standard dialects of English have shown that a speaker's dialect has considerable bearing on the way in which she is perceived by other native speakers[1]. A speaker's accent may affect others' perception not just of her linguistic competence, but of her social status, intelligence and personality. Given these findings, it would not be inconceivable that the accent of non-native speakers could affect the way they and their language were perceived and evaluated by native speakers. If this were proved to be the case, native speakers' negative reactions to the foreigner or her language, whether conscious or unconscious, might be another way in which communication could be impeded (as well as being undesirable generally!).

The language attitude studies of the past two decades have shown that people's language plays a significant role in determining how they are perceived: both in terms of their perceived status and their perceived personality. These insights offer a plausible explanation for various sociological phenomena such as the way teachers deal with different pupils and the criteria used by employers when hiring workers (Fasold 1984: 148-9).

Fasold (1984) discusses various methods employed in language attitude studies: most studies have utilized the matched-guise technique which aims to create an experimental situation in which all variables apart from language are eliminated. This is regarded as important since idiosyncratic variation in speech has been shown to affect evaluation: for example, several studies[2] have shown that speakers whose speech contains a relatively large number of hesitations, repetitions and vocalized pauses are perceived less favourably than more fluent speakers, whereas Addington (1968) found that vocal characteristics such as *thinness, flatness, nasality, tenseness, throatiness and orotundity evoke stereotypes of personality* (Giles and Powesland 1975: 5).

In the matched-guise studies, judges are told they will hear the voices of several different speakers and are asked to evaluate them, often with a questionnaire using a semantic differential scale. In fact all the speech samples are produced by a single speaker using a different speech variety or characteristic for each one, with a degree of 'realism' judged by the researchers to sound authentic. It was found that the matched-guise technique worked best if speakers discussed the same topic rather than reading a passage:

however, the topic chosen should be uncontroversial so as not to affect the evaluations. Problems with the matched-guise technique include the validity of the responses (the extent to which they represent the respondent's true opinion) and the artificiality of the technique (its dissimilarity from real-life situations). Fasold reports on various ingenious solutions adopted by researchers to overcome possible drawbacks associated with these problems (Fasold 1984: 153-5).

Triandis, Loh and Levin (1966) found linguistic cues to be more influential than visual ones in accounting for variability in evaluation of speakers (Giles and Powesland 1975: 3). Williams (1973) investigated the attitudes of teachers to their pupils' speech, by asking teachers to evaluate recorded speech samples of various children of the same age, using a semantic differential scale. His method differed from the matched-guise technique in that each speaker was heard only once, speaking in her 'true' accent, but the speakers used were matched for ethnicity, and social status, the two variables under investigation. The subject matter of the samples was free conversation and no attempt was made to standardize content. Although arguably less comparable than the matched-guise stimulus recordings, this approach at least had the advantage of eliminating the *repetition and lack of spontaneity that sometimes plague more tightly controlled research* (Fasold 1984: 171).

Williams found that stereotypes played an important role in the evaluation of speech. He suggests that *to varying degrees, persons have a stereotyped set of attitudes about social dialects and their speakers, and these attitudes play a role in how a person perceives the cues in another person's speech* (Williams 1983: 113). He was able to elicit evaluations of speech, using the same

semantic-differential scales, even when he presented respondents not with speech samples, but with ethnic labels.

Williams also found that even when speech samples were presented, stereotypes played a part in teachers[1] evaluations,' although the actual samples were taken into account, the stereotypes functioned as an 'anchor point[1] preventing the actual speech sample from being evaluated too differently from the stereotype. Williams writes that *persons tend to employ stereotyped sets of attitudes as anchor points for their evaluation of whatever is presented to them as a sample of a person's speech* (Williams 1973: 126)

Speech Style and Perceived status.

Giles (1970) investigated the perceptions of local-accented South Welsh and Somerset schoolchildren of the status of various regional, town and foreign accents heard in the British Isles. The subjects heard one speaker reading the same passage in thirteen different guises. The researcher claims that the subjects had no idea they were in fact listening to one man, and were *completely surprised and unbelieving* (Giles and Powesland 1975: 28) when told this was the case. The ratings for the Welsh accent were taken only from the Somerset children and *vice versa,* to avoid accent loyalty affecting the results. The subjects were asked to rate the 'aesthetic', 'communicative[1] and 'status[1] contents of the thirteen accents.

The highest rated accent was RP English, followed by 'affected RP\ and then North American and French. The lowest rated accent was Birmingham, and Somerset; Cockney and Indian also received low ratings. Northern English, German, South Welsh, Irish and Italian received intermediate ratings. In spite of this

generalised pattern of evaluation, the factors of age, sex, social class and region membership were found to influence the subjects[1] evaluations. Particularly influential was the factor of social class: working class twelve year old males from both regions produced significantly lower ratings for several accents on the basis of questions about both communicative and aesthetic contents. Giles writes:

> It may have been the case that these working-class subjects were responding to middle-class speech (grammar, syntax, lexicon) plus accent when evaluating the vocal stimuli which would seem to adequately explain their lower ratings particularly with regard to communicative content. However, there was a strong tendency for the working-class sample as a whole to be more prone towards accent loyalty than their middle class peers. This finding is consonant with Fishman's (1964) work on language maintenance and shift..-.(Giles 1970: 223)

During the course of the same study, Giles also asked the subjects to assess the accents when they were given only the name of an accent rather than hearing an actual speech sample. He did not include 'affected RP[1] and he referred to RP as a BBC accent[1], The ratings given to these named accents were comparable to those of the matched-guise recordings, thus supporting William's <1973> suggestion about the role of stereotypes in accent evaluation. RP was still perceived as being the accent with the highest status (although less so among the younger children) (Giles 1970: 219).

Giles (1971) conducted a similar study with 21 year old college students as respondents, but this time the stimulus voices were provided by recording

rnirteen airtereru speaKers using tneir usual accents: *zne* same selection 01 accents were used as for the previous study. Whereas the previous study had aimed to avoid the variability of para linguistic features which occurred when thirteen different speakers were used,, the researchers considered that:

> •,,it seemed important to determine whether accent-prestige was reducible despite these differences in voice quality, perceived personality and so forth. In fact, the results confirmed that such was indeed the case, (Giles and Powesland 1975: 32)

The three techniques used by Giles: exposing subjects to matched-guise speech samples, to the names of accents, and to genuine accented speech all produced results which revealed that RP speech was perceived as the most prestigious form.

Giles was also the first researcher to address differences amongst listeners in addition to differences amongst speakers, Giles <1971a) hypothesized that *the more ethnocentric an individual's orientation, the less favourable his evaluation of regional accented speech would be. Secondly, it would seen to follow that the highly ethnocentric would react relatively more favourably towards the Southern Standard accent or Received Pronunciation (RP) than the less ethnocentric, simply because of its superior social prestige value in relation to all other regional varieties* (187). Sixth-formers from south Wales and Somerset were classified as +E and -E <+ or - ethnocentric) on the basis of an 'ethnocentrism questionnaire[1]. They were then asked to rate six voices produced using a matched-guise by one speaker. The results tended to spport both hypotheses. +E subjects tended to display less tolerance that -E subjects towards non-standard speech: this unfavourable attitude towards regionally accented speech is

accentuated by means of a more favourable reaction to RP than the -E group, particularly with regard to its aesthetic content. Giles stresses that these findings suggest that personality may be an important factor in the 'decoding process' (Giles 1971a: 187-8).

Speech style and perceived personality:

The pioneering work in this area took place in Quebec in the 1960's. Since then similar studies have been undertaken in Britain: Strongman and Woosley (1967) studied the evaluations by Northern and Southern English speakers of the matched-guises of Yorkshire and London accents. The London speakers were described as more self-confident and the Yorkshire speakers as more honest and reliable and generous. Northern respondents perceived the Yorkshire speakers as more good-natured, kind-hearted, industrious and irritable (!) than the Londoners. Cheyne (1970) studied reactions to Scottish and English voices: both Scottish and English respondents regarded male English speakers as higher in leadership, intelligence, ambition, self-confidence, prestige and wealth, good looks and height, occupational status and cleanliness than the Scottish speakers (!). The Scottish respondents showed some accent loyalty, and perceived Scottish speakers as more generous, friendly, humorous, good-natured, likeable and nervous. The English respondents, on the other hand, rated the Scottish voices over the English only on the basis of friendliness. This leads Giles and Powesland to suggest that:

> ..it would seem that speakers of RP may attract stereotyped personality impressions of greater *competence* from listeners than speakers of nonstandard regional accents. However, both regional accented judges and to a lesser extent RP judges seem to consider nonstandard speakers as

possessing greater personal integrity and social attractiveness than RP speakers (Giles and Powesland 1975: 67-68)

Following his findings that RP, South Welsh and Somerset speakers were perceived as representing respectively high, intermediate and low status (Giles 1970 and 1971), Giles (1971b) hypothesised that *a further ranking would emerge in respect of the personality traits of competence, integrity and attactiveness* (Giles and Powesland 1975: 68). His hypotheses were supported by the findings that:

> The RP speakers were perceived as relatively more ambitious, intelligent, self-confident, determined and industrious than the regional accented speakers. Moreover, it appeared that these competence impressions were to a certain extent a function of relative accent prestige. Nevertheless, nonstandard accented speakers were found to be more favourably evaluated than standard accented speakers with respect to personal integrity and social attractiveness.....Powesland and Giles (1975) found that listeners whose own accent was RP rated the regional guise of one of the same speakers as more sincere than his RP guise (Giles and Powesland (1975: 68).

Giles and Powesland suggest that speakers with regional accents are recognised as having preserved their non-standard speech and are therefore perceived as people who are not concerned with bettering their social or economic status. They speculate that this fact might make them seem more community-orientated and concerned with *the development of interpersonal relations, personal integrity and social attractiveness* (68). They suggest furthermore, that RP

speakers may be perceived as insincere and lacking in personal integrity because they may be assumed to be disguising their genuine social and regional origins and even their personality! Finally they suggest that:

> it could be that RP speech is perceived as the voice of power and perhaps economic and social exploitation. In other words, an RP speaker may be perceived as having attained his position of prestige largely through ambition and intelligence but also through sacrificing to some extent his integrity and trustworthiness (70).

Giles (1972) investigated the effect of stimulus mildness-broadness in the evaluation of accents. He sought to ascertain whether listeners *could perceive vocal differences along this pronunciation dimension, and if they could, whether their evaluations of the aesthetic, status and communicative contents of a standard, neutral passage of prose were a function of broadness* (Giles 1972: 262). Three pairs of voices were investigated: a mild and a strong form of each of the following: South Irish, Mild Irish and Birmingham. In spite of problems in the definition of the terms 'mild' and 'strong' and in establishing criteria for classifying a given accent as being one or the other, the results of the study provide support for a mildness-broadness dimension in accent evaluation: subjects were able to discriminate accents according to relative broadness. Furthermore, the broader the accent was perceived the less favourably it was evaluated: this was true even in cases where the judges originated from the same region as the speaker (although Giles does not mention whether these judges were themselves speakers of the accent, either in its mild or broad form, or of RP).

I briefly consider three studies of native-speakers' evaluations of non-native speech: Palmer (1973) and Albrechtsen, Henriksen and Faerch (1980) and Ryan and Sebastian (1980). Ryan and Sebastian (1980) compared the perception of speech style and social class background of speakers of Spanish-accented and standard American-accented English. Respondents were require to rate speakers of either standard American- or Spanish-accented English, who were presented as being either lower-class or middle-class, for status, solidarity, stereotype, and speech characteristics. They found that speakers of Spanish-accented English were less favourably assessed than standard American speakers, whether they were presented as middle- or lower-class. They make the following observation:

> One can question whether these results are due mainly to ethnicity or to assumptions about social class (and correlated assumptions about attitudes and beliefs) or to both factors. In other words, in the absence of explicit information about social class, speakers of Spanish-accented English may be assumed to be members of the lower class while standard speakers are thought of as middle class individuals. Inferences about personality and social characteristics and evaluative reactions may then follow from these class assumptions (Ryan & Sebastian 1980: 229).

