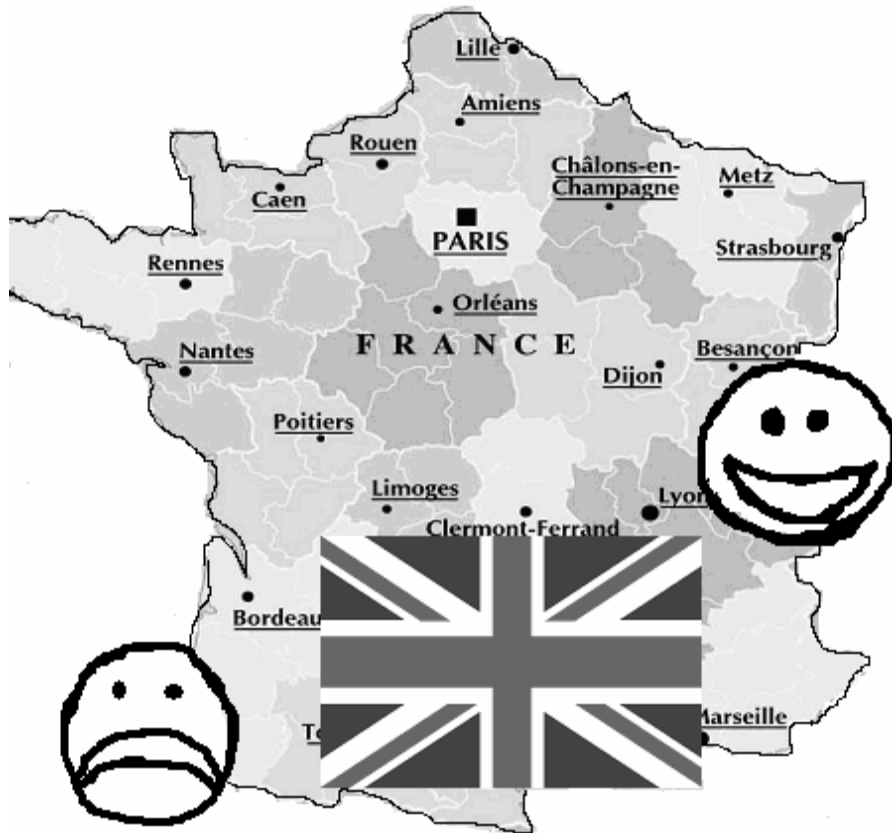


Do the French like English?

A study of French attitudes to English



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Introduction

When I was ten years old I started to learn English in school. The goal of learning this language was made clear from the very beginning; to *communicate* with English speaking people. At the age of eleven, on holidays with my parents, I became curious about the nationality of a bus-driver I saw on a ferry (as the number plate on the bus did not look like number plates on Norwegian cars). Without any further consideration, I entered the bus and asked the bus driver: “Where do you come from?” To show him my gratitude for kindly responding to my little request, I further asked: “Do you want to taste my candies?”

Very proud, and thrilled that my English has proved itself useful to communicate with foreigners, even though I was only capable of formulating two sentences, I found my parents and continued the holiday-trip. At this point I took it for granted that everyone who learned a foreign language did so in order to use it for communication.

It was not until years later that I realized that my communicative attitude was not as usual as I previously thought. During longer stays in French speaking Switzerland and in France I met students of English at university level who were not capable, or did not want to use English for communication. I found this very surprising and strange, and I started to wonder why this might be so. This question was reinforced by numerous conversations with people who had visited France as tourists or met French people abroad and found them very reluctant to speak English and therefore concluded that the French have negative attitudes to English.

During studies at University of Nancy, University of York and University of Bergen, my interest for sociolinguistics was formed, and sociolinguistics became a natural framework for further investigation of French attitudes to English. Personal interest in the relation between French and English combined with a fascination for sociolinguistics created the idea of writing this thesis.

The main question which will be investigated in this thesis is as follows: *Is it a stereotype that the French have negative attitudes to English, or are the French as negative to English as speakers of other languages generally tend to believe?*

This thesis is divided into two parts: a *theoretical part* (p 1-55) and an *empirical part* (p 56-110). In the theoretical part there are four chapters: Chapter One introduces sociolinguistics and social psychology in order to present a larger context for language attitudes. In addition, Chapter one comments on attitudes in relation to age, gender, identity and standardization, which are important concepts used in the formulation of the hypotheses. Chapter Two comments on

attitudes, and discusses how different researchers view the origin, the nature, the structure, and the definition of attitudes. In addition, Chapter Two comments on variables which influence language attitudes, and also on the relation between attitudes and second language learning. Further, Chapter three gives a background for the position of English in France, in addition to introducing three important previous studies done on French attitudes to English; Flaitz (1988), Walker (1998), and Oakes (2001). The theoretical part concludes with a short Chapter Four, which introduces the research questions and the hypotheses used in the present study.

In order to be able to find answers to the research questions, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to 150 respondents in France in December 2003 and January 2004. Also, during my in-field-stay in France in January 2004, seven interviews were conducted and recorded. A combination of the results of the questionnaires and of the interviews leads to the conclusion of this mainly qualitative study.

The empirical part starts by Chapter Five introducing the methods used for the present study. In the following Chapter Six, the results of the questionnaires and the interviews are presented separately, for later to be discussed in the following Chapter Seven. The thesis is concluded in Chapter Eight.

1 SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

1.1 Introduction to Sociolinguistics and Social Psychology

The main focus of this thesis is language attitudes, but in order to put language attitudes into a larger context the domains of sociolinguistics and social psychology will be considered. “The term ‘sociolinguistics’ was coined in the 1950s to unite the perspectives of linguists and sociologists to bear on issues concerning the place of language in society, and to address, in particular, the social context of linguistic diversity” (Romaine 2000: ix). It quickly became well known that language is concerned with more than grammatical rules. For instance, language is linked to the development of relationships through interaction with different people, and it therefore concerns both sociology and society (Romaine 2000: ix).

The study of language and society are often referred to as *sociolinguistics*. Fishman (1975:3) explains sociolinguistics by stating that “it seeks to discover the societal rules or norms that explain and constrain language behavior and the behavior towards language in speech communities”. According to Fishman (1975), the main focus of sociolinguistics is to study the societal rules that apparently influence the use of language. Fishman (1975) states further that “sociolinguistics also seeks to determine the symbolic value of language varieties for their speakers” (Fishman 1975: 3). So, according to Fishman (1975:3), sociolinguists are looking for societal rules and the symbolic value that play an important role for the understanding of how people interact.

Fishman (1975:3) develops his ideas by defining sociolinguistics as the “the study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions, and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change and change one another within a speech community”. ‘Varieties’, ‘functions’ and ‘speakers’ are key-words in this context, and in order to say something about language use, it is important to consider all of these three components, and especially the interaction between them, which is what leads to linguistic diversity. This diversity makes sociolinguistics complex at the same time as it makes it more interesting, and the focus on variation and diversity changes the perspective from traditional linguistics.

Fashold (1984: ix) asserts that traditional linguistics has often ignored two facts about language that are important in sociolinguistics; first, the fact that language varies exemplified by the ability of the same speaker to say the same thing in different ways; and second, the fact that

language serves a critical purpose for its users just as much as an obvious one. “Serving a critical purpose as well as an obvious one means that language is used to “transmit information and thoughts from one person to another (the obvious purpose). At the same time, however, the speaker is using language to make statements about who she is, what her group loyalties are, how she perceives her relationship to her hearer, and what sort of speech event she considers herself to be engaged in” (the critical purpose) (Fashold 1984:ix). According to Fashold (1984), language variation makes it possible to use language both to communicate information and to define a social situation. Sociolinguistics can therefore be defined as “the study of interplay between these two facts about language” (Fashold 1984: ix). In other words, sociolinguists are concerned with how speakers use variation to combine the two important functions of language, which are sharing information and saying something about the relationship to the interlocutor. As sociolinguistics often focuses on variation, speakers and the different functions of language, the most interesting, but also the most challenging, is to find the relationship between these factors and how they influence each other.

To conclude, it seems clear that sociolinguistics combines aspects of both sociology and linguistics, and tries to explain all the variation in language use. Further, as language is used primarily in interactions between speakers, it has also been argued that social psychology is an important part of sociolinguistics.

Giles (1979) comments on the definition of sociolinguistics previously made by Fishman (1975:3) (see previous page). Following Giles (1979), this definition is mostly concerned with description and taxonomy which, according to Giles (1979) can lead to more extended knowledge about what, when and where a language is used, but not so much about *why* a sociolinguistic phenomenon occurs, which, according to him, is also important to investigate. Besides, Giles (1979:2) argues that “if we are going to understand why individuals acquire, use and react to language and its varieties in the way they do, we require a greater understanding of the dynamics of attitudes, motivations, identities and intentions, that is, social psychological phenomena”. Further, Giles (1979) asserts that in order to understand the variation and complexity of language use which is investigated by sociolinguistics, social psychological phenomena need to be included. Moreover, Giles (1979: 2) defines social psychology as “the study of an individual’s behavior in his or her social context”. This is also commented on further by Allport, who has defined social psychology as “an attempt to understand how the thoughts, feelings and the behaviors of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others” (Allport in Giles 1979: 2-3), or as commented by Tajfel and Israel; social

psychology concerns “how society and its structure (...) affect the individual’s social behavior” (Tajfel and Israel 1972 in Giles 1979: 3).

It is clear from what Giles (1979) argues that social psychology is concerned with behaviour, and particularly behaviour in a social setting. When we are in a setting with other people language is an important tool for influencing others, and therefore “much social behavior is concerned with the decoding and encoding of verbal and nonverbal language variables” (Giles 1979: 2). In other words, this means that to understand how language is used is important for explaining people’s social behaviour. Furthermore, in order to explain functions of language varieties and the characteristics of their speakers, which Fishman (1975) has argued to be the main purpose of sociolinguistics, it seems impossible to avoid factors such as *attitudes*, *motivations*, *identities* and *intensions* as these to some extent will influence language use. All in all, it can be concluded that social psychology needs to be considered along with sociolinguistics in order to understand more fully the complexity of language variation and use.

1.2 Language standardization and linguistic attitudes

According to Giles (1979), one social-psychological variable that is important is language attitudes. As previously mentioned, sociolinguistics is concerned with linguistic variation, and it is obvious that people have different attitudes to language varieties and language use. One factor that can influence people’s linguistic attitudes is language standardization. Language standardization has been studied by many, and it is described, for example, in Fishman (1975) as “the codification and acceptance, within a community of users, of a formal set of norms defining ‘correct’ usage” (Stewart 1968 quoted in Fishman 1975:24). The notion of ‘correct usage’ is prominent on most definitions of standard, and there seems to be a general belief that it is possible to find one variety which is ‘better’ and ‘more correct’ than the others. The idea about a ‘better’ or more ‘correct’ variety reoccurs in many definitions of standardization, for example: “standardization is the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm,- the “best” form of the language- rated above regional and social dialects” (Ferguson 1968 in Fashold 1984: 248). Haugen further explains standardization by commenting on codification, which “is formulated and presented to all or part of the speech community via such means as grammars, dictionaries, spellers, style manuals, and exemplary texts, whether written or oral. Finally, the acceptance of the formally codified variety

of a language is advanced via such agencies and authorities as the government, the educational system and the mass media” (Haugen in Fishman 1975: 25).

In the process of standardization different agencies try to influence people’s linguistic habits and attitudes. These agencies have authority in different areas, and they try to use this authority to teach people what they think is the right way to speak (Haugen in Fishman 1975: 25). Further, it should also be mentioned that when the ‘the correct way’ of language use is described by different authorities, the standard they create is prescriptive rather than descriptive (Romaine 2000:90). This means that a standard describes language as it should be (prescriptive) rather than how it really is, or how it is actually used (descriptive). Many sociolinguists would argue that in being prescriptive a standard can be somehow unnatural, as few people would naturally use a standard when they use language.

Even if sociolinguists do not view standards as superior to other varieties, it is interesting to see how lay people are influenced by standards and how different social groups react to them. Fasold (1984:261) has argued that language planning and standardization try to exert conscious influence, and this clearly links standardization to language attitudes. When a language is standardized, governmental and educational authorities try to influence people’s attitudes towards language use. They try to make people more negative to the use of local varieties by encouraging them to use the standard variety. If the standardization is successful from the authorities’ perspective, people’s linguistic attitudes are influenced so that “ the nonstandard varieties tend to be considered deviant, even corrupt versions of the language, their speakers being thought of as lazy or less intelligent” (Preisler 1993:6-7). Moreover, Preisler (1993: 7) comments that a standard language gives the speakers prestige, and it provides cultural autonomy. In other words, standardization influences people’s attitudes to language by defining what is the most prestigious, and thereby what is correct or better usage. Defining a standard gives social prestige to one group and less social prestige to another, and gives a group or an individual a sense of cultural authenticity and independence. The influence standardization has on people’s attitudes to language depends on many factors, such as, for example, the gender of the group of people who experiences it.

1.3 Language, gender and attitudes

Many studies have been carried out in relation to language and gender, and there seems to be a general agreement that there are differences between male and female speech (Labov 1972,

Trudgill 1983, Preisler 1993, Heselwood & McChrystal 2000, Romaine 2000, Eckert & McConnell 2003 etc). These differences seem to be clear already at an early stage in life. For example, a study by Romaine (2000) in Edinburgh shows that kids at the age of 6 are already aware of gender differences. Further, it has been proposed that the distinctions between male and female speech are also related to social position, and that women try to use linguistic means to obtain prestige that they do not receive by being female (Romaine 2000: 79).

The most recent trend within research on language and gender seems to be an increasing awareness of the complexity regarding gender differences. Gender is not a separate factor that influences language regardless of other factors. On the contrary, it interferes with many other factors. Kramrae (1982) suggests that gender differences can be explained by stereotypes: “Men’s speech is stereotypically logical, concise, and deals with important topics; women’s speech is emotional, flowery (many unnecessary adjectives and adverbs), confused and wordy” (Kramrae 1982: 91). According to her it is suggested that these stereotypes of speech will influence our understanding of what is said (Kramrae 1982: 91). Otherwise she seems to agree with Romaine about the complexity of this issue. Based on many different studies, “the researchers conclude that gender does not have a constant, dominant salience across all situations, that some speech traits stereotypically linked to females or to males likely overlap and interact on many occasions with other discriminations such as those related to age, class, race, political ideology, ethnic and regional background” (Kramrae 1982: 95). With the complexity of this issue in mind, it is particularly interesting to consider female attitudes to standard variety and how men and women use the standard variety differently.

In section 1.2 about standardization, it is suggested that standardization may influence people’s linguistic behaviour, but how and why it influences men and women differently is a hard question to answer. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:281-282) suggest that a standard variety is, maybe stereotypically, associated with values such as homogeneity, rationality, stability, refinement, and objective, rather than technical, knowledge etc. These associations link language to, for example, gender and class (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 282). There is not necessarily a direct connection between women and the use of standard varieties; it is more that the associations or the stereotypes associated with the standard may appeal more to women than to men. The stereotypes that are created by standardization and the attitudes towards these might help explain some of the gender differences that exist between males and females.

Recent studies by Heselwood and McChrystal (2000) on bilingual Punjabi speakers in Bradford show that girls have a stronger English influence than boys. It is suggested that this

might be due to the maintenance of gender differences rather than to adopting the standard variety. Having a Punjabi accent might be important to show membership in a particular community, or the Punjabi accent might be used consciously by the men to distinguish themselves from the women, who tend to speak with a more Standard English accent. However, there might also be other reasons for speaking different varieties than just different attitudes to the standard (Heselwood & McChrystal 2000).

Baker (1992) writes about attitudes to Welsh, and the studies she refers to illustrate how the girls' attitudes to Welsh differ from those of the boys (Baker 1992:42). She argues that these differences are not biological; rather they are due to socio-cultural diversity in behaviour between the genders and also due to individual differences (*ibid*).

In addition, also Preisler (1993) discusses language and gender, and she suggests that the different language attitudes between men and women develop in early childhood. Referring to Maltz and Borker, it is argued that speech at the age of 5-15 is strongly influenced by the children's peer groups (Maltz and Borker 1982 in Preisler 1993). Boys tend to have large, hierarchical groups where they often play competitive games. Speech in a boy's group is used for self-assertion, and a non-standard variety is most common as it is often associated with toughness (Preisler 1993:3). Girls, on the other hand, play together in smaller groups, and their relationships are less competitive than the boys'. The girls use speech more to share feelings, and to communicate about thoughts. Furthermore, girls' groups change more frequently than the boys' groups. This instability of groups makes girls more open to influence from their mothers, whose speech is more standard than the children's peers (*ibid*). All in all, according to Preisler (1993), it is social groups and interaction that develop different ways of language use and different linguistic attitudes.

Baker (1992), Labov (1972), Trudgill (1983), Preisler (1993) and Heselwood and McChrystal (2000) make it clear that gender differences in speech do exist, but it is unclear how and to what extent gender interacts with other factors such as age and social class. It is not clear whether women and men speak differently because they have different linguistic attitudes, or whether their attitudes to language are developed because they speak differently. In other words, it is difficult to say how attitudes interact with other factors, and which factor has the strongest influence on language use. Therefore, the role of attitudes with regard to gender needs to be investigated further.

1.4 Language, age and attitudes

In contrast with gender, which is constant, the language user's age changes, and it is interesting to consider what influence this has on language, and also whether or to what extent our age influences acquisition, language development, language use, and language attitudes.

According to Chambers (in Coupland 2001:188) there are three main periods that are significant for the learning of another language. The first is childhood with a large influence from family and friends, then adolescence with influence from social networks, and later young adulthood, the influence depending on to what extent the speakers are involved in language-sensitive activities. According to Coupland (2001) there does not seem to be any major change from the middle-age and onwards. However, Coupland (2001) argues that there are factors that can lead to a development of language also in adults.

Nippold (1998:1) argues similarly to Coupland (2001) that language changes regardless of age: "it is difficult to identify any point in the life span when the process of language development is truly complete". According to Nippold (1998), language is constantly changing, also in adulthood, but the childhood is particularly important for language acquisition.

Age is an important factor that effects the development of language attitudes, and there is also evidence that younger and older speakers differ with regard to language use and linguistic attitudes (Dyer 2002, Baker 1992). Giles and Coupland (1991b:33) illustrate this as they claim that "when we talk about intergenerational communication we are talking of intercultural relations". By this statement they indicate that the distinction between young and elderly speakers is as big as the difference between two cultures. Young people therefore need to "attune communicatively when interacting with his or her elders" (ibid). This statement by Giles and Coupland (1991b) seems to illustrate the point about stereotypes made by Kramrae (1982). She uses stereotypes as an explanation for why we understand male and female speech differently, and stereotypes may also have an influence on interaction between different age-groups.

Giles and Coupland (1991b:35) suggest that "when group identity (in this case elderliness) becomes salient for whatever contextual reason, people not only depersonalize and stereotype a relevant out-group but also stereotype themselves. In other words they take characteristics they believe to be prototypical of the social group to which they themselves belong". It is suggested by this statement that stereotypes about old people influence the way in which young people address them and interact with them. Stereotypes are beliefs that are not necessarily based on objective observation, and they are closely linked with language attitudes.

Such attitudes play an important role as they “mediate both the young’s conceptions of the elderly’s interpretative and cognitive competences as well as the elderly’s construals of their own capacities” (ibid 36). It follows from the statements above that the difference in speech for different age-groups can be explained by supra-linguistic factors such as attitudes and beliefs about stereotypes.

Both linguistic attitudes and language use vary according to age, and several studies seem to indicate that it is the younger generation who are the catalysts behind linguistic change. Studies done by Labov “indicate that generational change rather than communal change is the basic model of sound change” (Labov 1994 in Coupland 2001: 190). Change in generations can also change linguistic behaviour and linguistic attitudes, as the dialect leveling in Corby illustrates.

Corby is a town situated about 100 miles north of London. In 1930 it was a small village of 1500 inhabitants, but due to the settlement of a Scottish company which established iron and steel works, the population grew to 36 000. Naturally many workers followed the company from Glasgow, and consequently Scottish English could be heard among many people in the working class. By the local population, the Scots were viewed as intruders, and there were negative attitudes towards their accent. This lasted for two generations, but now, nevertheless, it seems to have changed. Studies by Dyer (2002) show that young speakers today have much more positive attitudes to the Scottish accent, and that they actually use Scottish to show their identity with speakers from Corby as opposed to towns in the surrounding areas (Dyer 2002). This is an example of how the younger generation has different linguistic attitudes from their parents’, and therefore the age of the speakers has an influence on how language is used, and can lead to linguistic change. In addition, studies by Ammon (1994) and Baker (1992) find age to be important for language attitudes.

As shown in this section (1.4), language of different age-groups can be characterized in many ways, but these characterizations should not be separated from other factors, of linguistic, sociological and psychological nature, which influence language. As shown in Dyer (2002), Baker (1992) and Giles and Coupland (1991b), attitude is one factor which clearly interacts with age. The forum where the interplay of factors such as age, gender and attitudes takes place is social interaction or discourse, and further, interaction is the forum where social identity is largely established.

1.5 Language, identity and attitudes

Identity is defined by Heller (1987: 783) as “a social construct, grounded in social interaction in the activities and situations which arise as a product of the relationship of a social group to its social and physical environment. It is a product of shared social knowledge and a reflection of co-membership”. Being ‘grounded in social interaction’ this definition goes in the same direction as Riley’s (in Coupland 2001:204), who suggests that interaction is the forum where individual identities meet with other factors, and the forum where social identities are constructed. There seems to be an agreement that language is important for social identity, as Spolsky (1998) also suggests that “one of the most common ways of identifying a person is by his or her language” (Spolsky 1998: 57). Similarly, Romaine (2000) comments on the link between language and identity, saying that “choice of language is a part of a speaker’s presentation of self” (Romaine 2000: 148).

In interaction, identity is negotiated, and language is the tool by which this is done (Romaine 2000). Similarly, Eckert and Ginet (2003: 304) argue that language plays an important role in the forming of identity: “The claims that people make with language are not simply claims about class or about jobs; they are claims about who they are more broadly. People use language to construct whole personae -to lay claim to a place in the social landscape, to make social meaning of themselves.” This use of language for the construction of a persona can be exemplified by a study that is done at Belten High, a high-school in Detroit, Michigan. The results of this study seem to indicate that identity plays a more important role in the choice of language use than gender. For example, among socially privileged students at Belten High, there is a big difference between girls and boys in the use of negative concord, and the girls use it more than the boys. However, among the socially unprivileged, there is no big distinction between boys and girls regarding the use of negative concord, and “by far the greatest users of these forms are a group of burnout girls who pride themselves on their wild lifestyle and who are commonly referred to as the ‘burned-out burnouts” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003:295). In the study in Michigan the most rebellious girls seem to use nonstandard forms of the language to keep their nonconformist image. It follows from the study by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), that identity is important for how language is used, and perhaps more important than factors such as age and gender.

Another example which links language use to identity and language attitudes is the study in Corby mentioned earlier. Dyer (2002) wonders whether the change to use more Scottish

sounding English variants in Corby can be due to dialect leveling, that is, whether the Scottish dialect has reached another level and become more prestigious. She concludes that this would not be the full explanation, as the new dialect of the young speakers is still stigmatized by the outsiders of the Corby community. She has also discovered that the young Corby speakers do not identify particularly with the Scots. Accordingly, it is concluded that the young people from Corby use some language features of Scottish English to establish their identity. The prerequisite for this change in language use is a change in linguistic attitudes. The previous generation did not like the Scottish accent, and therefore tried to avoid it. The younger generation has adopted more positive attitudes to this variety, and, accordingly, their speech has been influenced by their positive attitudes, and this has made them speak differently from their parents who had negative attitudes.

The conclusion from the study by Dryer (2002) is that identity and attitudes are closely linked, but that both attitudes and identity are interwoven in an intricate network of factors that influence language use. This point is illustrated further by Eckert and Ginet (2003:305) who describe each speaker with a linguistic toolbox that each uses in his or her individual way. "The outcome of this is a communicative style, which combines with other components of style such as dress, ways of walking, hairdo, and so on to constitute the presentation of a personae, a self" (Eckert and Ginet 2003: 305). As each individual has the opportunity to use the linguistic toolbox as h/she wants, it is clear that there are many variants of speech and that it is almost impossible to draw any absolute conclusion about age, gender or identity separately as these constantly interact with each other in new ways.

To sum up, it is clear that social psychological variables such as attitudes are important for how language works in society. Variables such as standardization, identity, age and gender can in different ways influence language attitudes, but there is an intricate interplay between them. No variable, also other than those mentioned, seems to influence attitudes separately.

