THE DIALECT STEREOTYPES OF SCHOOLCHILDREN AND TEACHERS IN THE BAY ROBERTS AREA OF NEWFOUNDLAND

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THE DIALECT STEREOTYPES OF SCHOOLCHILDREN AND TEACHERS IN THE BAY ROBERTS AREA OF NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This study investigated speech stereotypes, in a school context, in two non-standard dialect speaking communities in the Conception Bay North region of Newfoundland. The sample group of 100 respondents represented three levels of age/education. A modified matched-guise (verbal guise) technique was implemented to assess attitudes to four English dialects, two standard and two non-standard. Respondents were asked to evaluate taped speakers with respect to personality traits and in terms of the suitability of their speech types to different speech situations.

The results revealed clear stereotyped preferences for standard dialect speakers on prestige-related evaluations and for formal speech situations. On solidarity-related evaluations and for informal speech situations, non-standard speakers received fairly positive evaluations. Speakers of an external standard dialect, however, often were preferred again on these scales. Ratings on pejorative scales revealed a general reluctance by the sample to award negative judgments, particularly to speakers of local non-standard dialects.

Respondent age proved to be a differentiating factor in attitudinal discriminations. The community backgrounds and sex of respondents were less obvious determining factors in attitudinal differences.

The findings are related to the educational situation in Newfoundland.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the language attitudes of schoolchildren and their teachers in the Bay Roberts area of Newfoundland. To this end, the first chapter presents an overview of the field of language attitude research with particular attention to the school context.

1.1 The field of language attitudes

Since the early 1960's various sociolinguistic studies have investigated language stereotypes. This field, called language attitude research, seeks to provide information on the stereotyped social judgments which members of one social or cultural group may hold toward members of their own or other groups based on their type of speech. Language attitude studies provide evidence that different types of speech do form the bases whereby social judgments may be made (Giles and Powesland 1975; W. Lambert 1967). Research also has shown, not only that speech cues are among the most important stimuli which listeners use for making initial biased judgments of other people (e.g., Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram 1969; d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973; Williams 1973), but indeed also that only a few such cues need to be heard before a stereotyped judgment can be made (Ellis 1967).

1.1.1 Language attitudes and stereotyping

A stereotype, for the purpose of this thesis, will be considered

to constitute an attitude preference or a set of value judgements that is applied in a generalized way to a whole community.[1] Williams (1973: 125) elucidates how such a concept of stereotyping underlies language attitude research when he suggests that listeners make social evaluations not from a neutral starting point, but from the "anchor point" of the stereotype they possess of the group represented by a particular speech variety.

While it is interesting that stereotypes themselves may reflect both the holder's individual prejudices and cultural background (see Webster and Kramer 1968:236 and Agheyisi and Fishman 1970), the affective[2] elements of speech stereotyping may be of greater concern in social research, particularly when such research has implications for the field of education. The speech stereotyping response is powerful not only in that it influences listener assumptions as to the character attributes of speakers (e.g., Lambert et al. 1960), but also in that it affects listener expectations of the behaviour of speakers (Lambert and Klineberg 1967) as well as listener behaviour toward the speaker(s) (Rosenthal 1973; Giles, Baker and Fielding 1975; Bourhis and Giles 1976; Giles and Bourhis 1976).

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1 For further information on attitudes and stereotyping the reader is referred to Agheyisi and Fishman 1970 and Rosenthal 1973.

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2 The term "affective" here is used in such a way as to include both the "affective" and "conative" elements mentioned by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:139-140) in their review of different aspects of attitude.

1.1.2 Matched-guise technique

The research technique generally employed to investigate speech-based stereotypes is one called "matched-guise". This technique was developed by Wallace Lambert and his colleagues at McGill University in Montreal. It is designed to elicit listeners' subjective reactions to different types of speech (see Lambert et al. 1960 and W. Lambert 1967). In its basic form, the matched-guise technique involves the presentation of tape-recorded selections of different types of speech to respondents. The respondents are asked to evaluate the speakers in terms of personality traits and sometimes other value judgments. The situation is presented as a guessing game and the respondent-judges are unaware that perfectly bilingual or bidialectal speakers assume different speech guises on the tape. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:146) explain the theoretical basis of this technique:

> The major principle underlying this technique is that if there is adequate control of every other variable in the experimental situation - such as the voice quality of speaker, content of text, and most especially, personality of speaker - other than the actual language variety, then whatever evaluations are made of the speaker must be prompted mainly by the judge's general reaction to the speakers of that particular language, rather than by his reaction to the specific speaker in the experimental situation. And so, if there is any significant uniformity in the evaluation reactions of any group of judges, such reactions are said to represent the stereotyped impressions of that group toward the speakers of the particular language or variety.

Either direct or indirect questions may be used to elicit listeners' evaluative judgments of speech types. In the case of direct questioning techniques, however, listener-judges' attitudinal responses

may be suspected to reflect conscious or unconscious efforts to provide socially acceptable judgments. The employment of the indirect methodology of the matched-guise technique in language attitude investigations appears to avoid this difficulty and elicit listeners' covert attitudes. Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian (1965:90), having investigated listener reactions to dialects of Hebrew by means of both techniques, state:

> In view of the marked contrasts between the two procedures revealed in the present study, the hypothesis suggests itself that the matched-guise technique, in contrast to standard measures of attitude, evokes more private and conceptual reactions.

Some important criticisms of the matched-guise technique have been advanced (e.g., Lee 1971; Giles and Powesland 1975:101-102; Giles and Bourhis 1976:294-295). One such criticism argues the need for a behavioural response (see also Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). Results such as those of Giles and Bourhis (1976:296,301), however, indicate that respondent ratings collected by evaluative scale devices show high correlations with results acquired with behaviourally oriented methods.

Another important criticism questions the validity of the assumption, made in matched-guise technique, that one speaker can characterize a population. Nevertheless, as Giles and Powesland (1975:7) point out, the major advantage to having a single speaker assume different guises is the elimination of idiosyncratic speech variation; consequently, listener reaction is directed to the stereotype itself rather than to the speaker (see also Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian 1965: 90). In contrast, others (e.g., Lee 1971; Giles and Bourhis 1976:294-

-295) have suggested that the boring effect of hearing repeated messages by the same speaker may make listeners unduly evaluative of voice characteristics. The single-speaker approach, then, would tend to elicit listener reactions to such individual voice characteristics rather than to speech type. It has also been suggested (Giles and Powesland 1975: 31; Labov 1972:215) that speech tapes made by "bidialectal" informants may lack dialect validity.

By way of response to the above criticism, a modification of the matched-guise technique has been proposed. The modified procedure, also called "verbal guise", involves the choice of several speakers to represent each speech style on the tape. Typically, two to four speakers per language type are presented (cf. Carranza and Ryan 1975:100) and results are calculated on the type means.

1.1.3 Applications of matched-guise methodology

The matched-guise and modified matched-guise techniques have been implemented with a wide variety of social and cultural groups around the world. Studies have applied these techniques to investigate group stereotyped attitudes toward speakers of different languages, among them:

- French and English in the Province of Quebec (e.g., Lambert, Frankel and Tucker 1966; S. Lambert 1973)
- French and English in the State of Maine (e.g., Lambert, Giles and Albert 1975; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975)
- Arabic and English in Egypt (El-Dash and Tucker 1975)
- Mexican-American Spanish and English in the USA (Carranza and Ryan 1975)

- Welsh and English in Wales (Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel 1973)
- Tagalog and English in the Philippines (Tucker 1968).

In addition these techniques have elicited stereotyped reactions to standard and non-standard dialects[3] and accents within a single language, such as:

- Black English and White English in the USA (e.g., Bouchard 1969; Williams 1970a)
- Classical and colloquial Arabic and English with American and British accents in Egypt (El-Dash and Tucker 1975)
- Local dialects of French and standard European French in Quebec and in Maine (e.g., d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973; Lambert, Giles and Albert 1975; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975)
- County dialects in Ireland (J. Edwards 1977a)
- British and foreign accents of English in England and Wales (Giles 1970)
- Sephardic and Ashkenazic Hebrew in Israel (Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian 1965)
- English with a "Jewish accent" in Montreal, Quebec (Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert 1962)
- Newfoundland, Mainland Canadian and British English in Newfoundland (Clarke 1980a).

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3 While to use such terms as "standard" and "non-standard" to describe speech types can put the linguist or educator in a perilous position, the terminology as it is applied here simply differentiates speech types with the understanding that non-standard varieties are those less likely to be considered models of prestige and higher education. For a more detailed treatment of the issue of standard and non-standard English the reader is referred to Trudgill (1974:17-22)

1.1.4 The measurement of stereotypes

In order to record respondent reactions, matched-guise studies typically employ rating scales, usually of the semantic differential type[4], upon which listeners indicate their subjective judgments of each speaker's personality. The scales usually are labelled with adjectives indicating personality characteristics. The adjectives serve both to define the scope of meaning for each scale and to focus respondents' attention on the rating task required (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). The scale labels may be drawn from adjectives provided in the psychological literature on personality evaluation (see Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957) or may be elicited from the respondents' community for the purpose of the study (see, e.g., Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel 1973)[5].

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) have shown that the adjective traits may not necessarily be considered individually; they may be subsumed under larger dimensions of meaning within the stereotyping reaction. Often language attitude research draws adjectives from the three Osgoodian dimensions of potency, activity and evaluation. Other researchers, investigating specifically the interrelations of language attitude ratings, have shown by factor analysis that listener judgments cluster into somewhat different but similarly conceptually distinct dimensions (Williams 1970a; Shuy and Williams 1973:94-95; Giles and

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4 Semantic differential scales are labelled with bipolar traits, e.g.,

honest ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ dishonest

---

5 The reader is referred to Lee (1971), Giles and Bourhis (1973) and Brown, Strong and Rencher (1975) for critical comment on these methods.

Powesland 1975:41-42; Carranza and Ryan 1975).

In this regard, the Carranza and Ryan (1975) study is of particular interest for the current study. Carranza and Ryan made an investigative division between status stressing and solidarity stressing rating scales. They found that these dimensions of evaluation did appear to be related to respondents' differential ratings of speech types. Results in other investigations (e.g., the Clarke 1980a study in Newfoundland) appear to corroborate the Carranza and Ryan findings. In general, the results of these studies show that standard language types usually are rated higher on status-related scales in comparison with non-standard language types, which tend to be rated lower on these scales; non-standard language types, however, may be favoured on the solidarity-related scales.[6]

The discovery of these kinds of dimensional factors within the stereotyping response supports the inference that, since a single language variety can receive substantially different ratings in different dimensions of listener subjective judgment, certain language varieties may fulfill different functions within a speech community. For instance, the respondent communities that evaluate local or non-standard speech forms with significantly higher ratings on solidarity-type evaluations would seem to be indicating that such speech forms serve as an important source of pride and identity. The language attitude literature reveals

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6. Carranza and Ryan's status adjectives tend to equate with those relating to "competence" traits in the British literature, while solidarity generally relates to the British dimensions called "social attractiveness", "benevolence" and "personal integrity" (e.g., Giles 1971; Giles and Powesland 1975:4).

many such "accent loyal"[7] community groups:

- Franco-American (Lambert, Giles and Albert 1975; Giles et al. 1976)
- Jewish (Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert 1962)
- Welsh (Giles 1971; Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel 1973)
- Scottish (Cheyne 1970, reported in Giles and Powesland 1975: 66-67).

Other studies, on the contrary, have revealed communities and groups within communities that favour superstrate language forms without evidence of particular loyalty to local language varieties, e.g.,

- in Quebec (Lambert et al. 1960)
- in the Philippines (Tucker 1968)
- in Egypt (El-Dash and Tucker 1975)
- in the USA (Carranza and Ryan 1975).

Further, the language attitude literature reveals another conceptual area within which differential speech stereotypes may be found. This may be called context or domain appropriateness. Carranza and Ryan (1975:88) write:

> In dealing with the functional separation between language varieties for speech communities, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) have criticized studies of evaluative reactions towards speech for not having adequately considered the importance of the context of speech. Most of the studies performed have used taped readings with formal topics or spontaneous speech concerning informal topics; the specific effects due to context have heretofore been ignored. To disregard these contextual effects seems to overlook an essential factor in the selection of one

7 For further information on this concept, the reader is referred to Lambert, Giles and Albert (1975).

language variety over another.
The choice of one of these varieties for use could be regulated by the contextual domains.

Results from the Taylor and Clement (1974) study in French Canada and the Carranza and Ryan (1975) study in the USA, among others, support the observation that listeners react by applying biased judgments not only to speech varieties, but also to the appropriateness of the language variety for its assumed or delineated situation, i.e., its domain[8]. Studies which do not take into account the contextual effects of speech may produce misleading results due to listener awareness of mismatches between speech type and implied speech situation (Tucker 1968:37; Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973; Ryan 1973:69; Giles and Powesland 1975:98). One of Lee's early criticisms (1971:412) of the matched-guise technique was that it presents speech in "a content-free vacuum"; accordingly, it has been recommended (e.g., Giles and Bourhis 1973:339-340) that speech segments be presented in the context of a speech situation.

Of the few studies available that investigate the involvement of contextual effects in the stereotyping reaction, the following two illustrate different technical approaches for eliciting listener stereotyped impressions as to the suitability of speech types for selected situations. El-Dash and Tucker (1975) employed questions and rating scales in an extension of the manner of questioning used to elicit evaluations on personality traits; they present results to show that listener

8 For further information on this term, the reader is referred to Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1968:17,568).

ratings favour certain language varieties for different situations (El-Dash and Tucker 1975:46-53). They also note problems encountered concerning speech type/situation incongruities (1975:35,53). In contrast, Carranza and Ryan (1975) approached the question by presenting different stimulus tapes, for each language type, that had content which was appropriate to different speech domains. This research design enabled them to investigate the interrelationship of listener expectations of context and listener evaluative response along the lines of certain rating dimensions. Carranza and Ryan (1975:88) explain:

> This functional separation of speech varieties usually results in the values of solidarity (associated with Low Language) being enacted in the home and neighborhood domains, with the values of status (associated with High Language) being enacted in the school and work domains.

The results of the Carranza and Ryan study (1975:92-99) confirm that speech stereotyping reactions may differ depending on the conceived appropriateness of a language variety for a particular domain.

Studies such as those described above would indeed suggest that the investigation of domain appropriateness is of great importance in the investigation of language attitudes. They also suggest that conceptual dimensions within the overall stereotyping reaction offer a potential area for productive investigation.

1.2 Research applications

Language attitude studies have been implemented with subject groups exemplifying a wide variety of background variables, e.g., sex, social class, age. Yet since the purpose of the current research is to

examine the speech biases of groups of schoolchildren and teachers, this section restricts itself to presenting a reveiw of the literature that relates to these two groups. The term "schoolchildren" as used here includes children and adolescents at educational levels from preschool through secondary school.

1.2.1 Studies involving children

A considerable body of research presents evidence that adolescents and younger children possess stereotypes with respect to various language and dialect types (Lambert, Frankel and Tucker 1966; Lambert and Klineberg 1967; Bouchard 1969; Giles 1970; Giles 1972; S. Lambert 1973; Rosenthal 1973; Shuy and Williams 1973; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Lambert, Giles and Albert 1975; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975). The cumulative result of such studies, however, does not yield a clear picture. Thus no firm conclusions have been reached as to the age at which children may develop the speech biases of their community and as to the nature of such biases (See sections 1.2.1.1; 1.2.1.2).

1.2.1.1 The age of acquisition of speech biases

Research has demonstrated not only that people possess speech biases (Section 1.1 above), but also that such biases may be acquired at an early age. Results in various studies show that young people perceive speech differences early (e.g., Baratz 1969; Giles 1970; Giles 1972; Rosenthal 1973; Gallowich 1978). Many questions remain, however, as stereotyping may be seen to go beyond the discrimination of speech differences to include the categorization of such differences and the

formulation of the value judgments which underlie attitude preferences (see in particular Rosenthal 1973; see also Lambert and Klineberg 1967).

Many research studies provide evidence that not only do children perceive speech differences early but also that they react with socially biased judgments to different speech types. Lambert, Giles and Albert (1975), for example, as well as Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975), found biased attitudes to local and standard varieties of French and English among both ten- and seventeen-year-olds in Maine. Evidence from El-Dash and Tucker (1975) in Egypt, Bouchard (1969) in the USA and S. Lambert (1973) in Montreal corroborates the finding of the Maine studies, namely, that children as young as ten evaluate speech types with stereotyping reactions. Others as well, eliciting language attitudes from children in the eight- to fourteen-year age range (e.g., Lambert, Frankel and Tucker 1966; Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram 1969; J. Edwards 1977a) describe results that support the idea that speech biases begin in pre- or early adolescence and become increasingly like adult stereotypes by the age of high school leaving (see also Giles and Powesland 1975:30). Although there is not as much information on younger subjects, authors such as Lambert and Klineberg (1967) and Baratz (1969) describe research implementations with groups of children in the six- to ten-year age range who respond to speech tapes with socially biased generalizations. Rosenthal (1973) has demonstrated that primary grade children and preschoolers, even children as young as three years old, can be aware of speech differences and have attitude preferences based on the social significance of such differences.

While, logically, it has been noted that both growth in age and

experience with language varieties underlie the development of sociolinguistic stereotyping abilities (e.g., Giles 1970; Giles 1972; El-Dash and Tucker 1975:52)[9] the language attitude literature appears to present no clear answer to the question of the age at which children have acquired the speech biases of their community. By and large the best answer at the present time appears to be the non age-specific view that the acquisition of sociolinguistic biases forms part the overall social maturation process, as an adjunct to the general development process by which children gain all their language proficiency (see Lambert and Klineberg 1967; Muehl and Muehl 1976:37).