Palmer (1973) gives a preliminary report on *a study of the linguistic correlates of raters' subjective judgements of non-native English speech*. Unfortunately the report contains few very concrete or revealing findings, and it appears that a more complete report has not been published. However, the study is discussed here because the preliminary findings are of some interest, and certain aspects of the methodology used by Palmer provided a basis for the methodology used in

the present study. Palmer's intention was to establish which of the following cues were important in influencing the judges' evaluations of non-native speech: rate of speech, hesitation phenomena (kind and frequency), pronunciation accuracy, grammatical correctness and complexity, and whether the important cues would vary for speakers from different native language backgrounds. He also intended to investigate whether the judges' subjective evaluations of the subjects[1] personal characteristics correlated with their language ratings; whether the judges would react differently to samples from subjects with different native language backgrounds; whether the judges could consistently identify the speakers[1] language backgrounds; and whether the judges' ratings correlated highly with the subjects' scores in English proficiency tests (Palmer 1973: 42-43),

The speakers used to produce stimulus voices were from four unrelated language backgrounds: Arabic, Lingala, Spanish and Vietnamese, with an average age of 32.5 years, and professional or semi-professional occupations. Of 36 used in the study - 9 from each linguistic background - only 3 were women, and each group of 9 ranged from 'poor* to 'excellent' in English ability as *measured by standard tests of English proficiency* (Palmer 1973: 43). The respondents were eighteen student volunteers of average age 21 years, from Georgetown University, who had minimal experience with foreign languages: 3 were male, 15 female[3].

The speech samples, were recorded in the following way. Each speaker was recorded individually by an interviewer who asked her to perform four different tasks:

1. Reading: the speaker read a brief description of a celebration in the Shetland Isles, which had first been read aloud to her by the interviewer.

2. **Retelling:** the speaker retold what she had just read in her own words with no prompting (she was first given one to two minutes to re-read the passage).

3.**Interview:** the interviewer discussed the subject of the passage with the speaker and gradually directed the discussion towards a holiday or festival in the speaker's own country. The interviewer asked the speaker questions to help her to develop a description of the occasion.

4. **Narration:** the speaker spoke without prompting about the particular occasion which had just been discussed.

Selected passages from the recordings were played to the judges (for a detailed account of the methodology used see Palmer 1973: 45-46). The preliminary results of his study include the following observations:

1. The judges showed a high degree of agreement in their ratings of the speech samples (46-47).

2. Except in the case of native Spanish speakers, the judges were not very successful in identifying the LI backgrounds of the speakers (47-48).

3. Palmer suggests that a more interesting question than this would be whether the judges reacted differentially to the language of speakers who had different native-language backgrounds. However he was not able to address this question in the report.

Albrechtsen et al's (1980) enquiry into native speakers' perceptions of learners[1] spoken IL is more thorough, although it has little to say about the part played specifically by pronunciation in the assessment of non-native speech. The study assesses a *wide range of native speaker reactions to stretches of discourse, produced by Danish learners of English in interview situations* (365). Albrechtsen et al, suggest that:

...learner language may evoke various reactions in the interlocutor with respect to the formal code, the content of the message, or the interlanguage use. One effect of the interlanguage user's violating the formal code could be that the interlocutor's attention is diverted from the message to the code, causing "irritation" (Johansson 1975).... It has been suggested that the intonation used by Danish learners of English creates the impression that the learner is hesitant, apathetic, and sombre (Phillipson 1978) (Albrechtsen 1980: 366-7)

Albrechtsen et al's respondents were 300 native English speakers from London, Leeds and Edinburgh of whom 40% were adults and 60% sixth-formers. The 120 adults *were chosen from non-academic spheres in an attempt to avoid linguistically trained respondents. The adults were selected from specific occupational groups such as hotel employees, businessmen, office workers etc, ie, people with whom Danes are likely to come into contact in Great Britain* (371).
The stimulus speakers were 20 Danish pupils aged between 16 and 20, who had learnt English at school for 5-6 years. They were recorded during an interview with an Englishman who knew little Danish: during the interview they were encouraged to talk about subjects such as *pastimes, television, problems of young people, etc*(370).

The respondents were required to rate the speakers on various points which can be summarised as providing ratings of i) language; ii) content; iii) personality; and iv) comprehension. The researchers had been worried that the order of presentation of the stimulus passages would influence their evaluations, but this was found not to be the case (see p. 378 for details).

Like Palmer (1973), Albrechtsen et al. found that 'naive' respondents were able to differentiate between the speech of different learners and to *give evaluations of code, message, personality, and comprehensibility independently* (Albrechtsen et al. 1980: 392). There was no significant difference in the evaluations of respondents from London, Leeds, and Edinburgh, but sixth formers' evaluations differed significantly from those of adults.

The responses showed that:

> Texts containing few errors, syntactic as well as lexical, and few communication strategies have obtained positive evaluations. And texts containing many errors, syntactic as well as lexical, and many communication strategies, have obtained negative evaluations. Furthermore, positive evaluations of texts occur even if these texts contain a fair number of syntactic and lexical errors, provided they evidence few communication strategies, whereas negative evaluations occur if a fair number of syntactic and lexical errors co-occur with a fair number of communication strategies.

Furthermore, analysis of the stimulus texts suggested a relationship between low comprehensibility and extensive use of hesitation phenomena. These findings led the researchers to conclude that communicative language teaching should be encouraged: learners should be taught *to have confidence in their idiosyncratic IL system, and errors should to a large extent be accepted. Error correction, when applied, should concentrate on errors which are likely to impede communication* (395).

Unfortunately, this study has little to say about pronunciation* However, the researchers seem to regard positive evaluations by respondents on the questions concerning 'comprehensibility' as being more important than the ratings for 'code', •message[1] and 'personality[1]. This emphasis on comprehension is compatible with their declared support of communicative language teaching methods. It does not, however, demonstrate a realistic grasp of the complex factors involved in the process of interaction between two speakers*. The success or otherwise of an exchange or interaction depends on more than mutual comprehensibility,

Some criticisms of language attitude studies.

The second part of this paper will examine the application of a language attitude-type study to the investigation of attitudes towards non-native speakers[1] speech* However before utilizing the methodology of the studies described above, there are certain aspects of this type of study which require further comment. The studies discussed in the first half of this paper seem to be based on certain assumptions which might be considered questionable, namely:
a) factors such as language varieties, attitudes and perceptions, social class, personality-types etc, are definable and quantifiable phenonema which can be reliably analysed, measured and compared using a numerical basis; b) surveys and questionnaires are a reliable and valid means of ascertaining a person's genuine attitudes; c) it is realistic to play respondents speech samples produced using a matched-guise technique (or indeed 'genuine' speech samples) and to expect them to react 'authentically' to the sample, even though the situation in which the speech occurred is totally different to that in which it is ultimately assessed. These points are discussed briefly one by one.

a) Language attitude studies (and sociolinguistics in general) rely heavily on the assumption that it is possible to measure factors such as social class, dialects, personality-types etc, and, therefore, that it is possible to define two speech samples as being completely comparable except for the variables under investigation. These assumptions are based on a quantitative view of language which sees such things as social context and content of message as reducible to a numerical analysis.

It is obvious that without some sort of quantification of these social and linguistic phenomena, empirical investigations of these phenomena would be impossible. However, it should be stressed that the measurement or quantification of intangible factors such as accent, attitudes or social class etc. is problematic. At best one would have to admit that it is hard to measure such factors accurately. At worst it could be argued that it is impossible. Rickford (1986), in discussing multi-index scales designed for the definition and analysis of social class, points out that such scales *are usually not tailored to the local speech community, and might miss or misrepresent the realities of social stratification therein.. ..the accuracy of multi-index scales in a local situation cannot be 'taken for granted on the basis of precedents in totally unrelated situations'* (Rickford 1986: 216), One could go one step futher than Rickford and argue that any uniformly-operated mult1-index scale must miss or misrepresent, however subtly, the realities of social stratification.

Concepts such as social class or even 'language variety'[1] or 'speech community'[1] appear to be straightforward until one attempts to define them. As Romaine (1982) writes: *We scarcely know how heterogeneous some speech communities are* (15). Likewise, the declaration by a particular native speaker that a particular

non-native speaker 'speaks good English[1] or 'has a strong accent[1] might seem to be straightforward statements of fact, but we should be aware that commonsense definitions of such concepts may not stand up to rigorous scrutiny: rigorous definitions of the phenomena under investigation are needed in order to undertake any sort of survey. Furthermore, in turning information about an utterance into a quantitatively-expressed statistic, we may be losing valuable information relating both to the message itself and to the context of utterance. I am not advocating the total rejection of this type of analysis in favour of a more 'qualitative' approach, but merely pointing out that this drawback of the quantitative method should be borne in mind.

b) Briggs (1986) defines 'reliablity' as *the probability that the repetition of the same procedures, either by the same researcher, or by another investigator, will produce the same results* (23), He takes validity to refer to the accuracy of a given technique, i.e. whether the results reflect genuine characteristics of the phenomena in question. Briggs also refers to Cicourel's (1982) concept of 'ecological validity', which he defines as *the extent to which the circumstances created by the researcher's procedures match those of the everyday world of the subjects* (Briggs 1986: 24).

On the question of the *reliability* of language attitude studies, Albrechtsen et al. (1980) point out some of the problems associated with analysing reactions towards IL (or indeed any language):

> Interlocutors can of course only describe reactions which are conscious - and may perhaps choose to describe only some of those, not wanting to admit reactions which they consider unfavourable. Subjective information

of this sort should therefore be supplemented wherever possible by means of more objective methods that show what informants actually understand (rather than what they believe they understand), and how informants actually react towards interlanguage speech and speakers. (367).

The use of 'closed' questionnaires, (i.e. those which the respondent is required to answer by means of either a semantic differential scale, yes/no answers, multiple choice or ranking schemes, see Fasold 1982: 152) is one aspect on which the *validity* of such studies could be questioned, since the responses will necessarily be expressed in terms of the researcher's formulation and expectations (or, put another way, there is a danger that the researcher's formulation of the questions is simply 'putting words into the respondent's mouth' (or ideas into her head)).

One example of what might be considered a dubious research finding, which stemmed from the use of a 'closed' questionnaire is the finding of Cheyne (1970) cited p10 above that, on the basis of hearing short samples of English and Scottish male voices speaking on 'neutral' topics[5], both English and Scottish respondents judged the English speakers to be cleaner, taller and more good-looking than the Scottish speakers . One wonders whether it was in fact the 'closed' formulation of the question that produced these responses: whether the respondents, on being asked to rate someone for cleanliness on the basis of a brief speech sample either simply assumed this must be possible, or doubted it but did not want to argue (and in any case there is no scope within the terms of the questionnaire for respondents to question the validity of the questions) and gave each speaker a similar rating on this question to the others they had

already awarded him for different attributes. If the question had been phrased as follows 'Do you think it is possible to assess a person's cleanliness or height after listening to a brief recording of him talking on a neutral topic? and if so describe in your own words your perception of this speaker', the response might have been very different. To return to the notion of 'ecological validity' one wonders whether the respondent would normally have made an assessment of a speaker's height or cleanliness on the basis of briefly hearing his/her voice, if the question had not been phrased in this 'closed' way i.e. to what extent the assessment she was required to make matched the one she would have made in her 'everyday world'.

c) Work within the tradition of Discourse Analysis reveals that what might seem superficially to be unimportant details regarding the setting or nature of a speech event, may in fact be of great importance to a sensitive analysis of the interaction. Any variation in, for example, one or more of the eight components of speech originally listed by Hymes and summarised by Halliday (1978: 61) as *form and content, setting, participants, ends (intent and effect), key, medium, genre, and interactional norms* represents a fundamental change in the context of utterance and therefore to the analysis of a particular linguistic act. From this perspective, the methodology employed in language attitude studies which involves exposing a respondent (i.e. someone other than the original addressee and in a totally different setting) to a recording of a de-contextualized excerpt from a much longer interview with someone unaware of the precise nature of the investigation of which their speech was to form the basis, seems highly questionable.