2 ATTITUDES

Many books and articles have been written about language attitudes, and much effort has been put into research on the structure of attitudes, the origin of attitudes, the nature of attitudes, the functions of attitudes and the definition of attitudes. For many researchers the goal seems to be to find the one and only correct definition of the nature, the origin or the structure of attitude, which is correct in an absolute sense, regardless of time and context. It should be made clear that this goal is impossible to reach. There are different theories about structure, origin etc of attitudes, and one theory is not necessarily more correct than another. The purpose of defining attitude is not to decide once and for all what an attitude is, but to make clear how attitude can be understood for the purpose of a particular study. This point is made clear by Hayakawa (in Janicki 1990: 8): “definitions, contrary to popular opinion, tell us nothing about things. They only describe people’s linguistic habits, that is, they tell us what noises people make under what conditions. Definitions should be understood as statements about language”. According to Hayakawa, definitions are not interesting in themselves, and should not be understood as telling any absolute truth about the world. Further, Janicki (1999: 9) makes it clear that in order to be useful, definitions need to be operational definitions or working definitions. “Unless reference is made to the extensional (physical) world, defining terms is a totally useless activity” which only leads to an “infinite regress of definitions” (ibid 14).

This thesis does not attempt to find any absolute truth about language attitudes; not does it attempt to define attitude in an absolute sense. What is written in the following chapter about the origin, the nature, the structure and the definition of attitude is only one way of seeing it. The goal is not to eliminate all other views, but to present background information about attitudes that will be useful to know in order to understand the empirical part of this study.

2.1 Fundamental views of attitudes

2.1.1 Mentalist versus behaviourist view of attitudes

Much research has been dedicated to finding the true nature of attitudes. For the purpose of this thesis the search for true nature is not considered an appropriate task (Cf above). However, for the sake of clarity, it is interesting to see what others have concluded about attitudes. The word ‘attitude’ has been derived from the Latin word ‘aptitude’ and the Italian ‘atto’, and the root-

meaning seems to be 'aptitude for action'. This means "having a tendency towards certain actions" (Baker 1992:11). The word "action" is very important when defining attitude and the relation between attitudes and action/behaviour has been one of the main focuses of discussion in the search for the nature of attitudes.

The two main views of attitude are the *mentalist* and the *behaviourist* view. Allport was the first to define attitude in a mentalist way calling it "a mental and neural state of readiness" (Allport 1935 in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:138). This definition implies that attitudes are not directly observable, but they have to be inferred from each subject's introspection (Agheysi & Fishman 1970:138). Even though attitudes, according to this view, are inferred from what people themselves say about them, they remain "an independent variable in the form of a latent psychological constant which is not tied up to the specific external stimulus situations in which the responses are made" (Agheysi & Fishman 1970:138). This means that an attitude is not dependent on any particular behaviour. It has its own existence autonomous of an individual's responses to stimulus. Still, experience is important for our attitudes, as argued in LING 905: "attitudes are organized through experience, and they have a dynamic influence on an individual's response to all objects and situations (Allport 1973 in LING 905:9). Of course, an attitude can often influence a person's response to a certain stimulus, but there is not a one to one correspondence between attitude and response. According to this view, an attitude is "a mediating factor" between any stimulus that affects an individual and that individual's response (Allport in LING 905:9). In other words, an attitude is something which influences a person's reaction to a particular stimulus.

In contrast to this, the behaviourist view sees attitude purely as "overt behaviour or responses" (Allport in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:138). Attitudes do not just influence a person's reaction; they are the reaction itself. The advantage of this view is that it makes it easy to locate and analyze attitudes as they can be explicitly observed. By observing how people behave in social situations it is possible to say something about their attitudes. However, this view has a draw back as it cannot use attitudes to predict behaviour (LING 905:9). Attitudes do not exist as independent variables, as they are not only linked with behaviour, but they are literally behaviour (Allport in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:138).

The mentalist view uses attitudes to predict behaviour as it is believed that attitude will influence the way people respond and behave in different situations. One problem with the mentalist view is that attitudes are not very easy to measure. If attitude is an internal state of readiness, it is not evident to identify it and distinguish it from other internal states that might

also influence behaviour (LING905:10). It is impossible to observe attitudes explicitly as they are internally in people's minds. Accordingly, all that is possible to know about them has to be implied from people's self-reports. Similarly, Baker (1992) also argues in this way comparing attitudes with a person's thoughts, processing-system and feelings, which are all hidden. Therefore, she argues, "attitudes are latent, inferred from the direction and persistence of external behaviour", and they "are a convenient and efficient way of explaining consistent patterns in behaviour" (Baker 1992:11). According to her, "attitudes often manage to summarise, explain, and predict behaviour" (ibid). Yet, another problem with the mentalist view is that the validity of people's self-reports is not always very high. One can never be sure that an individual really tells the truth about his/her attitudes when s/he is asked.

To sum up, the main difference between the mentalist and the behaviourist view is that Mentalists see attitude as something we have in the mind, which can and does influence human behaviour in different ways, whereas the Behaviourists see attitude as explicit behaviour.

2.1.2 The structure of attitudes

Another distinction between the mentalist and the behaviourist view of attitude is the way of seeing the structure of attitude as either *multiple* or *unitary*. Most of those who see attitude as a psychological variable, that is the mentalists, view attitude as having a structure of multiple components, while those who regard it as explicit behaviour typically see it as a unitary component (Agheysi & Fishman 1970:139). If attitude has a multiple structure, it is often considered to have different components: one cognitive, one affective and one conative.¹ Others, like Rokeach, claim that attitude is a construction of a system of beliefs, and that each of these beliefs is composed of cognitive, affective and behavioural components (Rokeach 1968 in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:139). Fishbein, who sees attitude as a unitary component, draws a distinction between attitude and belief, and explains this difference by stating that beliefs only

¹ The word *conative* is perhaps not usual in this context as conative often is understood as related to emotions. In this context a conative component should be understood as a synonym to the *behavioural component* and also as a synonym to the component *readiness for action*, as referred to by Baker (1992). Webster Online explains conative as: "an inclination (as an instinct, a drive, a wish or a craving) to act purposefully". The combination of cognitive, emotional and conative components is probably inspired by a famous theory in psychology, introduced by Hamilton (1859) who divides mental phenomena into "cognitive faculties, feelings, and exertive/conative powers" (Oxford Dictionary www 3 and Webster Online www 4). As used in this thesis, conative refers to the part of attitudes that leads to *action*.

have affective components, while attitudes have both cognitive and conative components (Fishbein in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:139). Fishbein's view of the structure of attitudes can be illustrated by the following Figure 2.1.

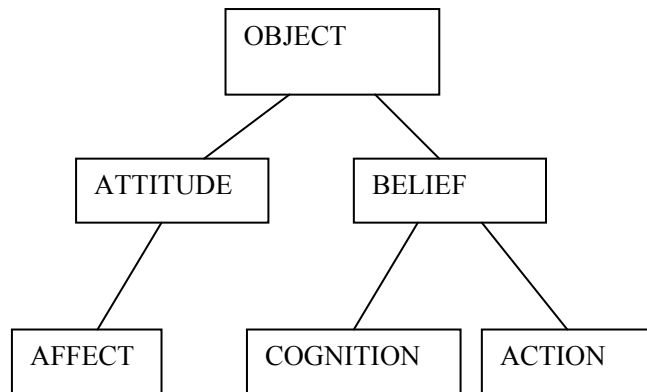


Figure 2.1: A unitary component structure of attitude. (Fishbein in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:140)

Figure 2.1 shows that Fishbein includes the components *affect*, *cognition* and *action* in his model of the structure of attitude, but it is only the affective component that is directly related to attitude. In this way attitude is seen to have a unicomponent structure.

The paper by Agheysi & Fishman (1970) demonstrates that the structure of attitudes was very much discussed in 1970 and the following decade. In Deperz & Persoon (1987) and Baker (1992), published some 20 years later, it is stated that attitude has three components, namely the *cognitive*, the *evaluative* and the *conative* (Baker 1992 refers to the conative component as readiness for action). The view of Deperz & Persoon (1987) and Baker (1992) is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

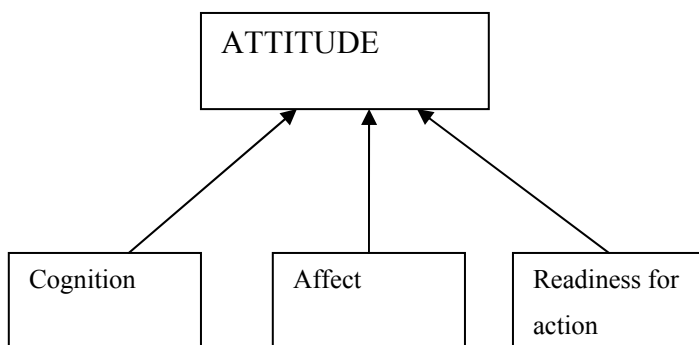


Figure 2.2: A multi-component structure of attitude (Baker 1992:13).

It follows from Baker (1992) and Deperz & Persoon (1987) that the view that attitudes are composed of these three components has become more or less agreed upon. The three component structure, as presented by Baker (1992: 13) is illustrated in Figure 2.2 and attitude is seen as a hierarchical structure with *cognition*, *affect* and *readiness for action* as its foundation. The model based on Baker (1992) is not very different from that of Fishbein (from Agheysi & Fishman 1970:139), apart from belief and object being taken away from it, and all three components being directly related to attitude and not to belief. The Baker (1992) model does not say anything about beliefs. The main distinction between these two models is that Fishbein sees the structure of attitude as consisting of just one component, namely affect, while Baker sees the structure of attitude as being “multicomponent”, consisting of cognition, affect and readiness for action.

According to Deperz & Persoon (1987:125) “the cognitive component of attitude includes all kinds of knowledge one has about the attitude object”, and “this knowledge is composed of beliefs”. *This cognitive component* is further explained by stating that “a person assumes or ‘knows’ that there is a relation between the object of his attitude and some other attribute, some other feature, some other object. The cognitive component thus comprises all characteristics, attributes, objects that are associated with the object in question”(Deperz & Persoon 1987:125). Different from cognition, *the evaluative component*, which is sometimes also referred to as the affective component (see Baker 1992:13), relates attitudes to emotional values (Deperz & Persoon 1987:126) (see next section). *The conative component* (also called readiness for action by Baker 1992) transforms relevant beliefs and emotional values “into more or less behavioural intentions” (Deperz & Persoon 1987:126).

According to Fishbein and Ajzen, “behavioural intentions have to be understood as functions of the two determinants: (1) the attitude towards the intended’s behaviour, and (2) the subjective norm regarding his behaviour” (Fishbein & Ajzen in Deperz & Persoon 1987:126). Number one is “the belief about possible consequences of behaviour”, and number two is “the presupposed normative expectations of others” (ibid). In other words, the expected consequences of an action, and the expectations of others influence our readiness for action which again influences our attitudes. The conative component illustrates how attitudes are related to behaviour, but it indicates that they *influence* behaviour and not that they are behaviour, as the Behaviourists would argue.

2.1.3 Attitudes and beliefs

Attitudes seem to consist of a *cognitive*, an *affective* and a *conative* component, but even if this is regarded as a fact, it is not always evident to see the difference between attitude and belief and to know the distinction between them. As expressed by among others Rokeach and Fishbein (in Agheysi & Fishman 1970), there are different views of the relation between beliefs and attitudes, but, even though related, it seems to be clear that attitudes and beliefs are not the same. “Belief may be defined as an attitude involving the recognition or acceptance of something as real or true” (LING905:10). This definition suggests that beliefs and attitudes are related, but not the same.

Deperz & Persoon (1987) relate beliefs to the cognitive component of attitudes and make the distinction between three different kinds of beliefs (referring to Fishbein and Ajzen 1975 and 1980), which are:

- 1) *Descriptive beliefs*, based on direct observation,
- 2) *Inferential beliefs*, which are new beliefs based on the older beliefs that were already established
- 3) *Informational beliefs*, based on what the authorities say about the object in question (Deperz & Persoon 1987:126).

No matter how different types of beliefs may be distinguished, one can easily imagine for example a French person having negative attitudes towards English, but still believing that it is important to learn English in order to complete a good education and get a good job.

Fishbein tries to explain why people with the same beliefs have different attitudes, or, how the same attitudes can be based on different beliefs. It is suggested that different emotional values can be related to the same beliefs, but that the same emotional values also can be related to different beliefs (Fishbein in Deperz & Persoon 1987:126). This view has been criticised by Deperz & Persoon (1987:126), who argue that there is no one-to-one relationship between beliefs and emotional values, and therefore it is difficult to draw the conclusion about emotional values being related to different beliefs, as suggested by Fishbein. Further, Deperz & Persoon (1987: 26) argue that “a person considers not only one but several values to be acceptable with respect to one and the same object”. If a person has different values related to a belief, which can influence attitude in many ways, it is clear that it is a complex issue to explain the relationship between attitudes and beliefs.

Riley (1997: 132) makes no distinction between belief and attitude as he argues that there is a set of equally attitudes and beliefs which influence people’s behaviour. Riley does not define

the distinction between attitude and beliefs, and from what he says about this it is clear that there is a close relationship between beliefs and attitudes and that it is not always possible to make a distinction.

Whatever the relation between attitudes and beliefs is, the distinction between these two may imply methodological complications. It is not possible to show that an attitude influences a specific behaviour, but the difficulty of finding solid evidence is something which the humanist sciences have in common, and an uncertainty that researchers in this area have to live with. But still, “even though there has not been established a direct casual relationship between attitude and behaviour there have been many studies demonstrating that attitudes are related to behaviour, though not necessarily directly” (LING 905: 10). Similarly, attitudes and beliefs are related and to some extent they seem to influence each other even though it is not agreed on how.

2.1.4 The origin of attitudes

It is argued by Deprez & Persoons (1987:128) that attitudes are not innate, but that they are developed in a process of learning. It has been argued that attitudes are learned in the process of socialization, which is defined by Havey and Smith as “the process whereby people are led to internalize the beliefs, values, attitudes, and expectations of a specific culture” (Havey and Smith in Deprez & Persoons 1987:128). According to Havey and Smith, many studies have been done which show that children are aware of, for example, racial and ethnic differences, from the age of three or four, and that they start adding value judgments to these from the age of five (Deprez & Persoons 1987:129). From the age of seven or eight the rudimentary attitudes that are visible in early childhood are “developed into solid schemes of interpretation and evaluation” (ibid). Moreover, other studies also indicate that children are aware of linguistic differences, or they develop different language attitudes at a very early age (Preisler 1993, Nippold 1998).

Having stated that attitudes are learned, Deprez & Persoons (1987) argue that the parents play an important role in the formation of children’s attitudes. The ‘teaching’ of attitudes is not explicit, and it is not done consciously, but it is “implicitly present in everything the parents do or do not do” (Deprez & Persoons 1987:128). This is obviously more important in early childhood than later when peer groups, school friends and media start to have a more significant impact on children’s attitudes (ibid). However, the attitudes that are acquired in the early process of socialization seem to be rather consistent, even though they can be changed later (ibid). The example referred to by Deprez & Persoons (1987:128) is a study done in Belgium on the attitudes of Flemish students towards the Wallons (French speaking) and towards the Belgian state. In this

study there was a strong correlation between the milieu they originated from and their attitudes. In this case, the attitudes to a group of people are related to language as the different groups use different languages. However, whether language attitudes will change depends also on which motivation a child or a student develops towards another language. Independent from the parents and the social background, a person might have integrative motivation, and might see the importance of learning another language as important for having a good career. In some cases, the thought of a career might influence language attitudes more than the social background. More research needs to be done in order to find out which factors influence language attitudes the most.

As can be concluded about the origin of attitudes from Deprez & Persoons (1987:128), it seems that attitudes are learnt during the process of socialization in early childhood through implicit teaching first by the parents and later by influence from friends and peers. The conclusion of Deprez and Persoons (1987) is in agreement with Preisler (1993:3), who argues that boys and girls develop different linguistic behaviour and different attitudes to language very early. As the structure of their peer-groups are different, they play and interact in different ways, and they are to different extents open to influence from their parents (see section 1.3). Both Deprez and Persoons (1987) and Preisler (1993) argue that language attitudes are learned at an early stage in life, and that they are influenced by the process of socialization and by input from peers and parents. This is underlined by Ryan, Giles & Hewstone (1988:1076) who argue that: “language attitudes are not like minerals there to be mined and unearthed, they are social constructions constantly changing to meet the demand of the situation in which they are expressed“. If this is the case, attitudes can and will change according to the situation, and therefore, once learned they will still develop.

2.1.5 Functions of attitude

It has been argued that the reasons why people develop attitudes are that “attitudes help them to understand the world around them by organizing and simplifying”, attitudes “protect their self-esteem”, and “help them to adjust in a complex world” (Deprez & Persoons 1987:129). With this in mind it has been suggested that attitudes should be studied in terms of their different functions, which, according to Katz 1960 (in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129 and in Baker 1992:100), can be divided into four main categories. These categories are as follows:

- 1) The instrumental-utilitarian function
- 2) The ego defensive function

- 3) The value-expressive function
- 4) The knowledge or the cognitive function

The first function is the instrumental-utilitarian function of attitudes, which refers to attitudes to a language being maintained and used depending on “gaining reward and avoiding punishment” (Baker 1992:99) In other words, as explained by Katz : “people strive to maximize the rewards in their external environment and to minimize the penalties [...] Attitudes [...] are “either the means for reaching the desired goal or avoiding the undesirable one, or are affective associations based upon experiences in attaining motive satisfactions” (Katz 1960 in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129). Similar to Katz, Deprez & Persoons (1987: 129) express that “attitudes are developed so as to improve the (material) position of the individual or to guarantee the needs of the group”. An example of the instrumental-utilitarian function of attitude is the use of Welsh which was punished in schools in the 19th century. This very likely influenced the children’s attitudes to the Welsh language variety. Likewise, the use of regional languages in French schools was punished during most of the 19th century. For adults, the fear of punishment is usually not understood as literally as for children speaking Welsh in schools, and reward can be understood in terms of employment prospects, understanding music and television programs, and status and prestige which follow a language (Baker 1992:99).

The second function is the ego defensive function, which has to do with psychological health. “People who hold attitudes which lead to insecurity, embarrassment and anxiety are likely to change their attitudes to achieve greater security and less anxiety” and “speaking a minority language in a majority environment may lead to such anxiety” (Baker 1992:100). A majority group may have negative attitudes to a minority group just to “enhance their own self-worth and distinctiveness” (ibid). Regarding this function of attitude, it is clear that there may be other, more psychological, reasons for attitudes to change than just the purely linguistic. For instance, it is also said about this function that one uses it to try to hide his/her real ego (Deprez & Persoons 1987:129). “Attitudes are defensive mechanisms, protecting the individual against inner tensions, against inhibited wishes, feelings, and inclinations, which the individual is not allowed to admit to others or to himself” (ibid). Altogether, according to how Deprez and Persoons (1987) describe the second function of attitudes, this function can be used to hide things both for oneself and for others in order to avoid controversial statements and behaviour, and consequently, be more socially accepted.

The third function of attitude is the value-expressive function. The result of this function is that “attitudes are expressed and activated when they are congruent with personal values and the self-concept” (Baker 1992:101). In other words, attitudes reflect an individual’s needs to express evaluations, and therefore they “have the function of giving positive expressions to his central values and to the type of person he conceives himself to be” (Katz in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129). Further, the self-concept or the picture we hold of ourselves is argued to be a powerful governor of attitude change (Baker 1992:101). This somehow relates attitudes to more underlying psychological factors such as self-concept and values. This function of attitudes also links them with identity. It is likely that “those who regard themselves as being very Welsh, whose core self-identity is Welsh rather than English, may express attitudes logically emanating from such values”(Baker 1992:101).

Finally, the fourth function of attitude is the knowledge function, or, the cognitive function. About this function it is said that “attitudes facilitate understanding of people and events” (Baker 1992:101), or as Katz puts it, the knowledge function of attitudes is “based upon the individual’s need to have an adequate structure to his universe. The search for meaning, the need to understand, the trend towards better organization of perceptions and beliefs to provide clarity and consistency for the individual, are other descriptions of this function” (Katz in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129). In other words, according to Katz (in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129) and Baker (1992), the fourth function of attitudes is to gain knowledge about the world we live in. The motivation for doing so can vary, and it can be linked with the search for social acceptance and status. If, for example, in a group of adolescents, the knowledge of Anglo-American pop music is necessary to conform to the norms of a group or to gain peer status, they are likely to have attitudes or to change their attitudes to be more like those of the other members in the group (Baker 1992:101). In some contexts, knowledge can precede and help to explain attitudes; for example, one can easily imagine that knowledge of minority or majority culture can influence language attitudes. Equally important, social organization, politics and education will also have an influence on language attitudes (ibid).

But why are these rather socio-psychological functions of attitudes important for language attitudes, and how are they related to language attitudes? To sum up the four functions of attitudes as presented by Deprez and Persoon (1987) attitudes can be used to avoid punishment and obtain rewards (the instrumental function); they can be used as a defense to hide feelings and opinions from oneself or from others that are not socially accepted (the ego-defensive function); they can be an expression of personal values (the affective-evaluative function) or they can be

used to gain knowledge about the right things and to organize the universe in an understandable way (the knowledge or the cognitive function). What all these functions have in common is that they are needed when people live together in a society and have relations with each others. In fact, if a person lived alone on an isolated island, nobody would care what his/her attitudes were or what s/he was saying. This illustrates that the relation between the functions of attitudes in general and the functions of language attitudes in particular is often close. Attitudes become visible primarily when people meet and interact. Language is the most common means with which people communicate, and therefore language is also important for how attitudes are expressed.

Even though the functions of attitudes as presented by Deprez and Persoon (1987) are about attitudes in general, they are most likely also true for language attitudes, which can be seen as a subcategory of attitudes. The instrumental function of attitudes is relevant for language attitudes, something which can be seen in the Welsh schools where language attitudes were used as a means to obtain rewards or punishment. Also, the cognitive function is relevant for language attitudes as illustrated by the fact that it is by using language that we organize the universe in understandable categories, and language is also the way in which we can explain this to others. Our language attitudes will be important for how we use language to organize the universe, and for which words and concepts we use etc. In this way language attitudes can have a cognitive function.

When it comes to the ego-defensive function, the link with language is perhaps not that obvious as it has to do with psychological health. However, if it is linked to the relationship between a minority and a majority language, as Baker (1992) mentions, it is very much linked with language attitudes. In the case of using attitudes to, for example, a minority language to show your own position and to make yourself accepted in a society, the ego-defensive function is to a large extent important also with language attitudes. Moreover, also with reference to the value-expressive function, the link with language attitudes is perhaps not obvious as it is possible to express personal values by our behaviour, what we do and are involved with etc, but the value-expressive function is also important for language attitudes as language is often used to express values.

Deprez & Persoons (1987:130) conclude the section of functions of attitudes by underlining the importance of these four socio-psychological functions of attitudes for the understanding of sociolinguistics and how language works in society. It serves as a theoretical basis for the study of language attitudes, and they help to “(i) gain better understanding of the

interaction between language and society, (ii) to describe more accurately extensive systems of norms and values in social life, (iii) and to provide more adequate explanations of complex phenomena such as language variation, code-switching, language change, bilingualism and multilingualism” (Depez & Persoons 1987:130). So, these functions are a part of the basis for the study of how language attitudes work.

2.2 Definitions of attitude

2.2.1 Defining attitudes in general

As commented on in the beginning of Chapter 2, the presentation of different definitions of attitude will not be done here in order to define once and for all what an attitude is (which is not possible), but for the sake of orientation to give a presentation of the main views of attitude. Since the classic mentalist definition of attitude was introduced by Allport in 1935 (Cf section 2.2.1) attitude has been defined in many different ways. Baker (1992:11) has defined attitude as “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour”. Ajzen defines attitude as “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event” (Ajzen 1988 in Baker 1992:11), whereas Bem claims that “attitudes are self descriptions or self perceptions” (Bem 1968 in Baker 1992:11). Williams (1974: 21) refers to most psychological literature defining attitude as “an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type, and which may mediate the organism’s subsequent response” Deperz & Persoons (1987:127) suggest attitude to be a “predisposition to respond in a consistent manner”.

Further, attitude has also been defined as “an organization of motivational, emotional and judgmental processes with respect to the way women and men do and should speak, an organization which has a directive impact on what the individual sees and hears, thinks and does” (Kramrae 1982:85). This last definition particularly underlines how attitude influences different aspects of human behaviour. The definitions referred to here are only some examples; many more could have been quoted. The definition of attitude seems to vary according to the purpose and focus of a particular study. However, all the definitions seem to be more or less mentalist, referring to attitude as “a hypothetical construct”, “a disposition”, a “predisposition” and “a description or perception”. Therefore, it can be assumed that the mentalist view of attitudes has become more dominant than the behaviourist view.

A behaviourist definition has more restrictions to it, as attitudes are reduced to explicit behaviour. All the definitions above seem to regard attitudes as an underlying influence of behaviour, even though the focus of the definitions varies. No matter which definition of attitude is chosen, it is not easy to do consistent measurements. Even though a behaviourist definition, which is often less fuzzy than a mentalist definition, is used, there is often little consistency in human behaviour, and the same person can choose to be polite in one situation and very rude in another. Therefore, “observation of external behaviour may produce mis-categorization and wrongful explanation” of attitudes (McGuire in Baker 1992:15). A certain “behaviour may be consciously or unconsciously designed to disguise or conceal inner attitudes” and therefore “the [...] ability to predict action from attitude, or attitude from action, is somewhat imperfect” (McGuire in Baker 1992:16). All in all, any change in circumstances can produce a different reaction, and, accordingly, it is very difficult to predict behaviour and attitudes.