1.2.1.2 The similarity of children's speech stereotypes to adults' stereotypes

While, then, the actual age of acquisition of speech stereotypes is not known, it would indeed appear that children may share such stereotypes. In this regard, the question naturally arises as to whether children's speech stereotypes are consistently similar to those of adults within the same community. Results from studies such as those cited in Sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.1.1 above suggest the answer to be in the affirmative for some groups as least (e.g., S. Lambert 1973; Rosenthal 1973). Yet studies implemented in various locations report enough differences in younger subjects' responses to provoke interesting questions as to the similarity of younger respondents' stereotypes with those of adults. For instance, both the sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds in Clarke's (1980a)

9 Further information on developmental sociolinguistics may be found in Lambert and Klineberg (1967), Ervin-Tripp (1971) and Rosenthal (1973).

Newfoundland study and the Maine seventeen-year-olds in the Lambert, Giles and Albert (1975) study tended not to share adult feelings of accent loyalty.[10]

There are in the literature many instances of research evidence to show that the speech stereotypes elicited from children are different from those adults (e.g., Anisfeld and Lambert 1964; Giles 1970; Giles and Powesland 1975:30). It is particularly noticeable that the attitudinal responses of children at the ten- to twelve-year age level differs noticeably from the response norms of adults and older teens. One apparent difference in the response patterns of children at this age is that their evaluations tend to be unusually or unrealistically positive (Anisfeld and Lambert 1964:96; Giles 1970:219; S. Lambert 1973:40; Bourhis, Giles and Lambert 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975). Another noticeable trend is that their responses tend to be more disparate from each other within their group than are those of adults. Children of this age, that is, are found to make wider use of the range of response possibilities in the rating scales than do older respondents (S. Lambert 1973:44); Giles (1972:264) stated that they seem to be "more discriminative in their evaluations".

Since in various studies there are noticeable differences in the

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10 Different studies report what appear to be anomalies in the progression of sociolinguistic development; El-Dash and Tucker (1975), Lambert, Giles and Albert (1975) and Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975) all report indications that ten-year-old children may share some adult biases where subjects in the fifteen- to seventeen-year age range may not. For further information by way of an overview of sociolinguistic development the reader is referred again to Lambert and Klineberg (1967).

response patterns of children, suggestions have been put forward to account for the differences. Some follow the social development theme by suggesting that the differences may show children's lack of social maturity (Anisfeld and Lambert 1964:96; Giles 1970:219; El-Dash and Tucker 1975;44,50-53), that they represent the views of a new generation (i.e., a change in the linguistic attitudes of the community) (Giles 1970:219; Giles and Powesland 1975:30) and, in the case of ten-year-olds, that at this age the differences represent the typical views of a certain stage of development (Anisfeld and Lambert 1964; Lambert and Klineberg 1967: 217,225). Other potential explanations relate to children's capabilities, i.e., the possibility that younger respondents may have more sensitive discriminatory abilities (S. Lambert 1973:47,48; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975:139) and indeed the possibility that they do not understand the testing instrument and fail to use the rating scales correctly (El-Dash and Tucker 1975:44,49).

In any case, research results indicate that much more investigation is required into the language attitudes of children, particularly around the ten-year age level, in order to provide more complete information on the nature of children's speech stereotypes. Bearing in mind the possibility that the different responses elicited from children may be due to their misunderstanding of or inability to respond to the testing measures, it seems imperative that attitude elicitation measures and materials intended for use with children be subjected to extensive pretesting with equivalent groups of children to establish their suitability to the children's social and scholastic competence.

1.2.1.3 The importance of children's attitudes

A knowledge of the language attitudes of children is important from at least two perspectives. The first of these is that the views of the youth of a community may well represent the values of the next generation (Giles and Powesland 1975:30). The second is of more immediate relevance to the field of pedagogy, in that children's attitudes and motivation have a major impact on the learning situation (see, e.g., Politzer and Hoover 1974:50-51). Specific types of behaviour that have been shown by some studies to be concomitant with language attitudes also are the kind of behaviours that are vitally important in the interpersonal relationships typical of the classroom learning situation. For instance, biased judgments based on the speech type in which a message is expressed can affect significantly the listener's opinion of the quality of the message, the listener's receptiveness to persuasion by the message and the amount of response to the message that the listener will produce (Giles 1973; Giles and Powesland 1975:90-105; Giles, Baker and Fielding 1975; see also Giles 1970:225; Bourhis Giles and Lambert 1975:57; J. Edwards 1977b). In addition, in situations where speech values conflict - as could be the case when regional feelings of accent loyalty to non-standard speech are in contrast with educational values that demand standard language norms in the classroom - children may face a push-pull situation which can have emotional and behavioural effects on the success of their education in school (see, e.g., Bouchard 1969:438; Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel 1973:449).

1.2.2 Studies involving school teachers

Language attitude research implementations with various groups of teachers and teachers in training provide evidence that different speech types may be important cues whereby teachers make stereotyped judgments of their students (e.g., Williams, Whitehead and Miller 1971; Woodworth and Salzer 1971; Seligman, Tucker and Lambert 1972; Williams 1976). As Seligman, Tucker and Lambert (1972:141) conclude from research involving teachers in Montreal:

> Clearly, speech style was an important cue to the teachers in their evaluations of students. Even when combined with other cues, its effect did not diminish.

Of particular interest with respect to the speech biases of teachers is that they, as a professional group, appear to share speech stereotypes (Naremore 1971; Taylor 1973). The judgments they make of student speech types also tend to pattern over their individual ratings on different kinds of response scales (See also Section 1.1.4).

Any examination of patterns in teacher speech stereotypes must include particular note of the investigations by Frederick Williams and his associates in the USA into teacher attitudes to Black and White dialects of English (see, e.g., Williams 1970a; Williams 1973; Williams, Whitehead and Traupmann 1971; Williams 1976). Williams has shown, by factor analysis of teacher ratings of children's speech types, that teachers tend to evaluate the speech samples with judgments made not on individual traits, but in overall terms of two evaluative dimensions within the general stereotyping reaction. Williams calls these two axes of evaluative response "ethnicity-nonstandardness" and "confidence-

eagerness" dimension.

While other investigators do not necessarily report two dimensions as did Williams, they nevertheless corroborate his findings. Studies such as those by S. Lambert in Montreal (1973), Tucker in the Philippines (1968) and J. Edwards in Ireland (1979) indicate that teachers usually downgrade non-standard or accented speech forms on evaluative ratings that relate, overall, to the concepts intelligence, confidence and social success.

Teachers' biased evaluations of children can have important educational implications (see Williams 1970b:380-397; A.D. Edwards 1976: 136-139; and Chapter 6, below). The attitudes and expectations of teachers, because of their positions of influence in the school situation, have far-reaching effects. Special note should be made here of the classic psychological investigation by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968). In this study the effect of teacher expectations on the performance of students was demonstrated; children whom teachers had been led to believe had potential for gain actually did produce gains in intellectual achievement. One would understand, then, that this "self-fulfilling prophecy", i.e., that teachers get what they expect, applies as well in relation to teacher attitudes and expectations based on speech stereotypes (see Williams 1970b:382; J. Edwards 1977b:70; J. Edwards 1979:23-38). Further, research indicates that teachers tend to award lower marks to children who speak non-standard dialects (Frender, Brown and Lambert 1970; Woodworth and Salzer 1971). Moreover, the ways in which speech biases may affect the effectiveness of students' communication with teachers apply also to the effectiveness of teachers' messages to pupils

(Section 1.2.1.3). It can be seen, therefore, that teacher speech stereotypes affect teacher expectations, grading and the effectiveness of classroom communication. These areas of teacher-pupil interaction are also essential elements in a student's opportunity for academic success.

Indeed, since speech biases can be seen to be instrumental in the dynamics of typical classroom interactions, it seems to be crucially important that sociolinguistic research investigate the speech stereotypes of both teachers and students in localities where non-standard and standard speech types meet in the classroom.

1.3 The focus of this thesis

This thesis will be involved with the language attitudes of certain groups of schoolteachers and schoolchildren.

From the review of the literature provided above it can be seen that attitudes relating to the values in which people hold a language type can be seen to affect personal judgments and behaviours relative to speakers. The interpersonal judgments and behaviours into which language attitudes effectively enter are also the kinds of interactions fundamental in the classroom teaching/learning situation. Added to this premise is the situation - as mentioned in the literature review - that in localities where there is language variation, subjects have been shown, by language attitude studies, to have different attitudes to different language types. Therefore, students and teachers in regions where several language or dialect types are common would be expected to have different attitudes to speakers of these language types, and

these attitudes could be seen to have implications in the classroom situation.

The literature review also has drawn attention to the question of the age of development of speech stereotypes. Studies have not been able to demonstrate that children at about ten years of age have developed the typical adult stereotypes of their community, yet, certain studies indicate that even much younger children do share, to a greater or lesser degree, the judgmental generalizations toward speech types that are held by adults in their communities. A substantial number of other studies have investigated the speech stereotypes of young people at the age of completing secondary school. Such studies, while indicating that these students most often share to a greater degree than do younger subjects the adult speech stereotypes of their communities, also reveal that young people in the middle teen years have not completely developed adult speech stereotyping patterns.

For this study, a research design was developed to provide information on the speech stereotypes of subjects at three age levels in two different school communities. The term "school community" is used to mean teachers and students from neighbouring schools located within the same dialect area. The subjects were groups of adult teachers, students at about the ten-year age level and students in their final year of secondary school. As the matched-guise/verbal guise technique has been developed as a measure of people's speech stereotypes, it was the method of choice for this study.

The regional and linguistic background to this research requires explanation; the following chapter, therefore, has been designed to

orient the reader to the linguistic and geographic background against which this research was set.

2 THE NEWFOUNDLAND CONTEXT

In this chapter the Newfoundland context of the current research project is described in order to introduce the reader to components of the language situation which impinge directly on this investigation. This description includes a review of language attitude studies that have been implemented in Newfoundland and a linguistic and geographic overview of the region and area[1] chosen for this investigation. Also in this chapter are presented the dialects chosen for evaluation and the research questions investigated. A map of Newfoundland is provided in Figure 2.1.

2.1 The linguistic situation in Newfoundland

As outlined in Chapter One, sociolinguistic research shows that listeners' stereotyping reactions to different speech types apply with respect to different languages and also to the different standard and non-standard dialects with which a community would be familiar. A wealth of non-standard dialect variation is found on the island portion of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador (Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968; Paddock 1977;1981). For this reason, it was judged to be an ideal place

1 The terms region, area and community are used with specific meanings when referring to locations for the research of this thesis. Region is used to denote the Conception Bay north shore with its communities (Figure 2.2). Area refers to particular dialect areas, for instance, the "r-less" dialect enclave constituted by the town of Bay Roberts and neighbouring communities. Community refers to a center of population, in particular to the towns in which this study was administrated.

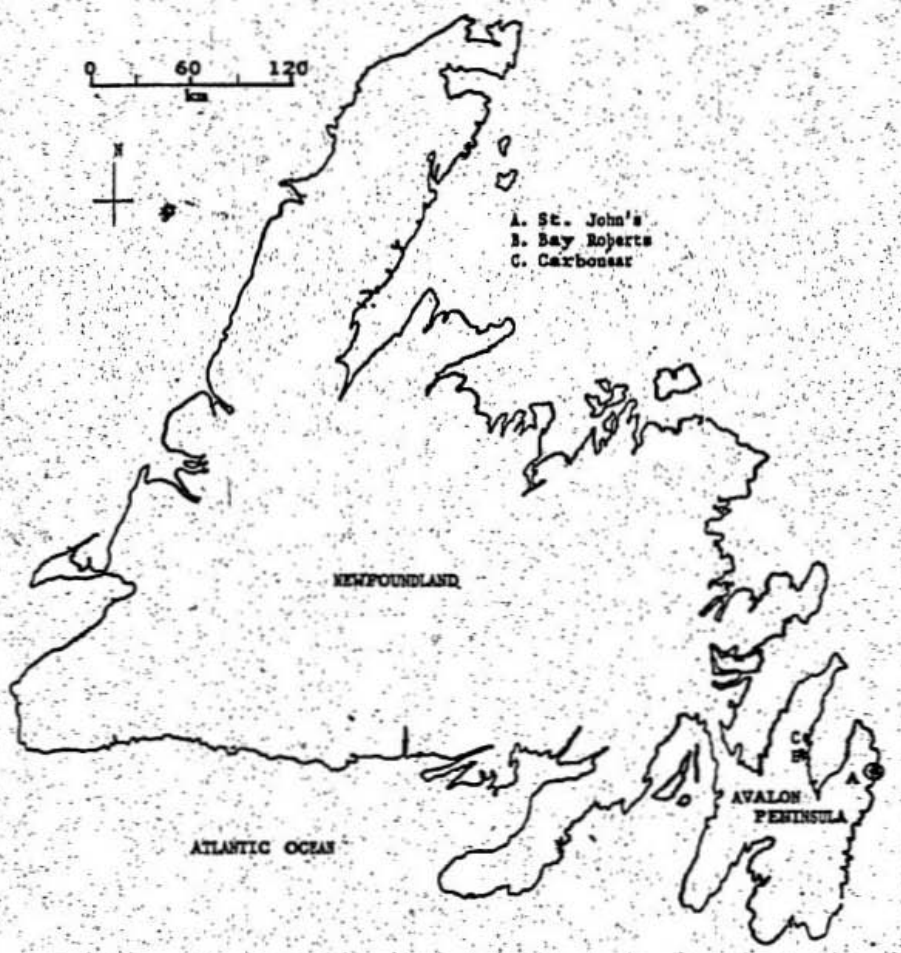


Figure 2.1 Map of Newfoundland

for language attitude study. The development of the variety of English dialects that persist in vigorous existence side by side in Newfoundland today has been due, for the most part, to patterns of immigration, the rural environment and the history of relatively self-contained communities; standard dialects, by and large, owe their roots to the tradition that clergy, administrators and educators came from or were educated "away" in Ireland, Great Britain or on the North American mainland (Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968; Paddock 1977;1981).

2.1.1 Language attitude research in Newfoundland

Few formal investigations have been applied to provide information on the language attitudes of Newfoundlanders. In one, Walker, et al. (1975) conducted a limited investigation with schoolteachers, but were not able to report conclusive results with respect to attitudes to dialect. Also Cooper (1982) reported evaluations of attitudes in conjunction with his presentation of a teaching unit on dialect awareness in Newfoundland. Neither of these two studies, however, employed the typical methodology for eliciting covert stereotypes.

Two studies which employed the more usual sociolinguistic investigatory measures, including a modified matched-guise technique, were carried out by Clarke (1980a;1981). The Clarke (1980a) study was administered to 224 subjects in the provincial capital, St. John's, to elicit attitudes to three standard and two non-standard dialects. The results show that language stereotypes in the St. John's community include a high degree of accent loyalty to local[2] non-standard dialect types and high prestige evaluations of a local standard dialect. Clarke (1981) extended

the St. John's study to four smaller communities. The main findings were that, while stereotypes related to social status were shared among respondents, stereotypes related to solidarity ratings differed depending on the regional background of respondents.

2.2 The region under study

2.2.1 Choice of location

The different dialects of Newfoundland reflect the fact that most of the province's inhabitants came originally from the British Isles. Outside the southern half of the Avalon Peninsula, which was settled mainly by immigrants from Ireland, most areas of Newfoundland have dialects that have English origins (Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968; Paddock 1981). Since each of the Newfoundland dialects evaluated in the Clarke (1980a) study originated in the strongly Irish Avalon area, the current study was designed to investigate stereotypes with respect to local English-based dialect types.

The region of Newfoundland called Conception Bay North, and within it the Bay Roberts area, were selected for this investigation because of the presence there of highly distinctive dialects of English origin.

2.2.2 Geographic delineation

The Bay Roberts area and the Conception Bay North region, chosen

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2 The term local may require explanation. While all the dialects evaluated of course are "local" in the sense that they are familiar to residents of the communites under investigation, this word is used in this thesis to denote regional dialects that are characteristic of the province of Newfoundland.

as the setting for these investigations, are shown on the map in Figure 2.2.

The region referred to as "Conception Bay North" is situated geographically along the northwestern shore of Conception Bay (Figure 2.1.,2.2). The region extends from around Holyrood in the south to Grates Cove in the north. It constitutes, to a certain extent, an economic, administrative and social unit with a population of approximately 40,000 inhabitants (Canada Census 1976). Carbonear, Harbour Grace and Bay Roberts are the major towns. They have been established at safe anchorages along the shore since the early 15th century and have become commercial and administrative centres for this region.

The "Bay Roberts dialect area"[3] includes the communities of Bryant's Cove, Upper Island Cove, Bishop's Cove, Shearstown, Butlerville, Country Road, Coley's Point and all of the Port de Grave peninsula. It has approximately 8,000 inhabitants (Canada Census 1976).

2.2.3 Linguistic background

Although numerous non-standard dialect features may be found all along the Conception Bay north shore, the town of Bay Roberts stands out as a striking linguistic enclave within the overall region. Some characteristics of the speech of this area are shared with Standard British English and with certain dialects of the Eastern American seaboard. The dialect features which mark Bay Roberts as a distinct speech area are mainly local variation in pronunciation of postvocalic /r/[4] and of the

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3 As determined from preliminary studies.