This practice would seem to be based on assumptions of discourse as a 'product[1]', Le, a static entity, In contrast, Brown and Yule's (1983) 'discourse-as-process[1]' view of language leads them to consider *words, phrases and sentences which appear in the textual record of a discourse to be evidence of an attempt by a producer (speaker/writer) to communicate his message to a recipient (hearer/reader)* (**24**), They are interested in *how a recipient might come to comprehend the producer's intended message on a particular occasion, and how the requirements of the particular recipient(s), in definable circumstances, Influence the organisation of the producer's discourse* (**24**). According to this view, the only attitudes towards a given text which could legitimately be investigated would be those of the original recipient of the text. However, if one is to conduct empirical studies, it seems some artificiality must be tolerated (although it should be borne in mind when interpreting the results). It may well be that there is a less artificial method of investigating attitudes towards speech than those discussed so far. If so, the brief objections made here (which could of course be expanded to fill a whole book of 'Objections to the sociolinguistic method') would suggest that such a method might be well worth pursuing. However, knowing of no alternative, the conventional method was used to examine the reactions of native speakers to non-native speaker's speech, with concessions made, where possible, to the reservations expressed above.

Chapter 2: Investigation of native speakers[1] perceptions of non-native speech, and the importance of pronunciation to their evaluations.

The rest of this paper deals with an investigation of the attitudes of native English speakers towards the IL speech of non-native speakers. In the light of the findings of the language attitude studies discussed above, it was hypothesised that native speakers of English would perceive non-native speakers who spoke an IL variety of English, which deviated significantly from native speech, less favourably than those whose English was close to the native-speaker norm and, furthermore, that their pronunciation would prove a stronger influence than syntax on the evaluation. Bearing in mind the discussion above of the role played by stereotypes in forming attitudes towards language, it was planned to incorporate into the investigation a means of determining whether the respondent recognised the country of origin of the stimulus speaker, and whether her usual attitude towards natives of that country was likely to prejudice her evaluation. Finally, because of the doubts expressed above about closed questionnaires and other aspects of attitude investigation employed by language attitude studies, it was decided that the study should include a means of eliciting the opinion of the respondents towards the questionnaire used in the study. Thus the intention was to investigate:

a) whether there is a positive correlation between the extent to which a student's IL sounded 'foreign[1], and her unfavourable evaluation by native speakers;

b) whether pronunciation is more important than syntax (or *vice versa)* in determining whether a non-native speaker is considered by native speakers to speak 'good' or 'bad[1] English, and for their evaluations generally,

c) whether respondents could recognise the country of origin of the stimulus

speaKers, ana wnetner *meir* stereotypes vor prejudices aDoux particular nationalities could be supposed to have influenced their evaluations;

d) whether the respondents felt they could reasonably be expected to evaluate a speaker and answer questions about the speaker's personality, status etc. on the basis of hearing a recorded speech sample, (Care was taken that this should not affect the way the respondents answered the questionnaire: the relevant question was the last one on the questionnaire, and the respondants did not see it until they had finished completing the questionnaire.)

Methodology.

The stimulus voices used were those of male students of English aged between 23 and 33, who were either attending an EFL Summer school at an English polytechnic or were studying for a degree at an English university. Of the eight speech samples used, four came from Germans and four from francophone Africans (from the Ivory Coast and Zaire), The speakers were carefully chosen so that in each group (one group of 4 Germans and one of 4 Africans) there was one sample which was characterised by the following features:

i) good syntax; good pronunciation;

ii)good syntax; poor pronunciation;

iiDpoor syntax; good pronunciation;

iv) poor syntax; poor pronunciation;

where 'good[1] means native-like and poor means non-native like. (•Native-like[1] is taken as meaning Vesembling any recognisable variety of English, standard or non-standard**>. If, in each group, speaker iii) received more favourable evaluations than speaker ii), this would provide support for the argument that pronunciation is more important than syntax in determining how non-native speakers[1] language is perceived. If speaker ii) was evaluated more favouraby than speaker iii), this

would provide support for the opposing viewpoint which maintains either that accent is less important than syntax, or that a foreign accent contributes positively to favourable evaluation. Speakers were chosen who were judged to have a high level of 'communicative competence' in English ('Advanced' or above), and whose speech lacked highly distinctive idiosyncratic paralinguistic features. They were all male[7] and all in their 20's or early 30's. Thus the intention was to eliminate as far as possible all variables except for those of pronunciation and syntax.

In order to obtain samples which fell into these categories, interviews with more than eight students were recorded, and only those which respectively met the requirements of the eight necessary categories were eventually used as stimulus samples. Due to difficulties in finding students with very good pronunciation, in both groups, two samples were selected from one speaker who had good pronunciation but rather variable syntax: one sample in which his syntax was good and one in which it was poor. Thus in each group, two of the four stimulus voices were in fact produced by one speaker. This was not strictly comparable to the matched guise technique since in each case the speaker was speaking his usual and 'authentic' IL: his pronunciation remained fairly constant in both, although in one sample his syntax was good and in one poor. Although the pronunciation of all 4 speakers with poor pronunciation was comparably 'poor', the German speaker who produced both the 'good pronunciation' samples had more native-like pronunciation than the African speaker who produced the equivalent samples. However, the latter's pronunciation was considerably 'better' than that of all four 'poor pronunciation' samples.

Table 1: Personal data of stimulus speakers.

Speaker/ speech sample	Age	National- ity (and region)	Native language	How long studied English	How long spent in England	Other languages spoken
1 poor P good S	23	German Rheinland	German	10 yrs	3 weeks	none
2* good P poor S	33	Zaire Kivu Kinshasa	French	5 yrs	"1> yrs	Swahili Lingala
3 poor P poor S	26	German Rhein- Main	German	7 yrs	6> weeks	none
4* **good P** **good S**	33	Zaire Kivu Kinshasa	French	5 yrs	ö yrs	Swahili Lingala
5$ good P poor S	22	German GSttingen	German	"' 7 yrs	6 yrs	none
6 poor P good S	21	Ivorian Abidjan	French	7 yrs	2 weeks	none
7$ good P good S	22	German GSttingen	German	7 yrs	**6 yrs**	none
8 poor P poor S	23	Ivorian Abidjan	Baute	10 yrs	3 weeks	French German

Key.
poor P: poor pronunciation
good S: good syntax
* and $:   indicate same speaker:
        ie samples 5$ and 7$ produced by same speaker

The above information was obtained by asking each speaker to fill in a personal

data sheet. The linguistic backgrounds of the German speakers was

straightforward (see table above)* The African speakers 2 (and 4) and 6 were

questioned carefully to confirm that their native language was in fact French, and not an African language (in case they had cited French in the belief that it was more prestigious or worthy of mention than an African language), but they continued to insist that French was their mother tongue. Furthermore, speaker 6 claimed never to have learned an African language, having been brought up in a town and never having lived in a village, and speaker 2 (and 4) reported that his native language was French and that he had learned Swahili and Lingala at school. Both speakers came from upper class urban backgrounds, and so it is quite conceivable that their native language was in fact French. Speaker 8, although he reported having learnt Baulé as his first language, had spoken French since he was a small child, and claimed to use French exclusively when in Africa, except on rare occasions when he visited his village from the town (only once in the past 12 years). Thus it was felt that for the purposes of this study, the francophone African speakers were roughly comparable in terms of linguistic background. The aim of using two different groups of speakers with different linguistic backgrounds was to avoid the risk of respondents' stereotypes affecting their evaluations, or at least to ascertain whether a similar pattern emerged across the two groups in spite of stereotypes. This being the case it was felt that the differences in the linguistic backgrounds of the African speakers was acceptable.

The speakers were recorded in an interview situation similar to that used by Palmer (1973) see above. Instead of asking the speakers to read and talk about the passage used by Palmer, a passage about Hallowe'en was selected from an EFL text book (having first ascertained from the students' teacher that they were unlikely to be familiar with that particular book). The students were interviewed and asked to perform the four activities described by Palmer: reading, retelling,

an interview and a narration. For the narration, the students were asked to describe a similar custom in their own culture without saying the name of their country, since it was feared this would later betray their nationality to the respondents. From the interviews recorded, a short sample was eventually selected from each, which met the requirements outlined above. The samples were between 70 and 100 words long and every effort was made to ensure they were comparable with one another in terms of content, pace, numbers of pauses, hesitations, repetitions and self-corrections (insofar as it is possible to quantify and therefore to compare these phenomena). The 4 samples chosen as having 'good syntax' contained not more than 1 syntactic mistake, and the 4 chosen as having 'poor syntax' contained 13-14 syntactic mistakes (see Appendix 1. for what constitutes a syntactic mistake). It was not possible to count phonological 'mistakes' in the same way but the samples were classed as having 'good' or 'poor' pronunciation on the basis of an impressionistic assessment of their closeness to native-like pronunciation and intonation, supported by examination of a narrow phonetic transcription of each passage (see Appendix 1). Each sample classified as having 'poor' phonology was felt to be comparably 'poor', in so far as it is possible to make such a judgement.

In order to find samples which conformed to the various requirements of good/poor syntax/phonology, it was necessary to select some from the 'retelling' part of the interviews and some from the narrations, but so far as possible all were comparable in terms of style and content (but see discussion p.22-23 above): passages in which the content demonstrated a strong cultural bias or controversial/emotive statements were avoided. (For transcriptions of the stimulus samples used, including details of hesitations, pauses etc in each and a tally of syntactic mistakes, see Appendix 1.) The samples were arranged on a

cassette, in a random order, but with alternative German and African voices, and in such a way that where two samples were produced by the same speaker, these were separated by other samples.

The 20 respondents were obtained through personal introductions, although none was previously well known to the researcher. All were British and native speakers of English, and there were equal numbers of female and male and 'middle-' and 'working-class' respondents, although apart from this, there was no serious attempt to obtain a representative cross-section of British people, since the number involved was too small. It was not possible to obtain an 'even spread' in terms of age group. Care was taken that the respondants were not professionally involved with foreign languages or linguistics (or related subjects such as psychology).

A crude division into 'working-' and 'middle-class' based only on occupation was used as follows (the small numbers involved prohibited a more sophisticated class analysis such, for example, as is described by Rickford (1986), who recommends incorporating information about income and education as well as occupation into the analysis):

'working-class': manual workers, unskilled or semi-skilled workers;

'middle-class': professional or 'white collar' workers.

Respondents who were unemployed/currently engaged in full-time child rearing were classified according either to their former professions or to that of their spouse.

The questionnaire used is located in Appendix 2. It was compiled as an attempt to synthesize elements of various questionnaires used in previous language

attitude studies into both perceived status and perceived personality and to
ascertain the assessment of the speaker's command of English, without revealing
that the issue under investigation was the part played by the standard of
pronunciation in the overall evaluation of a speaker's language. Because one of
the primary sources of inspiration for this study was the belief that poor
pronunciation would lessen a non-native speaker's prospects of getting jobs or
being successful in careers where they needed to use English, the questionnaire
also included several questions specifically concerned with the speaker's
perceived vocational abilities and prospects. The table below represents to some
extent an artificial division, since most questions offer insights into more than
one of the four factors listed:

Table 1: Areas of investigation covered by the questionnaire.