While some definitions are short, others are long and fuzzy, as the following definition by Oppenheim: “attitude is a construct, and abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, though such more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour” (Oppenheim 1982 in Garrett et al 2003: 2).

2.2.2 Defining language attitudes

Cooper and Fishman (1974:6) refer to Ferguson who has defined language attitudes as “elicitable shoulds on who speaks what, when, and how”. Further, Cooper and Fishman (1974:6) suggest that language attitudes can be defined in terms of their consequences such as “those attitudes which influence language behaviour and behaviour toward language”. Moreover, they explain that language attitudes can be either “attitudes towards a language or towards a feature of language, or towards language use, or towards language as a group marker” (ibid). According to Cooper and Fishman (1974), the issue of language attitudes is quite complex and intricate.

The complexity of language attitudes has also been one of the arguments of e.g McGuire, who criticizes the use of attitudes to explain human behaviour (McGuire 1969 in Baker 1992:15). According to McGuire, there is much variation in human behaviour, and therefore one attitude cannot be used to predict behaviour. This is also true for people’s linguistic behaviour, and McGuire’s criticism is therefore also valid for language attitudes. It is likely that language attitudes to some extent influence a person’s linguistic behaviour, but there can be many reasons

why a person would behave differently from what would be expected. A person may speak a local dialect and have negative attitudes towards the standard variety, but in order to get a good job, s/he may accept to use the standard even though that is not what s/he feels most comfortable with. Another example could be a tourist guide with positive attitudes to his/her personal dialect, who decides to use a more standard way of speaking in order to be better understood. This might be done for practical reasons in spite of positive attitudes to the local dialect. These examples show how contextual factors can influence language attitudes. The complexity of variables influencing attitudes may cause problems for the measurement of attitudes. People may try to give socially desirable answers rather than give answers which reveal their actual attitudes (Baker 1992:19)², or they “may be affected in their response by the researcher and the perceived purpose of the research” (ibid.).

For the purpose of the present study, a working definition has been constructed based on the definition of Ajzen (in Baker 1992:11); attitude is “disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event” and the definition by Oppenheim (in Garrett et al 2003: 2, cf section 2.2.1). The definition of language attitude used for the present study describes language attitude as *a disposition to respond to an object, a person, an institution or an event, along a continuum from positive to negative based on the language associated with the object, the person, the institution or the event in question. Attitudes can be inferred from stereotypes, beliefs, statements, ideas, opinions and different types of behaviour*. This definition can be seen as a working definition for the empirical part of this study. In the questionnaires the respondents have the opportunity to express their attitudes to English along a continuum from positive to negative. Attitudes to language are expressed in terms of attitudes to objects, persons, institutions and events. Both in the questionnaire and in the interviews, attitudes are expressed as stereotypes, beliefs, statements and ideas and opinions.

2.3 Variables which influence language attitudes

2.3.1 The study by Baker (1992)

Baker (1992) starts by stating that language attitudes have been studied with regard to, for example, age and gender, but that there has been a lack of examination of the interactions

² Cf also Garrett et al 2003:28, section 5.3.2)

between the different variables (Baker 1992:25). This is something she tries to investigate further in her study in Wales. Previous to her empirical part of the study, Baker (1992) made a model of how she believes different attitudes influence language attitudes (see Figure 2.3).

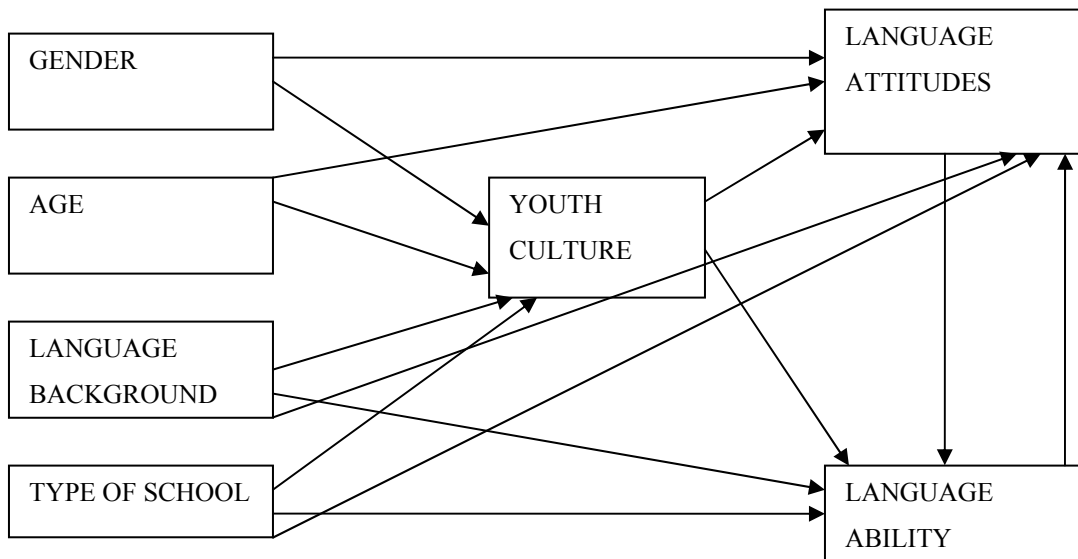


Figure 2.3: The influence of different variables on language attitudes (Baker 1992:45).

One of Baker’s (1992) major points about variables which influence attitudes, as can be seen from Figure 2.3, is that there is an interaction between the different variables. This may look very confusing, but the point is that there is an intricate interplay between the different variables. Language attitudes can not only be explained by the influence of one variable; language attitudes are based on the influence of many different variables working together at the same time. Actually, on the model shown in Figure 2.3 there could have been a more explicit relation between age, gender, language background and type of school as these factors to some extent certainly influence each other as well as influence the youth culture, language attitudes and ability.

The relationship between language ability and language attitude is a controversial one (Cf 2.5). A challenge for research on language attitudes is to find out more about the interaction between the different variables, and, possibly, which has the most significant influence. Baker (1992) comments on the model herself, saying that it “needs to be seen in individual person terms as dynamic, constantly evolving and being modified” (Baker 1992:46). Also, she argues, the model does not show how the role of discourse may influence attitudes. “Discourse is an important process in the way of which attitudes are learnt, modified, and expressed”(Baker

1992:46). Therefore it could have been considered in this context, but it is not included as it would need a different methodology (ibid).

With regard to age³, there seems to be a tendency for attitudes to Welsh to become more negative with age, particularly, there seems to be a significant change between the age of 10 and the age of 15. Baker (1992) also refers to other studies where by e.g. Sharp et al which indicate “attitudes to English to become more positive with increasing age” (Baker 1992:42), and the attitudes to Welsh less positive. Baker (1992) argues that the influence of age is more indirect than direct. Age does not necessarily reveal the underlying reasons for a particular movement (ibid).

Gender also seems to have an influence on language attitudes, but, according to Baker, this is not due to biological factors. It is more a result of “the socio-cultural behaviours of the two genders” (ibid) (see also section 1.3). Comparing the different variables in Figure 2.3, age and gender seem to be the least influential with regard to change in language attitudes (Baker 1992:130). With regard to school, it is usually believed that bilingual schools tend to have more positive attitudes towards a local variety than a school where the local variety is not used, which also is the case in Baker’s (1992) study. From dominantly English background there was the most significant change towards more negative attitudes, less in bilingual circles and least of all in dominantly Welsh areas where the attitudes did not change very much. Baker’s model (shown in Figure 2.3) is only an illustration to show that language attitudes are influenced by many different variables. For other purposes, it might be relevant to mention other variables.

Unlike Baker (1992), Ryan, Giles & Hewstone (1988) and Côté & Clément (1994) do not argue the importance of variables such as age and gender, but they argue that language attitudes are dependent on the situation in which an utterance occurs. On the one hand, if it is an inter-group situation, that is, a situation where two opposing groups are present; the attitudes towards the language used by the other group are likely to be influenced by stereotypes, and therefore likely to be negative. On the other hand, if there is interaction between two individuals, the attitudes towards the other are more likely to be positive (Ryan, Giles & Hewstone 1988:1074). According to this; ‘situation’ could also be seen as a variable which influences attitudes, in addition to the relationship between the speakers, which also plays an important role (Côté and

³ Even though the relation between age and gender and language attitudes are included as separate sections in Chapter 1, this is also commented on in section 2.3.1 as age and gender constitute an important part of Baker’s (1992) study.

Clément 1994:239). It is obvious that all these different variables make it challenging to find an explanation of how attitudes are influenced and created. It has particularly been difficult to find an explanation for all the variation that seems to occur in different studies on attitudes.

Edwards (1999) has suggested an explanation for the variation between different studies, and he argues that attitudes are often based on stereotypical presumptions, which influence the way speech is perceived. Stereotypes are according to Edwards (1999:101): “social perceptions that group members hold in common”. It is argued that it is not primarily the aesthetic quality of a particular accent that makes the listener judge it; rather, “listening to a given variety is generally considered to act as a trigger or stimulus that evokes attitudes (or prejudices, or stereotypes) about the relevant speech community” (ibid.102). The attitudes which are evoked influence the perception of what is said. Edwards’ (1999) view of the influence of stereotypes on language attitudes makes this issue even more complex. Even if all the variables mentioned by Baker (1992) are investigated, it may be the stereotypes held by each individual that finally decide which attitudes are expressed in any given situation.

To sum up, language attitudes seem to be influenced by many different variables and more research needs to be done in order to characterize the intricate interplay that exists between them, and possibly find out which is the more important.

2.3.2 Attitudes to language versus attitudes to speakers

As argued by Baker (1992), there are many factors that influence attitudes to language. It is also interesting to investigate the relationship between attitudes to language and attitudes to the speakers of the language in question. To what extent are these related and dependent of each other? Fashold (1984:148) argues that when defining attitudes, language attitudes are special as they are specifically about language, and the definition of language attitudes is often extended “to include also attitudes to towards a speaker of a particular language dialect”. It is argued further that “attitudes towards language are often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups” (Fashold 1984:148). This statement indicates a strong relationship between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers, and when both of these are included as a part of the definition of language attitude, they seem to be difficult to separate.

Giles and Ryan (1982:7) also underline the connection between attitude to language and attitude to speaker as they define language attitude as “any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers”. Reactions to

language are in this definition made equal to reactions to speakers. Furthermore, different studies also seem to highlight the relation between attitudes to language and speakers. In Wales, for example, the matched-guise technique has been used to investigate attitudes towards Welsh versus RP. The results showed that a speaker was rated more intelligent when he shifted to RP speaking with an RP speaking interviewer. However, the speaker was judged to be more trustworthy and more kind-hearted when speaking in a Welsh accent (Fashold 1984:164). This indicates that accent is used as a symbol of identity (ibid) and that we make judgements or presumptions about speakers based on their accent. This also indicates that our attitudes to a speaker are dependent on how s/he speaks, and vice versa, attitudes to language influence how we see another person.

Moreover, also Williams (1973) has investigated the relation between language attitudes and attitudes to speakers. In his study, children of Mexican American, Black American and Anglo American origin were videotaped, and then the tape was dubbed so that Standard English speech was heard on all the children, regardless of ethnicity. Adult respondents were played the video and asked to evaluate the children. The results showed that the Mexican American and the Black American children were judged to speak more non-standard than the white children, in spite of the fact that they all had the same voice and the same accent. This indicates that our attitudes and stereotypes of speakers do influence how speech is perceived. “The implication of this study is that the visual image of the children on the tape served as an immediate cue of a type of child. This elicited a stereotype, and the presentation was judged relative to that stereotype” (Williams in Fashold 1984:125). The study by Williams (1973) was done on a relatively small group of respondents, and one should therefore be careful not to draw too general conclusions, but even so, Williams’ study is an argument that there is a strong link between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers. Perhaps these are even impossible to separate. The conclusion made by Fashold (1984:126) is that “persons have stereotyped sets of attitudes about dialects of speakers and that these attitudes play a role in how a person perceives another person’s speech characteristics. [Fashold’s] thesis is that persons tend to employ stereotyped sets of attitudes as anchor points for their evaluations of whatever is presented to them as a sample of a person’s speech” (ibid). All in all, according to Fashold (1984), there is a strong correlation between language attitudes and how we perceive speech of a particular person.

Likewise, Giles & Ryan (1982:97) argue in the same direction as Fashold (1984) suggesting that “people organize what they hear according to their predetermined cognitive structures of how the speaker ought to talk. If speakers do not confirm these beliefs by using the

expected speech traits, listeners may hear what is not present or ignore what is not expected". If this is the case, it might explain why the listeners in the study referred to by Fashold (1984) conceived the speech of the children differently according to ethnic background in spite of no linguistic difference being present in speech. Giles and Ryan (1982) suggest further that our hearing is influenced by predetermined cognitive structures and beliefs, and it is not clear whether attitudes are included in the factors which influence hearing. However, if attitude is "a mental and neural state of readiness" (Allport in Agheysi & Fishman 1970:138), cognitive structures could very well be included as a part of attitude and therefore also significant for how we perceive and interpret what we hear. The terms 'mental and neural state of readiness' and 'cognitive structures' are both rather vague, and it is hard to say specifically what they include. The reference to "beliefs" indicates that also attitudes are relevant for how speech is perceived, as there is a close connection between attitudes and beliefs (see 2.1.3).

In addition, a study referred to by Giles (1975) found that "a subject's verbal output is increased by 40 % when he is speaking to an imagined liked person rather than an imagined disliked person" (Höwler and Vrolijk 1970 in Giles 1975:102). This is another argument that attitudes to language and speakers are tightly connected, and that the attitudes to a speaker actually influence our understanding of what is said. In Giles & St Clair (1979) an accommodation theory is presented which "focuses on the interactive aspects of interpersonal communication" (Giles and St Clair 1979:46). This theory discusses different levels of convergence which is a process in which speakers "shift their speech styles to become more like that of those with whom they are interacting" (ibid.). One level of convergence is referred to as the similarity-attraction process, where it is argued that "the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to certain others, the more likely it is that we will be attracted to them" (Byrne 1969 in Giles and St Clair 1979:46). In other words, to have similar beliefs and attitudes is almost a prerequisite for communication. According to Giles and St Clair (1979), there is "empirical evidence in a number of cultural contexts that supports the notion that people react favourably to those who react favourably towards them in terms of language, dialect or accent" (Giles and St Clair 1979:49). In other words, positive attitudes and willingness to converge speech in tune with the person you interact with is considered important for successful communication. To sum up, it seems like there are many arguments (by among others Giles 1975, Giles & St Clair 1979, Giles & Ryan 1982 and Fashold 1984) that there is a strong relationship between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers.

2.4 Attitudes and Second Language Acquisition

In order to clarify the terminology used in this section, it should be mentioned that no distinction is made, either between second language and foreign language, or between first language and native language. For the purpose of the present study, second and foreign language are understood as synonyms; the theories about second language learning are seen as relevant for English acquisition in France, in spite of the fact that researchers claim that English in France is not a second language but a foreign language.

2.4.1 Integrative versus instrumental attitudes

Another thing that is important to mention about attitudes, particularly when considering language learning, is that the distinction is often made between *instrumental* and *integrative* attitudes.⁴ On the one hand, an instrumental attitude has been described as reflecting “pragmatic, utilitarian motives”, and it is “characterized by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language” (Gardner & Lambert 1972 in Baker 1992:32). “An integrative attitude, on the other hand, is mostly social and interpersonal in orientation, and has been defined as a desire to be like representative members of the other language community” (Baker 1992:32). An integrative attitude often results in “attachment to or identification with a language group and their cultural activities” (ibid.).

It has been argued; by among others, Liebkind (1999:148) that the quality of attitude as either instrumental or integrative influences second language acquisition, and that integrative attitudes particularly have a strong influence on people’s identity. Studies by Gardner seem to indicate that those students who put the strongest effort into studying French were “those who had positive attitudes towards French-speaking people and who expressed interest in learning French in order to get to know them better” (Gardner 1981 in Baker 1992:33).

The study by Gardner referred to in Baker (1992) indicates that the integrative attitudes influence language learning more positively than the instrumental ones. However, it is important to know that these two different types of attitudes to language or to language learning are not necessarily opposites. One individual can have both types of attitudes at the same time (Baker 1992:35). It is easy to imagine someone whose main attitude is integrative as s/he wants to be integrated in the group whose language s/he is learning, but who at the same time has an

⁴ The terms *instrumental* and *integrative* are introduced by Gardner and Lambert 1972 as two different types of *motivation*, but these terms have later been used about *attitudes* (Baker 1992).

instrumental attitude, as s/he believes that learning this language will give her/him social advantages and may help her/him move to a better position both socially and professionally (ibid).

2.4.2 Motivation, attitudes and second language learning

For the last 50 years the role of motivation and attitudes has been investigated in relation second language acquisition. Several studies done in the 1950s indicate that both attitudes and motivation are important for language learning. Much attention has been paid to the relation between language *aptitude*, in other words the cognitive capacity for learning another language, and *attitudes/motivation*. Particularly Lambert did much important pioneer work in this field, and he came up with a social psychological theory of second language leaning. This theory, as he formulates it, “holds that an individual successfully acquiring a second language gradually adopts various aspects of behaviour which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group. [...] The learner’s ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the other group are believed to determine his success in learning the new language. His motivations to learn are thought to be determined by his attitudes and by his orientation toward learning a second language” (Lambert in Gardner 1991:47 and Lambert et al 1972:473). With this theory, Lambert links language learning to attitudes and identity. In order to learn a language well, it is necessary to adopt typical types of behaviours from the group that uses the language in question. This might also change slightly the position the person used to have in the groups he originally was a member of (Lambert in Gardner 1991:47). Gardner (1979) illustrates the influence of attitudes and motivation in the following way:

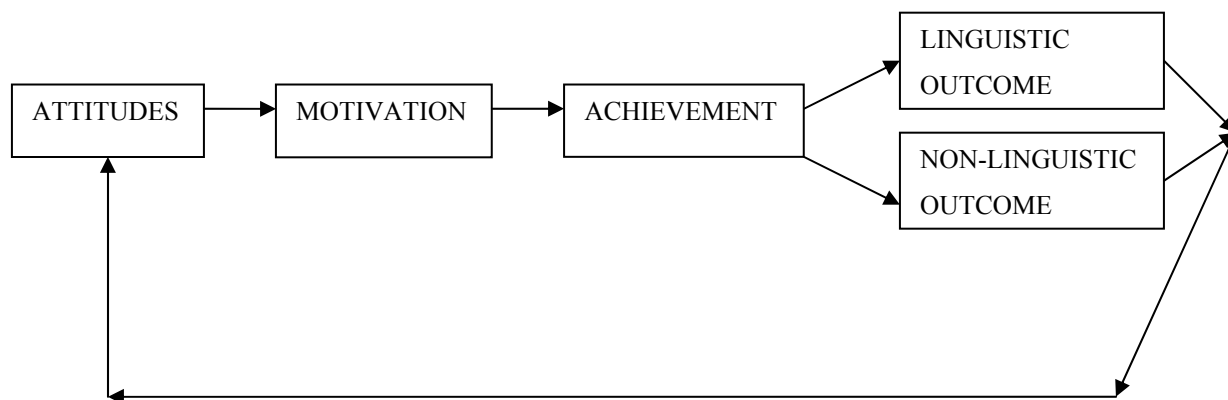


Figure 2.4: Suggestion to relationship between attitudes, motivation and achievement (Gardner 1979:207)

In connection with this model, Gardner (1979:205) suggests that “social attitudes are relevant to second language acquisition not because they directly influence achievement but because they serve as motivational supports since attitudes are formed through interaction with one’s social environment, they make a direct link between the cultural milieu and the motivation to acquire a second language, and ultimately proficiency in that language”.

Having stated that attitudes and motivation play a role in language acquisition, the problem has been to find out which factor comes first. On the one hand, positive attitudes and good motivation can influence successful second language acquisition, but on the other hand, successful second language acquisition can lead to more positive attitudes and more motivation. Gardner’s model (Figure 2.4) includes both of these aspects as there is a connection both from linguistic outcome to attitudes and from attitudes via motivation to linguistic outcome. In addition, there are probably also many other factors which influence attitudes and language learning (Lambert in Gardner 1991:50). One of these factors could be language aptitude, but studies done in Montreal to investigate this issue found that “there is little or no correlation between aptitude and social motivational variables. That is, one could not predict from a knowledge of a student’s aptitude what his attitudes or motivations might be, and vice versa. However, one could make a better prediction from a knowledge of both the student’s aptitude and his attitudinal disposition towards the other group as to how well he would do in language study, than from a consideration of these elements alone” (Lambert et al 1972:473). According to Lambert et al (1972), there is no one-to-one correlation between language aptitude and language attitude, and it is often not clear which factor influences which. However, knowledge of both of these factors will give a more correct indication of the relation between them. Some of the results of the studies by Lambert et al (1972) show that “students who have strong motivation and desire to learn French obtain good grades in the language” (Lambert et al 1972:480), and also that “regardless of intellectual ability or achievement drive, the student can, in certain cases, do well in French if the student is favourably motivated to French study itself” (Lambert et al 1972:488).

From the studies done by Lambert et al (1972) it seems clear that attitudes to some extent influence the process of second language learning, but it is uncertain to what extent and how attitudes intervene with other factors. As for motivation, studies have often had incompatible results, some indicating that motivation and attitudes do not play an important role (Gardner 1991), and others that these factors do have an impact on second language acquisition (Lambert et al 1972). As is the case with attitudes, one problem regarding motivation is that it is difficult to

define and accordingly also difficult to measure. This is partly the reason why different studies come to different conclusions about whether motivation is important or not.

Liebkind (1999:148) says about second language learning that “it involves adopting an alien cultural perspective and therefore becomes a question of identity”. She argues further that the degree to which the identity is influenced depends on whether the motivation for learning is ‘instrumental’ or ‘integrative’. “If the attitude is a purely instrumental one, the second language is viewed only as a tool for communication and does not affect identity. In contrast, an integrative attitude towards the second language means that this language has a symbolic value and implies identification with speakers of that language. Only in the latter case is acquisition of the language in question a matter of identity” (Liebkind 1999: 148). According to Liebkind (1999) it is first and foremost the *integrative* attitude of learning that will influence the speaker’s identity. However, as Liebkind argues further, there has to be made a distinction between long-term identity shift and situational shifts. As speakers are able to use speech differently according to the situation, “native-like proficiency in a dominant out-group’s language does not necessarily mean a rejection of one’s own cultural or linguistic identity” (Liebkind 1999:149). Therefore, even though a speaker adopts ways of interacting that originally belongs to the group of which language s/he tries to learn, s/he might still keep the old identity. The native like ways of interacting used by the learner might be an adjustment made for that particular situation, which will be changed back to normal afterwards.

The tricky part is to *measure* motivations and attitudes. It can be difficult to find out whether a person is only changing the behaviour in a particular situation, or whether it is permanently changed. It seems likely that integrative motivation is more fruitful for language learning than an instrumental one, but that does not necessarily mean that an instrumental motivation is not helpful, or that a person with this type of attitude is not able to obtain proficiency in a second language. The relation between attitudes and learning still needs to be investigated, but in recent educational research attitude is regarded as both input and output: positive attitudes lead to language learning, and language learning results in more positive attitudes (Baker 1992:12). The different views can be illustrated as follows (Gardner 1991:50):

- Positive attitudes and motivation ► Successful learning
- Successful learning ► Positive attitudes and motivation
- Positive attitudes and motivation + other factors ► Successful learning

The conclusion so far is that the last of these three possibilities is the most likely to be the correct view. Otherwise, there are indications that negative attitudes have stronger negative influence on language learning than positive attitudes have positive influence.

It should be mentioned that newer research done by Gardner (Gardner et al 1997) has led to a modification of the model as represented in Figure 2.4. The new model has included more variables, and reveals that attitudes are interwoven with variables such as self-confidence and learning strategies. Figure 2.5 illustrates the relationship between attitudes, motivation, and other variables as suggested by (Gardner et al 1997:354).