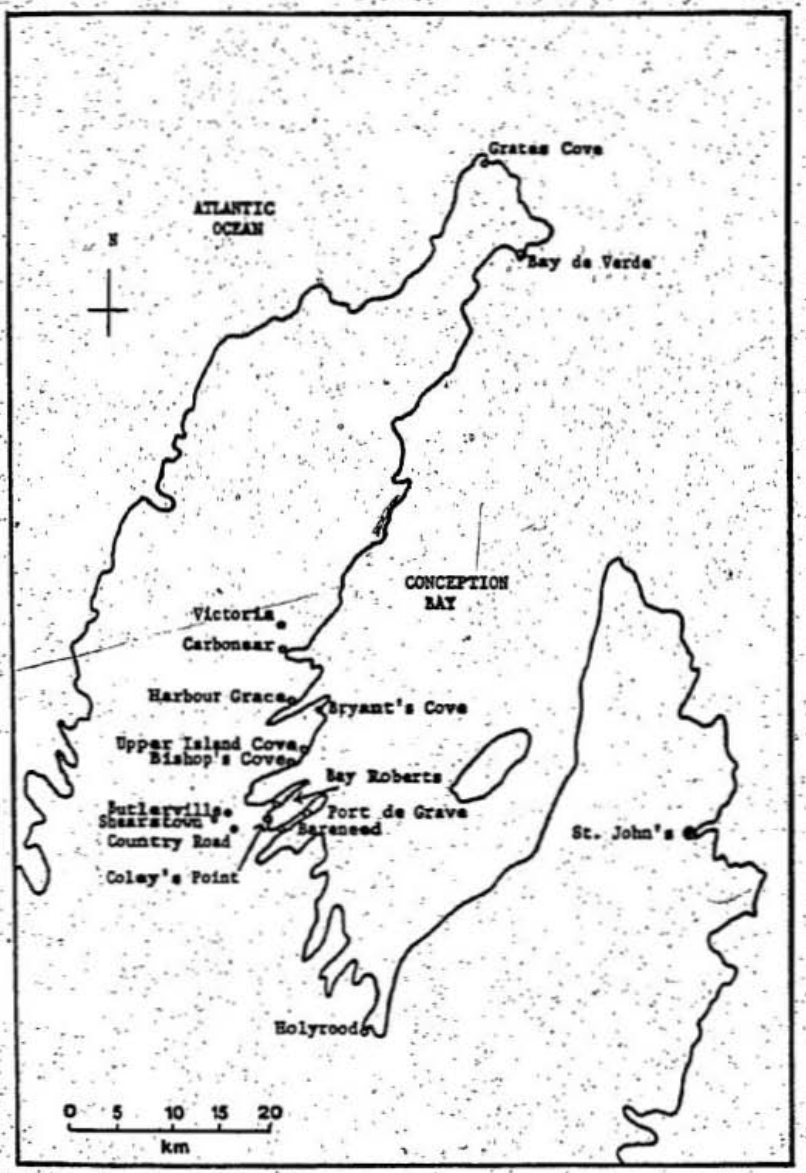


Figure 2.2 Map of the Conception Bay Region

vowel /a/. (Further comment follows in 2.3.) Paddock (1977:96) notes of the Bay Roberts speech community, "this is an area which contains a number of linguistic features which are not widespread in Newfoundland (e.g., 'r-lessness')...".

Dialect variation in the pronunciation of /r/ has been shown in other locations to be a sociolinguistic determiner that relates directly with social class ranking differences (Labov 1966:63-87). Trudgill (1974:21) reviews sociolinguistic stereotypes that have been found attached to this variable:

> In England, other things being equal, accents without postvocalic /r/ have more status and are considered more 'correct' than accents with. RP, the prestige accent, does not have this /r/, and postvocalic /r/ is often used on radio, television and in the theatre to indicate that a character is rural, uneducated or both - one frequently hears it employed for comic effect in radio comedy series. On the other hand, although the situation in the United States is more complex, there are parts of the country where the exact reverse is true. In New York City, other things being equal, accents with postvocalic /r/ have more prestige and are considered more 'correct' than those without. The pronunciation of words like car and cart without an /r/ is socially stigmatized, and generally speaking, the higher up the social scale a speaker is, the more postvocalic /r/s he is likely to use.

In Newfoundland, the lack of postvocalic /r/ is a well-known dialect feature that marks a speaker as being from Bay Roberts. This feature is widely imitated. The derisive attitude that sometimes accompanies the mimicking of Bay Roberts speech suggests that the /r/ deletion feature in Newfoundland may be a dialect variable that evokes a stigmatizing

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4 Trudgill (1964:21) explains this term.

social response.[5]

2.3 Conception Bay dialects

Dialect variants in the speech of residents of the Bay Roberts area and of the larger Conception Bay North region have their origins mainly in the dialects of West Country England. The Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968) ethnolinguistic study of the Avalon Peninsula, and the Paddock (1977) and Paddock (1981) reports of the dialect mapping survey of Newfoundland confirm the existence of the local dialects under consideration and provide more complete descriptions of their linguistic features than will be attempted here. Additional linguistic descriptions of speech in the region have been published by Paddock (1966) and Reid (1981). Paddock (1966) described specifically the dialect of the town of Carbonear. Reid (1981) carried out a sociolinguistic study of the Bay de Verde community.

2.3.1 Dialect features

The most striking linguistic feature that contrasts between the major non-standard dialects in the region under investigation is /r/ variability. Although selective dropping of /r/ is a linguistic variable that may be found all along the Conception Bay north shore (Paddock 1966:

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5 In New York City, Labov (1966;1972) has documented a change in attitudes to dialect "r-lessness". The "-r" speech feature has become a less prestigious, and more stigmatizing, feature.
In Newfoundland, there appears to be no evidence that the dialect described as "Bay Roberts -r" has ever served as a status model in the area.

49; Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968:64-69; Paddock 1981:620; Reid 1981:10), the speech of most residents of the town of Bay Roberts and nearby communities makes up a core area of dialect "r-lessness" within the overall region (Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968:68).

In the Bay Roberts dialects, /r/ in postvocalic and word final positions can have a number of variants, usually in the form of influence on the preceding vowel. That is, in word final position the /r/ may appear as lengthening, e.g., shore [ʃɔ:] or as "r-colouring" of the vowel, e.g., far [fɑ˞].[6] The /r/ may be dropped altogether, e.g., birds [bə:dz] or appear "unchanged" e.g., Port de Grave [pɔ˞ɪə'gɹeɪv]. Yet another variant, found in preconsonantal position, is /r/ deletion with rounding of the preceding vowel, e.g., Mercer ['mɞsə]. Paddock (1981: 670) posits factors which may account for the occurrence of the distinctive /r/ speech characteristic in this area.

The other most striking feature of Bay Roberts speech is the pronunciation of the long low central vowel /a/ before voiceless fricatives or [n] where more standard dialects have [æ], e.g., laugh [la:f], last [la:s], aunt [a:nt].

Although this variant has been found in certain segments of the population of other communities along the shore (Paddock 1966:32; Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968:68-69) it is much more characteristic of the Bay Roberts dialect.

Other distinctive Newfoundland dialect features also appear

6 The system of transcription used in this thesis is essentially IPA (International Phonetics Association 1975; Ladefoged 1975)

variably. They do not mark the speech of Bay Roberts in particular but are found throughout the Conception Bay North region. Selected examples follow below:

A. Phonological features

1. /h/ sandhi feature, i.e., /h/~ø as in a h'apple, a h'orange an' a h'egg (an apple, an orange and an egg).[7]

2. The common non-standard pattern of dental fricatives being realized as stops, i.e., /ð/ → [d], /θ/ → [t] as in dey uses thin ones (They use thin ones).

3. A somewhat different set of phonemic contrasts in the vowel system, so that, for example, the contrast between standard diphthongs /ɔɪ/ and /aɪ/ in words such as toy and tie is often lacking and the dialect has, for both words in such pairs, a diphthong near /əɪ/ instead. On the other hand, the non-standard dialects often have vowel contrasts where the standard does not, such as the contrast between the long monophthong /e:/ in made and pane and the rising front diphthong /eɪ/ in maid and pain.

4. Raising of the front lax vowels in certain contexts, such as the /ɛ/ in pens.

5. Occurrence of a glottal stop, most often in positions where the standard has a voiceless stop before a syllabic sonorant as in bottle ['ba?l].

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7 The illustrations from speech for the examples below are presented in "eye dialect" (Bowdre 1971:179; Hiscock 1977:81-82). Since many of the pronunciations are variable, they may appear with different spellings orthographically.

B. Morpho-syntactic features

1. The morpheme _s_ to mark all persons of the present tense, indicative, of lexical verbs, as in _we uses somethin' similar to dis_.
2. The use of grammatical gender for inanimates in the pronoun system, for example, _Right here is a Robertson (screwdriver) and he's black too_.
3. The third person object pronoun _'n_ as, when speaking of a marking pen, _the colour of 'n is black_.
4. Zero-inflection morphology for grammatical auxiliaries, as in _He do go_.
5. In the past tense, the typical lack of a distinction between the simple past and the past participle forms in strong verbs, for example, _Old pen down dere, I never seen before. Have she ever seen any more 'round here?_
6. The "after-perfect", of Anglo-Irish origin, as in _I'm after comin here ten times_.

C. Lexical features

Obviously, these dialects include a large number of lexical items that are not shared with Standard English. Further elaboration on these features is outside the scope of this thesis. Many such items are shared with other English-based dialects in Newfoundland.[8]

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8 Additional information on these and other features of Newfoundland dialects is available in Paddock (1966); Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968) and Paddock (1981).

For further information on lexical items in particular, the reader is referred to Story, Kirwin and Widdowson (forthcoming).

2.4 The current study

This section presents further details on the research interest of this thesis.

2.4.1 Dialects under investigation

Given the social stereotyping reactions to different speech types that have been revealed by sociolinguistic investigations in other parts of the world, it was expected that the different dialects common in Conception Bay North also would serve as the bases for stereotyping reactions by listeners.

Results have accrued in other studies to indicate that standard and non-standard dialects may be expected to elicit different respondent stereotypes. It may be noted that, as Trudgill points out (1974:17-22), there can be a variety of standard dialect types within a language. The current study presented for evaluation two English dialects that exemplify distinctive non-standard speech types in Newfoundland, a local Newfoundland standard dialect and a Newfoundland-external standard dialect.

It was established, from preliminary investigations and from the results of the Clarke (1980a) study, that the following four dialects could be expected to evoke divergent speech stereotypes from respondents in different speech communities in the Conception Bay North region:

1. The Bay Roberts dialect which, of the speech types under consideration here, is the non-standard dialect most noticed by other Newfoundlanders.[9] Its r-less feature characterizes a speaker as being from Bay Roberts and it engenders much local comment.

2. The non-standard "r-full" dialect that is generally predominant in the Conception Bay North region. It shares most features with other non-standard English based Newfoundland dialects. This is the dialect called "Northern Shoreline" by Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968:64).

3. "Mainland Canadian", the usual speech type of, for example, CBC radio and television announcers. It comes to the region through these media and also is the most usual language variety of other Canadians who move to the region from outside the province. This is the dialect called "General Canadian English" by Paddock (1981:616).

4. The St. John's dialect associated with certain members of the middle and upper middle classes in that city, particularly those born before Confederation. It has basically a standard morphological system but exhibits certain Anglo-Irish phonetic features such as the "clear" or palatalized allophones of post-vocalic /l/, e.g., Bill [bɪɬ], all [aɬ], the fronting of the low back vowel /ɑ/ to /a(ɔ)/[10], e.g., St. John's [sn̥'ʤa(ɔ)nz] and certain frication of intervocalic and word final stops, as /t/

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9 Sandra Clarke 1982: personal communication, as a result of testing in undergraduate linguistics courses.

10 Round brackets indicate variability.

in butter and put. This is the same dialect evaluated in the Clarke (1980a) study under the label "St. John's Upper". It is well known in the region through frequent contact by residents of Conception Bay North with the capital city for employment, business and health care.

2.4.2 Research questions

It can be concluded, from the results of other language attitude studies and in particular language attitude studies in Newfoundland, that there is a clear need for further information on the stereotypes that Newfoundland dialects engender. Accordingly, a study was designed to yield information on the following issues:

1. the existence of stereotypes associated with local and external standard and non-standard dialects
2. the nature of these dialect stereotypes, as determined by different types of rating scales
3. the role of certain subject variables in relation to the dialect stereotypes held by Conception Bay North subjects.

Specifically, the study addressed the issue of which judgmental divisions exist among the attitudes of Conception Bay North subjects with respect to speakers from St. John's, Mainland Canada, Bay Roberts, and the remainder of the Conception Bay North region; whether status-, solidarity-, pejorative-, and domain-related rating scales produce different rating patterns among these subjects; and whether the subject variables age, sex and community background act as differentiating factors in respondents' stereotypes.

3 METHOD

This chapter describes the choice of the respondent sample, the creation of the stimulus tapes for the modified matched-guise presentation, and the development of the response measures. The chapter also points to the value of pretesting.

3.1 The importance of pretesting

Pretesting of the method was considered to be a vitally important aspect of this study. Such pretesting has been advised in order to ensure that attitude elicitation measures suit the comprehension and ability of the particular respondent population and so reduce the possibility that listener lack of understanding of the task at hand might influence results (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; S. Lambert 1973; Rosenthal 1973; Carranza and Ryan 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975). Several studies have applied essentially the same procedures that they use for adult subjects with high school groups and younger respondents (e.g., Giles 1970; d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973). Some studies which follow this course report atypical results from younger respondents (1.2.1). Certain studies have adapted the methodology in one way or another for implementations with younger respondents (e.g., Rosenthal 1973; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975).

For the current research extensive preliminary investigations were undertaken, mostly with peer groups of the youngest subjects. Information regarding the various aspects of the method that were subjected

to such pretesting is given in Appendix A. For instance, all the written material was pretested with children to eliminate potential ambiguities and to ensure that it was within the easy reading competence of the youngest respondents. The overall goal of the pretesting was to prepare a typical modified matched-guise methodology which was adapted to the ability and interests of the youngest respondents. This approach represents a reversal of the usual pattern of implementation, cf. El-Dash and Tucker 1975, where a basically "adult" method is applied for attitude elicitation with children.

3.2 The research variables

The independent subject variables incorporated in the present study were age, sex and community background. The dependent variables were the eight taped speech segments that formed the basis of the modified matched-guise procedure. Further information on the subjects and the language samples follows below in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. Section 3.3 describes the testing instrument and 3.4 the administrative procedure.

3.2.1 Subjects

The one hundred subjects comprised three groups: forty Grade Five students, forty Grade Eleven students and twenty teachers. In the case of the student groups an equal number of respondents was drawn from each of two communities, Bay Roberts[1] and Carbonear. All respondents were

1 Because there were inadequate numbers in the Bay Roberts elementary school, a class of Grade Five students at Port de Grave provided the additional subjects required.

selected from schools administered by the Avalon North Integrated School Board. Children attending classes under this board represent approximately 68% of the total school population in the area. The study was administered to typical classes, not subject to academic streaming, and to teachers of these classes and their colleagues. This method provided a quantity of questionnaires from which were sorted those completed by subjects who met the respondent criteria of the study. Then, from these, a random sample of ten was drawn to fill each cell of the design. The following diagram, Figure 3.1, illustrates the research design.

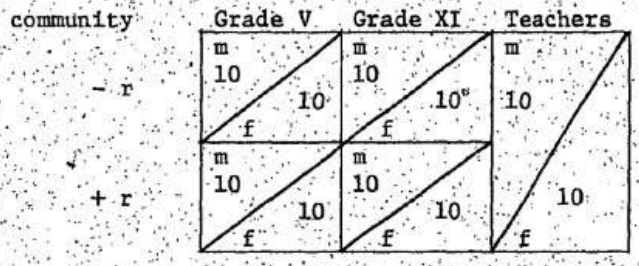


Figure 3.1 Diagram of research design

The following paragraphs provide further details on the choice of subject variables in this study and on the actual groups of subjects chosen.

3.2.1.1 Age

Given the literature revealing teacher biases to non-standard dialects in other places in the world (1.2.2) and the interesting anomalies in the literature dealing with the development of speech stereotypes in young people (1.2.1), it was decided to design the current

project to investigate the speech biases of elementary and high school students and their teachers. The groups chosen were schoolchildren at the age of ten years (i.e., the Grade Five level in Newfoundland), at age sixteen-seventeen years (i.e., at the final year of secondary school, which at the time was Grade Eleven) and their teachers. At the time of the study the median[2] age for the sample of Grade Five students was ten years, six months and for Grade Eleven students was sixteen years, nine months. The teacher sample, all adult, reported a range of teaching experience of from two to twenty-five years.

3.2.1.2 Sex

While a number of studies have found that the sex of subjects makes little or no difference in language stereotype response patterns (e.g., Tucker and Lambert 1972:182; S. Lambert 1973:35; Shuy and Williams 1973:93; Clarke 1980b) others find that attitudinal differences do to some extent relate to respondent sex (Lambert, Frankel and Tucker 1966: 308; J. Edwards 1979:43). For the purpose of this study an equal number of respondents of each sex was included for each group and age level.

3.2.1.3 Community background

An important criterion for subject selection was that each respondent be wholly from the relevant "r-less" or r-full" area. Accordingly, student subjects were chosen only if they had been brought up

2 Since students who had repeated grades were in the school classes, a mean figure produces a distorted view; for this reason the median age figure is used above.

completely in the Bay Roberts dialect area or in the town of Carbonear and nearby small communities of the same dialect background. Unfortunately, since most of the teachers had lived and worked in different localities within the larger region it was impossible to divide them into groups with a total background in either area. Also, all teachers had travelled or lived beyond the Conception Bay North Region for the purpose of post-secondary education. Every teacher subject, though, had at least grown up in Conception Bay North and was at the time of the study teaching in either Carbonear or Bay Roberts. Furthermore, inquiries into respondents' family backgrounds made it possible to establish that a high proportion of the parents of both student and teacher respondents had grown up in the same areas (Appendix B).