Factor under investigation	Questions
Speaker's perceived level of English	1, 2, 10
Speaker's perceived status	11
Speaker's perceived personality	4, 5, 8, 9
Speaker's perceived vocational prospects	3, 6, 7

The questions were arranged in a random order, in the hope that the respondent
would not automatically award a speaker the same mark on similar questions. The
questionnaire utilizes a semantic-differential scale ranging from 1 to 5: 1 being
the most 'negative' score and 5 the most 'positive'. In spite of the remarks about
'closed' questionnaires above, it was decided to use a semantic-differential scale
to facilitate the analysis of the data. However, one 'open' question was placed at

the very end of the questionnaire: 'Do you have any comments on this questionnaire?[1]

Respondents were told that the study concerned attitudes towards foreign students' speech* They were not told that specifically attitudes towards pronunciation were under investigation. Before hearing the tape, they were asked to read the cover of the questionnaire (see Appendix 2) and to look at the first page of questions• The tape consisting of all eight samples was played through once: the respondents were asked not to fill in the questionnaire at the first hearing. The tape was then played a second time and was stopped after each sample to give the respondents time to complete the relevant page of the questionnaire, After all eight pages had been completed, the respondents' attention was directed towards the final question 'Do you have any comments on this questionnaire?'. After the questionnaires had been received from the respondents, those who were curious to know more were given a more detailed account of the aims of the study.

Results.

The results to the first 11 questions are presented here in tabulated form. For each question, the overall mean evaluation is given in bold figures at the top of the table. The bar charts (Figs. 1-11) also show only the overall mean evaluations for each question. Each table, however, also gives a breakdown of the results into male and female; working class and middle class respondents.

Question 1: How well does this person speak English?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger ⟨5⟩	Poor S Afr ⟨2⟩	Poor P Ger ⟨1⟩	Good S Afr ⟨6⟩	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr ⟨8⟩
TOTAL	4.95	3.4	4.9	3 5	3.15	3.15	2.75	2.6
w/c 9	4.8	3.4	4.8	3.6	3.4	4.0	3.4	3.0
m/c 9	5.0	3.8	4.8	3.8	2.8	3.0	2.2	2.8
total 9	4.9	3.6	4.8	3.7	3.1	3.5	2.8	2.9
w/c d	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.2
m/c d	5.0	3.4	5.0	3.6	3.2	2.6	2.6	2.4
total d	5.0	3.2	5.0	3.3	3.2	2.8	2.7	2.3
total w/c	4.9	3.2	4.9	3.3	3.3	3.5	3.1	2.6
total m/c	5.0	3.6	4.9	3.7	3.0	2.8	2.4	2.6

Question 2: How well would this person understand the English TV news?

	Good P Ger ⟨7)	Good S Afr ⟨4⟩	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger ⟨1⟩	Good S Afr ⟨6⟩	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr ⟨8)
TOTAL	4.95	3.65	4.9	3.7	3.4	3.2	3.25	2.85
w/c 9	4.8	3.6	4.8	3.4	3.4	3.8	3.2	3.0
m/c 9	5.0	4.0	4.8	3.8	3.2	3.0	2.6	3.0
total 9	4.9	3.8	4.8	3.6	3.3	3.4	2.9	3.0
w/c d	5.0	2.8	5.0	3.2	3.0	2.4	3.4	2.0
m/c d	5.0	4.2	5.0	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.8	3.4
total d	5.0	3.5	5.0	3.8	3.5	3.0	3.6	2.7
total w/c	4.9	3.2	4.9	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.3	2.5
total m/c	5.0	4.1	4.9	4.1	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.2

Question 3: Would you feel confident about enploying this person?

	Good P Ger ⟨7⟩	Good S Afr ⟨4⟩	Good P Ger ⟨5⟩	Poor S Afr ⟨2)	Poor P Ger ⟨1⟩	Good S Afr ⟨6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr ⟨8⟩
TOTAL	4.25	3 5	4.4	3.3	3.0	3.4	3.0	2.9
w/c 9	4.6	3.0	4.6	3.0	2.8	4.2	3.0	2.8
m/c 9	4.4	3.8	4.2	3.8	3.0	3.4	2.6	3.0
total 9	4.5	3.4	4.4	3.4	2.9	3.8	2.8	2.9
w/c d	4.0	3.4	4.4	2.6	2.8	2.6	3.2	2.6
m/c d	4.0	3.8	4.4	3.8	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.2
total d	4.0	3.6	4.4	3 2	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.9
total w/c	4.3	3.2	4.5	2.8	2.8	3.4	3.1	2.7
total m/c	4.2	3.8	4.3	3.8	3.2	3.4	2.9	3.1

Good pron & syn   Good pron, poor syn   Poor proa, good syn   Poor pron & syn
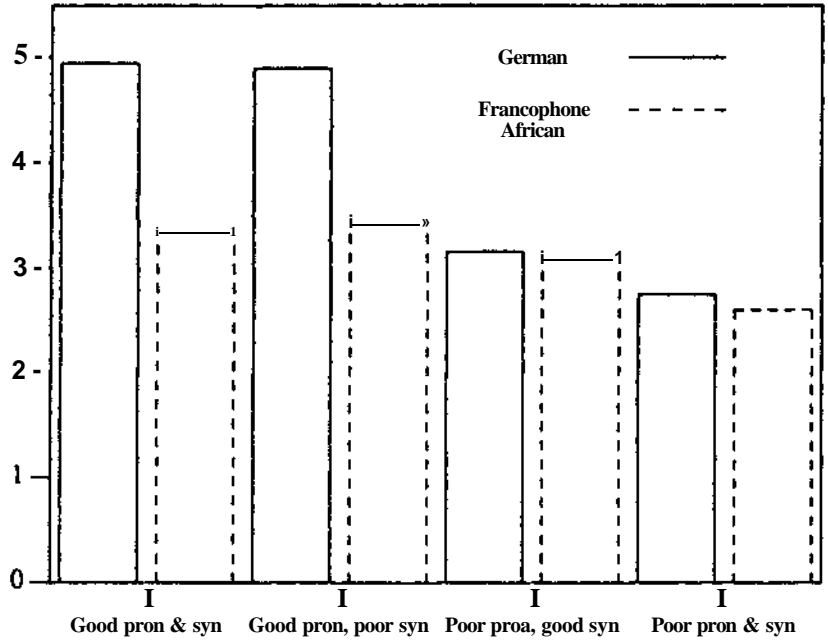
Figure 2 - Mean Responses to Question 2:
"How well would this person understand the English TV ne

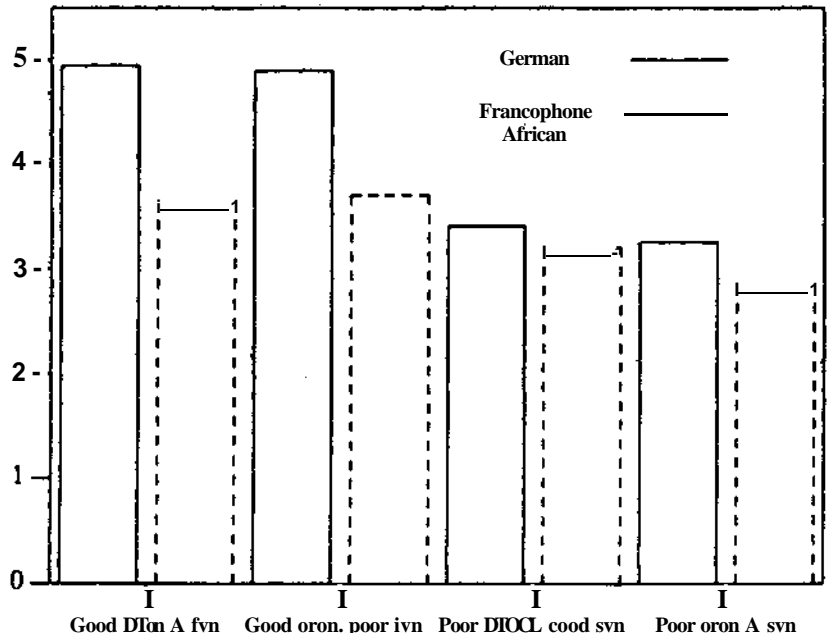Good DTon A fyn   Good oron, poor ivn   Poor DIOCL cood syn   Poor oron A syn

Figure 3 - Mean Responses to Question 3:
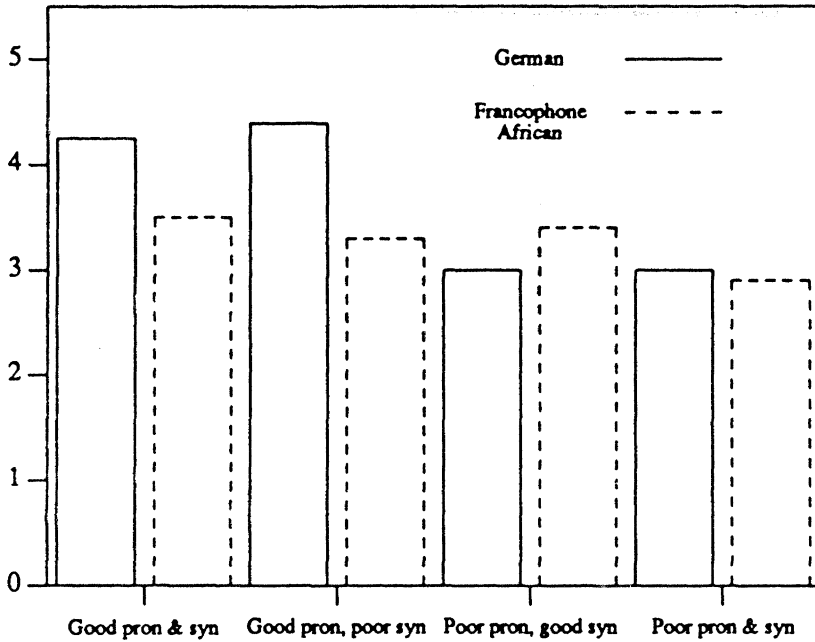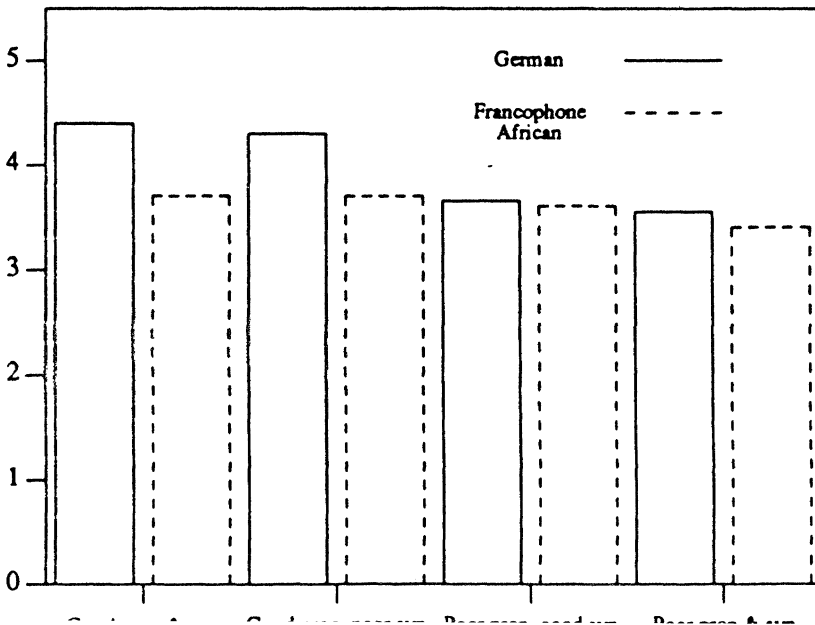"Would you feel confident about employing this person?"