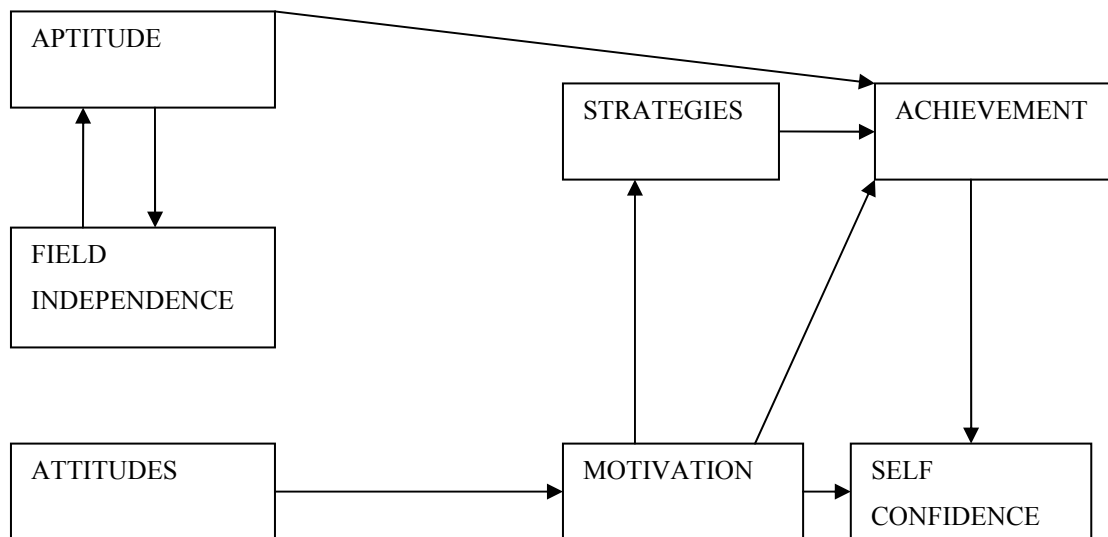


Figure 2.5: A model of the relationship between attitudes, motivation, and other factors influencing Second Language Learning (Gardner et al 1997:354).

The model in Figure 2.5 includes the same components as the one from 1979 (Figure 2.4), only that this one has been extended. The relation between *attitudes*, *motivation* and *achievement* seems to be the same, but the study by Gardner et al (1997) shows that these three variables are also influenced by *self-confidence*, *learning strategies*, *field independence* and *aptitude*. It seems that the number of variables influencing language learning increases with the number of studies done in this field.

3 ENGLISH IN FRANCE

3.1 History of the French language and the French language policy

The oldest text known in French is a document which dates 842 A.D., but it is not until the 13th century that French replaced Latin and became the official language in France (Le Marchand 1999:3). Since the 13th century, French has developed as the official language and France has a rather strict language policy with a high degree of standardization. Policy-makers made sure that it was only the French spoken in Paris (Ile de France) that became the standard and the prestigious form of the language (Bourhis 1982:34).

“Le bon usage”, or the proper usage was developed in Paris in the 17th century, and already in 1637 the “French Academy” was established by Cardinal Richelieu with the purpose of “purifying and perpetuating correct French usage as rendered by the Court and esteemed authors” (Bourhis 1982:36). During the reign of Louis XIV the standardization of French was promoted, and the language was influenced by prestigious writers such as Molière, Corneille and Racine, who became “models of good style and correct spoken French” (ibid.) “In the eighteenth century the myth of French as a classical language blessed with unique virtues such as ‘clarity’, ‘purity’, ‘rationality’ and ‘discipline’ was widely accepted and propagated by the French ruling elites throughout Europe. To these elites, changing aspects of French vocabulary and grammar, or adopting foreign borrowings could only lead to the corruption of the French language” (ibid.).

It is interesting to observe how the language policy to a very large degree is influenced by essentialist ideas. There is a common belief that it is possible to reach a stage of ultimate clarity, purity and rationality in language. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is clear that these terms are relative and that, for example, the degree of clarity will depend on the situation and on the purpose of usage (Cf introduction to Ch 2). However, this policy has dominated language planning in many countries, and particularly in France. As a result of this, it would not be surprising to find that the strong position of standard French might also influence French attitudes to languages other than French. If the French believe that they have to speak a second language with the same purity, clarity and rationality that they have been taught to do in their first language, it is not surprising that they are often found reluctant to speak other languages, for instance English.

Standard (Parisian) French has been the official language in France since it was declared to be so by François I in 1539 (Bourhis 1982:36). When the monarchy was lost as a unifying,

national symbol during the French Revolution in 1793, the French language gained an even stronger position. It became a “unifying symbol to inspire nationalism of the new Republic” (ibid.). At this time, “non-French speakers were viewed as potential traitors to the Revolution and a threat to political unity” (ibid. 37). This is clearly illustrated by a statement by Abbé Grégoire from 1789: “Federalism and superstition speak Breton; emigration and hatred of the republic speak German; the counter-revolution speaks Italian; and fanaticism speaks Basque” (Grégoire in Thody 1995:51).

Language policy has clearly been used with political purposes, and this has also had consequences for education. The teaching of French was made compulsory in primary schools in 1793-94, and about a hundred years later, Jules Ferry introduced the famous laws which made it compulsory for all primary education to be in French (ibid). This was only a hundred years after the population of 26 million French only had 3 million fluent speakers of Parisian French. All the others spoke regional varieties. The use of regional varieties was prohibited until the 20th century.

From 1920-1970 there was a “campaign” going on in French schools which “emphasized the teachers’ duty of fostering correct oral and written French to offset the debasing influence of ordinary usage” (Bourhis 1982:38). Again, the essentialist belief that there is one variety which is better than another in an absolute sense seems to be present. After 1972, “government guidelines remain designed to discourage nonstandard pronunciation in the school setting” (ibid.). Quoting a French school boy this policy is underlined: “Il faut savoir quand même ton français, si c’est du français arabe t’es dedans” (It is necessary to know your French; if you speak “Arabic-French”⁵, you’re in trouble; my translation, AMB).

Also in areas other than education, laws were made to protect the use of the French language. For instance, in 1994, a law, called the Tourbon Law,⁶ was passed to “protect the consumer and ensure that the employment contracts for people working in France are drawn up in French. It stipulates that notices in public places must be displayed in French, that health and safety regulations must be printed in French, and that advertising on radio and television must not employ foreign terms if a French equivalent exists; and it issues the reminder that article Z of the Constitution clearly states that ‘la langue de la République est le français’” (Thody 1995:61) (the

⁵ “Arabic- French” is a stigmatizing term used in French about the accent used by immigrants from North Africa.

⁶ The name “Tourbon” refers to the French right wing Minister of Culture and Education in 1994, Jaques Tourbon who was responsible for the law.

language of the Republic is French; my translation, AMB). This law is an example of how language policy is still used to promote the use of standard French. In addition to indicating little tolerance for the influence of foreign languages, the Tourbon Law seems to underline that “non-standard dialects and accents are not much tolerated as these are viewed as a threat to both the linguistic unity of France and to the purity and universality of the French language” (Bourhis 1982:38). For many French people “standard French has grown deep as a symbol of the unity, prestige and vitality of French culture in the world” (Bourhis 1982:41).

After the emergence of the European Union there has gradually been new focus on minority languages. On the 5th on November 1992 The European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages was signed by many European countries, but not by France. More than 10 years later, on the 12th of May 2003, France, together with some other countries, signed the Charter, but it is still not ratified (www.1)⁷. This means that the charter is not fully accepted and applied in France. The aim of this Charter is not primarily linguistic but cultural and as rephrased by Tabouret-Keller (1999:337) “it is made to protect regional or minority languages, not to formulate political rights. The functions of language are considered cultural and social factors above all”.

As the main purpose of the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages is cultural, there should be no reason that it should be seen as a threat to political power or national identity. However, this seems to indicate that the French still regard their standard language as a strong symbol of national identity and that it therefore should be used by everyone.

There are also some other reasons why the French have been reluctant to accept minority languages, for example, increasing problems with immigration. After the Second World War and the end of the colonial empire, there has been a flow of immigrants coming to France. The challenge to integrate these people into the French society has led to a rise of consciousness regarding minority languages. The large number of immigrants has caused, for example, increased unemployment. In addition, the increased number of immigrants has led to idle youngsters in the suburbs misbehaving, constitutional and legal hassling with the issue of immigration, and extreme right-wing parties making anti-foreigner discourse as a part of their image (Tabouret-Keller 1999: 341). It is suggested that the problems with immigration might

⁷ www.1 refers to:

www.coe.int/T/E/legal_affairs/Local_and_regional_Democracy/Regional_or_Minority_Languages/Charter/6_States/Summary.asp#TopOfPage

cause negative attitudes to languages other than French. Bouhris (1982:61) makes the connection from social conditions to language attitudes clear by stating that: “social-psychological studies of language attitudes cannot ignore the socio-structural contexts which inevitably influence such attitudes” (Bourhis 1982:61).

However, in spite of the reluctance to sign the Charter of Minority Languages, it should be mentioned that there are indications that French language policy is changing into being more positive to other languages. In the new teaching manuals for primary school, 2002, the minister of Education says in the preface that “Chaque enfant dans ce pays est un enfant de l’Europe et un citoyen du monde” (Lang 2002: 11) (Every child is a citizen of Europe and a citizen of the world; my translation, AMB). Lang (2002) indicates that being a part of the international community, which requires knowledge of foreign languages, is positive rather than negative.

3.2 The heritage of a colonial past

A Lingua Franca can be defined as “a language which is used in communication between speakers who have no native language in common” (Trudgill 2003:80), and during the course of the 20th century it is more or less considered a fact that English is the world’s lingua franca number one. However, this has not always been so. From the Middle Ages, French had a great expansion and a growing prestige in Europe, and it reached a peak in the 17th and 18th century. In royal courts, among the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie and among the intellectuals, French was by far the most dominating and the most prestigious language. It was considered the language of culture, of education and of social prestige (Truchot 2001:19). During the 17th and 18th century France also expanded its empire to include the Antilles (Haïti, Martinique, and Guadeloupe) and Senegal (Le Marchand 1999:3). Later, when Africa was divided between the most dominant colonial powers in the Berlin conference in 1884-85, many countries, such as Cameroon, Mali, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic etc, were taken into possession by France. In addition, also North African countries like Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia were included in the French Empire (Le Marchand 1999:5). As a natural consequence of this geographical expansion there was also an expansion of the French language, which became the official language in most of the French colonies. After the 18th century, French had a growing prestige in the world, and as for international diplomacy its prestige was kept until after World War One. Also it benefited from this position in the creation of international institutions after World War Two, such as the EU and the United Nations.

Otherwise, the important position of French in the 17th and 18th century was partly lost due to movements of nationalization in countries like Germany and Italy, and the growing importance of Germany and Britain as the dominating countries in the industrial revolution (Truchot 2001:19). Further, the growing importance of English is probably first and foremost due to the enormous influence of Britain as a colonial power during the 18th, 19th, and 20th century.

Fishman (1999b:155) also mentions other historical facts that have given English its current position: “England’s fortunate position in the industrial and commercial revolutions, the conquest of empire, and the Anglo-American triumphs in two world wars, not to mention America’s superpower position and its attendant economic and technical superiority, have all contributed even more decisively to the position English has attained by the dawn of the 21st century”. Generally this is not very controversial, and it is considered practical by most people to have a common lingua franca that can be understood in large parts of the world.

However, the French do not always seem to be very happy about the position of English. During large parts of the 19th century, France and England were in competition about the colonies, and their languages became a symbol of power. In large parts of West- and North Africa, in Lebanon, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, on many Pacific islands, and also on islands in the Caribbean, French, and not English, was the dominant language. In fact, if the maps of the colonial empires of France and England are compared, they are not very different in size. The biggest distinction is found in Northern America, which turned into a continent dominated by English (see maps in Walter 2001:255 & 264). Even so, it is interesting to notice that it was argued by the British philosopher David Hume already in 1767 that the French could fight in vain for the position of their language: “Laisser les Français tirer en vanité de l’expansion actuelle de leur langue. Nos établissements d’Amérique [...] promettant à la langue anglaise une stabilité et une durée supérieure » (Hume in Walter 2001:258). (Let the French fight in vain for the contemporary expansion of their language. Our American establishment will provide a superior stability and duration of the English language; my translation, AMB).

In contrast to the lack of belief in the expansion of French as expressed by Hume, the French colonial empire has been a part of French pride, and therefore it seems to be with reluctance that France little by little accepts that their position is lost with regard to their language as the world lingua franca, which the old colonialists probably were dreaming of. Fishman comments on this reluctant attitude to English by stating that “The French government is involved in and supports many different agencies whose purpose is to foster the use of French around the world and, directly or indirectly, to stem the avalanche of English in entertainment,

diplomacy, commerce, science, and technology” (Fishman 1999b:157). As mentioned in 3.1, the policy coming from a country’s government is also likely to influence people’s attitudes in general about the English language.

It is argued by Walter (2001: 244) that the British have less negative attitudes to French than the French have to British. According to Walter (2001) this is due to historical reasons. French was in the 11th and 12th century the language spoken by the British royalty, and it was very prestigious. Also, in the 16th and 17th century, French was the most prestigious language in Europe spoken by the aristocracy and the royalty. This is argued to be a reason why French words are still considered prestigious and sophisticated by English speakers. It is not until the last century that English had a larger impact on French, which then already had been standardized.

Even though the colonial past is very distant in time from today’s speakers, it includes a heritage which is still relevant.

3.3 *La francophonie*

Because France has a past as a colonial empire, the situation of the French language is slightly different from other European countries, apart from Britain. It has been estimated by Truchot (1994) that French is used and spoken regularly by 110 million people around the world. In comparison, there are 90 million speakers of German in Europe. The number of 110 million French speakers is then perhaps not very impressive. According to other sources, this number varies to a great extent. Le Marchand (1999:3) estimates the number of French speakers in the world to be 170 million, whereas Bourhis (1982:35) suggests that it is only 75 million, not much more than the number of French speakers in Europe, which is 64, 5 million according to Truchot (2001:20). However, it is the consciousness about French as a world language, which is spoken in different parts of the world, which makes it different from other languages, such as German. 30 countries have French as the official language; there were 47 countries and regions represented in the “meeting” of la Francophonie in Maurice in 1993, and French plays an important function as a lingua franca in many international organizations.

The term “*francophonie*” was coined by Onésime Reclus (1837-1916) and it was created in order to have one term that could describe all the different populations that speak French (Le Marchand 1999:6). For a while it was more or less forgotten, but it was rediscovered in 1960. The reason for the rediscovery of the term in 1960 is largely the colonies becoming independent, and many African leaders still wanting to maintain some ties with France (ibid).

Léopold Sédar Senghor, the president of Senegal in 1960, was very important in this process as he suggested creating a commonwealth à la French in order to maintain an African unity at the same time as privileges with France were preserved (Le Marchand 1999:10). It was supposed to be an economic and a cultural association between countries with a background as French colonies. Today, there are 47 member-countries which cooperate in different areas, such as economy, education, development etc (ibid 13).

It should be mentioned that there is a difference between linguistic francophonie (with a low case f) and the political Francophonie (with a capital F). The latter is an organization, or an association, gathering 47 cooperating member countries. This association works, for example, to promote the French language and national languages in the member countries. The linguistic “francophonie” is not as big as the political “Francophonie”, and it is decreasing. The distinction between these two is made clear by the definition proposed by Walter (2001:261): La francophonie (with a low case f) corresponds with all the populations which have French as their language, whereas la Francophonie (with a capital F) refers to all the countries which, with their exchange with the other countries of la Francophonie, have French in common, but in which the French language does not always have a particular status (my translation, AMB). Many member countries participate in La Francophonie because that gives them economic and cultural privileges, but they do not necessarily preserve the French language. The member states can have French either as a national language, a second language or a foreign language learnt in school (Le Marchand 1999:22).

The idea to create a French commonwealth has perhaps not worked out the way it was intended, and today the role of French in the francophone world is modest compared to English. Still, it represents a number of different activities, both culturally and economically in the member countries, and it represents international relations in which the French language plays an important role (Truchot 1994:23). It is not clear to what degree the French in general are conscious about the francophonie and to what extent this has influenced their view of the status and position of their own language and their attitudes to other languages.

3.4 The current situation of English in France

3.4.1 English in France

During the last decades English has become more and more important as the language of international communication in Europe; it is taking over in many different domains, such as music, films, media, TV and theatre, business, administration of international companies, education, air traffic, computing, advertising and science (Ammon 1994:1-4). This development can be referred to as internationalization.

The internationalization of English is present also in France, but it is argued that this development is less important in France than in other European countries (Truchot 1994:23). This is particularly so in the domains of culture and education. In the French system of education, 85 % of the students learn English as their first second language (Truchot 1994:21). French pupils normally start learning English in collège⁸. It is estimated that 40 % of these continue to do a “BAC” (which corresponds to A-levels) and have another 3 years of English teaching. Even if this is the case, the classes are often overloaded with up to 35 pupils in each class, the teaching is only 3 hours per week and it is often very theoretical (Truchot 1994:22). It is suggested that only a minority of French speak English relatively well, and that this minority consists of young people from socially privileged backgrounds.

However, there are indications that the emphasis of foreign language teaching will be increased in the near future. In the newest teaching manuals (2002) it is underlined that knowledge of other languages and cultures can be *enriching* (Lang 2002:201). The goal of the new teaching manual is that every child shall learn two languages apart from the first language. In addition, the teaching manual from 2002 also emphasizes competence in communication and communicative activities (ibid). Results of this new trend are concretely shown in the teaching plans: for each school-year, starting from 2004/05, the teaching of English will start one year earlier. Consequently, the French, who used to start learning English at the age of 10 or 11, will in 3 years time start at the age of 6 or 7.

The development of the plans for teaching English in primary school indicates a change towards more emphasis of teaching of other languages, but still, this will need time to change. Debasieux (1997: 27) argues that “despite the advances made in communicative methodology

⁸ Collège is a French word referring to the school pupils go to between the age of 11 and 15. It corresponds to Secondary School.

and the increasing availability of recorded materials, teachers of French as a foreign language are still very reticent about using authentic documents. This is largely because they regard spoken language as informal and or ungrammatical and generally inferior to the written form". Even though Debasieux (1997) comments on teaching of French the trend that she describes about spoken language being seen as inferior to written language is probably also found among French teachers of other languages.

Culturally, France seems to be very conscious about its own language and tries to stop the American influence. Even though 55 % of films in French cinemas are American, 35 % are French, which is quite a high percentage. Generally, all English speaking films are dubbed into French. Further, there is also an EU directive giving a quota to European films, but it is obvious that the economic competition with the US, which produces a much larger number of films, is hard. It has to be mentioned that there are cinemas that show films in the original version with subtitles. In addition, English music is dominant on French radio, even though the Tourbon Law (see 3.1) has made it obligatory to play at least 40 % of the songs on French radio in French. There are also several artists who write and sing songs in both French and English and even use the two languages in the same song (e.g Céline Dion and Roch Voisine) (Flaitz 1988: 82).

With regard to diplomacy, French has traditionally played an important role, and it still does, for example, in the administration of the European Union. In the Council of Europe, French and English have equal status as official languages, whereas German, Italian and Spanish are allowed as working languages (Ammon 1994:7-8). In 1994, French still seemed to be more important than English with regard to written documents, but orally among the younger workers, English was the more common language of communication. The importance of French in the EU can be partly explained by geographical reasons as the Council of Europe and the EU Parliament are situated in Strasbourg and Brussels, but even so, the importance of English has gradually increased since England joined the EEC on the 1st of January 1973. The trend of increased use of English is clearly seen in the statistics of documents used in the European Commission, where the use of French has decreased from 58% in 1986 to 36% in 1998, whereas the use of English has increased in the same period of time from 26% to 49% (Truchot 2001:27).

When it comes to French companies there seems to be a great deal of variation, and the use of English seems to be less prominent than in the EU. In Lilly-Europe, a company in Strasbourg which manufactures medicine, French is used all the time, whereas General Motors in the same town uses English. In PSA (Peugeot-Citroen) French is the dominant language even though this company has brands also outside of France. With the internationalization,

specialization and globalization of companies, it is a common trend that specialists in a particular field are taken from other countries. In France, 46.7 % of all foreign experts are from Anglophone nations (Flaitz 1988:96).

The situation of English in France can be illustrated not only by the use of English in the EU or in big companies, but also by the following statement made by Flaitz (1988:101): "reactions to the diffusion of English in France are divided. On one side stands the intelligentsia represented by academics, journalists, and governmental officials people for whom the French language is an important source of identity and livelihood. On the other side is the average French citizen, torn between the rhetoric of the intelligentsia and his/her own perception of the role of English as a world language"(Flaitz 1988:101). The French authorities do not seem to have accepted that English has become more important world wide than French, and the French authorities argue "that the image of French as an elegant language of culture should merit equal importance in the world" (Flaitz 1988:105). This is the goal of, for example, the Project Culturel Étranger, which is "a government sanctioned plan to promote the French language and culture abroad", which is only one of many projects with a similar purpose (see also the Turbon Law 3.1 and the work of the Francophonie 3.3).

To conclude, it seems that English in France is coming into the arena in more and more areas, such as business, international politics, media, music, education etc. Certain groups in France seem to work hard to avoid this development, while others are more positive. It remains to be seen if there is a difference in attitudes to English with younger and older speakers, but there seems to be indications that there is a generational shift in process regarding attitudes to English and that the younger generation is more positive towards the use of this language.

3.4.2 Le Franglais

The term "franglais" first appeared in a book published in 1954 with the title: *Parlez-vous Franglais*, written by Rene Etiemblé, and has since then become a controversial issue. As the term implies, "Franglais" designs words that are partly English and partly French. Thody (1995:1) defines franglais as follows: "Franglais words are anglicisms⁹ and americanisms which are still visibly recognizable as such, terms which are as clearly foreign in origin as 'joie de vivre' or 'folie des grandeurs' are in English". Etiemblé (1954) describes this phenomenon very

⁹ Originally a French word, but according to Webster it can be used in English as "a characteristic feature of English occurring in another language" (Webster Online: <http://www.m-w.com/>)

negatively, seeing English words as a threat to the French civilization and identity, and he is warning about the English invasion that has to be avoided at any cost. He describes it as follows: “Walkman sur la tête, Michael Jackson dans les oreilles, je sirote un coca cola à la terrasse d’un Mac Donald sous l’effigie d’un Mickey geant” (Etiemblé in Thody 1995:67) (Walkman on the head, Michael Jackson in the ears, I’m sipping a Coca Cola on the terrace of a Mc Donald under the poster of a giant Mickey; my translation, AMB). He continues by stating that « ainsi assistons-nous à la victoire apparente d’une culture étrangère, universaliste, déracinante et déstructurante, une idéologie culturelle importée des États-Unis depuis longtemps » (ibid.) (“In this way we’re assisting in the apparent victory of a foreign culture, which is universal and destructing, a cultural ideology imported from the United States since long time ago; my translation, AMB). It follows from the statements by Etiemblé, that there is no doubt that he considers the influence of English as negative, and to the extent that the French government is still passing laws to preserve the purity of French it seems that he has succeeded in conveying his message.

However, there are indications that this view might be changing. According to Flaitz (1988:51) “young people in France are often said to find English appealing because of its symbolic function as the language of freedom and a brighter future. Older people often view it as a threat to tradition and fear its corrupting influence on the community’s value system”. According to Flaitz (1988), there also seems to be a development towards less “Frechification” of English loan words. Thody (1995:33) claims that “more than a quarter of the average young person’s vocabulary is made up of words of American origin” and therefore the attitude towards it cannot be very negative. Similarly, Thody (1995) criticizes the French obsession with *franglais* and he argues that the threat of English is exaggerated. According to him, the influence from English has not affected the heart of the language, nor its morphology or its syntax (Thody 1995:34). Further, he argues that the whole issue about ‘*franglais*’ is more of political than of linguistic nature (ibid.35). The French are using language policy to strengthen their position as a nation and to showing the world that they do not want to blindly accept the influence or the dominance of the UK or the States (see 3.1). The situation of French today is more a consequence of the French people themselves, than of “a twentieth-century Anglo-Saxon plot” (ibid 81). According to Thody (1995), it is the French people’s responsibility to find equivalents to words like “fast food”, “marketing” or “design”, and if this is not done, it is unfair to blame the English or American people (Ibid.). Also, the words of English origin used in French do not need to be a

threat to French identity; neither to the French language nor to the cultural values represented by French.

3.5 Jeffra Flaitz (1988): *The Ideology of English*

The Ideology of English is a study by Flaitz on French attitudes towards English as a World language. In this study 145 questionnaires about attitudes to English were distributed on market places and in supermarkets in France, more specifically, in Rouen, Paris, Montbard and Troyes. The questionnaires were analysed quantitatively, while some interviews were conducted in order to also have a qualitative approach to the issue. Her main hypotheses are as follows:

- 1) “French attitudes toward English as a linguistic entity are strong and negative”.
- 2) “French attitudes toward Americans and American ideology are more strongly and negatively manifested than those towards the British people and British ideology”
- 3) “There appears to be a relationship between French attitudes toward English, speakers of English and Anglo-American ideology”
- 4) “The United States, and not Great Britain, is perceived to be the source of English as an international Lingua Franca” (Flaitz 1988:120).

Her investigation shows many interesting results. For example, American influence is not perceived as a threat to French identity, something which is clear from the following responses: 81.9 % claim to be willing to welcome British tourists, 87.6 % would be willing to attend an American cultural event and 81.9 % show a positive attitude towards the openness of Americans (Flaitz 1988:166).

After analysing the results, hypothesis (1) is rejected, as the attitudes towards English appear to be mostly positive. British English, described as ‘elegant’, ‘rich’ and ‘slow’ is valued slightly more positive than American, which is described as ‘loud’, ‘fast’ and ‘direct’ (ibid. 190). These results are rather surprising as they contradict the myth of the French being very negative towards English.