3.2.1.4 Other variables

Preliminary investigations prompted the decision that further subject variables such as socioeconomic class and religion, which had been taken into account in other investigations, not be included in the design of the current research.

It would have been interesting to have investigated socioeconomic class as a determining factor in children's language attitudes; such research as that by Giles with twelve-year-olds (1970:181,182) and J. Edwards with fourteen-year-olds (1977a:284) has produced somewhat conflicting results in relation to this issue. It is felt, however to be beyond the scope of this study to attempt to categorize respondents by socioeconomic class. It is commonly known that the usual criteria for defining social strata[3], e.g., type of employment, income,

education, housing, do not really apply in Newfoundland's smaller urban and outport communities. The respondent sample in this study, being drawn in public schools from randomly selected classes and from the teachers available, must be assumed to include a typical representation of the social class structure of the communities involved.

Although religion has long been directly related to ethnic background in Newfoundland, the Clarke (1980a) study in St. John's found subject religion not to be a significant factor in dialect stereotyping. Indeed it would have been interesting to find out whether religious background was a determining factor in judgments made in Conception Bay communities. However, children in Newfoundland attend different schools depending on their religious affiliation and limitations of the study did not permit its extension to investigations with subjects under other school boards. Since all the students and teachers involved in this study worked under the jurisdiction of a Newfoundland integrated school board, they generally can be assumed to belong to Protestant religious denominations.

3.2.2 Language samples

This study was designed to investigate, by means of a modified matched-guise technique, subject attitudes to the four dialects presented in 2.4.1, namely:

1. Standard Canadian English, also called "Mainland Canadian" (MC)

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3 Such criteria have been used in other sociolinguistic investigations, e.g., Labov 1966:211ff.

2. St. John's "educated" speech (SJ)

3. the non-standard dialect typically found in such Conception Bay communities as Harbour Grace and Carbonear (+r)

4. the non-standard dialect typical of the Bay Roberts area (-r).

As there are problems (described by Clarke 1980a:6) associated with bi-dialectal and multi-dialectal speakers in language attitude studies, different speakers represented each dialect type. The decision to have two speakers per guise in this study (cf. Carranza and Ryan 1975:100) was prompted by findings in preliminary investigations where it was seen that the attention span of the youngest subjects needed prime consideration. The decision also was supported by the evidence that significant differences in attitudes to dialect types had been elicited from groups in other studies using two speakers per dialect type, e.g., El-Dash and Tucker (1975); Clarke (1980a).

All the speakers were adult men, ranging in age from twenty-two to forty-five years.[4] They all were at least second-generation continuing residents of the dialect community they represented. Each MC speaker had moved very recently to Newfoundland.

It was decided to elicit free speech rather than have a selected passage read. This was done for the following reasons:

1. to elicit more than the phonological dialect variables (Bouchard 1969:7; Lee 1971; d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973:7)

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4 Research has indicated that such variables as the age and sex of stimulus tape speakers may not be an important factor in attitude studies, e.g., Bourhis, Giles and Lambert (1975:68); Rosenthal (1973: 240). Other studies nevertheless suggest the contrary, e.g., Lambert, Frankel and Tucker (1966:319).

2. to reduce the formal elements, since both reading and tape recording tend to elicit more formal speech styles (Labov 1966; Taylor and Clement 1974:213)
3. to minimize possible incongruities between speech type and topic on tape (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; El-Dash and Tucker 1975 report the practical problems they encountered).

The topic of speech was a description of some common household and work articles. This subject matter, which was descriptive and unemotional in nature, was selected in order to minimize the chances of respondent attitude variation due to speech content (Williams 1976:120). Each of the speakers was provided with a number of articles which had been selected with a view to eliciting certain phonological features that, along with other linguistic features of interest, contrast among the different dialects (see 2.3.2). Giles and Powesland (1975:56) mention evidence that phonological cues are the differences most noticed by subjects who are asked to evaluate different speech types. Examples of contrasts that were sought and the articles used are: postvocalic and word final /r/ variation, as in forks, yarn, Robertson screwdrivers, rulers, coloured markers; pronunciation of /t/ before sonorants: milk bottle; pronunciation of dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/: thread; quality of the front lax vowels, e.g., /ɛ/: pens; insertion of the /h/ sandhi feature, egg, apple, orange. Interviews were conducted in informal settings such as kitchens and work lunchrooms. The tapes were made using Sony EHF-90 chromium dioxide cassette tapes and a Sony TC-142 cassette recorder.

The resulting tapes contained a representative selection of

dialect variation. These tapes were re-recorded onto Scotch 176, low noise, 5 inch reels. They were edited using an Ampex ATR-700 machine. The editing was done in accordance with Williams' (1976:6) approach, viz,

> To meet the demands of research design, there should be an attempt to ferret out from the language variable all characteristics except those which are hypothesized to be cues which affect attitudes.

Segments of naturally contiguous speech were created to have as near as possible a balanced representation of distinctive dialect variables and a minimal number of hesitations and disfluencies. Each segment was 25-30 seconds in length. This time had been shown in preliminary studies both to suit the attention span of the subjects and to provide an adequate stimulus (Ellis 1967).

The final stimulus tape, then, was composed of two practise speaker segments followed by the eight speakers from which respondent data would be evaluated, i.e., two speakers representing each of four dialect types. The eight individual dialect segments were compiled in random order in the tape and each labelled by number.

3.3 The testing instrument

3.3.1 Choice of rating scales

The creation of the rating instrument for this study drew, in particular, from earlier research by Ryan (1973), Carranza and Ryan (1975) and Clarke (1980a). As scales used in other studies might not be meaningful to children, or might not be meaningful in the Newfoundland context,[5] pilot studies were designed to elicit appropriate evaluative

measures. Questions were developed based on procedures used by S. Lambert (1973:10); Politzer and Hoover (1974:45-46); Bourhis, Giles and Lambert (1975:61) and Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975:141). The questions were used to encourage children to generate traits and descriptions that would designate the four conceptual areas to be investigated in this study, namely: personality traits related to status evaluations, personality traits related to solidarity evaluations, pejorative adjectives related to these first two trait dimensions and phrasal descriptions of both formal and informal speech situations. Frequency counts then were performed on the children's submissions and those most often suggested were chosen.

3.3.1.1 Status and solidarity scales

It was decided to incorporate the Carranza and Ryan (1975) factors of status and solidarity in the light of the findings by Clarke (1980a) that listener responses in St. John's differed significantly along these two dimensions. Six adjectives were chosen which had been shown unequivocably to denote these concepts (see 1.1.4). The adjectives for status scales and solidarity scales were, respectively, smart, successful, wealthy and friendly, nice, likeable.

3.3.1.2 Pejorative scales

In addition to the above six scales, two pejorative rating scales

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5 For example, Clarke (1980a:9) noted that in her preliminary investigations in St. John's the adjective successful appeared to have unexpected connotations.

were included among the measures. It was decided to incorporate this type of rating scale for two reasons:

1. The Clarke (1980a) results had indicated that significantly different results might be obtained on pejorative scales compared to positive rating scales.
2. Pretests showed that pejorative rating scales carried satisfactorily in themselves the effect of switching the polarity of the scale. This was a desired effect as it broke up the habitual left-right or positive-negative orientation without confusing the respondents.

The pejorative adjectives that were used were stuck up and mean.

3.3.1.3 Domain issue

Previous studies have shown that children discriminate with respect to the suitability of different language varieties for different speech situations when these designate contexts with which they are most familiar, i.e. school and home (Carranza and Ryan 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975). As the current research was concerned with the implications of language attitudes in the school context (Chapter 6), it was decided to investigate respondent attitudes as to the suitability of the dialect types in formal and informal situations which would include the domains of school and home. It was established through extensive preliminary investigations that the two situations inside a church, before and after the services and at school, speaking in front of the class were perceived to require formal or 'careful' speech and the two situations at home, relaxing with family and in the woods, like camping at a cabin

were perceived to allow informal or 'less careful' and 'relaxed' speech.[6] Rating scales, headed by "Is this man's way of talking right for..." were designed for each of these situations.

3.3.2 Construction of the booklets

A test booklet containing ten rating pages and a background information sheet was provided for each respondent. Respondent judgments were collected by means of five-point rating scales displaying a Likert-like format (Appendix C).

Provisions were made in the design of the booklet for variations in the order of presentation. This was done with a view to preventing the formation of 'response sets' by respondents. The provisions resembled those made by Giles (1970) in that, while the order of speech stimuli stayed the same, the order of elements within the questionnaire changed. For the current project, the eight personality trait scales were arranged in random order and divided into two sections of four scales each; the four speech domain suitability scales made up a third section. The sections were arranged in two different orders which resulted in two styles of questionnaire page (Appendix C). The booklets were constructed by selecting pages of each style at random. The result was that, at the point of hearing each stimulus speaker, one half of the subjects were presented with the domain questions before the personality trait scales.

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6 Unfortunately, even through a variety of approaches, it proved impossible to elicit from the children agreement on a hierarchical listing of formal through informal speech situations.

The background sheet attached at the end of each booklet obtained certain demographic and socioeconomic information that helped determine subject selection (Appendix D).

3.4 Procedure

The study was administered to student respondents in their class groups in school without teachers present. Teacher respondents were tested in small groups, separately from students. The testing was carried out by two female university students. Testing sessions took approximately forty minutes.

A uniform oral introduction, along the usual lines of describing the study as a guessing game (see, e.g., Lambert et al. 1960:44; S. Lambert 1973:65) was presented to each group. Questions concerning the instructions were dealt with at the time of the introduction and also, immediately following, when two practise speakers were played and evaluated. This procedure ensured that respondents understood the task at hand by the time the eight stimulus tape speakers were to be played.

The actual study was run by having the respondents listen to and evaluate each taped speaker. The tape was stopped after each segment as necessary until all subjects had rated the speaker on all the scales. The tapes were played on a Wollensak 1520 tape recorder fitted with an external speaker.

The respondents rated all the stimulus speakers. Afterwards, they were told a few interesting details about two of the speakers.[7] At the end, subjects were asked to complete the background information sheet. Anonymity for the respondents was assured.

3.5 Statistical analysis

Each rating scale judgment was assigned a numerical value from one to five; the value five denoted judgments in greatest agreement with each scale concept. Blank scales, i.e., those not marked with a judgment, were assigned a missing value score of "0" and were not included in the ensuing analysis; only six blank responses were encountered in the questionnaire sample. The ratings obtained for the two speakers of each dialect type were combined prior to statistical testing in order to provide a mean rating per subject for each dialect on each rating scale.

Computerized statistical analysis was carried out by means of the Bio-Medical Computer Program with repeated measures analysis of variance (BMDP-2V). The program was run separately for each rating scale.[8] As multiple comparison tests were not available in an existing computer package for repeated measures analysis of variance, no post hoc tests were performed.

The analysis of variance involved a three factor analysis, Dialect Type X Group X Sex. The repeated measures variable Dialect Type had four levels, each one constituted by one of the dialect varieties under evaluation. The variable "Group" had five levels: Carbonear Grade

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7 Preliminary studies in which speakers were evaluated had affirmed that subjects, especially the youngest groups, wanted information about the speakers they had judged. The descriptions that were given to them avoided the kind of information that would relate directly to the rating scales used in the study and commented instead on such details as the speaker's age, occupation, marital status and number of children.

8 Printouts for each rating scale with means for all groups are available on request.

V, Bay Roberts Grade V, Carbonear Grade XI, Bay Roberts Grade XI and teachers. This variable subsumed the subject variables of community background (+r:Carbonear; -r:Bay Roberts) and age (Grade V: ten to eleven years; Grade XI: sixteen to seventeen years; teachers:adult). The variable "Sex" had two levels, male and female. Figure 3.2 illustrates the composition of the variable "Group":

Group	1	2	3	4	5
	Grade V +r	Grade V -r	Grade XI +r	Grade XI -r	Teachers

(Ten male and ten female subjects in each Group.)

Figure 3.2 Composition of the variable "Group"

4 RESULTS

The computed results provided a number of significant main effects and interactions. These results may conveniently be discussed in terms of three major categories and one minor category: dialect type main effects, group main effects, group X dialect type interactions and results related to respondent sex. The dialect type X group interactions, in particular, proved to be of particular importance in light of the issues raised by the questions in Section 2.4.2.

4.1 Dialect type main effects

The question as to whether the various dialect types under examination would evoke significant differences in judgment reactions over the entire respondent sample was answered by the highly significant main effects for dialect type presented in Table 4.1. In other words, all groups of subjects clearly did differentiate among speakers of the different dialect types evaluated. The results, when set out in sections according to the conceptual dimensions into which the rating scales fall, provide further information on respondent stereotypes with respect to the four dialects.

4.1.1 Status scales

Highly significant main effects for dialect type with respect to the four dialect types under evaluation were found on each of the status stressing scales: smart, wealthy and successful. Listeners'

Table 4.1 Dialect Type main effects

	DIALECT TYPE				
SCALE	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
SMART	2.54	2.43	3.74	4.10	138.83***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
WEALTHY	2.23	2.19	3.16	3.66	108.39***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
SUCCESSFUL	2.57	2.53	3.62	3.90	101.13***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
FRIENDLY	3.76	3.91	3.53	3.88	9.64***
	(3)	(1)	(4)	(2)	
LIKEABLE	3.54	3.64	3.44	3.72	2.98*
	(3)	(2)	(4)	(1)	
NICE	3.64	3.70	3.55	3.88	5.20**
	(3)	(2)	(4)	(1)	
STUCKUP	2.11	2.01	2.32	2.21	3.08*
	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	
MEAN	1.92	2.07	1.97	1.89	1.24
	(3)	(1)	(2)	(4)	
CHURCH	2.02	1.99	3.06	3.57	80.08***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
SCHOOL	2.13	2.10	3.35	3.97	124.67***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
WOODS	3.89	3.75	3.01	2.61	54.79***
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
HOME	3.55	3.53	3.46	3.56	.44
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	

*p.<.05; **p.<.01; ***p.<.001
df=3/270 in all cases
figures in brackets indicate ranking of means

ratings on these scales always showed the same ranking of the dialect types: MC speakers were judged smarter, more wealthy and more successful than were SJ speakers; SJ speakers, though, were judged more favourably than were +r and -r speakers; the -r speakers were evaluated the least likely to possess these status or prestige attributes. In the hierarchy of rating for each adjective, the largest numerical difference always lay between the SJ and +r ratings. This pattern suggests that the listeners organized dialect types along the lines of a standard/non-standard distinction, at least on these scales.

4.1.2 Solidarity scales

Significant main effects for dialect type were found on all the scales designed to evoke attitudes of dialect solidarity, i.e., friendly, likeable, nice. A hierarchy of dialect preference ranking also appeared with these scales. Unlike the pattern that emerged with the status scales, however, the ranking was not consistent over all three scales and there were smaller differences between lowest and highest judgment means. Also, it was not the pattern that might have been expected on these scales, that is, a general upgrading of local non-standard dialects and a downgrading of standard (1.14).

On the solidarity scales, the two standard dialects under evaluation were not rated in parallel fashion - thus one standard dialect was downgraded consistently, while the other was upgraded. SJ was rated with lowest judgment values but MC was associated with highly positive solidarity values, even to the point of receiving highest ratings for likeable and nice. With respect to the two non-standard dialects, the

+r speakers received lower rating than the -r speakers; the -r speakers were rated quite favourably and on the scale friendly obtained the highest mean.

4.1.3 Pejorative scales

On the two scales eliciting pejorative judgments, significant main effects for dialect type appeared only with the adjective stuck up. The other pejorative scale, mean, provided only one set of significant results in this study (4.4.1); perhaps this adjective was ambiguous for respondents.

Respondents judged the SJ speakers most stuck up, MC next, +r and then -r least, with an almost even gap between each dialect type rating. This ranking of dialect types appears to corroborate the results from status and solidarity scales only in that the speakers of SJ and MC, who were upgraded on the status scales, also received the highest means on this negative attribute scale, while local non-standard speakers received the lower ratings.[1] Speakers of -r in particular, the local dialect most favoured on solidarity ratings, were rated the least stuck up.

4.1.4 Domain scales

Of the four situations selected for examining perceived suitability of the dialect types for different speech domains, main effects

1 Note that since the means are calculated on a 1-5 scale, with the value 5 representing the opinion "extremely" and the value of 1 representing "not at all", then the higher the mean, the more respondents indicated agreement that the speaker possessed the trait.

for dialect type were highly significant on three: church, school and woods. A clearcut ranking of dialect preference emerged for the formal speech domains church and school; for those situations, MC was always judged most suitable, followed by SJ, then +r and in last position, -r. This ranking corresponds exactly with the ranking that emerged from the main effects for dialect type with the status scales (4.1.1); thus, the standard dialects MC and SJ were clearly judged by the overall sample to be more suitable than were +r and -r for careful speech situations. The ranking of dialects displayed for the contrasting speech situation woods, however, represents somewhat of a reversal of the hierarchy of judgment for the formal situations. This time the +r dialect was preferred, then -r, then SJ, with MC least preferred. So, as might be expected from previous results on status scales, standard dialects were judged more appropriate than non-standard for formal situations and non-standard dialects were judged more suitable for the informal woods situation.

The fact that for the relaxed home situation there was no clearcut dialect type preference implies that this scale may have presented a speech situation that had ambivalent demands for respondents.[2]

4.2 Group main effects

Group main effects reveal whether there were significant differences in the ratings from different groups of respondents, irrespective

2 Indeed pretests forewarned of this difficulty. Respondents in early pilot studies found some difficulty agreeing whether home was a careful speech, i.e. formal, situation or not. Attitudes appeared to depend on variables beyond the scope of the current study, e.g., whether the mother was present, whether guests were present or if a meal was being shared.

of the dialect type under evaluation. The respondent groups compared in this study were Grade Five pupils and Grade Eleven pupils from each of the +r and -r dialect areas and a group of teachers who were not sorted according to dialect background (3.2.1.3). The significant group main effects are presented in Table 4.2. Results will be presented in sections below according to the rating scale concepts.

