

# Attitudes of Japanese nationals towards standard and non-standard varieties of Scottish English speech

Robert McKenzie,  
English as a Foreign Language Unit, University of Glasgow, UK  
E-mail: rmm@arts.gla.ac.uk

## **Abstract:**

*In Japan, English language learners, educators and policy makers have tended to depend upon Standard British and Standard American varieties of English to provide models of linguistic norms. This paper investigates the perceptions of 32 Japanese nationals resident in either Scotland or Japan of two varieties of English speech (Scottish Standard English speech and the non-standard Glasgow vernacular speech), according to gender and familiarity with the variety. The experiment employed both direct and indirect techniques of language attitude measurement. The results obtained suggest that although there appears to be a general tolerance amongst the informants for both the standard and non-standard varieties of Scottish English speech selected, attitudes were significantly more favourable towards the Scottish Standard English form. However, gender and familiarity with the speech variety were not found to be significant variables in determining the language attitudes of the informants. The findings are discussed in relation to the pedagogical and language planning implications for the choice of linguistic model in English language teaching both within and without Japan and in terms of the potential direction of future attitudinal research in this area.*

## **1. Introduction**

The function of English in Japan is that of a foreign language with no official status and restricted usage. Japan thus belongs to the Expanding Circle of countries where English is spoken (Kachru, 1992) and largely depends upon Inner Circle varieties of English (generally Standard American and Standard British) to provide the models and norms for English language use. There are a variety of opportunities for English language learners in Japan to gain access to native English speech both inside and outside the educational context. These include coming into contact with native English teachers in language classes at private language schools and Universities, opportunities to watch the CNN and BBC television channels on satellite television and access to original version US and UK films at cinemas throughout Japan. Kubota (1998) believes that this general reliance on Standard Anglo-American English in Japan has social and linguistic implications, which may unduly affect the population's views of language, culture, race, ethnicity and identity. She advocates that English teachers in Japan should expose their students to varieties of English from the Outer Circle and Expanding Circles as much as possible to help students recognise multiple identities of English and to broaden students cultural and linguistic perspectives of the world.

Moreover, increasing numbers of Japanese nationals are living and working or studying overseas. A large population of Japanese nationals is currently resident in the UK. According to the most recent Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs data (2002), there were 51,896 Japanese nationals registered with the Japanese Embassy in the UK resident for three months or more. Included in this official figure are 114 Japanese nationals resident in the Glasgow area. Okita (2001) believes that these official Government figures underestimate the total number of Japanese residents in the UK as it is not compulsory for Japanese nationals to register with their Embassy when resident abroad. It is however, evident that there is a growing Japanese community in the Glasgow area and it is likely that the majority will both study the English language in language learning institutions at some point and be exposed to standard and non-standard varieties of Scottish English speech in the city.

Glasgow itself is the largest city in Scotland, situated in the Clyde basin. Following a period of industrial decline in the 1970s and 1980s, Glasgow has undergone a period of regeneration since the early 1990s. A strong Glaswegian identity still exists, resulting in a characteristic

Glaswegian vernacular, particularly in the spoken form. Menzies (1991) describes the Glasgow dialect as historically derived from West Mid Scots vernacular with subsequent influences from Standard English introduced in the eighteenth century, Highland English and Hibernian English. It is traditionally associated with the working class and afforded low status. This variety of speech exists alongside the regional standard, Scottish Standard English (SSE) which is mainly associated with educated, middle class speakers. The grammar of SSE is broadly similar to Standard English and spoken with a Scottish accent to differing degrees. According to Stuart-Smith (1999), both Glasgow vernacular speech and SSE speech in Glasgow have characteristic accents and they differ from each other in terms of lexical incidence (particularly in the vowel system) and in terms of voice quality. Aitken (1979) argues that both varieties form a linguistic continuum with the two varieties at opposite ends of the scale and that speakers style shift and style drift according to the social context.