Figure 4 - Mean Responses to Question 4:
"How intelligent is this person?"

Question 4: How intelligent is this person?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL	**4.4**	**3.7**	**4.3**	**3.7**	**3.65**	**3.6**	**3.55**	**3.4**
w/c ♀	4.6	3.8	4.4	3.8	3.4	4.0	3.4	3.4
m/c ♀	4.4	4.0	4.2	4.2	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.2
total ♀	4.5	3.9	4.3	4.0	3.5	3.8	3.3	3.3
w/c ♂	4.4	3.2	4.6	3.0	3.6	3.0	4.0	3.2
m/c ♂	4.2	3.8	4.0	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.8
total ♂	4.3	3.5	4.3	3.4	3.8	3.4	3.8	3.5
total w/c	4.5	3.6	4.5	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.3
total m/c	4.3	3.9	4.1	4.0	3.8	3.7	3.4	3.5

Question 5: How trustworthy is this person?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL	**3.8**	**3.6**	**4.0**	**3.5**	**3.5**	**3.55**	**3.5**	**3.6**
w/c ♀	3.6	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.2	3.4
m/c ♀	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.4
total ♀	3.6	3.3	3.9	3.1	3.1	3.6	3.1	3.4
w/c ♂	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.0	4.0	3.2	4.0	3.8
m/c ♂	3.8	3.6	4.0	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8
total ♂	4.0	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.5	3.9	3.8
total w/c	3.9	3.6	4.1	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6
total m/c	3.7	3.6	3.9	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.6

Question 6: How good are this person's career prospects?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL	**4.5**	**3.45**	**4.45**	**3.6**	**3.25**	**3.4**	**3.4**	**2.9**
w/c ♀	4.2	3.4	4.2	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.0
m/c ♀	4.6	4.2	4.4	3.8	3.0	3.4	3.0	2.8
total ♀	4.4	3.8	4.3	3.7	3.2	3.6	3.3	2.9
w/c ♂	4.6	2.8	4.8	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.4	2.4
m/c ♂	4.6	3.4	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.4
total ♂	4.6	3.1	4.6	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.5	3.9
total w/c	4.4	3.1	4.5	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.5	2.7
total m/c	4.6	3.8	4.4	3.9	3.3	3.5	3.3	3.1

Figure 5 - Mean Responses to Question 5:
"How trustworthy is this person?"
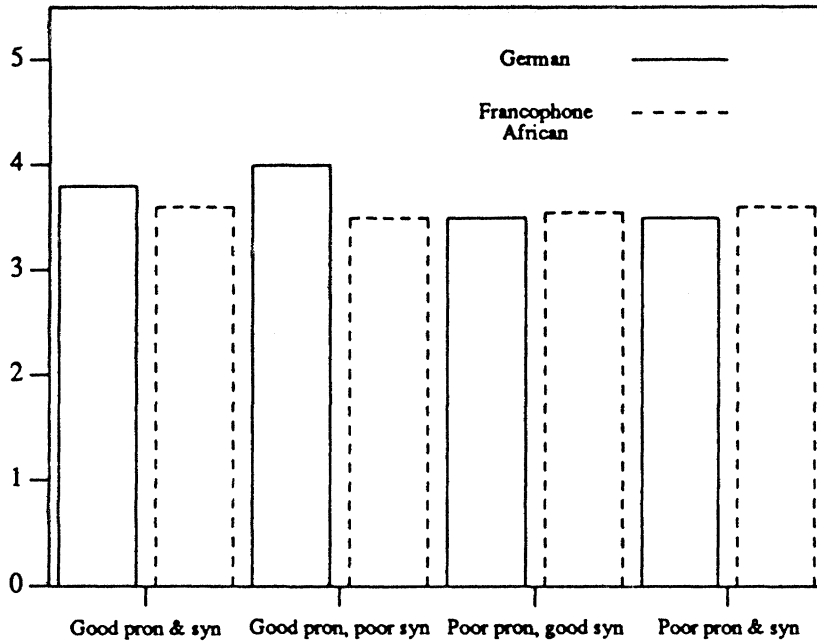
German	———		
Francophone African	- - - -		

Good pron & syn   Good pron, poor syn   Poor pron, good syn   Poor pron & syn

Figure 6 - Mean Responses to Question 6:
"How good are this person's career prospects?"
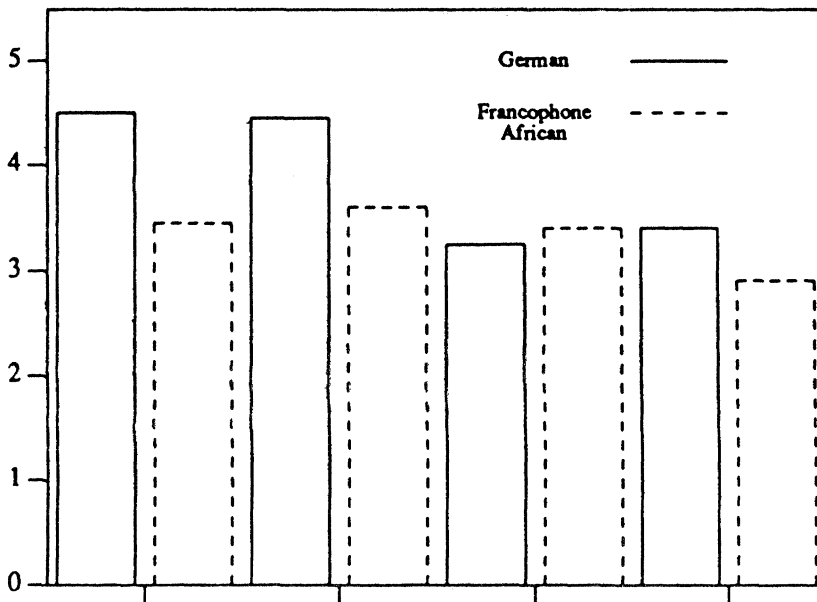
German	———		
Francophone African	- - - -		

Figure 7 - Mean Responses to Question 7:
"Would you feel confident about working with this person

5 –

German ———

Francophone – – – –
African

4 –

3 –

2 –

1 –

0 –

Good pron & syn   Good pron, poor syn   Poor pron, good syn   Poor pron & syn
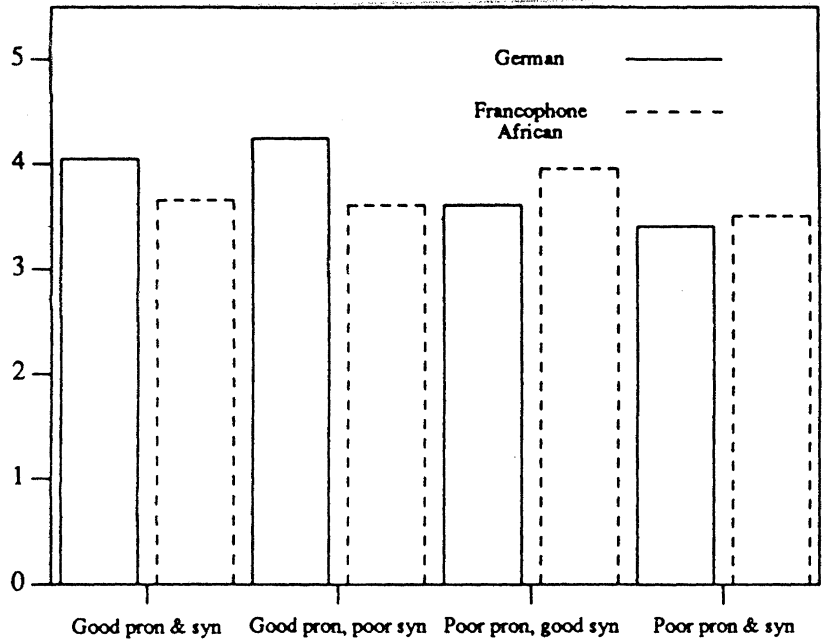
Figure 8 - Mean Responses to Question 8:
"How friendly/good-natured is this person?"

5 –

German ———

Francophone – – – –
African

4 –

3 –

2 –

1 –

0 –

Good pron & syn   Good pron, poor syn   Poor pron, good syn   Poor pron & syn
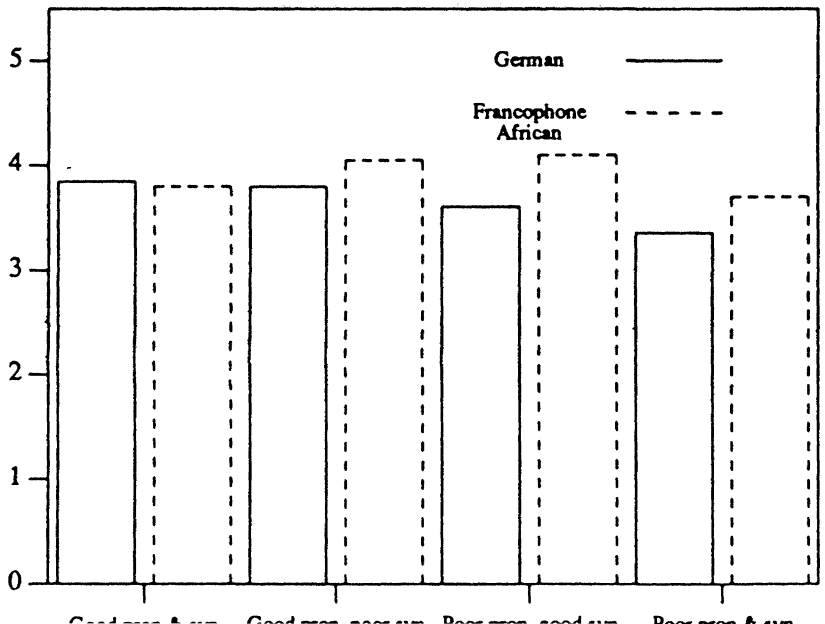
Question 7: Would you feel confident about working with this person?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL	4.05	3.65	4.25	3.6	3.6	3.95	3.4	3.5
w/c ♀	4.2	3.2	4.4	3.4	3.6	4.2	3.4	3.2
m/c ♀	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.8	2.8	3.6
total ♀	4.0	3.6	4.1	3.5	3.5	4.0	3.1	3.4
w/c ♂	4.0	3.4	4.4	3.2	3.8	3.6	3.2	3.2
m/c ♂	4.2	4.0	4.4	4.2	3.6	4.2	4.2	4.0
total ♂	4.1	3.7	4.4	3.7	3.7	3.9	3.7	3.6
total w/c	4.1	3.3	4.4	3.3	3.7	3.9	3.3	3.2
total m/c	4.0	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.5	4.0	3.5	3.8

Question 8: How friendly/good-natured is this person?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL	3.85	3.8	3.8	4.05	3.6	4.1	3.35	3.7
w/c ♀	3.8	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.6	4.2	3.4	3.8
m/c ♀	3.4	4.0	3.8	4.2	3.0	4.0	2.8	3.6
total ♀	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.9	3.3	4.1	3.1	3.7
w/c ♂	4.0	3.6	3.6	4.0	3.4	4.0	3.0	3.0
m/c ♂	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.4	4.4	4.2	4.2	4.4
total ♂	4.1	3.9	3.9	4.2	3.9	4.1	3.6	3.7
total w/c	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.5	4.1	3.2	3.4
total m/c	3.8	4.1	4.0	4.3	3.7	4.1	3.5	4.0

Question 9: How hard-working is this person?