4.2.1 Status scales

No significant results for group main effects were found on the status scales.

4.2.2 Solidarity scales

Significant main effects for groups were obtained on the three scales friendly, likeable, and nice. From Table 4.2 it can be seen that the Grade Eleven -r and Grade Five -r respondent groups awarded higher overall judgments than did the corresponding +r groups and the teachers. Incidentally, a parallel trend can be seen emerging from the non-significant results for group on the status scales, where again it was these two groups who rated with generally higher evaluations than did other groups.

4.2.3 Pejorative scales

On both the pejorative scales, from significant group main effects on stuck up and from non-significant effects on mean, it is evident that Grade Five respondents were more willing than both the teachers and the Grade Eleven student groups to award high ratings, that

Table 4.2 Group main effects

	GROUP					
SCALE:	Gr.V+r	Gr.V-r	Gr.XI+r	Gr.XI-r	Teachers	F ratio
FRIENDLY	3.52	4.06	3.64	3.91	3.68	2.85*
LIKEABLE	3.23	3.81	3.52	3.74	3.61	2.47*
NICE	3.44	3.99	3.51	3.81	3.71	3.15*
STUCKUP	2.42	2.39	2.03	1.80	2.16	2.56*
MEAN	2.22	2.07	1.96	1.69	1.87	1.86
CHURCH	2.80	2.10	2.58	2.91	2.89	3.46*

*p<.05
df=12/270 in all cases

is, to express unfavourable attitudes with these scales. On the other hand, it was the Grade Eleven -r subjects who seemed least willing of all groups in the study to award negative judgments.

4.2.4 Domain scales

Group main effects were significant only on the scale investigation the formal church domain. It is curious that, as can be seen in Table 4.2 the Grade Five -r group clearly rated with overall less favourable judgments than did all the other groups on this scale.

4.3 Dialect Type X Group interactions

These interactions reveal cases where membership in one of the five groups specified in the study may be a determining factor in the different ratings of the four dialect types under evaluation. The significant dialect type X group interactions are presented in Table 4.3 and comments on these results follow by sections below.

4.3.1 Status scales

Interactions between the subjects' group and the dialect type of the taped sample produced very highly significant results for all three of these scales. Solely to provide the reader with an overview of differences in rating patterns among the various groups, the means of these interactions were averaged for all three scales and are displayed in graphical form in Figure 4.1.[3]

It may be seen from Figure 4.1 that all groups followed a general pattern of upgrading SJ and MC and downgrading +r and -r speakers on

Table 4.3 Dialect Type X Group interactions

SCALE: SMART	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.78	2.53	3.40	3.78	6.93***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.30	3.03	3.43	3.85	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.95	2.18	3.65	4.13	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.33	2.08	4.33	4.50	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	2.35	2.33	3.88	4.25	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	

SCALE: WEALTHY	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.65	2.38	2.50	3.55	7.26***
	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	2.73	2.55	3.03	3.20	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.90	1.90	3.03	3.70	
	(3,4)	(3,4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.13	2.05	3.65	4.03	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	1.73	2.08	3.58	3.83	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	

SCALE: SUCCESSFUL	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.75	2.60	3.25	3.88	3.56**
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.00	2.63	3.33	3.43	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	2.50	2.25	3.45	3.85	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.65	2.63	4.03	4.30	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	2.40	2.53	4.03	4.05	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	

Table 4.3 (CONT'D)

SCALE: FRIENDLY	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	3.60	3.53	3.33	3.73	2.78**
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	4.08	4.08	4.00	4.10	
	(2,3)	(2,3)	(4)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	3.70	3.98	3.30	3.60	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	
Gr.XI-r	3.70	3.85	3.85	4.28	
	(4)	(2,3)	(2,3)	(1)	
Teachers	3.73	4.13	3.15	3.70	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	

SCALE: LIKEABLE	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	3.08	2.90	3.35	3.56	3.44***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.70	3.78	3.78	4.03	
	(4)	(2,3)	(2,3)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	3.63	3.83	3.15	3.48	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	
Gr.XI-r	3.70	3.50	3.75	4.03	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	3.60	4.18	3.18	3.50	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	

SCALE: NICE	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	3.28	3.20	3.50	3.78	1.84*
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	4.00	3.80	3.95	4.23	
	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	3.55	3.75	3.10	3.65	
	(3)	(1)	(4)	(2)	
Gr.XI-r	3.73	3.80	3.73	4.00	
	(3,4)	(2)	(3,4)	(1)	
Teachers	3.65	3.93	3.50	3.75	
	(3)	(1)	(4)	(2)	

Table 4.3 (CONT'D)

SCALE: STUCKUP	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.62 (2)	2.65 (1)	2.15 (4)	2.25 (3)	4.42***
Gr.V-r	2.40 (2)	2.50 (1)	2.33 (3,4)	2.33 (3,4)	
Gr.XI+r	1.85 (3)	1.63 (4)	2.40 (1)	2.25 (2)	
Gr.XI-r	2.00 (1)	1.63 (4)	1.95 (2)	1.65 (3)	
Teachers	1.65 (3,4)	1.65 (3,4)	2.75 (1)	2.58 (2)	

SCALE: MEAN	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.20 (2,3)	2.35 (1)	2.20 (2,3)	2.13 (4)	.85
Gr.V-r	1.83 (4)	2.48 (1)	2.03 (2)	1.95 (3)	
Gr.XI+r	2.05 (2)	1.85 (3)	2.10 (1)	1.83 (4)	
Gr.XI-r	1.65 (2,3,4)	1.83 (1)	1.65 (2,3,4)	1.65 (2,3,4)	
Teachers	1.88 (2)	1.85 (3,4)	1.85 (3,4)	1.90 (1)	

SCALE: CHURCH	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.58 (3)	2.30 (4)	2.95 (2)	3.38 (1)	4.28***
Gr.V-r	1.73 (4)	1.98 (3)	2.23 (2)	2.48 (1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.60 (4)	1.83 (3)	2.95 (2)	3.93 (1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.05 (3.4)	2.05 (3.4)	3.50 (2)	4.05 (1)	
Teachers	2.13 (3)	1.78 (4)	3.65 (2)	4.03 (1)	

Table 4.3 (CONT'D)

SCALE: SCHOOL	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.53	2.73	2.75	3.50	11.62***
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.03	2.58	3.15	3.28	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.50	2.00	3.05	4.13	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	1.88	1.60	4.10	4.58	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	1.70	1.58	3.70	4.35	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	

SCALE: WOODS	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	3.43	3.28	3.55	2.88	7.02***
	(2)	(3)	(1)	(4)	
Gr.V-r	3.30	3.38	3.05	3.20	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	
Gr.XI+r	4.38	3.88	2.75	2.15	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Gr.XI-r	4.43	4.20	2.73	2.33	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Teachers	3.90	4.00	2.98	2.50	
	(2)	(1)	(3)	(4)	

SCALE: HOME	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	3.23	3.45	3.53	3.68	.99
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.35	3.30	3.10	3.33	
	(1)	(3)	(4)	(2)	
Gr.XI+r	3.50	3.70	3.45	3.25	
	(2)	(1)	(3)	(4)	
Gr.XI-r	3.70	3.43	3.63	3.85	
	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	
Teachers	3.48	3.80	3.58	3.70	
	(4)	(1)	(3)	(2)	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
df=12/270 in all cases
figures in brackets indicate ranking of means

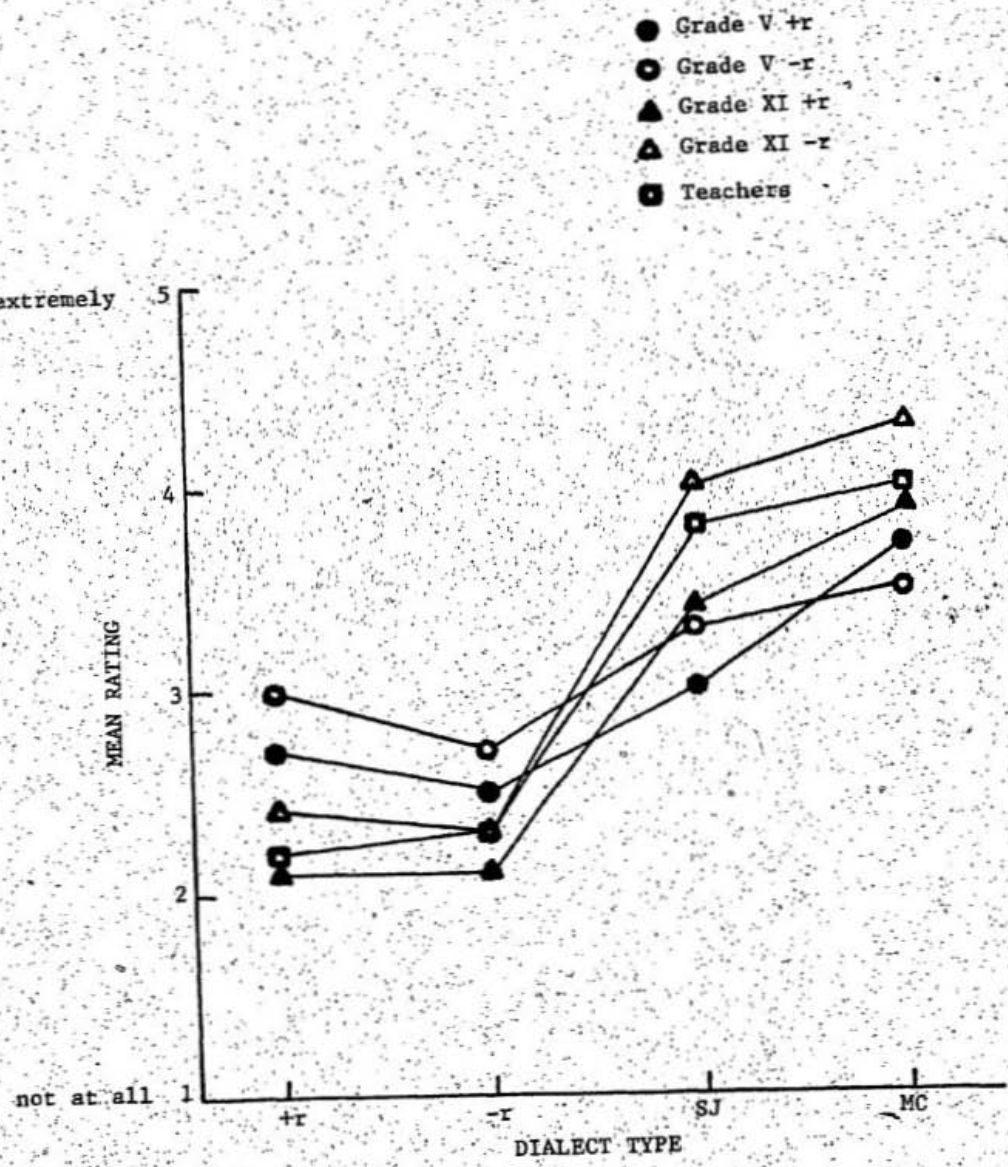


Figure 4.1 Dialect Type X Group interactions: status scales

these scales. The Grade Five groups from each community, though, tended to show the least differential ratings of dialect type; this pattern in the Grade Five ratings was evident on each of the status scales. In contrast, the teachers and the Grade Eleven groups made greater differentiation in their ratings between, on the one hand, SJ and MC speakers, which they upgraded, and on the other hand, +r and -r speakers, which they downgraded. In general, then, it may be seen that it was the two Grade Eleven groups and the teachers who differentiated the two standard dialects and the two non-standard dialects in their judgments on these scales. The rating patterns shown in Table 4.3 and Figure 4.1 clearly suggest an age-related pattern of development. Although Grade Five students may have some awareness of the status values of different dialects, particularly of the high prestige value of MC, it is by the age of high school leaving that students share adult teacher stereotypes with respect to the different prestige values attached to standard and non-standard dialect types.

In all but one case (the dialect -r on the rating scale smart), the Grade Eleven -r judgment means were higher than those of the corresponding Grade Eleven +r group. This difference was particularly noticeable in the evaluations of standard dialect speakers.

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3 Figures 4.1-4.6 display certain results in graphical form. These diagrams were designed to give the reader a general overview of trends in the results.

Solely for the purpose of display, some of the computed means were averaged (Figures 4.1,4.2,4.5). While it is realized that this averaging may have a flattening effect, it is intended that the figures be interpreted only in the most general sense.

The means of all the relevant scales were incorporated in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, whereas only significant results were included in Figures 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6.

4.3.2 Solidarity scales

Significant dialect type X group interactions were observed in the results relating to the solidarity-evoking trait nice; highly significant interactions emerged on the scales friendly and likeable (Table 4.3). Group means over all three solidarity scales are presented in graphical form in Figure 4.2 for ease of reference.

Two different patterns of group rating behaviour emerged from these results; the patterns are in overall view consistent and show up most clearly in the results on the scale friendly.

The first of the response patterns that emerges from these scales shows that the teachers and Grade Eleven +r groups upgraded the local non-standard dialect types (+r and -r) while tending to downgrade the standard dialect types (MC and SJ). Their upgrading of the -r dialect was particularly striking and shows that, for these two groups of subjects, the most distinctively non-standard dialect evoked strongest feelings of dialect solidarity.

The other pattern of rating behaviour appeared in the results from the Grade Five +r, Grade Five -r and Grade Eleven -r groups on these scales. Somewhat surprisingly, these groups did not show a tendency to favour local non-standard speakers on these evaluations. They also made overall less distinction among dialects than did the two groups previously mentioned, but where their ratings did show a trend, it was in the direction of favouring standard speakers. In fact, these groups awarded MC their highest ratings on solidarity scales and found MC speakers to be more friendly, likeable and nice than speakers of their own or the other regional non-standard dialect. The Grade Eleven -r even rated

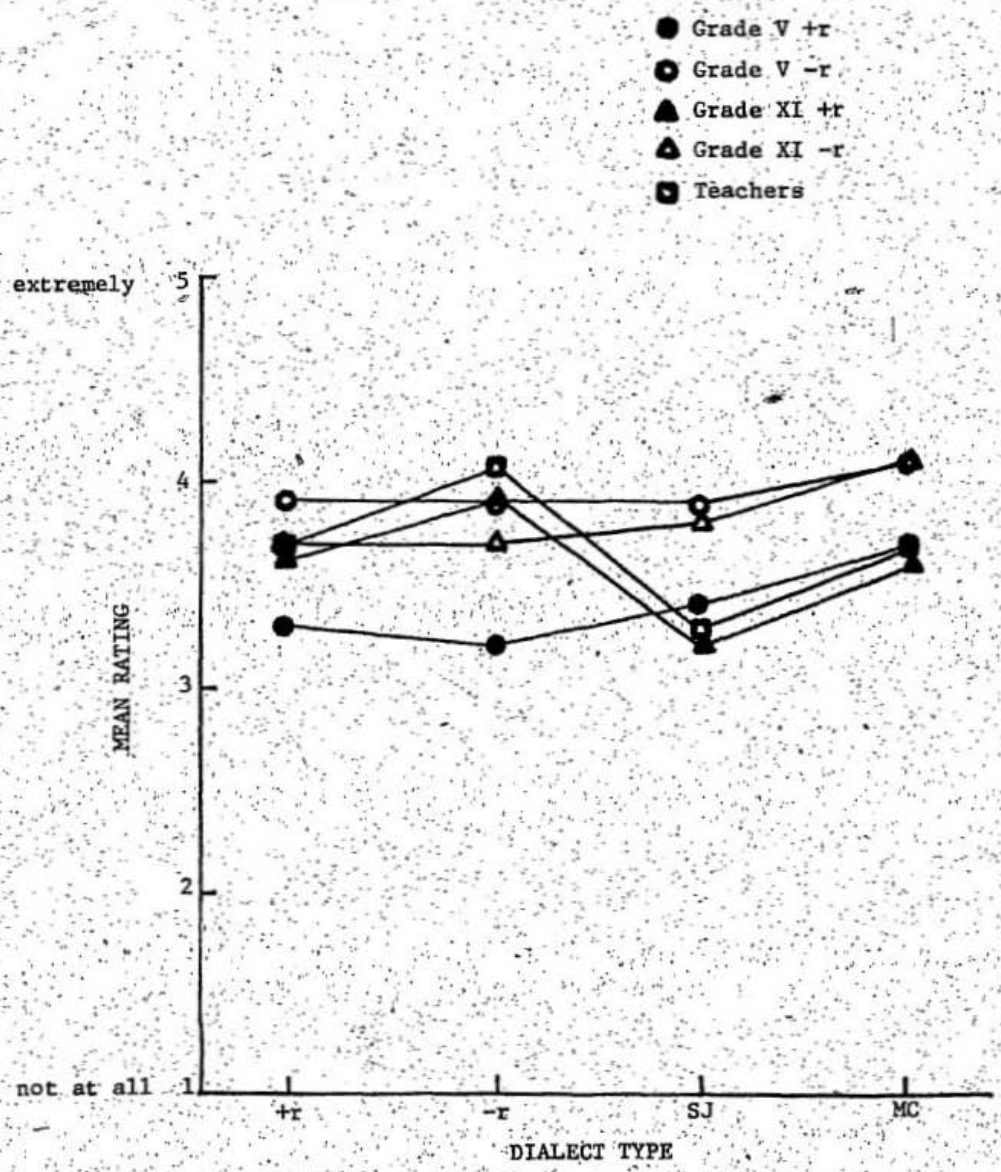


Figure 4.2 Dialect Type X Group interactions: solidarity scales

speakers of their own dialect lowest on the scale likeable and the Grade Five -r rated them lowest on nice. These results were rather unexpected, given the solidarity ratings previously seen in other studies and those elicited from the teachers and other Grade Eleven groups in this study. The results from the Grade Eleven -r, along with those from the Grade Five -r, showed that neither group of Bay Roberts student respondents had the expected adult stereotyping pattern of upgrading its own dialect on solidarity evaluations.