Language attitudes can be measured both directly and indirectly. Direct methods often involve subjects responding to questionnaires or interviews. Labov (1966) believes that direct questioning alone is of very little value and thus it is better to be used in conjunction with more indirect methods. The match-guise method is probably the most frequently employed indirect technique for measuring language attitudes. It was developed by Lambert in the 1960s with the aim of measuring attitudes indirectly under laboratory conditions. It is hoped that this technique allows all variables to be controlled, other than the samples of speech which the subjects respond to. Respondents are required to rate a speaker on a number of traits on a Likert scale, based on his/her speech in a number of guises. Language attitude studies frequently involve a mixture of direct and indirect methods, with some factors of the experiments hidden from the subjects and others not.

Language attitude studies on spoken varieties of English produced by native speakers have indicated that females tend to be more favorable than males to standard varieties and males to be more positive than females towards non-standard varieties (Labov, 1972; Milroy, 1987; Menzies, 1991). In the case of varieties of Scottish English it is the perceptions of native speakers which have been the subject of much of the language attitude research. McKenzie (1996) found both gender and age to be significant variables with both females and older members of the sample more likely to hold negative attitudes to Glasgow vernacular speech. This finding was replicated by Menzies (1991), who concluded that females were more likely than males to display negative attitudes to Glasgow speech amongst a sample of adolescents living in the east end of the city, an area of Glasgow traditionally associated with deprivation. Macafee (1994) conducted a major language attitude survey in working class areas in the east end of Glasgow and commented on the distinction made by a number of respondents between 'rough' and 'respectable' Glasgow speech.

With regard to studies of Scottish English more generally, Sandred (1983) found social class to be a significant variable with working class respondents more likely to perceive non-standard lexical and grammatical items more favorably than middle class speakers, in a sample of native speaker residents of Edinburgh. Williamson (1982, in Aitken 1994:15) found a 'Scottish' accent rated highly on friendliness and generosity and low on wealth, prestige and intelligence amongst Scottish teachers.

Previous research on the language attitudes of non-native speakers has tended to focus on the preferred learning variety of English. This has typically included investigating attitudes to both non-native Expanding Circle varieties (e.g. Japanese English) and native Inner Circle varieties (most often standard British and/or American English). In most cases a preference for the native variety has been demonstrated (Chiba et al, 1995; Flaitz, 1993; Benson, 1991).

Starks and Paltridge (1996), on the other hand, investigated non-native speaker attitudes to two native speech varieties. They discovered that that amongst a sample of Japanese tertiary level students studying in New Zealand, females indicated a preference for standard British English speech and males for a local non-standard variety of New Zealand English. Thus,

they concluded that Japanese males were more likely to accept local varieties of English (in this case New Zealand English) than Japanese females.

In a similar recent survey, McKenzie (2003) found there to be a broad tolerance towards both Scottish Standard English speech and Glasgow vernacular speech amongst a sample of Japanese nationals resident in Glasgow and Stirling, a Scottish city approximately 30 miles away. Neither the place of residence nor the gender of the informants were thought to be significant in determining their language attitudes towards the two varieties of English speech.

With regard to the Japanese language itself, Carroll (2001) believes that attitudes amongst Japanese nationals towards urban non-standard varieties of Japanese speech are increasingly favorable. This appears to be the case for *Osaka-ben* (Osaka dialect) in particular, perhaps due to its commercial power and high level of use on radio and television. One relatively recent newspaper article reports that the favorability to *Osaka-ben* varies according to both age and regional provenance, with younger Japanese and those born in western Japan (where Osaka is located) being generally more positive (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 8 November 1993, cited in Carroll, 2001:194). It is not known whether the language attitudes that Japanese nationals hold to varieties of the Japanese language influence any attitudes they may hold to varieties of English.

As far as pedagogy is concerned, the attitudes that English language learners hold towards varieties of English is believed to be of importance for a number of reasons. Gardner (1982) maintains that generally, there appears to be a positive correlation between a favorable attitude to a language and achievement in the acquisition of this language. He suggests that this is largely due to a tendency for learners with positive attitudes to retain the motivation to study the target language for longer periods and to be more involved in lessons in the language classroom. Friedrich (2000) argues that educators should be aware of the language attitudes of their students towards varieties of English in order to fully address their needs and deal with the mixed feelings that English, as an international language provokes. Starks and Paltridge (loc. cit.) maintain that the choice of a model of English for teaching and learning is influenced by students' attitudes towards English and that it is important to discover what variety of English second and foreign language learners want as an ideal language goal. More generally, they also stressed a need for language attitude studies involving non-native speakers to examine variables in the sample such as gender and age, which may indicate attitude change and have implications for language policy amongst different sections of the language learning population. However, there has been an insufficient number of studies concentrating specifically on the measuring of attitudes of non-native speakers to varieties of English to draw clear conclusions on the potential significance of such perceptions.