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL	3.75	3.6	3.75	3.7	3.45	3.45	3.65	3.4
w/c ♀	4.0	3.4	3.6	3.4	3.4	4.0	3.8	3.6
m/c ♀	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.4	3.2	3.6	3.2
total ♀	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.4
w/c ♂	4.2	4.2	4.4	4.2	3.8	3.4	3.6	3.8
m/c ♂	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.0
total ♂	4.7	4.7	4.8	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.6	3.4
total w/c	4.1	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.7
total m/c	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.6	3.1

rigure *y* - lviean responses 10 viuesuon *y:*
"How hard-working is this person?"

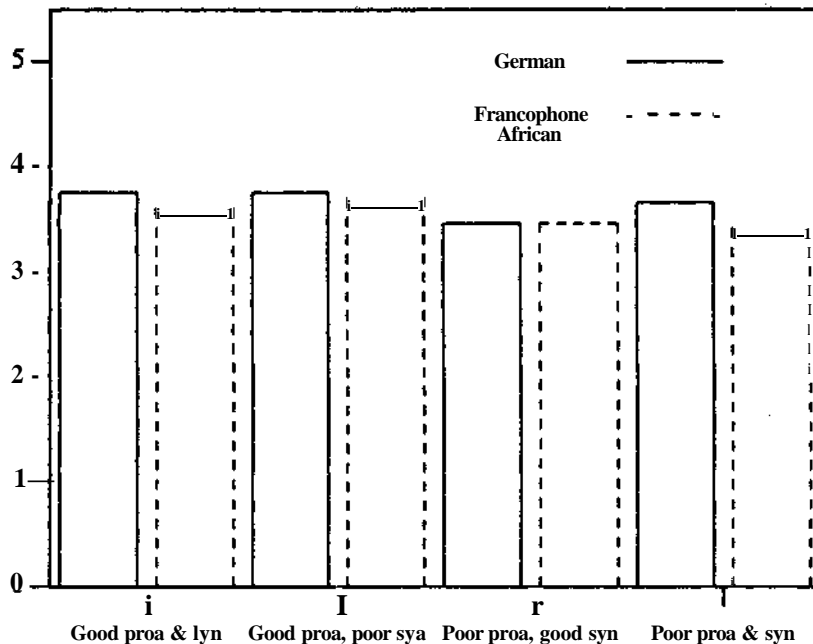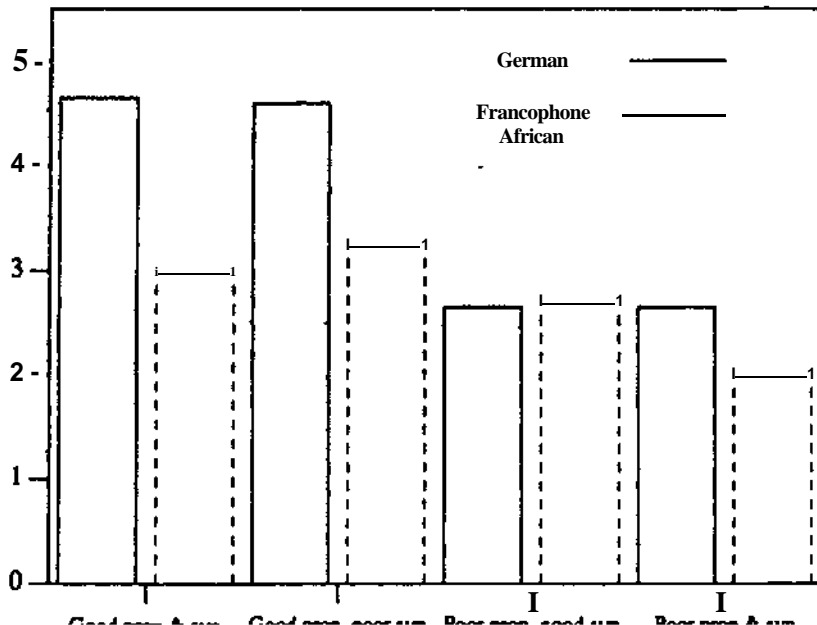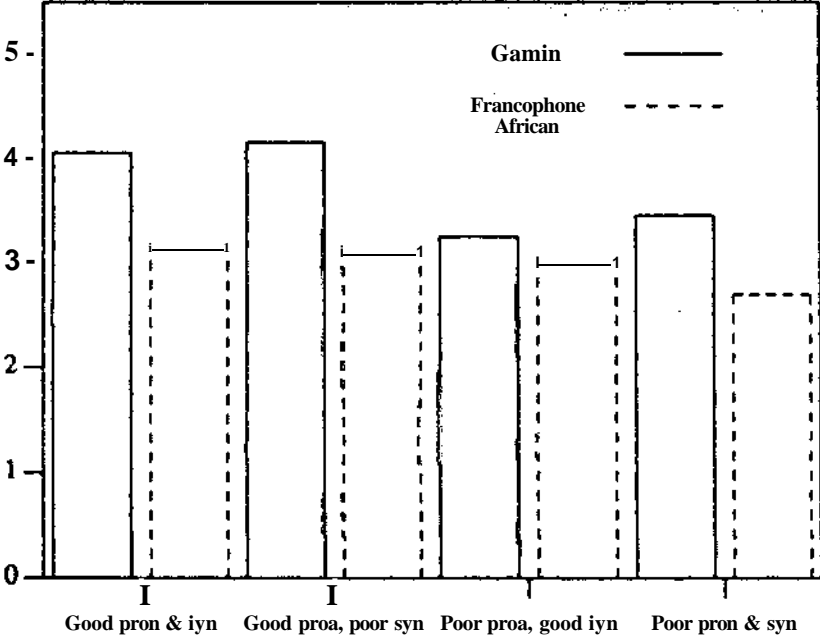Good proa & lyn   Good proa, poor sya   Poor proa, good syn   Poor proa & syn

Figure 10 - Mean Responses to Question 10:
[11] **How well could this person write a business letter in Englh**

Figure 11 - Mean Responses to Question 11: "How high is this person's social status?"

| | Good pron & iyn | Good proa, poor syn | Poor proa, good iyn | Poor pron & syn |

Legend: Gamin (solid line), Francophone African (dashed line)

Question 10: How well could this person write a business letter in Englishi'

	Good P Good S		Good P Poor S		Poor P Good S		Poor P Poor S	
	Good P Ger <7>	**Good S** Afr <4>	**Good P** Ger <5>	**Poor S** Afr (2)	**Poor P** Ger <1>	**Good S** Afr <6>	**Poor P** Ger <3)	**Poor S** Afr <8>
TOTAL	**4.65**	**3.05**	**4.6**	**3.3**	**2.65**	**2.75**	**2.65**	**2.05**
w/c 9	4.6	3.4	4.6	3.8	2.8	3.6	3.0	2.6
m/c 9	4.8	3.4	4.6	3.4	2.4	2.4	2.2	1.8
total ọ	4.7	3.4	4.6	3.6	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.2
w/c (J	4.8	2.4	4.8	2.6	2.8	2.4	2.4	1.6
m/c d	4.4	3.0	4.4	3.4	2.6	2.6	3.0	2.2
total tf	4.6	2.7	4.6	3.0	2.7	2.5	2.7	1.9
total w/c	4.7	2.9	4.7	3.2	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.1
total m/c	4.6	3.2	4.5	3.4	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.0

Question 11: How high is this person's social status?

	Good P Ger (7)	**Good S** Afr (4)	**Good P** *Ger* <5)	**Poor S** Afr (2)	**Poor P** Ger <1)	**Good S** Afr (6)	**Poor P** Ger (3)	**Poor S** Afr <8>
TOTAL	**4,05**	*32.*	**4.15**	**3-15**	3.25	3,05	**3.45**	2.7
w/c 9	4.4	3.2	4.4	3.0	3.0	3.6	3.6	3.0
m/c 9	3.8	3.6	4.0	3.4	3.6	3,0	3.4	2.8
total 9	4 4	3.4	4.2	3.2	3,3	3,3	3.5	2,9
w/c <$	4.0	2.8	4,2	2.8	3.2	2.4	3,4	2.4
m/c 6	4.0	3,2	4.0	3,4	3.2	3,2	3,4	2.6
total d	4.0	3.0	4.1	3.1	3.2	2,8	3.4	2.5
total w/c	4.2	3.0	4.3	2,9	3.1	3.0	3,5	2.7
total m/c	3.9	3.4	4.0	3,4	3.4	3.1	3,4	2,7

As these tables show, for questions 1, 2 and 10, which investigate the speakers[1] perceived level of English, speakers with good pronunciation obtained far higher ratings than those with poor pronunciation: for those with good pronunciation, syntax appears to be immaterial whereas for those with poor pronunciation, having poor syntax as well leads to a still lower evaluation. This pattern is true of both Germans and Africans, although the Africans are less well perceived than the Germans in every category. Women tended to rate the Africans higher than did men, whereas men tended to rate the Germans higher than the Africans, Middle-class repondents tended to rate speakers with good pronunciation higher,

and often to rate speakers with poor pronunciation lower, than did working class respondents.

For the question about social status (11), the overall trend was highly similar, except that women rated *all* speakers[1] social status slightly higher than did men, and working-class respondents tended to rate the Germans more highly, whilst middle-class respondents responded more favourably to the Africans.

Of the questions about perceived personality, questions 4 and 5 (on intelligence and trustworthiness) still show the Germans with good pronunciation being rated more favourably than all the other speakers, whose ratings are fairly uniform. Women tended to regard speakers with good pronunciation as more intelligent and those with poor pronunciation as less intelligent than did men. Working class respondents tended to rate Germans as more intelligent and Africans as less intelligent than did middle-class respondents. Women tended to regard *all* speakers as less trustworthy than did men, and working-class respondents tended to regard all speakers as *more* trustworthy than did middle-class respondants. Incidentally, the question about trustworthiness produced more indignant reactions than any other, from the respondents, who often strongly questioned the validity of such a question. Amongst many respondents, there was a tendency to award 3 for this question, thus indicating a neutral response, which may explain the more even distribution of results. However the speakers with good pronunciation tend overall to have higher scores than those whose pronunciation is poor.

Questions 8 and 9 ('How friendly[1] and 'How hard-working[1]) show a fairly even spread of results: although overall, speakers with good pronunciation are seen as

marginally more hard working, it is Africans, regardless of pronunciation, who are seen as most friendly/good-natured. Men and middle class respondents regard all speakers as more friendly than do women and working-class respondents. Men also tend to perceive speakers as more hard-working than do women, and there is a pronounced pattern of working class respondents seeing all speakers as more hard-working than do middle-class respondents.

For the questions about vocational prospects: 3, 6 and 7, the pattern of speakers with good pronunciation being more highly rated continues. It is interesting that between questions 3 and 7 the gap diminishes, suggesting that whilst the respondents would rather *employ* someone with good pronunciation, they would be almost as willing to *work* with someone with good *or* bad pronunciation, Maybe this is because the speakers with good pronunciation sound more efficient, but most people ask more than efficiency from a colleague: speaker 6, who scored highly on the 'friendliness' question, also does well on the 'work with' question. Women appear slightly more likely than men to employ someone with good pronunciation, whereas there is a tendency for women to be less anxious than men about working with any of the speakers. On the whole, middle-class respondents would be more prepared to employ one of the African speakers than would working-class respondents: the latter would in turn be more prepared to employ the Germans. For the question about career prospects (6), speakers with good pronunciation are rated higher than those with poor pronunciation, and of the former, Germans more highly than Africans, Women tended to rate the Africans' prospects more highly, and Germans[1] lower, than did men. Middle-class respondents tended to rate all speakers[1] prospects more highly than did working-class respondents (middle-class idealism?).