4.3.3 Pejorative scales

Significant dialect type X group interactions on the two pejorative scales emerged only for stuck up (Table 4.3). Patterns of group rating behaviour in some cases similar to those elicited by the status scales emerge on this one scale. For greater clarity, these results are also presented in diagram form (Figure 4.3).

The ratings of the Grade Five respondent groups on the scale stuck up are considerably different from those of certain other groups. It may be seen that the Grade Five +r and the Grade Five -r ratings generally paralleled each other, neither group making a great deal of distinction among the dialect types. The Grade Eleven +r and teacher groups, though, appeared to make contrastive ratings between standard and non-standard dialect types; these two groups judged speakers of SJ and MC as more stuck up and speakers of +r and -r less.

The Grade Eleven -r respondents appear to have been less willing than the Grade Eleven +r's and the teachers to make differential ratings of dialect types and in this they bear some similarity to the two Grade

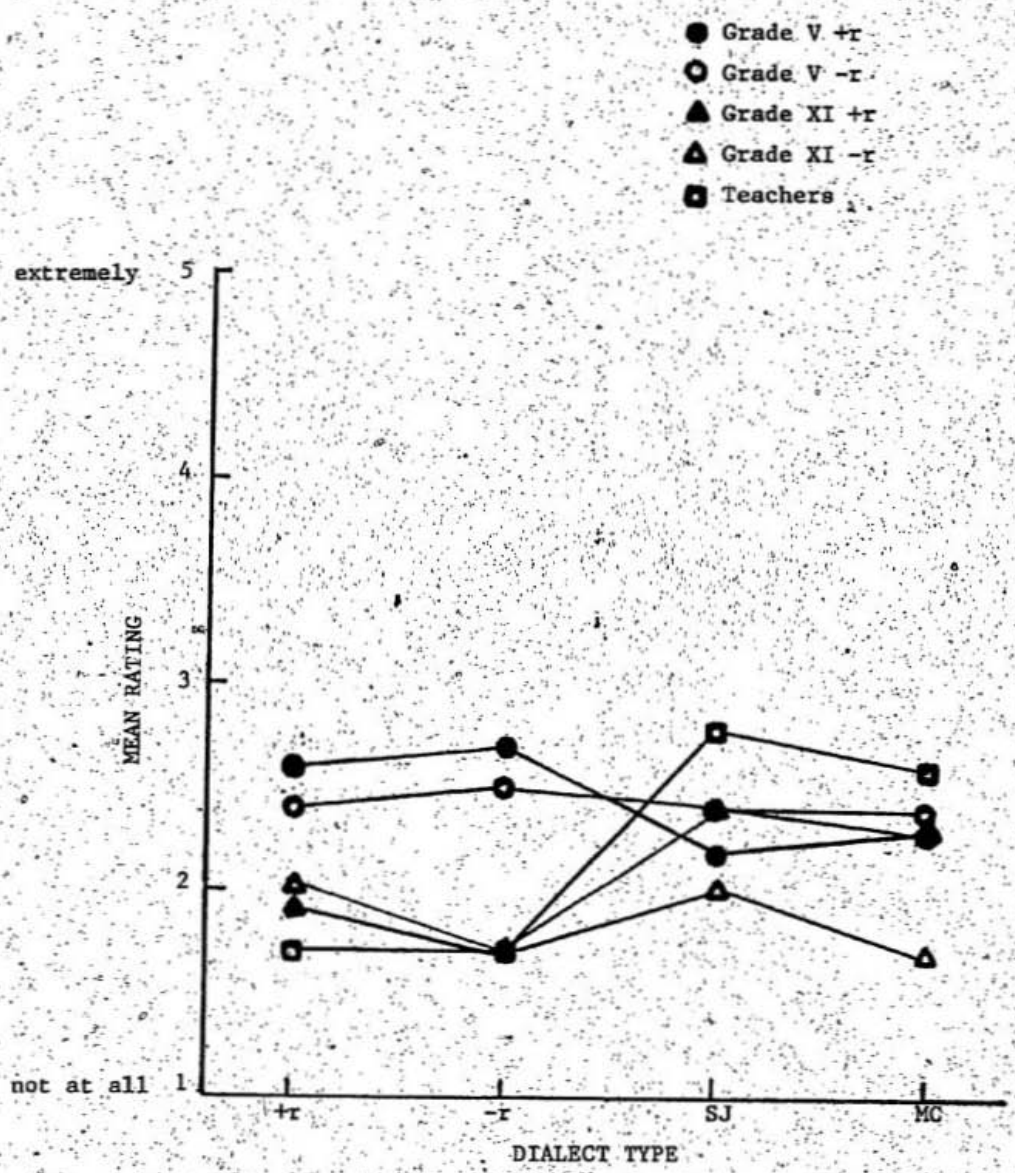


Figure 4.3 Dialect Type X Group interactions: pejorative scale stuck up

Five groups. The Grade Eleven -r group did, however, differ from the Grade Five children in its overall lower evaluations. These ratings indicate that the Grade Eleven -r subjects were less willing to make pejorative judgments than were both the Grade Five respondents from both communities and the two other older subject groups.

The contrastive ratings by the Grade Eleven +r group and the teachers indicate that a language stereotype is shared, among these two groups at least, to the effect that speakers of standard dialects are more stuck up than non-standard speakers. The non-significant results from the scale mean tend to support this observation in that the speakers judged the "meanest" were SJ, by the Grade Eleven -r group, and MC, by the teachers.

4.3.4 Domain scales

Highly significant interactions for dialect type X group were found on the three scales investigating the suitability of speech types for different domains. These results are presented in Table 4.3, as well as in Figures 4.4 and 4.5. On these scales certain differences in group rating patterns appeared. On the one hand, the Grade Eleven +r, the Grade Eleven -r and the teacher groups all tended to discriminate quite clearly between the non-standard and standard dialects in relation to these scale measures. These three groups of respondents upgraded MC and SJ on the scales relating to church and school but judged these speech types unsuitable for the informal woods situation. On the other hand, they upgraded the -r and +r speakers for woods, but downgraded them for church and school. The scale results that best show this con-

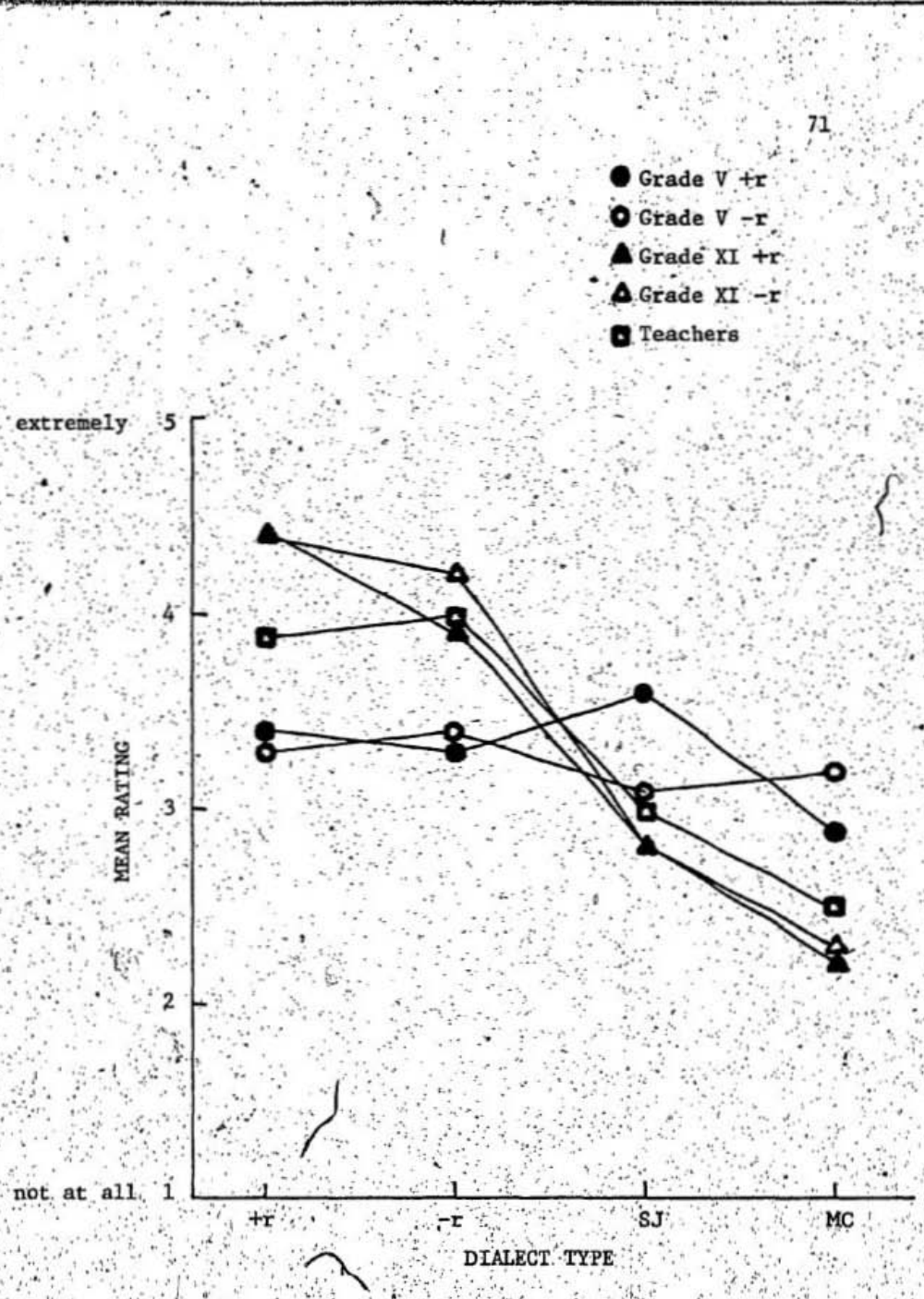


Figure 4.4 Dialect Type X Group interactions; domain scale <u>woods</u>

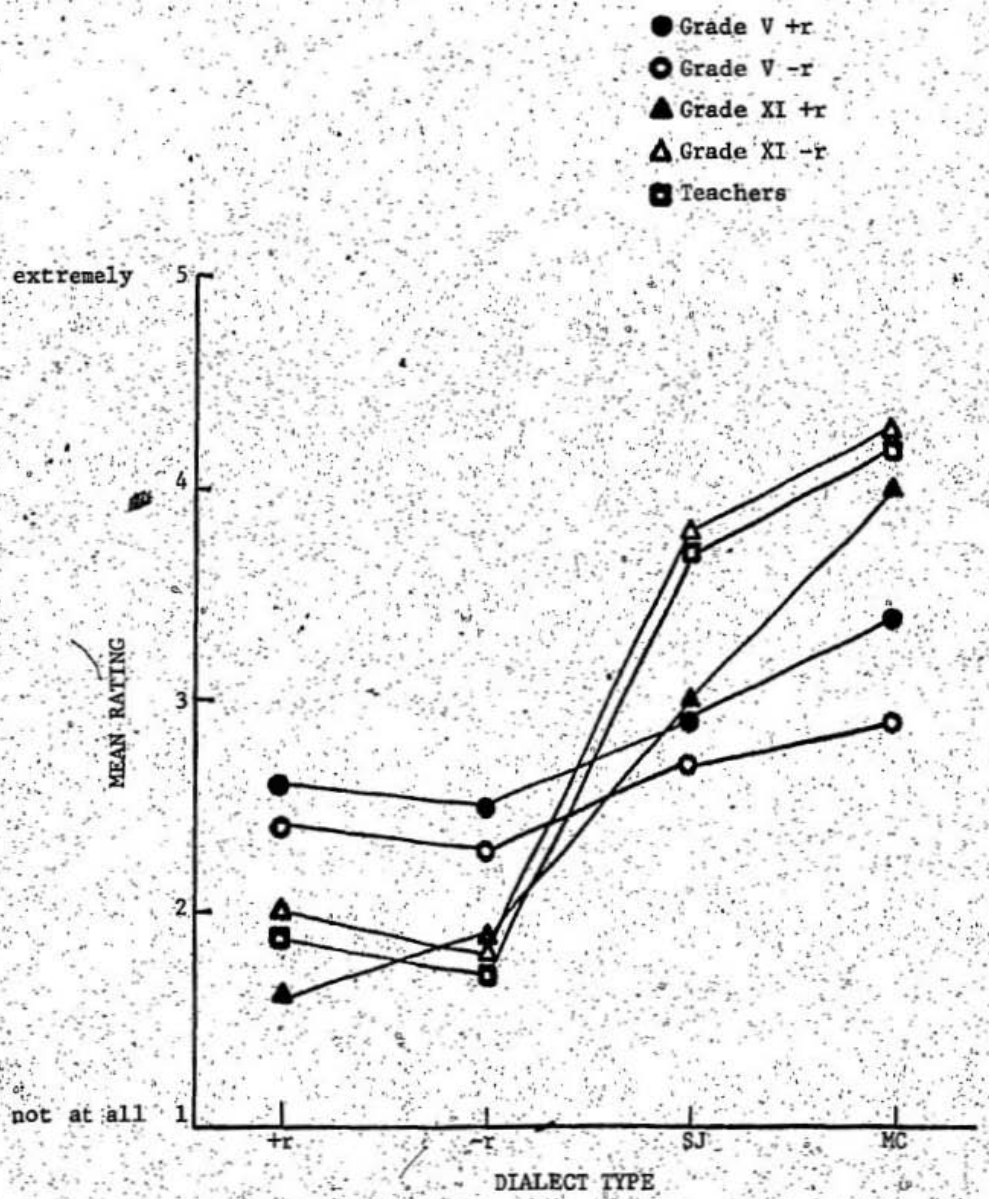


Figure 4.5 Dialect Type X Group interactions: domain scales church and school

trast in dialect type ratings come from the school situation suitability scale. Both the Grade Five +r and Grade Five -r groups, however, do not show much contrast in their ratings of different dialect types, even though their judgments often tend to follow the general pattern of the older groups' ratings (Figures 4.4, 4.5). But the expected functional separation of dialect types is evident only in the ratings made by the two Grade Eleven groups and the teachers. That is to say that these groups upgraded standard dialect types and downgraded non-standard for formal speech situations, and upgraded non-standard dialect types and downgraded standard for less formal speech situations.

4.4 Results on the independent variable "Sex"

Significant results relating to the subject variable sex were few. The significant main effects and interactions that were collected for sex are reported in the two sections below. Attention is drawn to the fact that, since there were so few significant results, only the significant results are presented in tabular form.

4.4.1 Sex main effects

Significant main effects for sex emerged only on the two pejorative scales, stuck up and mean. These results are presented in Table 4.4.

As Table 4.4 shows, male respondents clearly were willing to mark speakers with higher ratings than were females, in particular on the scale stuck up.

4.4.2 Dialect Type X Sex interactions

The only significant sex interactions in the whole study appeared in the results on the status-related scale wealthy. The data concerning these interactions is presented in Table 4.5 and Figure 4.6.

It can be seen from Table 4.5 and Figure 4.6 that, although similarities are apparent in the ratings of both sexes in relation to the trait wealthy, differences also can be observed. The means show that male respondents judged the +r and -r speakers to be more well off than did the female respondents. The female respondents, however, expected the MC speakers to be even more wealthy than did the males. The female respondents also discriminated more than did the males between standard and non-standard dialect types on the scale wealthy.