In the case of Japan, Maher (1995) suggests that there currently exists a lack of a sociolinguistic framework to describe the seemingly complex language situation in the country. He maintains that this is largely due to a historical tendency for cultural and linguistic issues to be interpreted from a Western ethnocentric viewpoint and the perceptions and experiences of the Japanese themselves are not always taken into account. This lack of a sociolinguistic framework has repercussions for language attitude research in Japan. For example, in the study of language attitudes, the most salient social divisions are identified as being along class lines in the UK and along racial lines in the US (Lindemann, 2003). However, it is, at present, unknown which social categories are significant with regard to perceptions of language amongst the Japanese population. Garrett (2001) believes language attitudes in general are a key component in the building of sociolinguistic theory. Thus, there is a clear need for research to be conducted amongst subsections of the Japanese population, both at home and abroad, investigating social evaluations of language in order to help provide a sociolinguistic framework for contemporary Japan. This is broadly compatible with the view of Donahue (1998), who believes that there is a current paradigm shift in Japanese

research generally, where the formally dominant 'group model' is being modified to include social variation amongst the population.

The present study sought to investigate possible differences in attitude to varieties of Scottish English speech between Japanese students resident in Scotland and Japanese students resident in their home country who had never visited Scotland. Specifically, it was hypothesised that the gender of the respondents would affect attitudes to both Glasgow vernacular speech and Scottish Standard English speech. This hypothesis was chosen due to evidence from previously mentioned studies indicating gender differentiation in attitudes. Moreover, it was hypothesised that the current place of residence (i.e., living in Scotland or Japan) would affect the language attitudes to both varieties of Scottish English speech. Thus, it was considered that the amount of exposure to and familiarity with the language varieties would be a determinant of attitude.

## **2. Methodology**

The sample consisted of 32 Japanese nationals. 16 informants had been resident in Glasgow for 3 months or more and were studying at Glasgow University. The other 16 respondents were resident in Japan, studying at either Kyushu University, Fukuoka or Saga University, both situated in the north of Kyushu, the third-largest and most southerly of the 4 major islands of Japan. The vast majority of the subjects were currently studying the English language at University and all the respondents had studied English at some point in the previous 18 months. Both the 'Scotland' and the 'Japan' groups were made up of 8 male and 8 female informants. It was considered that the 'Japan' respondents would be unlikely to have had much contact with speakers of the Glasgow vernacular and thus little or no exposure to this variety of speech. However, it was assumed that the Japan based informants would have been exposed to British or US Standard English speech, if not the Scottish English variety in their home country. Thus, those informants resident in Glasgow would be much more familiar with the varieties of English spoken in the city. All of the subjects had received at least 6 years English language education at school in Japan and had attained at least an upper intermediate (IELTS 6.0 or equivalent) level in English. It was considered that the sample was generally representative of Japanese nationals studying at that time in Glasgow University, Kyushu University and Saga University.

Two male speakers were recorded on high quality cassettes. Speaker 1 was 36 years old and Speaker 2 was 37 years old. Both were born in the traditionally working class Springburn area of Glasgow and had a 'Glaswegian accent'. Both speakers were recorded using 'broad guise' Glasgow vernacular speech in their relaxed home environment. The speech recordings of Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 in 'broad guise' were considered to be very similar and representative of Glasgow vernacular speech. Speaker 2 was also recorded using 'formal guise', situated in a University classroom with formal seating arrangements. This recording was considered to be generally representative of the variety of Scottish Standard English spoken in the west of Scotland. The speakers spoke for approximately 2 to 3 minutes and discussed their free time activities in all the recordings.