The results of Hypothesis 2 are different from what could be expected in advance. In fact, the American ideology is valued more positively than the British, and neither is valued really negatively. The responses indicate a development in the opposite direction of what is indicated in Hypothesis 2, although this hypothesis does not have sufficient support in the data to be completely rejected.

Moving on to the correlation between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers and ideology (Hypothesis 3), this hypothesis is corroborated as the interviews and the questionnaires seem to indicate that there is a connection between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers and ideology. Attitudes towards language can not be separated from the speakers of that particular language nor from the ideology represented by the country where that particular language is spoken.

Finally, the last hypothesis is corroborated as the data clearly indicate that the US is seen as the main source of influence on English as a world language, but that Britain had this role in the colonial period and in earlier times. Flaitz concludes that “many English speakers believe that the French, regardless of education, age, occupation, or any other variable, generally scorn the Anglophone world”.

Flaitz (1998:186) wonders “why then the apparent contradiction between these beliefs and that data reported in this study?” She comes with some explanations as to why this may be so. One reason is the French *intelligentsia*, which often represents the attitudes of a country in general and which passes laws that are hostile to other languages. What she refers to as the *intelligentsia* does not represent the attitudes of an average French citizen, but rather the attitudes of a minority elite. In addition, as Thody (1995) has argued, language in France is a question of politics and not only a question of language. The power elite’s “verbal attacks and legislative action against the English language and American culture are part and parcel of their commitment to defend and promote France and the French language”(Flaitz 1988:187). In other words, offensive language policy to promote the French language is a way of doing politics. Language policy is used to show that the French have national interests and do not necessarily accept to be ruled by American international politics.

Also, Flaitz (1988) considers cultural relativity as an explanation of why the French are often perceived of as negative towards English. There might be different social conventions for how to behave when you meet a stranger, and because these social conventions of behaviour vary from France to other countries, there might be misunderstandings which results in the French being perceived of as rude or impolite.

Finally, Flaitz’s (1988) last explanation is that many tourists visit only Paris, which is a very busy city with 10 million inhabitants, and it is argued that large cities are not known as being “warm and friendly to cross-cultural encounters between strangers” (Flaitz 1988:188). What is true about Paris is not necessarily true about the rest of France.

After suggesting these explanations for the discrepancy between the hypotheses and the results, Flaitz (1988:187) concludes that “positive attitudes are generally widespread and they increase with higher levels of education” and that this “may come as a surprise to those convinced through first-hand experience or anecdote that the French do not like the British”. Beside concluding that the French are more positive towards English than people tend to believe, Flaitz (1988) also found that the variables age, occupation and educational background were the most significant with regard to language attitudes (ibid 180). Particularly, positive attitudes seemed to increase in proportion to the level of education (ibid. 183).

Finally, the myth about the French being negative to English does not seem to be true according to the French respondents of Flaitz’s study. The tendency revealed by Flaitz (1988) is also clear in the study by Oakes (2001).

3.6 Leigh Oakes (2001): Language and Identity in France

Leigh Oakes (2001) has done a study where language and national identity is compared between Sweden and France. As a background, she introduces the tradition of the French school system: From 1793 (when primary and secondary schooling was made obligatory) “teachers became known as ‘instituteurs’ (French word) as their task was to ‘institute a nation’ (Oakes 2001). Later, in 1921, the Ministry of Education in France told the teachers that “teaching of French is not only about the working for the maintenance and spread of a beautiful language and literature, it is also about strengthening national identity”¹⁰ (Oakes 2001:62). From these comments it is made clear that France has had a special tradition with regard to teaching, and that knowledge of the French language has been strongly linked with national identity.

Also, and perhaps as a result of the close link between French language and identity, prescriptivism has been the tradition of language development and “a uniform language was made a symbol of a united nation” (ibid 74). “For this reason, any attempt to reform orthography and the French language in general has been considered as an attack on the fabric of society and the identity of France”¹¹ (Ager 1996 in Oakes 2001:74).

¹⁰ The teachers were told so in “Le Bulletin Officiel” 1921 which is an official document telling the teachers how they should do their duty.

¹¹ That this tradition is still strong in France can be seen for example in the reluctance shown to sign The European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages in 1992 (see section 3.1)

In contrast, in Sweden, the democratization of language has been a part of the democratization society (Oakes 2001: 73), and this could be said about Norway as well. It is considered a human right to speak your own dialect just as it is a human right to vote. This has resulted in a teaching tradition which is very different from the one in France. “An important goal of the teaching of Swedish is to strengthen the pupil’s self esteem, so that they are not afraid to express themselves and express their opinions. Work should therefore be based on the language and experiences the pupils have. All children must feel their language is good enough and that they can use their experiences and words in learning to read and write” (from teaching plan for Swedish primary school in Oakes 2001:73). This philosophy of teaching is similar in Norway, and communication is considered the primary goal rather than knowledge of orthography.

Oakes (2001:75) argues further that the tradition in France has had the result that the average French speaker does “not consider his language as a malleable instrument, at his disposal to express himself and communicate. He sees it as an immutable institution, constrained in its traditions and particularly untouchable”. If Oakes is right about what she says about the French not primarily seeing the language as a tool for communication, this can explain why they have a reputation of being reluctant to use English even though they have learned it.

In order to investigate the relationship between language and identity in Sweden and in France, Oakes distributed questionnaires which she later analysed. The results of this investigation are interesting, and in a general perspective they reveal that official circles in France continue to encourage a ‘strong linguistic and national consciousness’ while this is not done to the same extent in Sweden (Oakes 2001: 230). However, on the grassroots this seems to be reversed. The survey done by the questionnaires show that young people in France have weaker national consciousness than young people in Sweden, and they do not share “the prescriptive and purist attitudes normally associated with linguistic consciousness in France” (Oakes 2001:230). In other words, the young French speakers today are not as conscious of the French language as the French traditionally are expected to be.

Oakes (2001) divides her results in three sections, describing language and identity in the national arena, in the European arena, and in the global arena. On the national arena, “the young French respondents [do] not regard ethnic minorities as significantly negatively for the purpose of construction a positive French identity” (Oakes 2001: 232). This is in spite of the fact that France as a nation showed a very negative attitude to minority languages by refusing to sign The European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages in 1992 (section 3.1). In other words, the

reluctant attitudes expressed by official institutions in France are not representative of an average French speaker.

On the European arena, the French respondents show some “degree of convergence to a European identity”. The respondents do not see the use of French in the EU as important as French official institutions, and they recognize the role of English in Europe (Oakes 2001: 233). Similarly, on the global arena the results show that the French do not have particularly negative attitudes towards English as a world language, and they do not see the position of English on the global arena as a threat to their identity. In general, on the national, the European, and the global arena, the average French speaker is positive to English. The results of the study by Oakes (2001) are similar to Flaitz (1988), and further also to a study done by James Walker.

3.7 James Walker (1998): *Les Attitudes envers les Anglicismes*

In 1998 James Walker submitted his doctoral dissertation at Sorbonne University in Paris with the title: *Les attitudes envers les Anglicismes*. In other words, the study investigates attitudes to English words used in French. In the introduction he refers to the tradition in France, where French was seen as the clearest and most logic language. Walker (1998:12) quotes Rivarol from the 17th century: “ce qui n’est pas clair n’est pas français: ce qui n’est pas clair c’est encore anglais, italien, grec ou latin” (What is not clear is not French: what is not clear is English, Italian, Greek or Latin)¹² French was considered the language of humanity and civilization, and the Declaration of Human Rights was considered to be one of many proofs of this.

In the 20th century, many French people have argued that the French language that used to be so clear and perfect is being deteriorated, and the metaphor of sickness is often used to describe the language, as quoted in Walker (1998:38): “Le français souffre d’un chancre purulent (...) Pour moi, le remède est très simple. Il faut commencer par nettoyer cette plaie purulente des corps étrangers qui l’infectent. Pour notre malheur, ce sont les anglicismes » (French suffers from an infectious wound (...) For me the medication is simple. We have to start by cleaning the infectious wound from foreign elements which cause the infection. The cause of our grief is the Anglicismes). The quote from Walker (1998) does not reveal a very positive attitude to English loan words.

¹² All the quotes in French in section 3.7 are translated into English (in parentheses) by me, AMB.

Further, Walker (1998:41) also illustrates how metaphors of death and war have been used about English words in French, and he argues that this reflects an elitist tradition where those who speak French ‘properly’ are considered better than those who do not. The elitist tradition has led to a considerable focus on grammar and orthography: “c’est la connaissance des règles-et tant mieux si elles sont difficiles-qui permet de séparer la paille du grain” (Beaujoulx in Walker 1998:41) (It is the knowledge of (grammatical) rules- the more difficult the better- that permits to separate the wheat from the chaff). According to this view, the knowledge of ‘proper’ French, as defined by the French Academy or other national institutions, decides your position and prestige in the social hierarchy.

The main question for Walker’s dissertation is: “Jusqu’ou va le purisme? Est-ce qu’on a le droit de dire que le conservatisme, en ce qui concerne la langue maternelle, est caractéristique des Français, de tous les Français? » (Walker 1998: 78) (How widespread is the purism ? Can it rightly be said that the conservatism concerning the mother tongue is characteristic of the French, for all the French?)

The data for Walker’s study was collected using questionnaires which were distributed to university students in Strasbourg, Rouen, Paris and Albi in France. In total 230 responses were received and analyzed. Some of the questions are as follows (Walker 1998:302-322):

- Pensez vous que les anglicismes puissent constituer une menace pour la langue française? (Do you think that English words used in French can constitute a threat to the French language?)
- Estimez-vous qu’il est utile de vouloir remplacer chaque anglicisme par un équivalent français ? (Do you consider it useful to replace every English word by an equivalent French word?)
- Est-ce que les anglicismes enrichissent la langue française? (Are English words enriching for the French language?) (ibid 346)

For the two first questions, more than 50 % say that they do not consider English words a threat to the French language, and 60 to 80 % say it is not necessary to replace all English words with French words. For the third question, the respondents had alternatives to tick off whether they thought English words were enriching: “a lot”, “to some extent”, “little”, “not at all” etc. Over 50 % said that English words are “to some extent” enriching to the French language.

The respondents were also asked if they were influenced by the French Academy, and 80 % said no, a result which reveals that the French Academy probably does not have the same influence that it used to have or that prescriptive grammarians like to believe it has.¹³

Regarding the position of English in international organizations and the American influence on French culture, the respondents were asked (Walker 1998: 410- 425):

- Quelle serait votre réaction si le français devrait perdre sa place de langue de travail à l'ONU ? (What would your reaction be if French were to lose its position as a working language in the United Nations?)
- Par rapport à votre culture, la culture américaine exerce-t-elle une influence plutôt enrichissante, négligeable, appauvrissante etc ? (Regarding your culture, is the American influence enriching, negligible or impoverishing?)

The answers to the question about the position of French in the UN were more negative than the answers regarding the questions about “anglicismes”. 58 out of 213 (27 %) were indifferent, while 151 (71 %) were either negative or very negative to French losing its status in the UN. With regard to American influence, 45 % did not think the American influence had any considerable impact; 21 % found the influence enriching and 17 % found it impoverishing. The answers to these two questions seem to indicate that there is a negative attitude to French losing its position in international organizations but that American influence generally is not seen as having a considerable impact. In addition the French respondents characterize English first and foremost as an international and a practical language.¹⁴

The conclusion of Walker's study is that English words used in French do not constitute any danger. The main tendency shown by Walker's study is indifference: indifference to English words used in French, indifference towards the French Academy and their prescriptions about language use, and indifference to American influence of the French society¹⁵ (Walker 1998: 507). The question of this dissertation was to know to what extent the purism of the French elites in Paris is transmitted to the people, and the conclusion is that it is not transmitted at all!(ibid). The variable which had the highest correlation with attitudes to ‘anglicismes,’ was in this study found to be age. In other words, the study by Walker 1998 reveal that young French speakers are

¹³ All the information in this section is taken from the result section in Walker 1998:302-389.

¹⁴ All the information in this section is taken from the result section in Walker 1998: 410- 425

¹⁵ Indifference in this context should be understood as neutral and not as negative (Walker 1998: 507)

not considerably negative to English words, and that the attitudes of conservatism and elitism often transmitted by French political institutions are not the attitudes found on the grassroots.

To conclude, the studies by Flaitz (1988), Oakes (2001) and Walker (1998) show the same pattern: The French are not as negative to English as people outside of France tend to believe. The conservative and often negative attitudes expressed by the official institutions in France are not representative for an average speaker. In general, the majority of French speakers have positive attitudes to English. The interesting question is why people believe these attitudes are so negative if this is not the case.

4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Inspiration from Leigh Oakes (2001), Jeffra Flaitz (1998), in addition to general readings about attitudes led to the formulation of the following research questions (each research question is related to the hypothesis/es written in parenthesis):

1. -What influence do the variables age and gender have on French attitudes towards English? (related to Hypotheses 5 & 6)
2. -To what extent can linguistic attitudes be separated from attitudes towards speakers, values, culture and ideology associated with a particular language? (In this case with English) (related to Hypothesis 1, and partly to Hypothesis 4)
3. -Is there any difference between the attitudes towards British English and American English? ¹⁶(related to Hypothesis 4)
4. -Are the attitudes of people in France today influenced by the history of the French language in terms of colonial past, francophonie and the strong standardization process that has been going on with regard to their own language? (related to Hypothesis 2)
5. -Is learning another language perceived by the French as a threat to their identity? (related to Hypothesis 3)

The research questions have lead to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

1. French attitudes towards English, expressed in terms of attitudes to language, culture, speakers, ideology etc, are generally negative. (Cf Research Question (RQ) 2)
2. People in France prefer French rather than English to be the world language. (Cf RQ 4)
3. The French feel English is a threat to their identity. (Cf RQ 5)
4. The French are more negative to American English than to British English. (Cf RQ 3)
5. Younger people are more positive towards English than older ones. (Cf RQ 1)
6. There is no big difference between men and women regarding attitudes towards English. (Cf RQ 1)

¹⁶ In Research Question 3 and in Hypothesis 4 the terms “British English” and “American English” are not only referring to the British or American language, but also to British and American culture, speakers and ideologies. If American or British English is used to refer only to the language, ‘language’ is written in parentheses.

5 METHOD

5.1 *General things to be aware of about research in Sociolinguistics*

5.1.1 Qualitative and quantitative research

Research in sociolinguistics can be typically *quantitative*, typically *qualitative*, or a combination of the two. In a typically quantitative study, the focus is mainly on *how much* and *how often* the item of interest to the research occurs or is used. Conversely, a typically qualitative study is focused on describing *how* and *why* the item of interest, for example, a language, is used the way it is (Johnstone 2000: 35). In a quantitative study the numeric data makes the basis and the evidence for all the conclusions made in the study. In contrast, in a qualitative study the numbers (if numbers are used) are just an indication of trends, and are not necessarily absolute in the same way as for a quantitative study. Even though this thesis includes numbers, it is mainly qualitative as the main focus is to describe *how* the French attitudes to English are and *why* they are that way. The numbers are only used to indicate trends. A mainly quantitative study normally requires more advanced statistical analysis, but as the focus of this study is mainly qualitative, statistical analysis has not been a priority.

In addition, a quantitative study generally has higher requirements to representativity, and this normally requires a higher number of respondents and rigorous sampling techniques. The present study does not claim to be representative for France as a whole, or not even for a particular group in France. The reason for this is that the sample was not random. The respondents were chosen according to where the contact persons could find them. A researcher with different contact persons would find different respondents. The goal of this study is to describe the attitudes of the 146 respondents to whom the questionnaires were distributed. Further and more advanced research needs to be done in order to draw conclusions about the French in general.

5.1.2 Reliability and validity

According to Johnstone (2000:61), “a research procedure is reliable if it produces the same results each time it is employed” and “a procedure is valid if the results it yields are correct and true”. From these definitions of reliability and validity it seems that it is possible to obtain an absolute truth and an absolute correctness, something which is obviously not possible. All research can be interpreted in different ways according to the focus used in the process of

interpretation, and according to the criterion used in the analysis. As Johnstone (2000: 61) also points out: the fact that sociolinguistic research investigates people and their behaviour, their thoughts, or their use of language, makes it impossible to find a definite answer to what a correct conclusion of a research project really is. The conclusion will depend on which criterion the analysis is based, and this can vary from study to study. Also, the respondents may not be honest in their responses, and for different reasons they may choose to answer in a particular way.

However, the reliability of a research project can be improved, for example, by asking many people the same question (Johnstone 2000:61). In this particular study, the same questionnaire was distributed to 150 people and the tendency is more than 50 % positive attitudes for a large majority of the respondents. The fact that the questionnaire was distributed to 150 people makes it more reliable than if it only had been distributed to 30 people. Also, there is almost the same number of men and women in each age group (see 5.4.3), which also improves the reliability.

In addition, diversity of method (Johnstone 2000:61) is important in order to improve validity and reliability. As this study has used both interviews and questionnaires, which are two different direct approach methods, the reliability is higher than by using only one method. There is no big discrepancy between the results of the interviews and the results of the questionnaires, and this indicates that the tendency presented by the results is reliable, and therefore also valid.

Also, another way to improve the validity is to ask whether the study really observes what it was planned to observe (Johnstone 2000:62). The aim of this study is to investigate *attitudes*, and the question is whether the statements in the questionnaire really investigate the hypotheses presented in Chapter 4. This will be commented on in Chapter 7.

5.2 Different approaches to research on language attitudes

According to Garrett et al (2003:15-16) there are three main methods of doing research on language attitudes. These are as follows:

- The societal treatment approach
- The indirect approach
- The direct approach

The societal treatment approach is mainly concerned with observational, participant observation, content analysis, ethnographic studies and study of relevant documents (Garrett et al 2003:15). The indirect approach, as explained by Garrett et al (2003: 51-52), consists most importantly of the Matched Guise Technique (MGT) developed by Lambert et al in 1960. Employing this

technique, the respondents are asked to make judgements about speakers without being aware that they listen to the same speaker several times in different accents. The MGT has given interesting results and could be fruitful to use, but for this study practical restraints would not allow this method.

For the purpose of the present study the direct approach was chosen, which includes methods like questionnaires and interviews. This approach was preferred because it includes methods which are very common for research on language attitudes, and because other studies using these methods have given very interesting results (see Flaitz 1988, Walker 1998 and Oakes 2001). Also for practical reasons, the direct approach methods were found to be the best.

5.3 Direct approaches: Questionnaires

5.3.1 Open and closed questions

Questionnaires represent perhaps the most common direct approach, and several books (see Oppenheim 1992, Fife-Schaw 1995 and Graham 2000) have been written as instructions for how to make good questionnaires. One important aspect to consider is whether the questions should be *open* or *closed*. Open questions require the respondent to “write down the response to a question in any terms that he or she sees fit” and in contrast, closed questions “require the researcher to have a reasonable idea of the likely responses to the items in advance” (Fife-Schaw 1995: 177). The advantages of closed questions are that they are easy to code and they reduce the possibility of giving ambiguous or vague answers (ibid). A disadvantage with closed questions is that they reduce the freedom of the respondent to answer what s/he finds most appropriate.

The advantage of open questions is that the respondent is free to say anything s/he wants, and there might be a greater variety of answers. But a drawback is that it might be very difficult to code and analyze open questions (Oppenheim 1992:112 and Fife-Schaw 1995: 177). As Garrett et al (2003: 36) puts it: “open-ended items are often easier to ask, require more effort to answer, and involve even more work and time to analyze (...) Close-ended items may take longer to prepare, but require little time to ask and to answer and are generally easier to process and analyze”.

For the purpose of this study, closed items were chosen mainly because open items would be very difficult to analyse. In addition, the interviews ask more open questions and give some of the respondents more freedom to say what they want to. Furthermore, combining the interviews

with the closed items in the questionnaires should give a valid impression of the respondents' attitudes.

5.3.2 Things to be aware of

When designing a questionnaire there are many things to be aware of, and many things to avoid. Oppenheim (1992: 128) argues that double negatives should be avoided in the questions, and that issues should be put in a positive way. Conversely, Garrett et al (2003: 40) argue that there should be “a balance of positive and negative statements”. For the present study, both negative and positive statements were used in order to provide variation, and to possibly prevent the respondent from being bored and tick off an answer without consciously considering the different responses. The advantage of variation was chosen even though double negatives in certain cases can be confusing.

Further, Oppenheim (1992:128) argues that there should always be a “don't know” category as “forced answers” would not make any sense. Issues can usually not be described by binary oppositions as they are mostly more complex than “either – or”. It is important to give the respondent the possibility to express this complexity. In the present study this requirement was fulfilled by giving the respondents the possibility to tick off “indécise” (don't know) for each statement.

Moreover, statements investigating language attitudes should be “interesting and meaningful” (Oppenheim 1992: 179-180). This requirement is hard to fulfil as it is relative what is perceived as interesting and meaningful. What one respondent finds interesting might be found completely uninteresting by another respondent.

Besides, Fife-Schaw (1995: 182) argues that it is important to avoid or at least be careful with how statements about *sensitive issues* are expressed. Similarly, Garrett et al (2003:27) gives the advice to avoid loaded items which might push the respondent to answer in one particular way, or provoke them so that they do not want to respond honestly to the rest of the questions. It is also wise to avoid “leading questions”, “implicit value judgements” and “hidden assumptions” (Fife-Schaw 1995: 181).

One more important thing to be aware of, which often influences how respondents answer questions in a questionnaire or an interview, is referred to as *social-desirability bias* (Garrett et al 2003: 28). According to Garrett et al (2003: 28), the social desirability bias can be explained as “the tendency to give socially appropriate answers”. For some reason people tend to be tempted

to “give replies that make them appear well-adjusted, unprejudiced, rational, open-minded and democratic” (ibid). This is a problem for research based on questionnaires and perhaps even more on research based on interviews (ibid). Because of this bias, the respondents who have negative attitudes might not want to express them as it would not be socially accepted to do so.

5.3.3 The Likert Scale

It is very common to use attitude rating scales in order to investigate language attitudes (Garrett et al 2003: 38). Two of the best known scales are *the Likert Scale* and *the semantic-differential scale*, and these have also been used for the present study. The Likert scale is named after its inventor, Likert. Using the Likert Scale, the respondent is confronted with different statements and asked to tick off whether s/he agrees or disagrees. Table 5.1 is an example of the Likert Scale.

Positively worded statement: “*I like the English language*”

Table 5.1: Example of the Likert scale

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly disagree
x				

The responses are scored from 1 to 5, 1 representing either a negative or a positive attitude, according to what the researcher decides. In this study, 1 represents the most positive attitude and 5 represents the most negative attitude. Because the statement in the example above is worded positively, the response “strongly agree” in Table 5.1 reflects a positive attitude. For statements which are worded negatively, this will be different.

With a negatively worded statement, “strongly agree” will reflect a negative attitude. In this case, the scores of “strongly agree” (category 1) will be inverted and counted as 5, so that responses in category 5 always represent a negative attitude in the numerical data.

The most common practice is to use a five-point scale as exemplified above, but if more nuances are desired it is also possible to use a seven-point scale (Oppenheim 1992 and Garrett et al 2003). The results can be analysed and scored in different ways, and for the purpose of this study the numbers have been made into percentages.

A disadvantage with the Likert scale can be that “the middle of the scale is often ambiguous” (Oppenheim 1992:200 and Garrett et al 2003: 41). It is not possible to know if an answer in the middle is slightly negative, slightly positive, completely neutral, or only indifferent.

5.3.4 The semantic- differential scale

Another very common attitude rating scale is the semantic differential scale, which was developed by Charles E. Osgood in 1957 (Oppenheim 1992:92). This scale consists of presenting the respondent with pairs of words which are semantic opposites. The respondents are asked to tick off a slot along a continuum from one to five according to their attitude to the item in question. For the present study each pair of words will be referred to as items.

For example:

I find English speakers:

Table 5.2: Example of Semantic Differential Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	
Friendly	_____	:_____	:_x_	:_____	:_____	Unfriendly
Intelligent	_____	:_x_	:_____	:_____	:_____	Stupid

As for the Likert scale, the options in the semantic-differential scale are rated from 1 to 5, and the closer a response is to 1, the more positive the attitude is to the item in question.

The semantic-differential scale may be criticised of forcing the respondents to generalise. The respondents are asked if, for example, they perceive English speakers as either friendly or unfriendly even when the researcher is fully aware that there obviously is more to an English speaker than these two options. Even though there are 5 options for each pair of words, the scale can still be criticised for being generalising. Also, the respondent might not know English speakers well enough to be able to have an opinion. However, the goal of this scale is not to decide whether an English speaker really is friendly or unfriendly, which would be impossible. The goal is to see the pattern of all the pairs of words which can illustrate how the respondents see English speakers.