Overall then, speakers with good pronunciation were rated more favourably than those whose pronunciation was poor. Syntax was found to be a far less influential factor. Generally, speakers from African countries were rated less favourably than Germans (with notable exceptions for certain of the questions investigating perceived personality). The German speaker who produced the samples in the 'good pronunciation[1] categories had an accent which was closer to standard English speech than the African who produced the corresponding two categories, but all four speakers in the 'poor Pronunciation[1] categories had comparably 'poor[1] pronunciation, which suggests that there may have been an element of prejudice/negative stereotyping working against the Africans in comparison with the Germans, However, there would not seem to be *overt* racial prejudice operating here, since in only 21/80 cases did the respondents successfully identify the African speakers as coming from an African country, and where they were successful, the mean answer to question 13: 'How do you rate your reaction to people from this country?' was never less than 4,0. Respondents were slightly more successful at identifying Germans: 26/80 cases, but on the questions about Germans, the mean answer to question 13 tended to be lower, see Table 1 below. In this table, the variation in mean ratings is presumably due to the fact that they are not all taken from the ratings of the same respondents, only those, in each case, who correctly identified the speaker's country of origin*

In the case of the African speakers, for question 12, in addition to 'The Ivory Coast[1] and 'Zaire[1], 'Africa' or *an African country[1] were accepted as correct answers**. Middle class men and women were much more successful at correctly identifying the speakers[1] nationalities then were working-class men and women, and where working-class respondents have correctly identified nationality, the mens[1] ratings for question 13 tend to be fairly low. We have no information about

how those respondents who did not correctly identify a speaker's nationality would have rated their usual reaction to that country, had the name been given to them. One can only offer tentative suggestions to explain the discrepancy between the high ratings of speakers from African countries in question 13, and their lower ratings throughout the questionnaire. It is possible that those who recognised the African speakers gave them higher ratings for question 13 in a conscious attempt not to seem racially prejudiced. It seems however, that there was some strong (possibly unconscious) bias against the speech of the Africans, which conflicts with the self-reported ratings in question 13.

Table 1: Respondents who correctly identified country of origin of speaker and their mean responses to question 'How do you rate your reaction to people from this country?' (mean taken from only those speakers who correctly identified country).

	Good P Ger (7)	Good S Afr (4)	Good P Ger (5)	Poor S Afr (2)	Poor P Ger (1)	Good S Afr (6)	Poor P Ger (3)	Poor S Afr (8)
TOTAL correct	–	6	3	5	9	1	14	9
mean		4.67	2.67	4.4	4.0	4.0	3.85	4.56
w/c ♀ correct	–	1	1	1	2	–	2	–
mean		4.0	4.0	3.0	5.0		4.0	
m/c ♀ correct	–	3	1	2	2	1	4	5
mean		4.67	2.0	4.5	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.4
w/c ♂ correct	–	–	1	–	2	–	3	–
mean			2.0		3.0		3.33	
m/c ♂ correct	–	2	–	2	3	–	5	4
mean		5.0		5.0	4.33		4.0	4.75

The very last question on the questionnaire was an open question designed to elicit respondents' opinions (if any) about the validity of the questionnaire, without 'putting the words into their mouths'. 11 of the 20 respondents wrote an answer to this quesition (2 working-class women; 3 working-class men; 3 middle-class women; 3 middle-class men). Their responses can be summarised as falling broadly into three (*not mutually exclusive*) categories, which may be paraphrased as follows:

i) 'It is impossible to answer certain of these questions (especially no. 5) on the basis of hearing a short speech sample';

ii) 'These questions are not 'fair' because the speaker is not speaking his native language';

iii) 'You *can* tell things about people on the basis of their speech: these sort of judgements are made all the time'.

Table 1 below shows the numbers of respondents who answered the final question in one or more of these ways.

Table 1: Summary of respondents' answers to the final question: 'Do you have any comments on this questionnaire?'

	i) 'Can't answer on basis of hearing short speech sample'.	ii) 'Can't tell because not native language'.	iii) 'Can tell: DO make judgements based on speech'.
TOTAL	9	5	2
w/c ♀	2	2	–
m/c ♀	3	2	1
total♀	5	4	1
w/c ♂	1	–	1
m/c ♂	3	1	–
total ♂	4	1	1
total w/c	3	2	1
total m/c	6	3	1

Over half the respondents commented on the questionnaire, and of these only two confirmed its validity. The rest questioned its validity, some strongly and indignantly, others hesitantly and tentatively. The middle-class respondents tended to write more and to be more critical than did the the working class respondents, both in their responses to this question, and whilst they were filling in the questionnaire. Of course, the fact that almost half of the respondents wrote 'no', or simply did not write anything for this question, suggests that they did not feel uneasy about the judgements they were required to make in the questionnaire (or else felt diffident about criticising academic work in a field they knew little or nothing about). However, the fact that so

many responses of the sort described above were obtained *in response to what was after all a very general and not a leading question*, suggests that many people felt uneasy about such a task. (Incidentally, this did not prevent some of the most damning critics of the questionniare from choosing quite extreme evaluations, both negative and positive, for certain speakers, although there was a neutral '3' available: possibly their objections were based more on a feeling that one *should* not make judgements about others on the basis of their language, rather than the conviction that they *did* not in fact do this.

Conclusions.

The results of this study suggest a definite confirmation of the hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between a non-native speaker's having good pronunciation and being positively evaluated by native speakers, and that pronunciation is a far more important variable than syntax in this evaluation. This observation is less valid in the area of perceived personality than for perceived standard of English, perceived status and perceived vocational prospects. Respondents were not particularly successful in correctly identifying speakers' country of origin. Where they managed to do so, their self-reported ratings of their attitude towards natives of that country were generally fairly high (or above neutral), however there is some discrepancy between this fact and the consistently lower evaluations of speakers from African countries than of German speakers. Many respondents expressed doubts as to the validity of the study and its format, but nevertheless answered the questions, rarely vetoing the questions by choosing '3' ratings. This suggests that the study may be more valid than was at first suggested, although it could still be argued that some means

of testing reactions to non-native speech which was less dependent on a quantitative, closed and 'discourse-as-product'-based analysis would be preferable. However, within the terms of the present study, there is overwhelming evidence that non-native speakers whose speech, and particularly pronunciation, is close to the native-norm are more positively evaluated by native speakers than those with more 'foreign[1] characteristics, and this would suggest that the assumption, which currently prevails in applied linguistics and foreign language teaching generally, that there is little or no call to teach pronunciation to foreign students, should be challenged.

Notes.

1. Of course there have been language attitude studies in America and Canada and elsewhere. However, for the sake of brevity, this paper confine itself in most cases to the studies of British English.

2. e.g. Lay and Burron, 1968; Miller and Hewgill, 1964; Sereno and Hawkins 1967; McCroskey and Mehrley, 1969.

3. One possible criticism of this study is the unequal numbers of women an men used both as respondents and as stimulus voices: Palmer does not rule out the possibility of sex as a variable which might affect the results. There is some evidence that women's voices are evaluated less favourably than men's, both by women and men (see for example Cameron 1985:32-34, 53- 6); and that women use more prestigious forms than men (Coates 1986:64, Trudgill 1974:94-5), which might mean that men and women would use different criteria when evaluating speech samples.

4. This is disappointing in view of the authors' discussion of the causes of 'irritation' (see p. 19).

5. No topic is objectively neutral: it can only be considered 'neutral' *vi à vis* a particular person. Its neutrality in the eyes of this person signifies only that it is compatible with her view of the world: that to her it is uncontroversial. Thus the purported neutrality of the topic of conversation in these studies merely indicates that the researcher has imposed her world view on the study. This is probably inevitable. However, its inevitability does not make the subject matter neutral.

6. I am grateful to Richard Coates for pointing out that this is a potentially problemtic notion which does not take into account the possibl existence of extra-territorial varieties (comparable with 'West African French', for example) which might be unfamiliar to a native speaker of British English.

7. It was originally hoped to use all female students but it was not possible to find speakers who fell into all the required categories.

8. It had been intended to accept 'Austrian' for the German speakers but, in the event, this was not an answer given by any of the respondents.

Appendix 1: Phonetic transcription and tally of errors of stimulus speech samples.

Transcriptions appear here in order in which they featured on the cassette.
•Syntactic error[1] refers to any non-native grammatical or lexical feature.
'Hesitation* refers to vocalized pauses, repetitions or false starts.

Speaker 1: German, Good syntax; poor pronunciation. (1 syntactic error; 8 hesitations)

On the last night of October, the people in earlier times

thought of devils and,.,and witches, and they were afraid of
ðɔ:t ɒf 'devəls and . and 'wɪtʃɪs .. ant ðe: wʒɹ ʒfreːd ɒf

them, and they wanted to keep them out of their houses and
ðarv\ . au\fɔkˢ &cː 'WOAHCJ 'fɑuː 'ktp $£<* ax(r ɒf $C 'h&u^x a^vj

their farms, er, to have a nice. ..nice life without witches and
ðɛə 'faɹms. øː . tuː 'havə 'nais . naɪs lɪf wɪvaut 'wɪtʃɪs ʒnd

devils. Now it's not the.. .a big tradition, because most of the

population, works in,,.in industry, and there are many families
popjuˈleɪʃɪn 'wsːkˢs ɪn . ɪn 'ɪdastɹiː ɪtᵏ zeə əː mɛɹt 'famɪlɪs

where there is no grandmother on a.,, on a farm who tells the

little children about the devil and witches. In the industry
lɪtʃ 'tʃɪldrʌn ʒbaʊtzə 'devəl and 'wɪ   ə 'ɪndʌstɹi

areas: there, all...most...most of the population live in flats
'eaɹɪjes. ðeːjə ʊə   . ., .:fɒn lɪfɪʌ 'flatᵏs .

and so these historical stories about witches are not told to
and .soː zɪs   . .-- --.-- --   ,. - - - -.- ɪ̃

the children today.
zɸ 'tʃɪldrən tuˈdeː:]

Speaker 2: African, Poor syntax; good pronunciation.(12 syntactic errors; 6 hesitations)

Now in the modern time, they've taken the same er story
                           -ᵤ-.. .- - ˈɔdɪ

but, er, It Is a sort of opportunity to...for children to

have fun. They have er songs, dressed up, and things like that,
haˈfʌn.. ðe hav ʒ ˈsɒgz ˈdɾeɛs ʌpʰ and ðɪgz laɾðatʰ

and then In the evening, they er sup a big meal. But perhaps the
anðeɪn ɳʷ abɪgmɪʒ . pɒˈʀapz ðə

children would prefer rather the game consisting in running down
ˈʧɪdʒən wʊd ˈpɾeifeʒ ʀaðə ðəˈgɛm koˈsɪstʰɪŋɪn ˈʀʌdɪg daʊn

the street, knocking at the door and then saying to 'trick ©r
ðə ˈstʀiːt ˈnokʰɪj adða ˈdɔː and ðɳ ˈsɛːntʰə ˈtʰʀɪkʰ ɔ

treat* • And normally you should give them a sweet. If you don't
tʰʀɪtʰ . ˈ ɔɪtʰ.ɪf ʃu ˈdɔntʰ

then, er, you'll have your tyre flattened or they'll put soap on
(pʰʊtʰ ˈsɪpʰ ɔ.

your windows, or simply they'll knock at the door.
jɔɔ ˈwɪndɔz ɔ ˈsɪmpʰli ˈ ˙ ˙ ˙

Er, the passage is about children which enjoy the fun. They are
[ɸ: zə ˈpʰasɪg ɪs.ɛbaʊ ˙ ˙˙y ˙˙ jɔɪ ðə ˈfɪn. ðeː aː

playing a game: name is [9] trick and treat[9]. In this game, they er
•pieːˆj ˆe *ʃ*ɔ'<"* ActMɪj ˈ(TOJI/C aAˆwttˈ1ˆ. 1A tiʃ jewn 2>e; ɸ:

go to the street, and go to the doors of the er houses, and
ɛn
ᴊ

crying • trick or treat', and the people will give them some
kwaɪjɪn ˈtwɪkʰɔ ˙˙ ˙˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ ˈgɪf ðɛm sᴀm

sweets, or the er, children knocked on the door and um rum away.
ˈswɪts . ɔː ðɸ ɸː ˈjɪldʒan ˈnoːkʰ ondi ˈtʰɔː aʌd. ɸm.ˈʀᴧn aˈweɪ.