Table 4.4 Sex main effects

	SEX		
SCALE:	Male	Female	F ratio
STUCKUP	2.35	1.97	6.91
MEAN	2.09	1.83	4.06

$p<.05$
df=1/90 in all cases

Table 4.5 Dialect Type X Sex interactions

SCALE: WEALTHY	DIALECT TYPE				
SEX	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
MALE	2.36	2.28	3.15	3.51	3.29
FEMALE	2.09	2.10	3.16	3.81	

$p<.05$
df=3/270

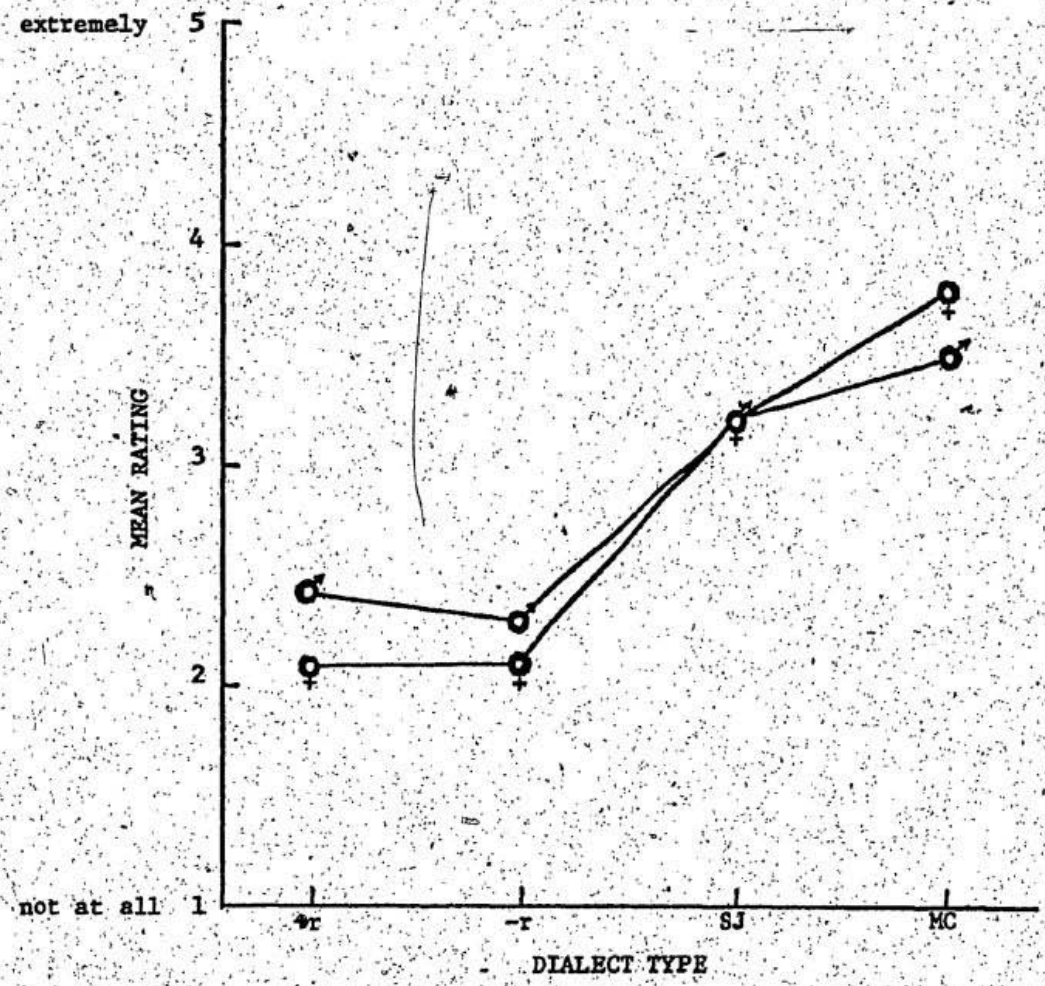


Figure 4.6 Dialect Type X Sex interactions
wealthy

5. DISCUSSION

The findings of the current study will be discussed in the two sections below. The first section deals with stereotypes held by the overall respondent sample. The second section deals with the differences in stereotypes which appear to be related to the individual subject variables.

5.1 Views of the entire sample

This research attempted to demonstrate the presence of generalized stereotypes throughout the respondent sample toward speakers of different dialects. Given the fact that main effects for dialect type were found on all but two of the twelve rating scales, the results showed clearly that respondents held such stereotypes. The initial observation to be made is that the stereotypes elicited often displayed a clear division between attitudes to standard dialects and attitudes to non-standard dialects. The results will be discussed in relation to the different kinds of rating scales (status, pejorative and domain) that most obviously showed evidence of this dichotomy. A second observation is that generalized attitudes of dialect loyalty did not emerge clearly; the discussion of results from the solidarity scales takes up this issue.

5.1.1. Attitudes to standard and non-standard dialects

The nature of the attitudinal distinctions made by respondents

between standard (SJ and MC) and non-standard (+r and -r) dialects is quite apparent when the results are considered in relation to the different kinds of rating scales used in this study. Among the scales providing significant results, all but the solidarity scale results showed a clear dichotomy in attitude.

On the status-related scales, respondents awarded highly favourable ratings to speakers of standard dialects, indicating that they recognized prestige values in standard speech types. Their consistently less favourable ratings of non-standard speakers on these scales clearly indicated that, for them, non-standard speech was associated with lower social status. These findings were expected, in view of the historical and educational situation in the province (See section 2.1) and of language attitude results in other regions where non-standard and standard language types are common (Lambert, et al. 1960; Tucker 1968; Giles 1970; S. Lambert 1973).

The higher pejorative judgments of standard speakers on the scale stuck up indicate, however, that respondents' assignment of high social status judgments does not come without some accompanying negative bias. Negative biases do not appear, however, to have been as strongly felt as positive ones. This is shown by the generally lower ratings made on both the pejorative scales. These results are in line with findings by Clarke (1980a).

The clear contrast in perceptions of speech domain suitability, between standard and non-standard dialects, parallels the pattern of judgments on status evaluations. It was logical to expect that the speech types deemed more suitable for church and school would be the same

ones perceived to belong to more educated and socially successful speakers. These findings concur with the results of earlier studies that have investigated standard and non-standard language types in relation to speech situations (Carranza and Ryan 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975).

It is interesting that MC was the dialect type awarded highest ratings on status scales. Clarke (1980a; 1981) found both urban and rural respondents awarded lower ratings to MC as compared to SJ on status scales[1]. Apparently, the Conception Bay subjects turn more freely, than do those of the Clarke sample, to Toronto and other Mainland centres for their highest status models.

In summary, from all the evaluations that can be seen to relate to views of general social competence, a shared stereotyping pattern clearly emerged. This pattern is similar to the bias that has been found in other studies: speakers of standard language types are perceived to have achieved higher levels of socioeconomic success than are speakers of non-standard language types. Results collected with solidarity-stressing scales do not show the same clearly differentiating kind of bias.

5.1.2 Dialect loyalty

As a concept, dialect loyalty is manifested on the solidarity ratings. From the results of other studies (e.g., Carranza and Ryan 1975; Clarke 1980a), it was anticipated that local non-standard speakers

1. As Clarke presented a third standard dialect for evaluation, more explicit parallels will not be drawn.

would fare better on the solidarity-stressing evaluations than they had on some of the other scales. It was surprising, therefore, to find that MC was the dialect type again favoured by the Conception Bay North sample.

The preference for MC speakers agrees with Clarke's (1981) rural findings. The studies together provide evidence that subjects who themselves may be expected to speak non-standard dialects are less likely to demonstrate dialect loyalty to local speech types. Clarke (1980a:34) drew a parallel conclusion from her urban findings.

A similar preference for an external standard speech type, shown in results collected by Carranza and Ryan (1975), suggested to them the possibility that the value of superstrate language variety can become so ingrained as even to incorporate biases of language solidarity with that speech type over local speech varieties. When it is the case that a population of non-standard speakers rates speakers of its own language type(s) low on both status-related and solidarity-related measures, those ratings may attest to a general "ethnic inferiority complex" within that population (Tucker 1968). Attitudes revealed in the current study, however, demonstrate that the Conception Bay North sample does not represent such a population. In this they are different from such populations as those revealed by S. Lambert (1973), Tucker (1968) and Carranza and Ryan (1975).

In general, ratings on solidarity scales showed less differentiation among dialect types than did ratings obtained from other kinds of scales. Hence it can be seen that, although MC was awarded consistently high ratings, local non-standard dialects also were awarded high ratings

on these scales. These evaluations show that minority language forms do represent ethnic solidarity values for the respondents. In particular, the high ratings awarded -r speakers manifest an obvious affinity with that dialect type as a source of pride and a symbol of local identity values.

Of the overall rating pattern on these scales, however, one local dialect always received the least favourable gradings. The consistent lowest ranking awarded the SJ dialect type indicates that although St. John's may be viewed as a place of business success - as could be discerned from the status ratings - it does not appear to be viewed with favourable bias as a source of Newfoundland ethnic identity value by the Conception Bay sample. These findings agree with Clarke (1980a;1981).

Several reasons may be advanced to explain the apparent lack of feelings of empathy among the Conception Bay respondents with St. John's speakers. It might be speculated that the SJ dialect still evokes attitudes prevalent in earlier times when St. John's businessmen were seen as economic overlords by residents of smaller Newfoundland communities. Another reason might have its basis in the fact that this study was administered in integrated schools where respondents for the most part would belong to Protestant religious faiths. The SJ speakers, sounding Anglo-Irish, may have represented for these subjects people of the Roman Catholic religion and so provoked attitudes related to traditional religious rivalries in Newfoundland.

Further insights into the question of dialect loyalty are revealed by the domain scale evaluations. In this regard, Giles and Powesland (1975:87) have noted the suggestion by Bourhis et al. (1974, unpub-

lished) that "the more positively a group views its own identity, the greater will be the range of social situations in which it is acceptable for members of the group to use the speech style peculiar to it". Therefore, if a group feels strong identity with local speech forms, it will rate those speech forms suitable for many situations. Results from the present study show that the Conception Bay North respondents are not dialect loyal in the sense that Giles and Powesland indicate, since they appear to view local dialect types as generally unsuitable for formal situations. The domain scale results also show that while MC was the dialect type generally preferred on personality trait evaluations, ratings on the scale woods showed clearly that there are conditions under which MC was not preferred. That particular setting, in the woods, like camping at a cabin, was designed to evoke the greatest feelings of relaxed companionship. On that scale, the sample awarded considerably higher ratings to local dialects. On the scale home, however, the same contrast did not emerge. The general observation to be made is that local dialects received overall positive evaluations for informal speech situations. In short, then, it may be seen that the domain scales added important information to the question of dialect loyalty.

The resolution of the question of dialect loyalty, from the point of view of this study, rests in the conclusion that the Conception Bay North sample clearly holds speech biases which attest to attitudes of dialect loyalty. Particular findings show that they view Newfoundland non-standard speakers with favourable biases both on ratings of personal attractiveness and in terms of speech preferences for informal situations. The results also show, however, preferential treatments of speakers of

the external standard dialect, MC, and relatively high ratings of even the least favoured dialect type, SJ, on the solidarity-stressing scales. Therefore, from the findings discussed above, it would appear that the Conception Bay North respondents might better be called "dialect tolerant"[2] than dialect loyal. It seems that the Conception Bay North respondents have tolerant attitudes to other speech types as well as to their own markedly non-standard speech. These findings corroborate those of Clarke (1981), who found certain other rural samples in Newfoundland who, although not rating local speech high on solidarity evaluations, nevertheless appeared not to have clearly negative perceptions of their own speech types in relation to these measures of evaluation.

5.2 Views relating to subject variables

In this section, the effects of the subject variables (as factors in the speech stereotypes revealed by this study) are demonstrated. These variables are the age, the sex, and the community background of respondents. It must be noted that only sex was tested as a separate independent variable and that age and community background were subsumed under the variable "Group". As the most notable results appear to be linked to the age of subjects, the following discussion focuses particularly upon age.

5.2.1 Age-related views

Respondent age appeared to be the factor most related to the different stereotypes elicited from the different groups of Conception

2 A term heretofore not found in the literature.

Bay North subjects. It can be seen that age and level of education are necessarily co-ordinate for the purpose of this study since the teachers were all college-educated adults and the Grade Eleven and Grade Five respondents, respectively, were all sixteen to seventeen and ten to eleven years old.

Two broad findings emerge very clearly from the age-related results. The first finding relates to the nature of the stereotypes shared by the different age groups in the respondent sample (5.2.1.1). The other has to do with rating patterns that emerge from the judgments made by the different age groups (5.2.1.2).

5.2.1.1 Nature of stereotypes

The stereotypes that were shared by all age groups in the study fall into a general category that may be called "prestige-related evaluations" - namely, those elicited by means of the status and domain scales. The Grade Fives appeared to share most of the speech biases of older groups in these types of evaluations.

The Grade Elevens and teachers of the sample obviously shared similar prestige-related speech biases, and made distinct judgmental discriminations between speakers of standard and non-standard dialects. The Grade Five children followed the same stereotyping pattern as the older groups; that is, they awarded preferential biases to standard speakers in relation to social prestige values, as well as in relation to the relatively formal contexts of speech. In this they were like children elsewhere who have been found to share adult views on status evaluations (S. Lambert 1973; Rosenthal 1973; El-Dash and Tucker 1975). The Grade

Fives did not, however, discriminate as sharply between standard and non-standard dialects as did other groups. This finding may lend support to the suggestion by Giles (1970:219) that younger respondents are less affected than are adults by conventional concepts of high status.

In contrast, a different picture emerged from the solidarity scales. On those scales the only adult respondent group, the teachers, awarded ratings that denoted strong identification with non-standard speakers. The teachers' highly favourable evaluations of -r on solidarity scales and for the relaxed speech situations home and woods were particularly noticeable. In addition, they displayed an obvious reluctance to award negative ratings to -r and +r speakers by means of the pejorative scales. A tentative conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that higher education generates tolerance toward acceptance of distinctive local non-standard speech. It can be inferred, from certain writings on socially secure groups (Ryan 1979:154-155) and non-standard speakers as respondents (Clarke 1980a;1981), that this tentative conclusion is reasonable. While, however, the teachers may have viewed local non-standard speech types positively, as socially attractive and representative of local colour, nevertheless they perceived clear socio-economic advantages to standard speech. These teacher attitudes would appear to have important educational implications, which are mentioned in Section 6.2 below.

Among the student groups, Grade Five respondents exhibited clearly different stereotypes from the teachers on the solidarity measures. Of the Grade Elevens, only the Grade Eleven +r (Carbonear) attributed contrastingly high values of personal attractiveness to local

non-standard speakers by comparison with standard speakers (5.2.3). Their evaluation pattern, then, resembled that of the teachers. The Grade Eleven -r (Bay Roberts) group, on the contrary, appeared to share the youngest groups' stereotyped views. Although these three groups (Grade Five +r, Grade Five -r, Grade Eleven -r) made minimal distinctions among dialects, nevertheless they consistently awarded MC their highest ratings. The Grade Fives in particular, at age ten, may have lacked the social maturity to recognize such values (5.2.1.2). Perhaps more likely, since their favourable evaluations of MC extended over all scales, is the explanation suggested by Lambert and Klineberg (1967:225) that children about this age go through a period of finding "foreign peoples" exceptionally attractive. In addition, it would seem quite reasonable to suppose that one effect of the greatly increased media, and other, contact from the Canadian Mainland in recent years would be that young people of both elementary and high school age might feel much more comfortable with Mainland Canadian speech than do older respondents.

Interesting anomalies emerge from the findings with respect to stereotypes held by Grade Elevens. It is possible that the differences in speech biases from the two Grade Eleven groups may in some way be related to the amount of distinctiveness (i.e., non-standardness) of the dialect these respondents themselves speak (5.2.3); the differences may also be related to the size and location of the communities, among other factors (Clarke 1980a;1981). Moreover, in some respects, the stereotypes elicited from the Grade Elevens are somewhat different from those of other same-age groups reported in the literature. For instance, in their particularly favourable ratings of MC, the Bay Roberts Grade Elevens in

this study were unlike another Newfoundland Grade Eleven sample (Clarke 1980a), who clearly did not view MC as a prestige speech model[3]. In their apparent sharing of the teachers' status-related speech biases, the Carbonear Grade Elevens contrast with the seventeen-year-old group reported by Lambert, Giles and Albert (1975:141), who did not share the competence-related biases found to be held by both the ten-year-olds and teachers in that study.

5.2.1.2 Rating patterns

The most striking age-related trend that emerged from the results of the current study was the apparent tendency of the rating patterns of the youngest respondent groups to parallel one another and at the same time to differ from those of the older student and teacher groups. Although age was not tested as a separate independent variable and, further, no post hoc tests were conducted to confirm this tendency, it appears that the ten-year-olds consistently produced different patterns of rating than did the other groups. The apparent unwillingness of the Grade Five students to award highly positive or highly negative ratings to particular dialect types emerges in the form of a flatter overall rating profile for these groups (Tables 4.1-4.3; Figures 4.1-4.5). From these patterns it may be inferred that the youngest subjects differentiated much less among the dialect types than did the groups of older respondents.

The results for Grade Eleven groups show that, by the age of high school leaving, the young people in the Conception Bay North sample

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3 Recall, however, that Clarke had three standard dialects for evaluation.

usually discriminated in their applications of speech stereotyped ratings to about the same extent as did adults, following in general their teachers' pattern of clearly upgrading standard speakers on status, pejorative and formal domain scales and of demonstrating less negative attitudes to non-standard speakers on the pejorative scales[4]. From the findings, it may be inferred that, with increased age and education, the Grade Elevens in the sample had acquired increased awareness at least of the prestige-related language biases of their teachers (cf. S. Lambert 1973).

Several aspects of the results with respect to the rating behaviour of the ten-year-old respondents are interesting in the light of findings from other studies with children of similar ages. First, the noticeably smaller range between the Grade Fives' low and high ratings is paralleled in rating results from other research involving children in the same age range (Giles and Powesland 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Lambert, Giles and Albert 1975; J. Edwards 1977a). Second, if one defines "more discriminating" in terms of greater differences in rating scores, then one can conclude that this study did not show that the ten-year-old respondents were more discriminative in their evaluations. This is not in agreement with the results found by Giles (1972:264) and S. Lambert (1973:44). Third, the children in this study did not appear to be more discriminating in another sense. The results did not reveal that they discerned sociolinguistic differences in the speech samples

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4 The curious results in this respect appear from the Grade Eleven -r (Bay Roberts) subjects, who in some instances tended to rate with less polarized judgments, like the Grade Fives (5.2.3).

that had gone unnoticed by older respondents. Again, this is at variance with the results of S. Lambert (1973:47,48) and Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975:139). Fourth, unlike Giles and Powesland (1975:30), Lambert and Klineberg (1967) and El-Dash and Tucker (1975), who have indicated that children around ten years old may award unrealistically positive judgments, the current study did not show that the children rated with judgments that indicate that they, as an age group, held unusually positive views. In fact in some cases, their ratings on pejorative scales showed them to be more willing than other groups to view speakers with disfavour[5].