5.4 Presentation of the direct methods used for the present study

In this study the direct methods ‘questionnaires’ and ‘interviews’ have been used. The questionnaire (see Appendix 1 and 2) designed for the present study consists of three parts. Part A is based on a five-point Likert scale which includes 40 statements, Part B is based on a five-point semantic differential scale which includes two different sets of ten pairs of words, and in

Part C the respondents are asked for information about their age, gender and knowledge of English. The questionnaire is designed using the theories of the Likert and the Semantic differential scales (see 5.3.3 and 5.3.4) and by using the examples of attitude questionnaires found in the study of Flaitz (1988) and Oakes (2001). The data from the questionnaires was processed in the computer program MS Excel. Questionnaires and used spreadsheets can be found in the appendix.

5.4.1 Using questionnaires and interviews to investigate four different hypotheses

The 40 statements used for the Likert scale include both negatively and positively worded statements which are linked to four different hypotheses (Cf hypotheses presented in Chapter 4). The groups of statements are blended in the questionnaire in order to make it less obvious to the respondents what exactly is being investigated. However, in the following paragraphs the statements are presented and grouped under the heading of the hypothesis they investigate, with the purpose of showing the reader how the questionnaire was composed. In addition, the questions used in the interviews to invest the same hypotheses as the questionnaires are also mentioned in the following section.

Hypothesis 1: *French attitudes towards English, expressed in terms of attitudes to language, culture, speakers, ideology etc, are generally negative.*

The results referring to Hypothesis 1 are based on data from the following statements:

Statement 4: American international politics is generally not correct.

Statement 5: I find the British cold and reserved.

Statement 10: I don't like English food

Statement 15: I think Mc Donald's has a bad influence in France.

Statement 17: No British and American films should be shown in the English original version with French subtitles

Statement 20: I do not welcome British people in France with pleasure

Statement 25: English speakers appear less intelligent than French speakers.

Statement 30: English humour is not fun.

Statement 32: If I was invited by a friend to an English cultural event, I would not go.

Statement 34: There are too many English/American films in French cinemas and on television.

Statement 36: The British are not very polite and generally not very nice people.

As all the statements referring to Hypothesis 1 have negative wording, and category 1 ("strongly agree") reflects a negative attitude for these statements. Accordingly, the responses to these

statements are *inverted* in the coding. The response “strongly disagree” (5) which in this context reveals a positive attitude is counted as 1. In this way, 1 in the numerical data always reflects a positive attitude (see explanation in 5.3.3).

In addition, Hypothesis 1 is investigated by items 41-50 (the semantic differential scale) and also in the interviews by question 7:

- Do you think the English culture, history and ideology put people off learning the language?

Hypothesis 2: *People in France prefer French rather than English to be the world language.*

The results referring to Hypothesis 2 are based on data from the following statements:

Statement 3: English has all the qualities for a world language

Statement 9: Knowledge of French in former French colonies does not need to be preserved.

Statement 13: It is okay that English is the most important language if you want a job in international business or science.

Statement 21: English should be the only official language in the EU.

Statement 24: There should be more explanations in English in museums and at national monuments in France.

Statement 31: It is okay that English will become the language of communication in the EU.

Statement 37: It is okay that English has a stronger position in the world than French.

Statement 38: All academic publications should be printed in English.

As all the statements referring to Hypothesis 2 are positive, there is no need to invert any scores. “Strongly agree” (category 1) reflects a positive attitude to English.

In addition, Hypothesis 2 is investigated in the interviews by question 5:

- Do you find it okay that English seems to take over the role as a World language?

Hypothesis 3: *The French feel English is a threat to their identity.*

The results referring to Hypothesis 3 are based on data from the following statements:

Statement 1: I’m proud of being French and speaking French.

Statement 8: One shouldn’t be able to obtain French citizenship unless one speaks French.

Statement 12: It is not necessary to improve the opportunities to learn English in France, neither in school nor in private courses.

Statement 14: One shouldn’t use English words when speaking French.

Statement 23: If we, the French, speak more English, we’ll adopt English or American values.

Statement 27: Knowing English is a threat to French identity

Statement 29: It is not acceptable in French to use words like “baby-sitting”, “week-end” and “businessman”.

Statement 35: I don't like speaking English because I'm afraid of making mistakes.

Statement 39: The quality of the French language is destroyed because other varieties than standard French are used in France.

As for Hypothesis 1, "strongly agree" for the statements referring to Hypothesis 3 reflects a negative attitude. Accordingly, the responses to these statements are inverted in the coding, so that 1 reflects a positive attitude in the numerical data (see 5.3.3).

In addition, Hypothesis 3 is investigated in the interviews by question 6:

- Do you as French feel expected to not like the British? (If yes, does this possibly influence peoples' attitudes to the English language?)

Hypothesis 4: *The French are more negative to American English than to British English*

The results referring to Hypothesis 4 are based on data from the following statements:

Statement 2: I would prefer a holiday in Britain rather than in the US.

Statement 7: Schools should teach British English rather than American English.

Statement 16: British English is more sophisticated than American English

Statement 19: American influence on the French language and culture is more negative than British influence.

Statement 22: The British are more open than the Americans.

Statement 28: France has more in common with Britain than with the US.

Statement 40: British influence on the French language and culture does not worry me.

For the statements referring to Hypothesis 4 "strongly agree" (1) shows a positive attitude to British English. In addition, this hypothesis is also investigated by the semantic differential scale (items 41-70, see appendix and section 6.6).

Moreover, Hypothesis 4 is investigated during the interview by question 8:

- Which variety, American or British English, do you think is the more beautiful?

Finally, the following statements are added as *distracters* in order to make the respondents less aware of the hypotheses used in this study.

Statement 6: I prefer people from North Africa to English people

Statement 11: People from Belgium like the British better than the Americans.

Statement 18: Jokes about the Belgians are a part of French identity.

Statement 26: The French speaking Belgium should be united to France

Statement 33: The Belgians are less intelligent than the British

5.4.2 Pilot Study and translation

The questionnaires were first written in English and then translated into French by the researcher. Subsequently, the questionnaires were tried out on 3 different French speakers. Following their reactions and corrections, changes were made with the purpose of improving the questionnaire. After correcting all the statements and discussing them orally with a native French speaker, the French speaker was asked to translate the statements back into English. This was done in order to make sure that a French person would understand the statements as originally expressed in the English version. This double check of the translation increases the reliability of the study as it increases the probability of the French respondents understanding the statements the way the researcher originally intended. Therefore, it increases the probability that the research will provide the same results each time it is employed (Johnson 2000:61).

5.4.3 Data collection procedures

When the questionnaire was ready in December 2003, 120 copies were sent off to 10 different contact persons in France. Over Christmas, the contact persons distributed the questionnaires to family and friends. The “friends-of-a-friend” technique used to collect the data does not make the sample random, and therefore the respondents cannot be representative of a bigger group of people than those who were actually appointed. This method was chosen for practical reasons. First, being a qualitative study the question of a representative sample is less important than if it was a typically quantitative study. Second, if questionnaires are distributed to unknown people, the response rate is usually very low, and for this project there was not enough time and resources to distribute more than 150 questionnaires. Further, it was also important to know in advance that most of the questionnaires would be returned. Third, the in-field-stay was too short to permit the researcher to distribute all the questionnaires personally, and therefore contact persons were needed to distribute questionnaires in advance. Before distributing the questionnaires, the contact persons were instructed only find respondents with upper secondary education (BAC/A-levels/high school) and/or with higher education (degrees from University and other higher institutions of education). In this way the questionnaires were distributed in different areas of France, more specifically, in Bordeaux and its environments (Ruffec), in Caen, in Paris, in Nancy, in Bouzonville (2 h north of Nancy) and in les Voges (near Épinal).

In January 2004, I spent three weeks in France visiting the contact persons and collecting the questionnaires. Reactions that had been encountered during the work of the contact persons were discussed and taken notice of. In addition, new respondents were found to fill out the

questionnaires that had not been filled in earlier. This was mostly done in the cafeteria at the University of Nancy II (at Faculté de Lettres and at Institut de Technologie). By the end of the stay, all 120 questionnaires had been filled in, and later, 26 were sent to Norway by post. Also, some questionnaires were distributed by e-mail and the response received as an attachment. In total, 146 questionnaires were collected, spread out over three different age-groups. The numbers of respondents are shown in the following table:

Table 5.3: Number of respondents in the different age groups

Age group	Men	Women
Under 25	27	26
Between 25 and 45	24	30
Over 45	19	20
Total number of respondents	70	76

In addition to collecting the remaining questionnaires, the visit of the research site was used to conduct seven interviews. The respondents of the interviews live in Nancy and Paris, and they represent the same age groups and the same difference in gender as the respondents of the questionnaires. The interviews were conducted in French, and they were recorded using a mini cassette tape recorder. Subsequently, the tapes were carefully listened to and the conversations transcribed (see appendix), for later to be analysed. The reason for adding interviews to the data is to underline the qualitative approach to this study, and to increase the reliability by using two different methods (Johnstone 2000:61).

6 RESULTS

The results of the present study are mostly presented in terms of tables depicting the responses given to the statements in the questionnaires. These data are shown in terms of percentages. In all the tables in this chapter the categories 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 represent the five different slots that could be ticked off by the respondents for each statement along a continuum from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’ (Cf section 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). In the coding, and therefore also in all the tables, 1 represents the most positive attitude, and 5 the most negative. Category 3 is neither positive nor negative as the slot it represents is labelled ‘indécise’ in French and ‘don’t know’ in English. As the results are commented on, the percentages of categories 1 and 2 are often added and refer to positive, or unfavourable, attitudes and the percentages for categories 4 and 5 are added and refer to negative, or unfavourable, attitudes.

6.1 Overall results for Part A (The Likert Scale)

In order to get an overall impression of the trends shown by the results of the present study, this section will consider all the 40 statements of Part A of the questionnaire. From 6.2 and onwards, the statements will be commented on related to the hypotheses they refer to.

This investigation on French attitudes towards English is focused on two different variables: age and gender. There are 3 different age groups; respondents under 25, respondents between 25 and 45, and respondents over 45.

The following table, Table 6.1, shows the overall percentages of the different age groups for Part A of the questionnaire. This table does not consider differences between genders.

Table 6.1: Overall percentages for the three age categories for Part A of the questionnaire

Age group	1	2	3	4	5	N -respondents
under 25	24%	23%	18%	19%	16%	53
25-45	29%	23%	18%	15%	15%	54
over 45	20%	25%	19%	19%	17%	39

Table 6.1 shows that for the youngest respondents, 47 % (24%+23%) have chosen category 1 or 2, for the 25-to-45-year-olds, 52 % (29%+23%) have chosen category 1 or 2 and for the oldest respondents, 45 % (20%+25%) have chosen category 1 or 2. This means that for all three age groups, almost 50 % express positive attitudes to English. For responses in category 3, the

percentage is almost 20 % for all age groups, revealing a certain degree of indecisiveness or unwillingness to express an opinion. For category 4 and 5, the overall percentage is around 30 % for all 3 age groups.

To sum up, the results shown in Table 6.1 indicate roughly 50 % positive responses, 20 % indecisive and 30 % negative responses. There is no big difference between the different age groups, only the over-45-year-olds being slightly more negative (45 % (20%+25%) positive and 36 % (19%+17%) negative) than the younger ones. It follows from these results that the respondents between 25 and 45 seem to be the most positive.

In order to see the results of Table 6.1 in a different way, the percentages of this table have been presented graphically in Figure 6.1.

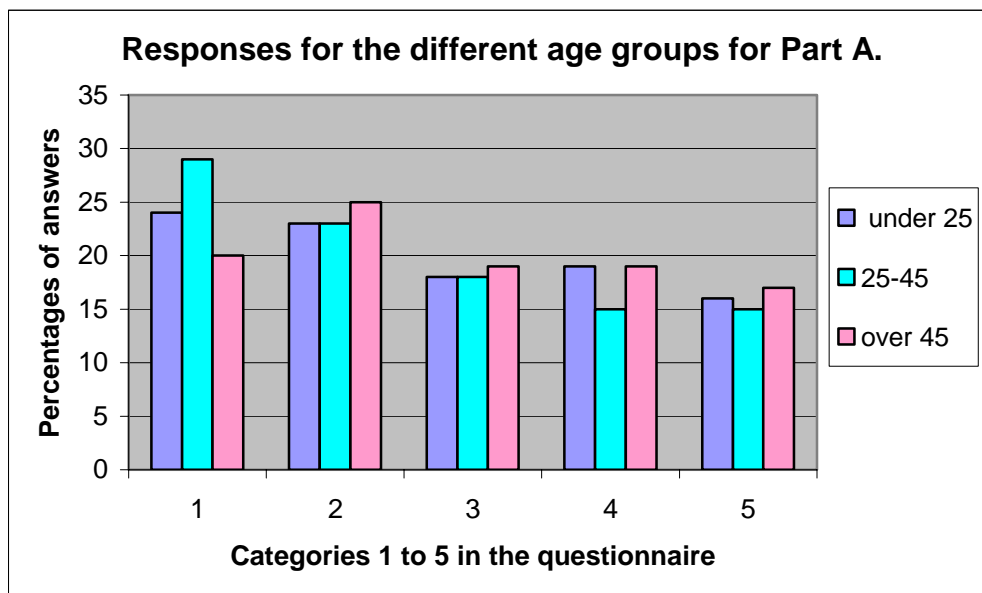


Figure 6.1: Graphic presentation of the results in Table 6.1

The results of Part A can also be considered regardless of different age groups, focusing on gender. The following table, Table 6.2, shows the overall percentages of Part A in the questionnaire (all the 40 statements added), broken down by gender.

Table 6.2: Overall percentages for Part A showing differences between men and women

	1	2	3	4	5	N respondents
Men	24 %	23 %	18 %	17 %	19 %	70
Women	26 %	25 %	18 %	19 %	12 %	76

The results of Table 6.2 are shown graphically in the following Figure 6.2.

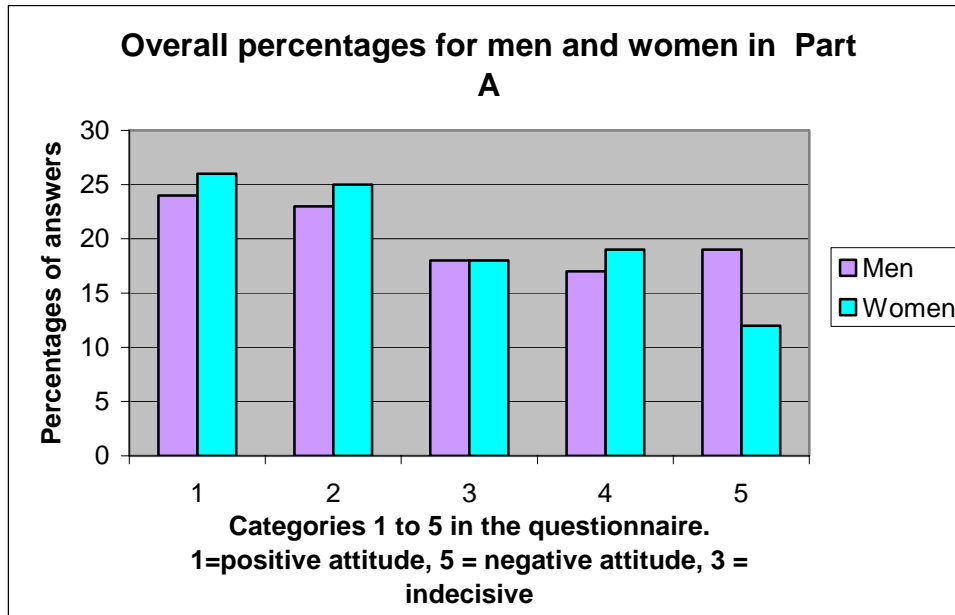


Figure 6.2: Overall percentages of men and women for Part A in the questionnaire.

According to the results shown in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2, the differences between men and women are not striking, which is particularly clear with the responses to category 3, which has 18 % of the responses for both genders. However, the percentages for category 1 and 2 (positive attitudes) are higher for women than for men. This tendency of women to have more positive attitudes than men is better illustrated by the responses in category 5, which reveal that 19 % of the men and only 12 % of the women have negative responses.

Otherwise, the distribution of responses between category 1 and 5 in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 is not very different from Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1. In general, the attitudes are positive with roughly 50 % of all the responses being in category 1 or 2, and roughly 30 % of the responses being in category 4 or 5, which shows a negative attitude. To sum up the results depicted in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2, the attitudes are generally positive, and gender seems only to have an influence on the most negative responses (category 5: strongly disagree).

The results depicted in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 and in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 give a general impression of the results of the investigation of French attitudes to English. However, as the 40 statements in the questionnaire are linked with four different hypotheses, each hypothesis will be investigated separately.

To repeat the four hypotheses, they are as follows:

- 1) *French attitudes towards English, expressed in terms of attitudes to language, culture, speakers, ideology etc, are generally negative.*
- 2) *People in France prefer French rather than English to be the world language.*
- 3) *The French feel English is a threat to their identity.*
- 4) *The French are more negative to American English than to British English.*

The percentages referring to individual statements in the following sections can be found in Appendix 8.

6.2 Results referring to Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1: *French attitudes towards English, expressed in terms of attitudes to language, culture, speakers and ideology are generally negative*

This hypothesis is investigated in the questionnaire by statements 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 20, 25, 30, 32, 34 and 36 (Cf Chapter 5). Table 6.3 depicts the results of the responses to the statements referring to Hypothesis 1:

Table 6.3: Overall percentages of statements referring to Hypothesis 1, all age groups

Hypothesis 1							
	Age ↓	1	2	3	4	5	N respondents
	> 25	34 %	18 %	17 %	17 %	14 %	26
	25- 45	39 %	23 %	15 %	14 %	9 %	30
Women	+ 45	31 %	25 %	20 %	15 %	9 %	20
	> 25	29 %	24 %	15 %	14 %	17 %	27
	25- 45	42 %	17 %	16 %	11 %	14 %	24
Men	+ 45	19 %	27 %	16 %	16 %	22 %	19

In general, the results in Table 6.3 show positive attitudes. More than 46 % of the respondents, both men and women, have positive attitudes (category 1 and 2). There seems to be a little difference between men and women, men being slightly less positive, which is particularly clear for respondents over 45 where 31 % of the women and only 19 % of the men ticked off the most positive category. For category 5, representing a negative attitude, the percentage after summing up all the responses is higher for men over 45 (22 %) than for women over 45 (9 %). This may indicate that men have more negative attitudes or at least that they give more negative responses than women.

This tendency of men to be more negative than women is the same in all the age groups: the percentages for responses revealing negative attitudes (category 5) are higher for men than for women, and the percentages of responses revealing positive attitudes are higher for women than for men. If the men have more negative attitudes (category 5) than the women, it would be likely that the percentage for positive responses (category 1) would be higher for women than for men. However, this is not the case with the respondents between 25 and 45 as 42 % of the men and only 39 % of the women in this age group have given response 1. For the 25-to-45-year-olds the percentage of positive attitudes is higher for men (42 %) than for women (39 %).

When categories 1 and 2 are added up, it becomes clear that for all age groups, between 45 % (men over 45: 19+27%) and 62 % (women between 25 and 45: 39+23 %) of the respondents show positive attitudes to the statements referring to Hypothesis 1. These overall positive results shown in Table 6.3 can be illustrated by the responses to statement 20.

Statement 20: I do not welcome British people in France with pleasure

For statement 20 (Cf appendix 8), around 90 % of the respondents (59+30 % for men, 77+19 % for women) under 25 either disagree or strongly disagree, which reveals a positive attitude (as this statement is worded negatively). In other words, 90 % of the respondents under 25 say they are positive to welcome British people in France. For respondents between 25 and 45 the trend is the same: 100 % of the women (83+17%) and 87 % (79+8%) of the men give positive responses. The remaining 13 % of the men have ticked off the category “don’t know”, and, therefore, no respondent between 25 and 45 give negative responses to statement 20. For the respondents over 45, the trend for the women is exactly the same as for speakers between 25 and 45: 100 % (75+25%) of women over 45 give positive responses. In contrast, only 74 % (42+32 %) of the men over 45 reveal positive attitudes. The results referring to statement 20 indicate that 21 % (21+0%) of the men over 45 are not positive to welcome British people in France, while the large majority of respondents in all other age groups, and also all the women over 45 are positive to welcoming British people in France.

Altogether, the results referring to Hypothesis 1 show that the large majority of respondents of all age groups reveal positive attitudes. The only tendency of negative attitudes can be found among men over 45. Otherwise, there is no big difference between the different age groups, perhaps only that the respondents between 25 and 45 have the highest percentage of positive responses (39 % of the women and 42 % of the men chose category 1).

6.3 Results referring to Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2: *People in France prefer French rather than English to be the world language*

Hypothesis number 2 is investigated by statements 3, 9, 13, 21, 24, 31, 37 and 38 in the questionnaire (see chapter 5 and appendix). Table 6.4 depicts the results of the responses to the statements referring to Hypothesis 2:

Table 6.4: Overall percentages for the statements referring to Hypothesis 2, all age groups

Hypothesis 2							
Age ↓		1	2	3	4	5	N respondents
> 25	Men	9 %	21 %	17 %	21 %	32 %	27
	Women	11 %	24 %	18 %	26 %	21 %	26
25- 45	Men	15 %	16 %	17 %	20 %	33 %	30
	Women	13 %	30 %	15 %	20 %	23 %	24
+ 45	Men	11 %	22 %	15 %	20 %	32 %	19
	Women	13 %	21 %	24 %	27 %	14 %	20

Compared to Hypothesis 1, which for most groups has around 50 % positive responses, the results referring to Hypothesis 2, as depicted in Table 6.4, are slightly more negative. Only between 30 % and 43 % of all the respondents give responses revealing positive attitudes to English as a world language (categories 1 and 2 added). The percentages for the negative responses (categories 4 and 5 added) are also higher for the statements referring to Hypothesis 2 than for the statements referring to Hypothesis 1. Between 41 and 53 % of men and women, all age groups, give responses which reveal negative attitudes to the position of English as a world language. The tendency seems to be the same for men and women, but similarly as to the results referring to Hypothesis 1, the men have a higher percentage of negative responses (category 5) than the women. This is particularly clear for the respondents over 45: 14 % of the female respondents have chosen category 5, which is the most negative category, while 32 % of the male respondents have chosen category 5. In other words, there are more men than women who have chosen the most negative category of response. The overall tendency of the results referring to Hypothesis 2 (as shown in Table 6.4) is that even though there are between 30 and 43 % of all respondents who show positive attitudes; there are 41 to 53 % who show negative attitudes. The results of Table 6.4 can be exemplified by the following statements:

Statement 3: *English has all the qualities for a world language*

Statement 21: *English should be the only official language in the EU.*

Regarding statement 3 (Cf appendix 8), there seem to be divided opinions. The most positive group is women between 25 and 45, where 73 % express a positive attitude (20%+53%). The most negative group is men under 25 with only 40 % of positive attitudes (7% + 33%). Similar to the trend shown in Table 6.4 the percentages of responses expressing negative attitudes are for this particular statement higher for men than for women.

For statement 21(Cf appendix 8), both for men and women, the respondents are very negative to English becoming the only official language in the EU. 96 % (19+78%)of the men under 25 and 85 % (23+62%) of the women under 25 have chosen category 4 or 5 when responding to this statement, and less than 10 % of the respondents under 45 (both is age group under 25 and between 25-45) have chosen category 1 or 2 when responding to this statement. For the respondents older than 45, the percentage of positive attitudes is slightly higher than for the younger respondents (20 % of the respondents over 45 chose category 1). Even so, the overall impression from statement 21 is that all respondents are negative to English becoming the only official language in the EU. Similarly, the respondents are also negative to all academic publications being published in English (statement 38).

Statements 3, 21 (and 38) reveal rather negative attitudes to the position of English as a world language. To other statements the responses are more positive, but even so, the tendency of the responses to the statements investigating Hypothesis 2 is to show more negative attitudes than the statements investigating Hypothesis 1. The results are similar for men and women, but the percentages of negative attitudes are slightly higher for men.

6.4 Results referring to Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: *The French feel English is a threat to their identity*

Hypothesis number 3 is investigated in the questionnaire by statements 1, 8, 12, 14, 23, 27, 29, 35 and 39. Table 6.5 shows the results of the responses for all the statements referring to Hypothesis 3:

Table 6.5: Overall percentages for the statements referring to Hypothesis 3, all age groups

Hypothesis 3							
Age ↓		1	2	3	4	5	N respondents
> 25	Men	35 %	24 %	12 %	17 %	12 %	27

	Women	42 %	21 %	8 %	18 %	11 %	26
	Men	41 %	21 %	7 %	17 %	14 %	30
25- 45	Women	45 %	22 %	6 %	17 %	10 %	24
	Men	23 %	22 %	9 %	22 %	23 %	20
+ 45	Women	27 %	21 %	10 %	26 %	16 %	19

The results shown in Table 6.5 are generally very positive. 59 % of the men under 25 (35% + 24 %) and 63 % of the women under 25 (42 % + 21 %) give responses revealing positive attitudes, which in this case means they do not see English as a threat to their identity. Less than 30 % (17+12 % for men, 18+11 % for women) of men and women under 25 give negative responses, and only 11 and 12 % in this age group have chosen category 5, revealing a strongly negative attitudes.