It's about a night of October: name's er Hallowe'en, and in this
ɪts aˈbaʊtʰ ɛ ˈnaðʰ ofokˈtoːbɛ. neːms aː ha loːwɪʌ. and ðɪs

night they came spirits to the earth with their er, magic spells
*n+tbk. ʀ e; fJtev*i fS|o-wYfe,fei ɪj ˈoeθ .wɪθeə ɸː ˈmazɪkʰ ˈspʰɛ

and the families singing songs.
antʰ zə ˈfᴀmɪ(ɪz sɪgɪŋ ˈsoːgz]

Speaker 4: African, Good syntax; good pronunciation. (1 syntactic error; 5 hesitations)

Hallowe'en is a...a sort of a tradition, which comes from a long
['haluwɪn ɪzʌ . ʌ sotʰovʌ tʰʃaːdɪʃən . wɪtʃ 'kʰʌmzfɹom a'loŋ

time ago. In the evening, um, on their farms, people would gather
'tʰeɪm agɔ . ɪndi 'ivənɪŋ . əm onðeə 'faːmz phiphʰəl wʊd 'ga

and light a big fire, but would have first taken care to lock
ʌlaɪtʰ abɪg 'faɪɹə . bʌtʰ wʊd hav 'fɪstʰ tʰeɪkʰʌŋkʰeə tu 'lokʰ

their animals inside, and put leaves on their door: special leaves
ðeə 'ʌnml̩z ɪnʃaɪd and 'pʊtʰ livsonðeadɔ 'speʃʊl 'livs

on their door to keep the spirits out. Then er they'd start singing
on ðedo: tu 'kʰipʰ ðe 'spʰɪɹɪtʰzaʊtʰ ðen ɜ ðejəd 'stʰatsɪgɪŋ

special songs and, er, sometimes they would stop, and the priest
spʰɛʃəl 'sãgz . and ɸ sʌmtʰaɪmz ðewʊd stʰopʰ andə 'pɹist

would start to pray, er to call for good spirits. to help them
wʊd 'statʰu 'pʰɹeɪʒ . tʰu kʰɔl fɔː gud 'spʰɪɹɪtʰztu helpʰ ðem

get rid of these evils.
'getʰɹɪdov ðiz 'evʌlz]

Speaker 5: German, Poor syntax; good pronunciation. (13 syntactic errors; 6 hesitations)

Hallowe'en is a very old traditional date. In former times, em
'hæloʊwiːn ɪzə vɛɹɪjold tʰɹədɪʃənl̩ 'deɪtʰ . ɪn fɔːmə 'tʰaɪmz . ɪm

witches and evil spirits should to keep away, and nowadays, em
'wɪtʃɪz and 'ivl̩ 'spɪɹɪtz ʃʊdtʰ ʊ kʰip əweɪ ænd naʊwədeɪz . ən

it's a time for parties for the children. They dress up and
ɪtʰsə 'tʰaɪm fə paːtɪz fəði 'tʃɪldʒən . ðeɪ 'dʒɛs ʏp ʌ

have a great fun. In my country, um is carnival. Is in March
hæːvə 'gʊeɪtʰ fʌn . ɪn maɪ kʰʌntʃiː ʌ ɪz 'kʰaːnɪvl̩ . ɪz ɪn 'maːtʃ

or April. I think this has em a quite similar tradition as
ɔ 'eɪpɹʊl . aɪ 'θɪŋk ðɪs hæz ʌ 'ɜ kwaɪt 'sɪmɪlə tʃədɪʃən əz

Hallowe'en. It's also to keep witches and evil spirits away,
hæloʊ'wɪn . ɪtz 'ɔsoʊ tə kʰip 'wɪtʃɪz n̩d ivl̩ 'spɪɹɪtz ə'weɪ .

and people um dress them up and have a party. And today, many
ʌd pipl̩ ʌ 'dʒɛsðm̩ 'ʏp and havə 'pʰaːti . antə'deɪ . menɪ

people don't know what's the reason for this festivals, and they

'pipəl doʊnz 'noʊ wɒtzðə 'vizən fəðɪs 'festɪvl̩z. ænd ðeɪ

always make parties and such other things.

'ɒlweɪz meɪk 'paːtɪz. ænd sʌʧ 'ʌðə θɪŋz]

Speaker 6: African, Good syntax; poor pronunciation. (1 syntactic error; 8
hesitations)

In the south there is a special feast, which is called: if I

[ɪn ðə 'saʊθ ðəɹɪz. ʌ 'speʃəl 'festʰ wɪʧ ɪz 'kɒld. ɪf aɪ

translate literally it's 'Generation Feast'. Because in these

tʰɹænzleɪt 'lɪtəəli ɪtzø dʒenəveʃn fest ʰ. bɪkɔːz ɪn ðiz

villages each year, all people the same age - they are dressed in

'vilɪdʒiːz. iʧ jɪə. 'ɒl pɪpl. ðø 'seɪm ɛʒ. ðeɪjə 'dʌesɪn

special clothes and they...they...they dance, they...they sing, they -

'speʃəl 'kloz. ænd ðɛ. ðɛ. ðɛ 'dãːns. ðɛ ðɛ 'sɪŋ ðɛ.

it's very, very, very nice. Even foreigners who live in our

ɪts 'veri 'veri 'veri naɪs. ivən 'fɔreɪnəz hõ 'liv ɪn 'aʊwə

country, every year they are at these fest. They take photographs

'kɒntʰɹi. evɹi jɪə. ðeɪja 'atðɪz 'festʰ. ðɛ tɛk 'fotoɡɹaːf

and they...they love - they...they...they enjoy it. You'll see

ən. 'ðɛ ðɛ 'lov. 'ðɛ 'ðɛ 'ðɛ ɛdʒɔɪdit. jʊl 'siø

people crying, shouting, er singing, dancing, and it's really

pipʊl 'kweɪjɪŋ 'ʃaʊtɪŋ. ø siɒɡɪŋ 'dãːnsɪŋ ænd ɪts ɹiːli

beautiful

'bjʊtɪfʊl]

Speaker 7: German, Good syntax; good pronunciation. (0 syntactic errors; 8
hesitations)

Yeah, well I suppose the only equivilent in my country would be er

[jɛəwl̩ aɪ 'spoʊz ðɪ 'nʌnli əkwɪvələʧ ɪn 'maɪ kɪntɹi wʊdbiː.¹

a certain feast, er at the beginning of Lent, when people dress

ə 'sɛzn 'fiːstʰ. s ət ðə bəɡɪnɪɡər 'lentʰ. wen pʰɪpl̩ dʌes

up. And, it's not got the sort of spooky em slant to it that

ʌpʰ ənd ɪtznot ɡot ðə sətəv 'spuːkiː ɛm 'slantuwɪt ðat

Hallowe'en has: it's just having fun and I think that the...the

old reason behind the thing in my country is that er people

·olt⁴ ⱱɪzɪn bɪhaɪnt⁴ ðə ฿ɪŋ ɪn 'maɪ 'kʌntɹi ɪzðə ..ʒ pipḷ

believe that it's their last chance to have fun before the er

bə'liⱱ ðət⁴ ɪsðɛ 'laːs tʃants təhaⱱ 'fʌn bɪfɔ ðə .əː

time of Lent comes up, and you have to say ˢno* to every Ing

and be good * 111 Easter. And..,and so that's the reason for Just

living it up, having a good time, getting drunk perhaps, have...

and Just dressing up.

ɐ dʒʌ̈st oⱱɛsɪŋ

Speaker 8: African, Poor syntax; poor pronunciation.(13 syntactic errors; 6
hesitations)

In the south, there are some population called the 'Aka^.and there

ˤə ˌɑn deə

particular day in the year where they celebrate er the harvest of

/»**:'6S'£}'«*/« 'cfei Wa 'Jit .'oca Wet Se^€ 'Lt≀.*t\ * ^aⱱəs ɒ฿ə

the !fam. ⁴am. So, these day the women used to cook er great

• j ^ M . *J»M. so «^£* '«/' <^> *ca<m^ju«^ 'fcN-kV 'gⱱeɪ2

quantities of ^ams and er every people was invited at this special

'kʰant⁴iⁱⱴ1zoⱱ 'jamz. ɐn.ɑː. eⱱɹt 'pʰip ɔ woⱱtɪⱱeɪt .. .. zɪs 'speʒʒ

days. And they used to eat more, those days. They used to

'diz . andeɪ justʰu 'iⱴ.mɔɔ dɔzdɛz . deɪ justᵘu

dance, bring masks and so on. Was yes, very er great days, and

'dɛ̃s . bɹɪŋ 'mãgz and sowɒn . wɔ̃z jes ⱱeɹt 3 *JJi£ Vez • ⱬɐ

is once in the year. Is# before, or, er, in March: in end of

tz 'WM$ ⁱti ^ ˢJ+j*- ¹²ᴸ ^tfDa *'• • /◄ ¹V ⱬ̣ᷓ .ɪn 'cɔ̃_oⱱ

March or beginning of April.

'maːtʃ ə 'bɪgɪnoⱱ 'cɪpɹɪ( ]

Appendix 2: Front cover and sample question page of questionnaire.

<u>Questionnaire.</u>

You will hear 8 foreign students talking briefly, in English, about festivals and celebrations. They were all recorded just after they had read a passage which discussed the English festival Hallowe'en, both in former times and today. You will hear some of the students talking about the passage they read and about Hallowe'en. The others will talk about a festival in their own country which the Hallowe'en passage reminded them of.

You will hear all 8 students through once, one after the other. Please listen without writing anything. Then you will hear the tape a second time. This time, as each student talks, please fill in the relevant page of this questionnaire. For each question there are a number of possible answers you could give. For example, for the first question:

     1. How well does this person speak English?

       badly   1   2   3   4   5   well

if you think, after hearing the student on the tape, that he speaks very good English, you circle the number 5. If, on the other hand you think his English is very poor, you circle the number 1, and so on.
Or in other words the numbers correspond to the following scale:

     5   High
     4
     3   Mid/Neutral
     2
     1   Low

Before you start, please fill in the following details (which will be treated confidentially):

Name_____   Sex   Male/Female

Occupation_____   Age   under 25
                                    25-40
                                    41-60
Nationality_____   over 60

No 1. 1. How well does this person speak English?

       badly   1   2   3   4   5   well

      2. How well would this person understand the English TV news?

       badly   1   2   3   4   5   well

3. Would you feel confident about employing this person?

dubious   1   2   3   4   5   confident

4. How intelligent is this person?

unintelligent   1   2   3   4   5   intelligent

5. How trustworthy is this person?

untrustworthy   1   2   3   4   5   trustworthy

6. How good are this person's career prospects?

poor   1   2   3   4   5   good

7. Would you feel confident about working with this person?

dubious   1   2   3   4   5   confident

8. How friendly/good-natured is this person?

unfriendly   1   2   3   4   5   friendly

9. How hard-working is this person?

lazy   1   2   3   4   5   hard-working

10. How well could this person write a business letter in Engl

badly   1   2   3   4   5   well

11. How high is this person's social status?

low   1   2   3   4   5   high

12. What country do you think this person comes from? _____

13. How do you rate your reaction to people from this country?

generally negative   1   2   3   4   5   generally posit

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