The Glasgow respondents were interviewed individually in late 2001 in a small lecture theatre in the University of Glasgow. The Japan respondents were interviewed under very similar conditions some months later in lecture theatres in Kyushu University and Saga University. The questionnaire itself consisted of two parts. The first introductory section sought to examine language attitudes to spoken Glaswegian directly. The subjects were required to classify Glasgow speech (speaker 1) as 'good English', 'bad English' or 'don't know' and to give reasons for their choice. Part 2 aimed to examine language attitudes indirectly by employing Lambert's match-guise technique. Subjects were required to rate the speech of speaker 2 (in both broad and formal guises) for 10 cognitive and affective traits on a seven part semantic differential scale. The traits chosen can be divided into 4 broad dimensions of 'correctness' (clear, fluent), 'superiority' (intelligent, educated, high status job), 'social

attractiveness' (likeable, friendly, honest) and 'dynamism' (ambitious, confident). The subjects were given the opportunity to hear the recordings as often as they required with the majority of the respondents listening to the speech 2 to 3 times.

### 3. Results and Discussion

Table 1 below indicates that a large percentage of the total number of respondents (43.8%) in Part 1 of the questionnaire classified the speech of speaker 1 as 'bad English'. Subjects making this choice tended to focus on the lack of clarity, monotonous tone, 'strangeness', 'laziness' or 'relaxed nature' of the speech. One speaker (Glasgow male) commented on the '...grammatical mistakes and very simple sentences'. The 21.9% of the respondents who classified the speech as 'good English' remarked upon the ease of comprehensibility of the speech. Those respondents (34.3%) who marked the speech 'don't know' commented upon the informal nature or the lack of clarity of the speech and the difficulties this posed in terms of classification. The relatively high proportion of informants choosing this category may reflect a traditional cultural reluctance by the Japanese to give opinions directly for fear of appearing impolite or causing offence to others. However, it may also indicate unwillingness amongst the informants to evaluate *any* native speaker (i.e. Inner Circle) speech unfavourably.

Table 1 also demonstrates that a larger percentage of males (31.3%) than females (12.5%) categorised the speech as 'good English'. A higher percentage of females (50.0%) than males (37.5%) viewed the speech unfavourably, classifying it as 'bad English'. Moreover, a greater proportion of females (37.5%) than males (31.3%) were undecided in their choice, selecting the 'don't know' category. These results appear to support the previously mentioned findings where males were found to be more positive than females towards non-standard varieties of English.

In relation to place of residence, Table 1 indicates that a greater number of respondents resident in Glasgow were willing to pass judgement on the speech of speaker 1. A greater number of informants resident in Glasgow (31.3%) viewed the speech of speaker 1 positively than of those informants resident in Japan (12.5%). However, a greater number of Glasgow residents also classified the speech negatively (56.3% compared to 37.5%). The respondents resident in Japan seemed much less clear as to how to classify the speech with 56.3% responding 'don't know' as opposed to only 12.5% for the Glasgow residents, perhaps reflecting a greater familiarity with the variety of speech amongst the Scottish based informants. Thus, the speech may be more unintelligible for the Japan based subjects than the Glasgow based subjects.

**Table 1.** Classification of speech of speaker 1 according to the Total Sample and by Gender and Place of Residence (32 Subjects).

<i>Variable</i>		<b>Classification</b>		
		<i>Good English</i>	<i>Bad English</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
Total Sample (N=32)		7 (21.9%)	14 (43.8%)	11 (34.3%)
Gender	Male (n=16)	5 (31.3%)	6 (37.5%)	5 (31.3%)
	Female(n=16)	2 (12.5%)	8 (50.0%)	6 (37.5%)
Place of Residence	Glasgow (n=16)	5 (31.3%)	9 (56.3%)	2 (12.5%)
	Japan (n=16)	2 (12.5%)	5 (31.3%)	9 (56.3%)

Table 2a below indicates that although the respondents generally rated both the formal guise speech and broad guise speech positively, the sample as a whole responded more favourably to the formal guise than the broad guise with mean values of 3.113 and 3.566 respectively. Moreover, in order to ascertain the significance of these ratings an independent *t* test was conducted (as shown in Table 2b). The results indicate that the difference in the responses to the formal guise and broad guise was significant, employing an alpha= .05 level of significance.

**Table 2a.** Means and Standard Deviations of attitudes to the speech of speaker 2 in Broad (B) and Formal (F) guises by the Total Sample.