The somewhat anomalous results collected from younger respondents in certain other studies (for example, the tendency for ten-year-olds repeatedly to award judgments at the positive end of the scale) have occasionally been attributed to a failure to fully understand the use of the rating measures. In the current study, however, the results collected point to the conclusion that the Conception Bay North children clearly were able to respond to the investigative measures and that the differences in their judgments are much more likely due to differences in attitude than to inability to respond. Indeed, it appears that the efforts applied to pretesting for this study (3.1) were well spent, for the administrators of the study encountered few problems.

It is interesting to note, with respect to the question of the age of development of speech stereotypes, that in the results of many language attitude studies which have involved investigations with youth

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5 The author realizes that the high ratings on pejorative scales may be considered a perseveration effect.

of various age levels, it is the youngest respondents who rate least characteristically, no matter what their age (e.g., Rosenthal 1973; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Clarke 1980a). In general, the observation that the youngest respondents tend to stand out as the least conforming to expected stereotyping norms would appear to substantiate the theory that language attitudes are acquired as part of a general sociolinguistic development process that takes effect with increasing age and maturity (Giles 1970; Giles 1972; Lambert and Klineberg 1967; Giles and Powesland 1975).

It appears likely that the patterns of less polarized ratings by younger subjects indicate that the children had not acquired the social maturity and experience with language varieties that is required for the development of discriminatory speech biases. The findings of this study thus may be seen to lend support to the view that young people, in the early years of adolescence, develop increasingly toward the acquisition of conventional adult stereotypes (Lambert and Klineberg 1967; Giles 1970, 1972; Giles and Powesland 1975). In the present study, the status and domain scale results most clearly attested to a continuum of attitudinal development; evidence for such a continuum could not be deduced from the results on solidarity scales, however, since there the teacher and Grade Eleven pattern did not appear to be reflected among the ten-year-olds.

An alternative hypothesis suggests that differences in evaluations collected from children bear witness to a genuine change in the linguistic attitudes of a population, and so appear first in the views of the new generation (Giles 1970:219; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975:30; Clarke

1980a). This explanation may be quite valid in the current context, for it is evident that, even on the solidarity scales, the rating patterns of the two groups of ten-year-olds were very much alike.

5.2.2 Sex-related views

As had been the case in several other studies (e.g., Giles 1970; Rosenthal 1973; Shuy and Williams 1973; Clarke 1980a), respondent sex accounted for few rating differences.

Sociolinguists such as Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974) have shown that males may be expected to display more non-standard speech forms than do females. The higher ratings collected from males in the present study on pejoratives scales (4.4.1) suggest that males may be less conservative also in their speech stereotyping reactions. This must be considered a minor point, however, due to the absence of significant main effects for sex on the status and solidarity scales. Nevertheless, J. Edwards (1979: 43) has found some evidence which might be construed as supportive in his study with teachers in Ireland.

The higher ratings awarded by males to local non-standard speakers on the scale wealthy suggest that the male respondents may have a more realistic understanding of local patterns of economic success than do the females; that is, they appear aware that someone who sounds like an area fisherman may indeed be reasonably well-to-do. These results also could be interpreted as giving some small degree of support to the general sociolinguistic hypothesis that females are more aware of prestige values in language and so are more aware of the socioeconomic hindrances in speaking non-standard dialects and the advantages of speaking standard

dialects.

5.2.3 .Community background-related views

It was expected that the different community,- and hence linguistic - backgrounds of respondents would be reflected in attitudinal differences to the various standard and non-standard dialects under examination. Overall results, however, suggest that community background plays a less important role than does age (and education) among the attitudes of the Conception Bay North respondents of the present study.

Community background appeared to be a differentiating factor in the solidarity scale ratings of both groups of Bay Roberts students, irrespective of age. Neither Bay Roberts student group awarded ratings to suggest "dialect loyal" preferences for either their own or the neighbouring Carbonear speech type. Specifically, from the evidence that speakers of the external standard dialect MC were favoured by these groups, on other evaluations as well as solidarity-stressing ones, it may be inferred that the Bay Roberts respondents may have general attitudes of ethnic inferiority (5.1.2). The question of the Bay Roberts speech community's attitudes to their own dialect deserves further investigation.

The solidarity scale evaluations of the Bay Roberts Grade Elevens contrasted with those of the Carbonear Grade Elevens and the differences in rating patterns from the two sixteen-year-old groups seem to be related to their community backgrounds. The Carbonear Grade Eleven subjects tended to rate like the teachers, who awarded contrastively higher solidarity ratings to speakers of non-standard dialects. They favoured

noticeably the non-distinctive (i.e., least standard) -r type. Their preferential ratings of local non-standard dialects in this respect suggest that the Carbonear adolescents may have feelings of pride in, and identity with, local Newfoundland speech forms. The Carbonear Grade Five group, however, did not exhibit such dialect-loyal attitudes.

A second attitudinal difference relating to the community background of respondents was the (non-significant) tendency of the Bay Roberts groups to award higher ratings than the equivalent Carbonear groups.[6] One obvious exception to this pattern was the curious willingness of the youngest Bay Roberts respondents to downrate all speakers significantly for the church domain. The generally more positive overall evaluations from the Bay Roberts respondents suggest that they, being accustomed to their own markedly non-standard speech, are more tolerant in their attitudes to other dialects.

Another tendency noted in Bay Roberts groups' ratings may lend support to this inference. The pattern of less discriminating judgments that emerges in the Bay Roberts Grade Eleven subjects' ratings on the two solidarity scales friendly and likeable and on the pejorative scale stuck up is similar to a pattern that could be noted frequently in the ratings of Grade Five children from both communities (5.2.1.2). While this tendency may reflect some lack of social experience, or maturity, on the part of the Bay Roberts adolescents in the sample, it may also represent a certain hesitancy on their part to award judgments denoting intolerant or uncharitable attitudes.

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6 This tendency appeared in the pejorative scales in the form of lower, i.e., more positive, ratings.

Clarke (1980a; 1981) has put forward suggestions to account for similar differences in results collected in other Newfoundland communities. These suggestions involve the size and remoteness of the community, the amount of non-standardness of the speech type of the community, and the social status of the respondents. If Clarke's suggestions are applicable to other Newfoundland situations, then the findings of the present study regarding community attitudes to -r speech are predictable. The -r dialect provoked a "dialect loyal" response from the respondents who, for the most part, might be expected not to speak it themselves, i.e., the teachers and the Carbonear adolescents. That same dialect, in contrast, seems to have been viewed as a generally stigmatizing speech type by the respondents who themselves speak it, i.e., the Bay Roberts subjects.

It is possible that the general tendency toward more positive ratings by the Bay Roberts groups represents an attitude related to perceptions of social status. It has been noted that persons of lower social status tend to perceive less difference among social levels and, actually, to upgrade their perceptions of their own level in order to minimize social distance between themselves and the groups they perceive as having higher status (Harms 1961; Alexander 1972; Clarke 1981). Further investigations into the social status and attitudes of Conception Bay residents would be necessary before this line of reasoning could be continued.

In summary, the findings of this study show few real differences between the two communities, as represented in the sample, with regard to their language attitudes. The only clear community differences relate to the conceptual dimension which concerns attitudes of dialect solidarity.

Errata:

page 95, line 15; Replace "factor analysis" with "analysis of variance".

6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to yield information on language attitudes to various dialects of English heard in a school context in Newfoundland. The four dialects evaluated represented two standard and two non-standard speech types. A modified version of Lambert's matched-guise technique was employed to elicit stereotyped judgments that were recorded by means of five-point rating scales. The scales required the assessment of speakers with respect to personality traits representing status values, solidarity values and pejorative judgments. Additional scales required judgments as to the suitability of each dialect for certain formal and informal speech situations. The sample group of 100 subjects was drawn from three age/educational levels: ten-year-olds in Grade Five, sixteen-year-olds in Grade Eleven, and their teachers. The study was administered in schools in two different non-standard speech communities in the Conception Bay North region of Newfoundland. A computerized factor analysis was made of the subjects' evaluative reactions. On the basis of the study and the matched-guise technique, several conclusions were drawn.

6.1 Summary

The overall conclusions of the study may be summarized as follows:

1. The Conception Bay North sample made clear attitudinal discriminations among the four varieties of English under examination. In many instances, evaluations demonstrated clearly delineated distinctions

between standard and non-standard speech types.

The Mainland Canadian speakers were favoured on all measures of evaluation by the overall sample. The local St. John's standard speakers received favourable ratings on prestige-related evaluations, but evoked the least positive feelings on traits related to social attractiveness.

Speakers of the non-standard dialects typical of the Conception Bay North region were generally not perceived to have high social status. They were rated favourably, however, on solidarity-stressing traits. Speakers of the distinctive Bay Roberts "-r" dialect in some instances evoked attitudes that clearly indicated feelings of dialect solidarity. The "-r" dialect was not found to be generally stigmatizing except on prestige-oriented evaluations, and then not to any much greater extent than was "+r", the other non-standard speech type.

2. The different types of rating scales were effective in eliciting different speech biases. The status scales revealed striking contrasts between attitudes to standard and non-standard speakers. The solidarity scales revealed not only generally positive attitudes to local non-standard speech but also overall strong preferences for the external standard dialect "Mainland Canadian". Stereotypes revealed on the domain and pejorative scales clarified the attitudes elicited by the status and solidarity scales. The respondents were found to have been generally reluctant to award high pejorative evaluations to Newfoundland speakers.

3. Age was observed to be the factor most related to respondents' language attitude differences. Reactions related to the social status values of the different speech types were shared by all three age groups,

but solidarity values were not.

Age alone does not explain the differences in solidarity stereotypes. The community background of respondents was a necessary component in the clarification of age-related anomalies.

The ten-year-old (Grade Five) child respondents did not appear to distinguish among dialect types to the same degree as did the adolescent and teacher groups. Yet even with the youngest subjects, the method was found to be effective in eliciting dialect stereotypes.

6.2 Educational implications

The issue of non-standard language and education has received much attention in the last decade or so (e.g., Baratz and Shuy 1969; Shuy 1971; Shores 1972; Wolfram and Fasold 1974). Different approaches may be taken when standard and non-standard language types meet in the classroom (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:177-182). Traditionally, in Newfoundland, the approach appears to have been to try to eliminate the non-standard dialects (Paddock 1975). Moreover, even by definition, use of the standard language is the typical goal of language education (Trudgill 1974:17,55; Moses, Daniels and Gundlach 1976). Historically, Newfoundland has been a "have-not" province, one which joined Confederation long after the other provinces. Although a Newfoundlander ideally has the same opportunities for social and economic advancement as other Canadians, in reality it is a handicap in this respect to speak only a Newfoundland non-standard dialect.

Since all respondents in this study clearly were biased in favour of standard speech for all the evaluations relating to socioeconomic

success, it would appear at first glance that there is no problem in the school's traditional approach. Linguists, however, recognize important values in both standard and non-standard speech types (Baratz 1970; Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974). Some have argued for a bidialectal approach to non-standard dialects in school (Fasold and Shuy 1970; Ervin-Tripp 1971; Ryan 1979): typically, such an approach encourages style-switching, having as its goal students' acquisition of competence in the standard dialect, while not demanding the renunciation of local speech forms. This approach can be seen to have important advantages (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:185; A.D. Edwards 1976:131-147; Ryan 1979:156-157). One advantage is that teachers of the language arts can capitalize on language already known to build language arts skills (Allen 1969; Baratz and Shuy 1969; Goodman 1965;1970). A major advantage relevant to this particular language attitude study is that such an approach would encourage Newfoundlanders to retain and take pride in this province's linguistic heritage (Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975; Walker et al. 1975).

From a linguistic point of view, it would appear that a bidialectal approach to non-standard speech would be valuable in schools in the Conception Bay North region of Newfoundland. The solidarity-related ratings of non-standard speech proved to be generally positive. These imply feelings of pride in, and identity with, local speech types and so provide supportive arguments for such an approach.

Other attitudes revealed in this study, however, forewarn of problems in the use of such an approach in Conception Bay North. Teacher-respondents clearly awarded positive ratings to local non-standard

dialects on certain personality trait scales. However, their evaluations downgraded local non-standard dialects on scales relating to status, and to formal speech situations. Non-standard dialects were therefore perceived by teachers to have serious limitations - limitations which suggest that teachers view such dialects as inappropriate to the school context. The study also demonstrated a lack of preferential responses by children in relation to status and solidarity evaluations for local dialect types. It would therefore seem that the traditional approach to non-standard speech in Newfoundland schools - namely, the attempt to superimpose standard forms - has not been entirely without merit.

The issue of which dialect, or dialects, to encourage in schools is obviously an extremely complex one and merits further investigation. Yet the present study has been valuable in that it has given initial insights into dialect stereotypes held by a limited sample of teachers and students. These insights, if Lambert's (Lambert et al. 1960) assessment of the accuracy of stereotypes revealed by a matched-guise approach is correct, may provide a realistic picture of covert attitudes to various dialect types in rural Newfoundland.

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APPENDIX A

Preliminary studies were carried out to help establish the specific methodological parameters for the current study. These studies were run with several informal and after-school groups and with eleven school classes. The informants used in preliminary investigations were not involved in the final research.

Informants for the preliminary investigations were mostly between nine and twelve years old, although for certain studies information was sought from older informants. Though some early investigations with after-school groups took place in St. John's, most preliminary studies took place in various communities in the Conception Bay North region (Bareneed, Carbonear, Clarkes Beach, Coley's Point, Port de Grave, Shearstown, Spaniard's Bay and Victoria). Approximately 400 informants were questioned in the preliminary investigations.

Informants' critical evaluations were sought in relation to the following topics:

<u>delineation of the dialect areas</u>

<u>the recorded speech sample</u>

- tape quality
- speaker voice quality
- conformity of speech sample to dialect type
- speech segment length
- number of segments on stimulus tape

- number of practice speakers

the meaningful content of the materials

- choice of adjectives evoking status and solidarity values
- choice of pejorative adjectives
- choice of contrasting formal and informal speech situations
- how to avoid eliciting evaluative reactions to topic rather than speech type with speech domain suitability scales

the manner of expression for materials and for oral presentations

- clarity in the meaning, wording and placement of all written labels and questions
- how to minimize the effects of the classroom situation and of peer pressure
- type of print and size of print
- ease of reading level
- wording of oral instructions
- structure of the rating scales

the competence of ten-year-olds to respond to the method

- ability to use rating scales
- ability to respond to reversed polarity in the scales
- reading and writing competence
- understanding of oral instructions; amount of introduction needed
- attention span relative to various aspects of the procedure, e.g., total stimulus tape length, number of rating scales, instructions,

- total questionnaire length, total length of study.

APPENDIX B

For the groups specified in this study, the table shows the percentages of mothers (m) and fathers (f) of respondents within each group distributed according to their places of upbringing.

The underlined percentages indicate the proportion of parents who were from the same area as the respondents in each relevant subject group.

GROUP	1 Gr.V +r		2 Gr.V -r		3 Gr.XI +r		4 Gr.XI -r		5 Teachers	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
AREA										
Conception Bay +r	75	85	40	20	55	80	15	0	50	80
Conception Bay -r	0	0	50	75	15	0	65	85	15	10
other rural Newfoundland	0	10	5	0	20	20	15	10	35	10
city or Mainland	15	5	5	0	10	0	5	5	0	0
unknown	10	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX C

An example of each style of questionnaire page

SPEAKER 6

Office Use Only

yes no

SMART

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 13

FRIENDLY

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 14

STUCK UP

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 15

LIKEABLE

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 16

* * * * *

WEALTHY

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 17

NICE

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 18

SUCCESSFUL

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 19

MEAN

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all ☐ 20

* * * * *

Is this man's way of talking right for

INSIDE A CHURCH, BEFORE AND AFTER THE SERVICES

Extremly suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable ☐ 21

AT HOME, RELAXING WITH FAMILY

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable ☐ 22

IN THE WOODS, LIKE CAMPING AT A CABIN

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable ☐ 23

AT SCHOOL, SPEAKING IN FRONT OF THE CLASS

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable ☐ 24

SPEAKER 6

Office Use Only

yes — no

Is this man's way of talking right for

INSIDE A CHURCH, BEFORE AND AFTER THE SERVICES

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable — 21

AT HOME, RELAXING WITH FAMILY

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable — 22

IN THE WOODS, LIKE CAMPING AT A CABIN

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable — 23

AT SCHOOL, SPEAKING IN FRONT OF THE CLASS

Extremely suitable ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all suitable — 24

* * * * *

WEALTHY

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 17

NICE

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 18

SUCCESSFUL

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 19

MEAN

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 20

* * * * *

SMART

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 13

FRIENDLY

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 14

STUCK UP

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 15

LIKEABLE

Extremely ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ Not at all — 16

APPENDIX D

An example of each style of respondent background information sheet. S: student

T: teacher

(1) Code _____

(2) Sex: Male _____ Female _____

(3) Month and year of birth: MONTH _____ YEAR _____

(4) Where were you born?

(5) Where have you lived? How long in each place?

PLACE LENGTH OF TIME

Father

(6) Where did your Father grow up?

(7) What is your Father's job?

Mother

(8) Where did you Mother grow up?

(9) Does your Mother have a job? What kind of job?

You

(10) What do you want to be when you grow up?

Office Use Only

60

61,62,63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

T

Office Use Only

(1) Code _____ 60

(2) Sex: Male _____ Female _____ 61

(3) Age: 19-25 _____ 46-55 _____
26-35 _____ 56-65 _____
36-45 _____ Over 65 _____

(4) Where were you born? 64

(5) Where have you lived? How long in each place? 65

PLACE	LENGTH OF TIME

(6) Where did your FATHER grow up? 66

(7) Where did your MOTHER grow up? 68

(8) Where have you taught? How long in each place? What grade levels or subject areas? 71,72

PLACE	LENGTH OF TIME	GRADE/SUBJECT