For the respondents between 25 and 45 the results are also very positive. More than 60 % (41+21 % for men, 45+22% for women) give positive responses and do not see English as a threat to their identity. Around 30 % (17+14 % for men, 17+10 % for women) give negative responses, similarly to the respondents under 25.

Respondents who are older than 45 express slightly more negative attitudes than the younger ones. Between 40 and 50 % (22%+23% for women and 26%+16% for men) of respondents over 45 give negative responses, and between 40 and 50 % (23%+22% for men and 27%+21% for women) in this group give positive responses. There is not a big difference with regard to gender, only that men are slightly more negative than women. The overall results referring to Hypothesis 3 are generally positive. If the percentages of categories 1 and 2 are added, all the age groups have a percentage of positive responses between 45 % and 67 %. The most positive group is the 25 to 45 year olds (more than 60 % positive responses), and the least positive group is the more than 45 year olds (less than 50 % positive responses). The results of Table 6.5 can be exemplified by the responses to the following statement:

Statement 27: Knowing English is a threat to French identity

For statement 27 (Cf appendix 8), 100 % (85+15%) of the women under 25 and 96 % (78+19%) of the men under 25 disagree, saying that English is not considered a threat to their identity. None of the women in age group under 25 and only 3 % of the men in age group > 25 have responded ‘agree’ to statement 27, which in this case means a negative attitude. For the respondents between 25 and 45 the results are also very positive. 96 % (83+13%) of both the

women and the men express positive attitudes. With reference to this statement there is no tendency for the older speakers to be more negative as is the tendency shown in Table 6.5. All the respondents reveal very positive attitudes and do not consider English a threat to their identity.

In addition, Hypothesis 3 is also investigated by statement 35.

Statement 35: *I don't like speaking English because I'm afraid of making mistakes*

For statement 35 (Cf appendix 8), the women over 45 seem more negative than the men in the same age group. 32 % (21+11%) of the men over 45 disagree with statement 35 (which in this case reveals as positive attitude) and 25 % (15+10%) of the women over 45 disagree with statement 35. For negative attitudes (in this case agreement with the statement), the responses are 58 % (47+11%) for men over 45 and 75 % (60+15%) for women over 45. Concluding from statement 35, it seems that making mistakes is seen as a bigger problem for women than for men over 45.

For the speakers younger than 45 (both the younger-than-25-year-olds and the 25-to-45-year-olds) the responses are more positive than for the older speakers. Only between 20 and 30 % of the younger respondents express negative attitudes and admit to be afraid of speaking English because of fear of making mistakes. The least negative are the male respondents under 25: only 15 % of the respondents in this group agree with statement 35. Similarly to the respondents over 45, the percentages of negative responses are higher for women under 25 (27+15%) than for men under 25 (15+0%).

Men between 25 and 45 have 29 % (25+4%) responses revealing negative attitudes to statement 35, while the women in this age group have 33 % (23+10%) negative responses. For the youngest speakers, 42 % (27+15%) of the women and only 15 % (15+0%) of the men agree that fear of making mistakes stops them from speaking English. The results of statement 35 reveal that fear of making mistakes is a bigger problem for women than for men in all age groups.

Finally, the responses to statement 14 include interesting insights to Hypothesis 3:

Statement 14: *One shouldn't use English words when speaking French.*

The results referring to statement 14 (Cf appendix 8) seem to indicate that younger speakers are more positive to using English words in French than older speakers. The youngest respondents (under 25) have only between 20 and 30 % (11+11% for men, 15+15% for women) negative responses, while the older respondents (between 25 and 45) have 40 % (21+21% for men, 33+10% for women) negative responses. The oldest respondents (over 45) have between 55 and

73 % (47+26% for men, 55+0% for women) negative responses, which is almost the double of the younger than 25-year-olds.

To sum up the results related to Hypothesis 3, it can be said that even though there are some negative attitudes expressed to certain statements, 47 to 67 % of all the respondents (Cf Table 6.5) show positive attitudes and do not see English as a threat to French identity. The general tendency is positive attitudes, something which is particularly clear with statement 27 where almost 100 % of all the respondents express positive attitudes.

6.5 Results referring to Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4: *The French are more negative to American English than to British English*¹⁷

Hypothesis 4 is investigated by statements 2, 7, 16, 19, 22, 28 and 40 in the questionnaire. In addition, Hypothesis 4 is also investigated by item 41 to 70 in Part B of the questionnaire (Cf section 6.6: Results of the Semantic differential scale). Table 6.6 depicts the results of all the statements referring to Hypothesis 4:

Table 6.6: Overall percentages for the statements referring to Hypothesis 4, all age groups

Hypothesis 4							
	Age ↓	1	2	3	4	5	N respondents
	> 25	12 %	27 %	28 %	22 %	11 %	26
	25- 45	15 %	30 %	34 %	15 %	6 %	30
Women	+ 45	9 %	38 %	31 %	16 %	7 %	20
	> 25	16 %	31 %	27 %	18 %	9 %	27
	25- 45	17 %	20 %	38 %	11 %	15 %	24
Men	+ 45	15 %	29 %	32 %	11 %	14 %	19

As Hypothesis 4 opposes British English with American English, the responses in categories 1 and 2 counting for positive attitudes are understood as positive attitudes to British English. Compared to the results of the other hypotheses, the percentages in category 3 are relatively high in Table 6.6, with up to 38 % (men age 25-45) of the respondents having ticked off the slot for “don’t know” (category 3). Otherwise, the percentages are higher for positive than for negative responses, for example with 47 % (16+31%) of the men under 25 and 39 % (12+27%) of the

¹⁷ Cf footnote Ch 4: in Hypothesis 4 the terms “British English” and “American English” are not only referring to the British or American language, but also to British and American culture, speakers and ideologies.

women under 25 revealing more positive attitudes to British English. For the two other age groups, there are around 40 % who reveal more positive attitudes to British English.

Interestingly, for the age group under 25 the men seem to be more positive to British English than the women. This is clear with the negative responses, which are 27 % (18+9%) for men and 33 % (22+11%) for women. As responses in categories 1 and 2 for the statements referring to Hypothesis 4 are understood as positive attitudes to British English, the 33 % of the women giving negative responses indicate that 33% of the women under 25 are negative to British, and thereby more positive to American English than to British English. For the other age groups the percentage of negative responses is higher for men than for women (both for the age group 25 to 45 and for the age group over 45).

The tendency of the responses referring to Hypothesis 4 can be exemplified by the following statements:

Statement 16: *British English is more sophisticated than American English*

Statement 28: *France has more in common with Britain than with the US.*

In response to statement 16 (Cf appendix 8), 71 % (30+41%) of the men under 25 and 58 % (8+50%) of the women under 25 reveal positive attitudes to British English, agreeing that British English is more sophisticated than American English. However, the tendency of men being more positive to British English than women seems to be underlined by this question, at least for respondents under 25. While 30 % of the men (> 25) have chosen category 1 (strongly agree), only 8 % of the women (> 25) do the same. The men seem to have more convincingly positive attitudes to British English. However, this trend is only clear for the youngest respondents. For the other age groups the men have higher percentages of negative responses than the women. The group with the most positive attitudes to British English is women over 45 with 65 % expressing positive attitudes.

For statement 28, 47 % (12+35%) of the women under 25 and 44 % (11+33%) of the men under 25 have chosen categories 1 or 2. For the older respondents (both the 25-to45-year-olds and the over-45-year-olds) there are between 40 and 68 % who agree with statement 28. Least positive are the women between 25 and 45 with only 3 % of the responses in category 1; although this group has 37 % of the responses in category 2, which is also positive, no other group has so low percentage of responses in category 1. These results suggest that the women between 25 and 45 are more positive to American language, culture and speakers than the others. In addition, the responses to statement 28 seem to indicate that the respondents over 45 have the highest

percentage of agreement, which indicate that they are more positive to Britain than the younger respondents, or that they are more negative to America. 68 % (26+42%) of the women over 45 and 65 % (15+50%) of the men over 45 agree with statement 28.

To come back to the results depicted in Table 6.6, it should be mentioned that there is, compared to the results of the other hypotheses, a high degree of indecisiveness among the respondents. Even so, the general trend is that the majority of respondents have more positive attitudes to British English than to American English. The only exception seems to be the younger women, who in response to some statements are more positive to American English.

To sum up the results of Part A for all the respondents, the tendencies for the different hypotheses follow more or less the same pattern for all three age groups. The attitudes revealed by the responses to the statements referring to Hypothesis 1 and 3 are the most positive. For the statements referring to Hypothesis 4, the tendency is to favourise British English. For the statements referring to Hypothesis 2, the attitudes revealed by the responses are more negative than for the statements related to Hypothesis 1 and 3. The percentages of positive responses for the age group over 45 are slightly lower than for the two other age groups, indicating that older people have more negative attitudes. For some of the results the age group between 25 and 45 is the most positive. Otherwise there is a tendency of women to express more positive attitudes than men. The only exception is the women under 25, who have more negative responses than the men under 25 regarding British speakers.

6.6 Results for Part B (The semantic differential scale)

In the results related to the semantic differential scale there is no big difference, neither between the age groups, nor between the genders. A selection has therefore been made in order to show the general trends of the results. The responses are rated from 1 to 5 according to the slots that the respondents could tick off in the questionnaire (see Appendix 7 or section 5.3.4). An average is found for each pair of words. Although not true for all the pairs of words regarding the English language, the closer the average is to 5, the more negative is the respondents' view of the English language or of the British or American speakers.

6.6.1 Attitudes to English language

The section in Part B of the questionnaire referring to attitudes to the English language (items 41-50) is related to Hypothesis 1. To exemplify these results, the average responses for the three different age groups are shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Averages for attitudes to the English language by the three different age groups

View of the English Language			
Attributes	Average response		
	> 25	25- 45	+ 45
Rapid/Slow	2.15	2.2	1.86
Direct/Indirect	2.43	2.2	2.44
Clear/Obscure	2.6	2.15	2.56
Rich/Poor	2.77	2.8	3
Formal/ Informal	2.77	2.65	2.81
Simple/ Complex	2.62	2.57	3.28
Elegant/Vulgar	2.4	2.57	2.78
Soft/Hard	2.66	2.57	3.14
Beautiful/Ugly	2.53	2.59	2.89
Civilized/Uncivilized	2.21	2.22	2.53

The averages in Table 6.7 are all very similar and the tendency is that all the averages are very close to 2.50, which indicates that the respondents have a rather neutral view of the English language. Figure 6.3 is an alternative illustration of these averages (see below).

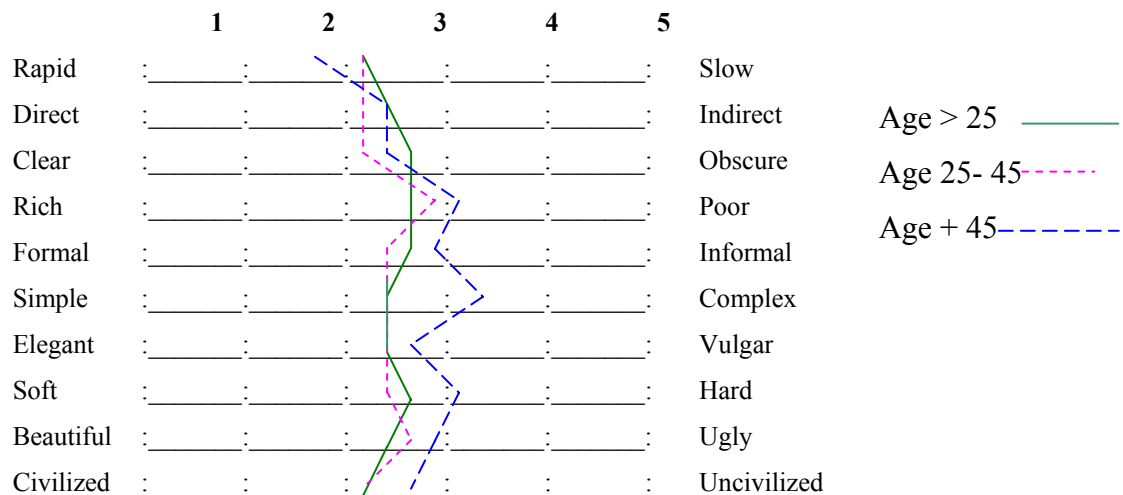


Figure 6.3: Averages of the views of the English language, all age groups

Even though the averages are mostly between 2 and 3, the averages for speakers over 45 are slightly higher than for the younger speakers. The stapled, blue line for speakers over 45 is the only line which goes over average 3. Otherwise, the line for the two younger age groups, > 25 (green) and 25- 45 (pink), are very similar. For certain pairs of words (such as rich-poor, beautiful-ugly) the younger than 25 have the lowest average and consequently the most positive view of the language, while for other pairs of words (such as clear-obscure, direct-indirect), it is

the 25-to-45-year-olds who have the lowest average. Yet, it should be mentioned that some of the pairs of words in Figure 6.3 are neither positive nor negative. For example rapid-slow, direct-indirect and formal-informal do not really show a positive or a negative attitude. As a result, Figure 6.3 is only made to give an impression of how the respondents characterize the English language, and can be seen as a complement to the statements in Part A referring to Hypothesis 1 (Cf section 6.2).

6.6.2 Attitudes to British and American speakers broken down by age

Items 51-70 in the questionnaire are related to Hypothesis 4. Compared to items 41-50 concerning the English *language*, the attitudes to the different *speakers* of English are in general slightly more negative. There is no big difference, neither between the genders, nor between the different age groups regarding attitudes to British and American speakers. The general tendency is that all the respondents are more positive to the British than to the Americans. This can be exemplified in Table 6.8, showing the averages to the British and the Americans for the respondents of the different age groups.

Table 6.8: Averages for attitudes to the British and the Americans for the respondents of the three different age groups; “BR” means British speakers and “AM” means American speakers

View of British and American speakers						
Attributes	Age > 25		Age 25- 45		Age + 45	
	BR	AM	BR	AM	BR	AM
Polite/Rude	2.34	3.42	2.15	3	2.4	2.77
Friendly/ Unfriendly	2.53	2.75	2.46	2.8	2.54	2.94
Pleasant/Unpleasant	3.02	2.77	2.72	2.7	2.77	3.29
Interesting/ Uninteresting	2.49	3.08	2.41	2.83	2.63	3.09
Kind/Unkind	2.64	3.08	2.43	2.67	2.4	2.94
Intelligent/Stupid	2.6	3.21	2.56	3	2.83	3.29
Generous/Egoistic	2.83	3.21	2.89	3.11	3.2	3.43
Elegant/Vulgar	2.68	3.45	2.7	3.44	3.31	3.63
Educated/ Uneducated	2.6	3.6	2.5	3.3	2.97	2.57
Reliable/ Unreliable	2.74	3.26	2.56	2.93	2.8	3.03

The averages depicted in Table 6.8 all show the same tendency: the average score related to the Americans is higher than the average score related to the British in all the age groups. Therefore, the trend for all respondents is to have more positive attitudes to British speakers than to

American speakers. The following figure is an alternative illustration of the averages for the respondents under 25, included in Table 6.8.

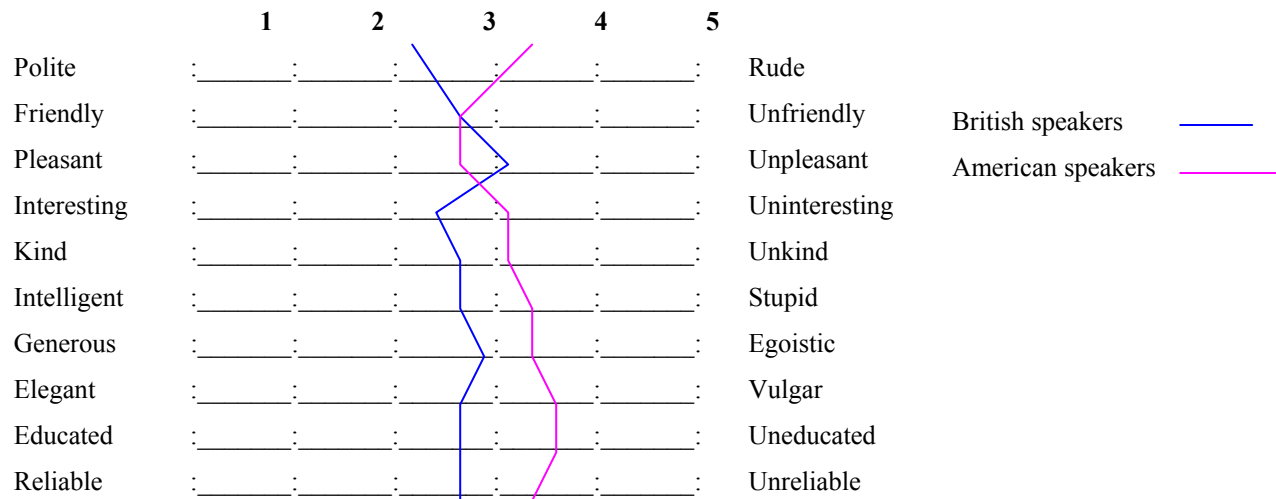


Figure 6.4: Attitudes to British and American speakers for respondents under 25

Figure 6.4 shows the tendency of the respondents to be more positive to the British than to the Americans.

6.6.3 Attitudes to British and American speakers broken down by gender

Regarding gender, the tendency is the same with the items related to American speakers and the items related to British speakers; the men are more negative than the women. The following table illustrates this pattern using the example of speakers older than 45 and their attitudes to American speakers. (For more details about the other groups, see Appendix 7).

Table 6.9: Average attitudes to American English speakers for men and women over 45

Attributes	men + 45	women +45
Polite/rude	3.27	2.95
Friendly/ unfriendly	3	2.65
Pleasant/unpleasant	3.01	2.75
Interesting/ uninteresting	3.06	2.92
Kind/unkind	3.09	2.71
Intelligent/stupid	3.29	3.03
Generous/egoistic	3.39	3.08
Elegant/vulgar	3.51	3.48
Educated/ uneducated	3.64	3.33
Reliable/ unreliable	3.19	2.97

The general tendency depicted in Table 6.9 is that the men have a higher average than the women, which indicates that the men are more negative to Americans than the women. This tendency is particularly clear for the respondents over 45. Figure 6.5 is an alternative illustration of the results depicted in Table 6.9.

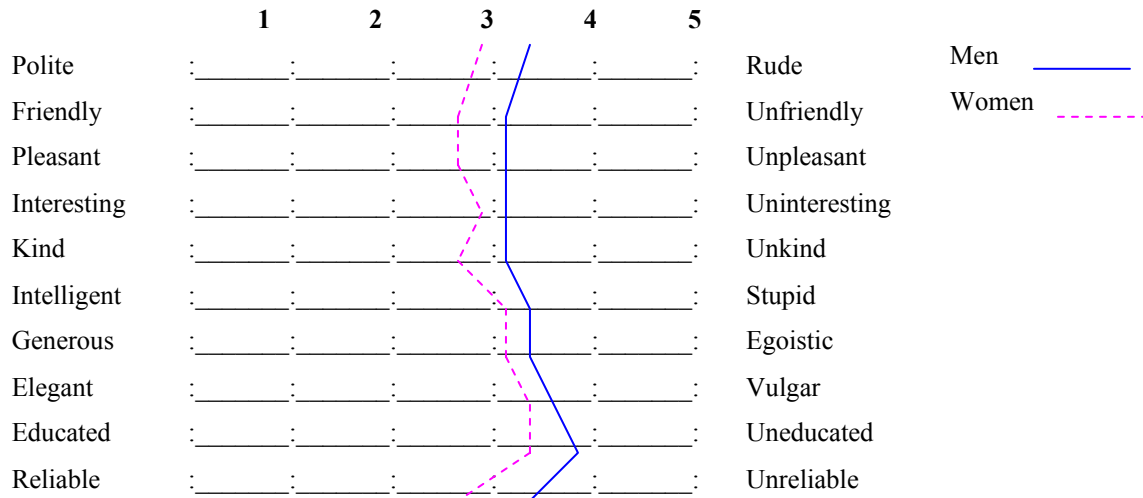


Figure 6.5 Attitudes to American speakers for men and women over 45.

Even though the two lines in Figure 6.5 are very close, the pink, stapled line for women is nearer to one than the blue line for men, indicating that the men are more negative to Americans than the women.

To sum up the results related to the semantic differential scales, the attitudes to the English language are generally more positive than the attitudes to the speakers. In addition, the respondents of all age groups seem to be more negative to the Americans than to the British, and there is a tendency for the men to be more negative than the women.

6.7 Results of the Interviews

As mentioned in section 5.4.1, the questions in the interview investigate the same hypotheses as the statements and the items in the questionnaire, and the interviewees were chosen in order to represent the same age categories and genders as the respondents of the questionnaire. The interviews were conducted in Paris and Nancy in January 2004. All questions were asked in French, and the interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. The examples from the interview represented in the tables in section 6.7 are personally translated from French to English by the researcher. The interviewees have been given different names in order to maintain their anonymity.

List of people interviewed (with false names):

Over 45 years of age: *Jean Claude* (m), *Sylvie* (f) and *Mélanie* (f)

Between 25 and 45 years of age: *Pierre* (m), *Louise* (f)

Under 25 years of age: *François* (m), *Marie* (f)

The general impression from the interviews is that the attitudes to English are mostly positive. This is clearly seen in the responses to question 2 in the interview.

Question 2: *Do you think it is good that many people in France know how to speak English?*

Some examples of the responses given to question 2 are shown in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10: Responses to question 2 in the interview

Question 2		
Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
Marie :	-Oui, je pense que c'est bien quoi....	-Yes, I think its good, that is
Jean Claude :	-Pour moi, c'est tout à fait positif....	-For me, it is totally positive
Louise :	-Ça serait bien s'il y avait plus de monde en France qui parlait l'anglais, oui !	-Yes! It would be good if more people in France could speak English!

The responses given to question 2 indicate that the interviewees either think it is good that there are many people in France who speak English, in other words they are *positive*, or they even think there should be more people in France who know how to speak English, in other words they are *very positive*.

6.7.1 Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1: *French attitudes towards English, expressed in terms of attitudes to language, culture, speakers and ideology are generally negative*

Hypothesis 1 is investigated by question 7 in the interview.

Question 7: *Do you think the English culture, history and ideology put people off learning the language?*

Some examples of the responses given to question 7 are shown in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Some responses to question 7

Question 7		
Respondent	Answer in French	English translation

Mélanie :	-On entend quand même les Français qui disent en parlant de l'Angleterre: 'l'ennemi Héritaire'. Où est-ce qu'ils sont allés pour chercher une bêtise pareille ?	-Even so, we hear some French people say, talking about England: 'the inherited enemy'. How did they come up with such rubbish?
Sylvie :	-La langue n'est pas trop connotée idéologiquement [...] Je sens pas une connotation ni positive ni négative, ni en relation avec l'histoire, non pas trop	- The language is not very connotated ideologically [...] I don't feel any connotation, neither positive nor negative, neither in relation with the history No, not really.
Jean Claude :	-C'est plutôt le modèle d'économie ou de société qui nous dérange, plus que la langue	- It is rather the economic model or the model of society (British or American) that bothers us, more than the language
Louise :	- On peut distinguer si on n'aime pas la culture, l'histoire ou l'idéologie anglaise ou américaine c'est pas pour ça qu'on est obligé de ne pas aimer l'anglais.	- It is possible to distinguish; if one does not like the English or American history, culture or ideology this is no reason not to like English.

According to the responses shown in Table 6.11 the interviewees seem to make a distinction between English culture, history, ideology and the English language. They say that even if one does not like the English or American people, their ideology, their history, or their culture, this is not a reason not to like the language.

6.7.2 Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2: *People in France prefer French rather than English to be the world language*

Hypothesis 2 is investigated by question 5 in the interview.

Question 5: *Does it concern you that English seems to become the world language of communication number one?*

Some examples of the responses given to question 5 are shown in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: Some responses to question 5

Question 5		
Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
Mélanie :	-Pas du tout !	- Not at all!
Marie :	- Non, parce qu'il faut bien une langue qui permet que tout le monde se comprenne, quoi	- No, because it is necessary to have a language which makes it possible for everyone to understand each other, isn't it?

Jean Claude :	-Je préférerais que ça soit le français, mais il faut être pragmatique	- I would prefer that it was French, but it's necessary to be pragmatic
Louise :	- Non, c'est comme ça	-No, that's the way it is

The responses in Table 6.12 show that the interviewees are not very concerned about the fact that English is the world language. Although Jean Claude admits that he would prefer it to be French, he says that accepting English as a world language is a question of being pragmatic. Further, Louise is not upset about the position of English at all, only stating that “that’s the way it is”. On the whole, it seems that the position of English as the world language is accepted by the interviewees as a practical fact.

6.7.3 Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: *The French feel English is a threat to their identity*

Hypothesis 3 is investigated by question 6 in the interview.