Total Sample (N=32)			
Speaker Guise	Mean	SD	S.E.
Broad	3.566	0.889	0.157
Formal	3.113	0.908	0.160

**Table 2b.** T-test values for Speech amongst Total Sample

(N=32)		
<i>T-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
2.017	62	0.048

Moreover, Table 3a demonstrates that males responded more positively to the broad guise speech than females, with mean values of 3.512 and 3.619. However, males appeared to be less favourable towards the formal guise speech than the females with mean values of 3.319 and 2.906. In this case the results of an independent *t* test (as shown in Table 3b) suggest that the differences in the responses of males and females to both the broad guise speech and the formal guise speech were not significant.

**Table 3a.** Means and Standard Deviations of attitudes to the speech of speaker 2 in Broad (B) and Formal (F) guises according to Gender.

Speaker Guise	Male(n=16)			Female(n=16)		
	Mean	SD	S.E	Mean	SD	S.E
Broad	3.512	0.872	0.2179	3.619	0.932	0.233
Formal	3.319	0.751	0.188	2.906	1.023	2.558

**Table 3b.** T-test values for Speech by Gender

(B)Broad Guise (n=16)			(F) Formal Guise (n=16)		
<i>T-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>T-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
0.333	30	0.741	1.3	13	0.204

Table 4a indicates that there were differences in the responses to the speech of Speaker 2 according to place of residence. The respondents residing in Glasgow were more favourable to both the broad guise and the formal guise speech than those based in Japan with mean values of 3.389 to 3.743 and 3.069 to 3.157. Again, the results of an independent *t* test (as shown in Table 4b) indicate that the differences in the responses of the Japanese subjects resident in Glasgow and Japan to both the broad guise and formal guise speech were not significant.

**Table 4a.** Means and Standard Deviations of attitudes to the speech of speaker 2 in Broad (B) Formal (F) guises according to Place of Residence.

Speaker Guise	Glasgow (n=16)			Saga/Fukuoka (n=16)		
	Mean	SD	S.E	Mean	SD	S.E.
Broad	3.389	1.030	0.258	3.743	0.718	0.180
Formal	3.069	0.891	0.229	3.157	0.951	0.238

**Table 4b.** T-test values for Place of Residence

(B)Broad Guise			(F)Formal Guise		
<i>T-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>T-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
-1.139	30	0.264	0.269	30	0.790

Overall, Table 1 illustrates that the informants were generally unfavourable or unsure in their responses to the Glasgow vernacular speech of Speaker 1 when directly questioned. Females and the respondents currently resident in Glasgow were the least favourable in their classifications whilst those resident in Japan were most unsure of how to classify the speech. Males and the subjects resident in Glasgow were most favourable towards the speech. However, Table 2 demonstrates that the respondents generally held positive attitudes to both the broad guise and formal guise speech when questioned indirectly employing the match-guise technique. Statistical analysis suggests that the more positive response to the formal guise speech than the broad guise speech amongst the informants was significant. Table 3 and Table 4 indicate that there were no significant differences in attitude to the broad guise speech and formal guise speech according to gender or place of residence.

#### 4. Conclusion

The results from the more detailed Part 2 of the questionnaire, through indirect testing employing the match guise technique suggest that the Japanese informants were generally tolerant towards both the standard variety, Scottish Standard English speech and the non-standard variety, Glasgow vernacular speech. This may be due to the fact that both varieties were (accurately) perceived to be from the Inner Circle of English speaking countries and thus, as indigenous forms of speech, rated highly on the previously mentioned dimensions of ‘correctness’, ‘superiority’, ‘social attractiveness’ and ‘dynamism’.

Moreover, the finding that the respondents were significantly more favourable in their responses to the prestige form (SSE) is consistent with the majority of previous language attitude studies involving native speaker evaluations. However, the hypothesis that gender would affect the language attitudes towards Glasgow vernacular speech and Scottish Standard English speech was not supported by the data. For the same reason the hypothesis that previous exposure to the Glasgow vernacular would be a significant factor in determining language attitudes was rejected in this case. Thus, the gender of the informants and the familiarity with the variety of speech do not appear to be significant variables in accounting for the preference expressed for Scottish Standard English speech over Glasgow vernacular speech. Therefore, the factors that account for the variation in favourability between the two varieties of speech are unknown. The results of Part 1 of the questionnaire where a large number of the subjects classified the Glasgow vernacular speech as either ‘bad English’ or ‘don’t know’ conflicts with the general tolerance towards both varieties of speech found in the responses in Part 2 of the questionnaire. This suggests a degree of ambivalence amongst the informants towards non-standard forms of Inner Circle speech.

Kubota (loc.cit.) has stated a need for teachers of English in Japan to expose and familiarise their students to Outer Circle and Expanding Circle varieties of English. It would also be beneficial to introduce non-standard native varieties of English speech to Japanese learners

with the aim of reducing the ambivalence there appears to be about such varieties and to further broaden students' cultural and linguistic perspectives of the world. It is, however, imperative that teachers of English in Japan themselves develop a more tolerant approach to traditionally less prestigious varieties of native English speech. This may be achieved through both exposing these teachers to non-standard varieties of native English speech and increasing the quantity of sociolinguistic study in the syllabuses of both initial and ongoing language teacher-training courses in Japan. These measures could result in a deeper linguistic and cultural awareness of Inner Circle countries amongst both teachers and learners of English and help to deconstruct trivialised and simplified stereotypes of American and British culture which are so prevalent in English language textbooks and the media generally in Japan. The apparent tolerance towards both standard and non-standard varieties of native English speech may also have pedagogical implications for the choice of linguistic model employed in English language teaching in areas where non-standard urban English vernaculars are widely spoken. It could be that exposing English language students to both local standard and non-standard varieties of English speech would not significantly reduce their motivation for acquiring the language, whilst at the same time familiarising learners with local varieties of English which they are likely to hear outside of the classroom.

A further implication of the findings of the study is that there is a clear requirement for further attitudinal research to be conducted amongst Japanese nationals learning English to determine the validity of the results obtained in this and other similar studies. As mentioned previously, this would aid researchers in the provision of a sociolinguistic framework for contemporary Japan. In particular, there is a need to examine differences in social evaluations of language amongst subsections of the Japanese population to determine whether and to what extent other variables, such as age, educational background, socio-economic status, language level, regional provenance and ethnicity can account for variations in attitude. In addition, it would be profitable to measure how accurately listeners identify the varieties of speech. This is because misidentification could have a confounding effect on the way speech varieties and speakers are evaluated, with subsequent implications for the validity of any results obtained. Although gender and familiarity with the speech variety were not found to be significant variables in this study, further examination of these and other factors within the population is likely to provide useful indications of attitude change towards varieties of English. Such findings are likely to have pedagogical implications for the choice of linguistic model employed in English language classrooms in Japan by both policy makers and educators.

## Notes

1. The questionnaire and the speech recordings used in this survey are available from the author.
2. I am grateful to Mr. Douglas Graham, EFL Unit, University of Glasgow; Mr. Sayed Mohsen Hosseini, Dept. of Statistics, University of Glasgow; Professor Christine Ray, Dept. of Economics, Saga University, Ms. Chizu Shinohara, O.P.C.I.A., Kyushu University, Fukuoka and the staff at The Consulate General of Japan, Edinburgh for their invaluable help.

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## APPENDIX

### QUESTIONNAIRE.

This questionnaire is part of a survey on varieties of English. The information received will be treated in the strictest confidence and will be used for no other purpose.

#### Personal Details

Initials \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Length \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ Time \_\_\_\_\_ Studying  
English \_\_\_\_\_

Nationality \_\_\_\_\_ Native Language \_\_\_\_\_

Area/Town currently Residing \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you lived there? \_\_\_\_\_

#### Part 1 -Speaker 1.

1. Listen to the speaker and classify the speech (one answer only).

a) Good English                       b) Bad English                       c) Other

Why did you make this choice?

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#### Part 2a - Speaker 2

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

Example, 1=very intelligent, 7= very unintelligent.

intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
educated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	uneducated
not honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
unclear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	clear
friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
unlikeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	likeable
high status	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	low status
job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	job
ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not ambitious
confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not confident
not fluent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	fluent

#### Part 2b Speaker 3

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

Example, 1=very intelligent, 7= very unintelligent.

intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
educated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	uneducated
not honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
unclear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	clear
friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
unlikeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	likeable
high status	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	low status
job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	job
ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not ambitious
confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not confident
not fluent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	fluent