Question 6: *Do you as French feel expected to not like the British? (If yes, does this possibly influence peoples’ attitudes to the English language?)*

Some examples of the responses given to question 6 are shown in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Some responses to question 6

Question 6		
Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
Mélanie :	-Non, pas du tout !	- No, not at all!
Marie :	-Non, moi j’aime bien les anglais	- No, I like the English very well
François :	- Non, [...] mais ça dépend des gens	- No, but it depends on the people
Jean Claude :	- Non, mais je pense que les Anglais ont leur culture spécifique, et leur façon d’être...Ils sont différents...	- No, but I think the English have their specific culture, their way of being...they are different
Louise :	-C’est vrai que les Français et les Anglais ...on a une mentalité différente, et donc une vision des choses différente, donc forcément des antagonismes [...] mais ce n’est pas pour ça que je n’aime pas les Anglais en général quoi.	- It’s true that the French and the English we have a different mentality, and consequently a different vision of things, and unavoidably there are some antagonisms, but this is not a reason not to like the English in general ¹⁸

¹⁸ French uses the word ‘anglais’ both to refer to British English language and to British English speakers. When the interviewees talk about ‘the English’ it should be understood as synonym to ‘the British’.

The results of Table 6.13 show that most respondents do not regard disliking English a part of their identity. However, they admit that the English are different and that this might create conflicts or tensions; they do not seem to think, however, that they are obliged to not like the English only because they observe differences.

6.7.4 Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4: *The French are more negative to American English than to British English*

Hypothesis 4 is investigated by question 8 in the interview.

Question 8: *Which variety, American or British English, do you think is more beautiful?*

Some examples of the responses given to question 8 are shown in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14: Some responses to question 8

Question 8		
Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
Marie :	-l'anglais britannique est plus, fin, on voit qu'il a évolué...C'est une vieille langue quoi [...] L'anglais américain c'est plus cool.	- British English is more refined. It is clear that it has evolved. It's an old language (old in the sense rich) American English is more cool.
François :	- L'anglais britannique est plus distinctif, c'est la langue d'origine. L'américain c'est une langue un peu transformée ; il faut apprendre l'origine quoi	- British English is more distinctive, it's the language of origin. American English is a bit modified, it's better to learn the original.
Jean Claude :	- J'apprécie beaucoup plus l'anglais du Royaume Unis. Je pense qu'on est plus proche quand même, même culturellement, et dans l'histoire aussi	- I appreciate much more English from Great Britain. I think we're closer, even culturally and in history also...
Pierre :	- Je préfère l'accent britannique : il est plus joli, plus classe, plus élégant	- I prefer the British English accent: it's more beautiful, more classy and more elegant
Louise :	- Je trouve l'accent britannique est plus classe, plus clair aussi, plus compréhensible, mais je trouve que l'anglais américain est plus répandu peut-être...	- I find the British accent more classy, clearer and more comprehensible, but I find that the American accent is maybe more widespread.

Table 6.14 shows that all the respondents have more positive attitudes to British English than to American English. In fact, the only positive utterance about American English comes from Marie who says American English is “more cool”, and from Louise, who suggests American English is “more widespread”. Otherwise, all the interviewees seem to prefer British English because they

find it more *classic*, more *sophisticated*, more *beautiful* and more *comprehensible*. For instance, François claims it to be better because it is “the language of origin” and Jean Claude says he prefers British English to American English because it represents a culture which is closer to the French culture. In addition, the tendency shown by these utterances, revealing more positive attitudes to British English than to American English, is also commented on by one of the contact persons as he was asked about the reactions of the respondents: “*The only feeling I had was that the French really do not like the Americans; they have a very strong impression of them. They don't seem to mind the English or the use of the English language*”

6.7.5 Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5: Younger people are more positive towards English than older ones

Hypothesis 5 is investigated by question 4 in the interview.

Question 4: *Do you think the younger generation in France thinks differently about English than the older?*

Some examples of the responses given to question 4 are shown in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: Some responses to question 4

Question 4		
Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
Mélanie :	- Oui, ils ont compris que c'est indispensable	- They [the young] have understood that it [English] is essential.
Jean Claude :	-Je pense que maintenant c'est assez naturel pour les jeunes de parler l'anglais parce qu'il y a beaucoup d'échanges dans l'union Européenne, par exemple, il y a beaucoup plus de voyages.	- I think that now it is fairly natural for the young to speak English because there are many exchanges in the European Union, for example, and there is more travelling.
Louise :	-Actuellement on voit beaucoup plus d'anglais à la télé, a travers les chansons, on a plus accès aux films en V.O [...] je pense que l'anglais est devenu plus courant, fin, ça devient une pratique plus courant par mis les jeunes que par mis les gens plus âgés.	- At the moment, we watch more English on television, through songs, we have an easier access to films in original version [...] I think English has become more common, and it becomes a practice more widespread among the young than among the older people.

The results shown in Table 6.15 indicate that the interviewees believe it is easier for younger people today to speak English because they have had better opportunities to learn it, compared to people who grew up 50 years ago. Also, English is more easily accessible now with television, music and international exchanges. The younger people are not necessarily better learners or do

not necessarily have more positive attitudes, but because they have had better opportunities to familiarize themselves with English, they are more positive to it and use it more naturally than the older people.

6.7.6 Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6: *There is no big difference between men and women regarding attitudes towards English*

Hypothesis 6 is not investigated directly with any questions in the interview, and as the responses both for men and women are very positive, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about difference in gender. However, the utterances in the interviews that do not convey positive attitudes are all expressed by men; Jean Claude and François.

Examples are shown in Table 6.16:

Table 6.16: Some negative statements from male interviewees

Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
François : (question 3)	- À l'école il y a peu de gens qui aiment les cours d'anglais - on ne s'intéresse pas trop à la langue anglaise -C'est une langue imposée, on apprend l'anglais par obligation	- At school there are not many people who like the English classes - We are not very interested in the English language - It is an imposed language, we learn it because it's compulsory
Jean Claude : (question 3)	- Finalement, l'anglais s'impose - Je préférerais que ça soit le français [qui soit la langue mondial]	- Finally, English is imposed - I would prefer French as the world language
(question 5) (question 6)	-Dans le cadre des Etats-Unis, c'est quand même une position très hégémonique, très impérialiste [...] ça me dérange toujours un peu.	-Concerning the United States, they have a very hegemonic position, very imperialistic [...] and this always troubles me a bit.

The statements in Table 6.16 are literally the only negative utterances that can be found in the interview material. It might be a coincidence that the negative statements are expressed by men; but that the negative utterances were conveyed by men may indicate that it is more acceptable for men than for women to articulate negative opinions, or, simply, that the men have a more negative view.

6.7.7 Interesting comments not covered by the hypotheses

In the beginning of the interview the interviewees were asked about their relationship to English in order to ‘warm up’ for the interview and make the respondents more comfortable with the interview setting. Many interviewees used this warm up session to make comments about how English is taught in French schools. Similar comments were also made in response to question 3.

Question 1: What is your relationship to English?

Question 3: It is a myth that the French are not very gifted or not very eager to speak English, do you think this is true? If yes, for what reasons?

Some of the answers to question 1 and 3 can be seen in Table 6.17

Table 6.17: Interesting comments not covered by the hypotheses

Respondent	Answer in French	English translation
Mélanie : (question 1)	-On nous demandait de faire des choses qui nous servent pas dans la vie, la vie courante, la vie de tous les jours. Maintenant c’est bien fait, mais à l’époque c’était plutôt littéraire [...] et les mots dont on a besoin de tous les jours...par exemple je me rends compte quand j’allais prendre le train pour aller en Allemagne, je sais pas dire ‘le quai’.	-They asked us to do things that are not useful in life, in everyday life. Now it is well taught, but when I was young it was mostly literary [...] Words that we need every day...I remember for example when I was going by train to Germany I did not know how to say “platform”.
Marie : (question 1)	- Pendant les cours le prof il essaye quand même de nous faire parler sur les textes à l’oral, mais c’est plutôt de l’écrit quoi.	-During the course the teacher tries to make us talk about the texts orally, but it [the teaching] is mainly focused on writing.
Sylvie : (question 1)	- Beaucoup de gens de ma génération ont beaucoup de problèmes à parler l’anglais parce que en France à l’époque, maintenant ça a changé, mais c’était des textes classiques, des fois littéraires, des fois des articles des journaux, mais plutôt littéraire quoi.	- Many people of my generation have lots of problems speaking English because in France, earlier, now it has changed, but it [the teaching] was based on classic texts, some times literary, other times articles from newspapers, but mostly literary...
Pierre : (question 3)	- La manière dont on enseigne les autres langues à l’école ; on met l’accent sur l’écrit, pas assez sur l’oral. Ça je pense c’est une raison pour laquelle les Français ne parlent pas aussi bien les langues...	- The way other languages are taught in school; the focus is put on writing, and not sufficiently on speaking. I think that’s a reason why the French do not speak other languages so well.
Louise : (question 1)	- Je pense qu’il y a beaucoup de Français qui évitent de parler l’anglais même s’ils ont un très bon niveau à l’écrit [...] parce qu’ils pensent qu’ils sont pas bons, qu’ils ne parlent	- I think there are many French who avoid speaking English even if they have a high level in writing [...] because they think they are not good, that they don’t speak well, that they have

(Question 3)	pas bien, qu'ils ont un mauvais accent [...] Je pense que ça cause des problèmes. - ils nous apprennent pas bien [...] C'est basé sur la grammaire, et l'écrit, et je pense que ça ne débloque pas l'intérêt pour une langue.	a bad accent [...] I think this causes problems. - They don't teach us well [...] It (the teaching) is based on grammar, on writing... I don't think this helps to release the interest for a language.
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Sylvie and Mélanie, who are both over 45, say that earlier the teaching of other languages was mostly based on literary texts and writing. Even so, Marie, who is younger than 25, also says that the teaching is mostly focused on writing, even though, she says, there are some oral exercises in school. It seems that the teaching practice has not changed as much as the over 45 year olds believe. Basically, all the interviewees mention the way English is taught in French schools as a reason why many French are not good at, or do not want to speak English. For instance, Louise says they avoid speaking English because they do not believe they are capable of speaking it well even though they might be very capable of writing. And further, Mélanie underlines that the teaching of languages, at the time she went to school, did not focus on everyday words. Mélanie did not know how to say 'platform' when she was going to travel to Germany, even though she could write an essay about the philosophy of Goethe.

Similar points are also made by other people than the interviewees who have made comments on the topic of the thesis, for example, one of the contact persons (a 25 year old woman): *"À l'école on apprend plutôt l'anglais littéraire, et ça nous apprend pas forcément à communiquer avec les gens dans la rue. Les profs nous apprennent l'anglais comme si c'était le français ; toute erreur est interdite, presque stigmatisée"* (In school they teach us literary English, and that does not necessarily teach us how to talk with the man on the street. The teachers teach us English as if it was French; every mistake is forbidden, almost stigmatized; my translation, AMB). All in all, the comment mentioned above together with the data depicted in Table 6.17, indicate that there is a problem with the teaching of foreign languages in France. There seems to be an agreement among the interviewees that the teaching of English and other languages in France focuses too much on writing, and that people consequently avoid using the language for oral communication.

To sum up, the general trend springing from the interviews is that people of all age groups have very positive attitudes to English. They seem to be more negative to American English and American speakers than to British English and British speakers. Otherwise, the perhaps most interesting result is that all the interviewees point out that the teaching of English in France does not encourage oral communication.

7 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

In general, the results of the present study show that the French respondents have positive attitudes to English. This is clear for both the interviews and the questionnaires. Further, the results of the present study are also similar to the results of studies by Flaitz (1988), Walker (1998) and Oakes (2001), which all have revealed that the French respondents have more positive attitudes than expected.

7.1 Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1: *French attitudes towards English, expressed in terms of attitudes to language, culture, speakers, ideology etc, are generally negative.*

As can be concluded from the results of the interviews and the questionnaires in this study, the French attitudes to English language, culture, speakers and ideology cannot be claimed to be negative. In the context of Hypothesis 1, however, it should be mentioned that statement 4: *American international politics is generally not correct* perhaps is a bit unfortunate. Because of the war in Iraq in 2003 the American international politics has been very visible in the media, and has become very controversial. Consequently, it is likely that recent international politics has influenced people's responses to this statement. Almost 100 % of the respondents ticked off "strongly agree" for statement 4, which is counted as a very negative attitude. However, asked at another point in time, or worded differently, the results might not have been as negative as they turned out to be.

Otherwise, the results referring to Hypothesis 1 in Part A of the questionnaire show that more than 50 % of the answers reveal positive attitudes to English. Moreover, for Part B in the questionnaire, the semantic differential scale, the results reveal a neutral view of the English language (Cf section 6.6.1). Finally, for the interviews, the tendency revealed by the responses is also positive. Some interviewees admit that the British and American speakers are different from French speakers, but the interviewees are generally positive. Based on these data, *Hypothesis 1 is rejected.*

Hypothesis 1 is related to research question 2: *-To what extent can linguistic attitudes be separated from attitudes towards speakers, values, culture and ideology associated with a particular language? (In this case with English)* From the results of the questionnaires it is difficult to conclude about this, as the results are positive both to language and speakers. However, the interviews seem to indicate that there is not necessarily a relation between attitudes

to speakers and attitudes to the language. The respondents say that the English language does not have many connotations to the ideology of the speakers. Yet, one of the interviewees admits that the British and American economic model bothers him, but this does not seem to influence his view of the language. Further, a second interviewee emphasises that not liking English culture, ideology or history is not a reason to dislike the English language. All in all, the respondents' linguistic attitudes do not seem to be influenced from speakers, culture, values and ideology.

However, if the war in Iraq is one of the reasons that the French respondents are more negative to the Americans than to the British, this may indicate that the ideology of a country where a language is spoken does indeed influence people's linguistic attitudes. This relation is also argued for by Walter (2001), who suggests that the colonial past has influenced French attitudes to English to be negative. The respondents for the present study are more positive to British speakers and culture than to American speakers and culture, which indicates that something has happened the last 15 years which has made the respondents more negative to Americans. If this is case, it seems that culture and ideology of a country where a language is spoken do to some extent influence people's attitudes even though the interviewees do not believe so (Cf question 7).

In the study done by Flaitz (1988) it is concluded that there is a relation between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers and ideology. However, as already mentioned, the interviewees claim that ideology, history and culture do *not* exert any influence on linguistic attitudes, but there may be indications that there, nevertheless, is an influence between culture, ideology, values and language. Also, other studies (e.g. Giles 1975, Giles & St Clair 1979, Giles & Ryan 1982 and Fashold 1984-see section 2.3.2) convincingly argue that there is a close relation between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers. For instance, a study referred to by Giles (1975: 102) (Cf section 2.3.2) found that the verbal output increased by 40 % when someone spoke to an imagined liked person rather than an imagined disliked person, and Fashold (1984:148),(Cf section 2.3.2) argues that attitudes to language are a reflection of attitudes to members of ethnic groups. There are strong indications from other studies that attitudes to language cannot be separated from attitudes to speakers and ideology, but even if this is the case, the conclusion based on what the respondents of the present study say is that culture, ideology and speakers of English do not influence the French attitudes to the English language. Even though some of the interviewees admit that they do not agree with the politics or with the economic model of Britain and the US, or they admit that the British and the Americans are different from the French, this does not exclude positive attitudes to the English language.

7.2 Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2: *People in France prefer French rather than English to be the world language*

The overall results referring to Hypothesis 2 are more negative than the results referring to Hypothesis 1. It should be mentioned that the media probably has influenced some of the responses. Statement 21: *English should be the only official language in the EU* and statement 31: *It is okay that English will become the language of communication in the EU* have been a topic for large discussions in the EU and in France lately, and it is normal that this has influenced the respondents in their negative responses. Also, the wording of the statements may be unfortunate; if for example they had been asked to choose one language, either French, English, Spanish or German as the official language of the EU, it is likely that most respondents would have chosen English or French, which would have given a more positive view of English.

Even though the overall results elicited through the questionnaires are more negative regarding Hypothesis 2 than regarding Hypothesis 1, the interviews reveal only positive attitudes. The position of English as a world language is taken as a fact and the respondents do not seem to mind that French is not the world language. Based on these data, *Hypothesis 2 is rejected*.

The French respondents have accepted English as the world language, but nevertheless, they do not want French to lose the position it already has with regard to international organizations like the EU and the UN. This is clear from the results of the questionnaire and also similar to the study by Walker (1998: 410) in which 71 % of the respondents are negative to French losing its position in the EU.

Hypothesis 2 is related to research question 4: *Are the attitudes of people in France today influenced by the history of the French language in terms of colonial past, francophonie and the strong standardization process that has been going on with regard to their own language?* It seems that the respondents do not take history into consideration when deciding their attitudes to English. Arguments such as “we don’t like the English because they burned Jean of Arc” and “Britain is the inherited enemy” are ridiculed by the interviewees. Consequently, it does not seem like historical reasons have important influence on the attitudes of today’s speakers.

Further, colonial past and francophonie also seem to be of minor importance. For instance, the respondents do not show strong opinions about statement 9: *Knowledge of French in former French colonies does not need to be preserved*, and apart from one interviewee who explains that “la francophonie” is still important for France as a state, there is no indication in the data that the colonial past and the “francophonie” influence modern respondents’ attitudes.

Moreover, there is no indication that the strong standardization process of French has influenced attitudes to English *directly*, but, even so, it has most likely influenced the teaching of languages which *indirectly* influences their attitudes (see comment in section 7.8).

In conclusion, the answer to research question 4 is: No, French attitudes today, as expressed by the respondents of the present study, are at least not to a large extent influenced by history, colonial past and francophonie. However, this is probably not true for the elites in official institutions like The French Academy. Previous studies by Flaitz (1988), Walker (1998) and Oakes (2001) all show that there is a big discrepancy between the attitudes signalled by official institutions and the attitudes among common people. Yet, the present study does not investigate what the respondents think of the attitudes expressed by French official institutions. Even so, it can be concluded from Flaitz (1988), Walker (1998) and Oakes (2001) that the standardization process of the French language has to a certain extent *indirectly* influenced the respondent's attitudes to English (see 7.8), as there is nothing in the present study which contradicts this conclusion.

7.3 Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: *The French feel English is a threat to their identity*

All in all, the overall results referring to this hypothesis are very positive. Only the results of statement 1: *I'm proud of being French and speaking French* do not reveal positive attitudes. This statement, however, cannot necessarily be taken as an indicator of negative attitudes to English. Being proud of one's own language does not exclude positive attitudes to another language. Besides, even though the responses to statement 1 are more negative than the responses to the other statements referring to Hypothesis 3, the results revealed by all the other statements referring to this hypothesis are very positive. Knowledge of English is not seen as a threat to French identity. In contrast to the response to statement 1, the responses to statement 27: *Knowing English is a threat to French identity*, which show almost 100 % positive responses for all age groups, is a better illustration for the trend shown by the results referring to Hypothesis 3. This result is not surprising as the study by Oakes (2001) on national identity in France and Sweden shows exactly the same tendency.

As commented on in section 2.5, and as argued by Spolsky (1998), Coupland (2001) and Romaine (2000), among others, language is closely linked with identity, and the way one chooses to speak can be an important way of signalling social identity. However, the link between language and identity is different with a foreign language. A French speaker may very well use

his/her mother tongue to construct his/her identity as French and at the same time use English if the situation requires it. Speaking a foreign language does not need to eliminate the identity created by a native language. This seems to be underlined by the respondents' responses. For example, they all say they are very proud to be French and to speak French (statement 1) at the same time as they say that English is not a threat to their identity (statement 27). Thus, there is no difference between what is said about language and identity by Spolsky (1998), Coupland (2001) and Romaine (2000) (Cf section 2.5) and the results of the present study. Nevertheless, it should be made clear that the first language has more significance for identity than a foreign language, and being proud of an identity built on a first language does not eliminate the knowledge of another. Based on these data, *Hypothesis 3 is rejected*.

Altogether, the French respondents do not see English as a threat to their identity. This conclusion gives insight to research question 5: *Is learning another language perceived by the French as a threat to their identity?* From the present study and also in accordance with Oakes (2001), the answer is negative; learning English is not perceived by the French as a threat to their identity.

7.4 Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4: *The French are more negative to American English than to British English*¹⁹

In the questionnaires, both in Part A and in Part B, the attitudes expressed are more positive to British English than to American English. In this context, it should be mentioned that the percentage of responses in category 3 (don't know) is higher for the statements concerning Hypothesis 4 than for other parts in Part A of the questionnaire. Further, the high degree of indecisiveness is particularly clear for the semantic differential scale in Part B, which shows results with little variation. With the items in Part B of the questionnaire, the distinction is made between language and speakers, and all the averages of the semantic differential scale regarding American and British speakers are very close to 2.5 (on a scale from 1 to 5). However, even though the differences in averages are small, all age groups tend to show most positive attitudes to British speakers (Cf Figure 6.4). In brief, the respondents are more positive to British English than to American English, whether these terms concern language, speakers, ideology or culture. Moreover, the trend shown by the results of the questionnaires is emphasised by what is uttered in the interviews about American and British English (language); all the interviewees express

¹⁹ Cf footnote in Chapter 4 and 5, section 6.5 about the definition of American and British English

more positive attitudes to British English (language). The only positive comment made about American English is that it is more widespread because of the American influence in television and in the cinema.

Based on the data of the present study, it can be concluded that the French respondents have more positive attitudes to British English than to American English, and therefore, *Hypothesis 4 is corroborated*. This result is different from what is found by Flaitz (1988). Her Hypothesis 2: “*French attitudes towards Americans and American ideology are more strongly and negatively manifested than those towards the British people and British ideology*” does not have sufficient support in the data to be corroborated as her study does not reveal any significant differences between attitudes to American and attitudes to British. Comparing the present study with that of Flaitz (1988) it seems that the attitudes towards American English have become more negative. The reasons for this change in attitudes may be, for example, that there is more and more American influence in television and cinema, and also that there have been events such as The Gulf war (1990) and the Iraq War (2003), which have been very controversial and which have given the US a very negative image in the media.

Hypothesis 4 is linked with research question 3: *Is there any difference between the attitudes towards British English and towards American English?* Based on the results from the present study, the answer to research question 3 is: Yes, there is a difference between attitudes towards British English and towards American English. Attitudes to British English are more positive than attitudes to American English. However, if considering only the different varieties of the English language: British and American, it should be mentioned that most French respondents do not make the distinction between British and American English, and the respondents of the questionnaire (Part B, items 41-50) have only been asked to make an evaluation of English *language*, not specifying whether American or British. Concerning American and British *speakers* (items 51-70 in the questionnaire) the respondents have been asked to make a distinction and as already mentioned, more negative attitudes to the Americans are revealed. However, it is not necessarily certain that this distinction can be transferred to the language.

Nevertheless, the responses to the statements in Part A of the questionnaire are more favourable to British English, not specifying whether this was to language, culture, speakers or ideology. Moreover, the results of the interviews show that the respondents view British English (language) more favourably than American English (language). A reason for this view might be that most respondents have learned British English in school and, therefore, as they are more

familiar with British English, are more positive to this variety. Whatever the reason for the difference in attitudes to British English and American English is, the answer to research question 3 is positive.

In addition, Hypothesis 4 can add useful information related to Research question 2, concerning the relation between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers (Cf section 7.1). The results of Hypothesis 4 indicate that the correlation between language attitudes and attitudes to speakers, culture and ideology does exist. The interviewees express clearly more favourable attitudes to British English (language) than to American English (language), at the same time as the results of Part B of the questionnaire clearly show more favourable attitudes to British speakers than to American speakers. Even though the interviewees deny a strong relation between their attitudes to English and their attitudes to British or American culture, speakers or ideologies, the responses given in the questionnaires compared with the answers given in the interview indicate that there is a relation between attitudes to language and attitudes to speakers, culture and ideology of that particular language. This is also in accordance with previous research (Cf section 7.1).

7.5 Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5: Younger people are more positive towards English than older ones

Regarding age, there seems to be a difference between speakers who are younger than 45 and those who are older. In addition, there is also a small difference between speakers younger than 25 and speakers between 25 and 45, with the 25-to-45-year-olds expressing more positive attitudes than the younger than 25-year-olds. This is probably not a general trend, as other studies (such as Giles & Coupland 1991b, Baker 1992, Walker 1998, Labov in Coupland 2001, and Dyer 2002) have shown that age is a significant variable when it comes to attitudes. The reason why the 25-to-45-year-olds are so positive is probably that this age group are mostly under 30 (as respondents under 30 were more easily accessible); therefore, the difference in age is, in reality, not 20 years, as the gap between 25 and 45 may indicate.

More importantly, it turned out that many respondents in the group between 25 and 45 had participated in exchange programmes outside of France, and therefore used English much more than average French speakers. The contact persons for the questionnaires in France were told to avoid language students and people who had studied or worked abroad as their attitudes would not be representative. Unfortunately, this was not controlled with the respondents who received the questionnaire by e-mail. Almost all of these were in the 25-to-45 age group and the

researcher was told after counting all the results of the questionnaires that 13 out of 54 (circa 24 %) of the e-mail respondents had participated in exchange programmes. If this had been known earlier, they would have been excluded, but it was too late to do so when it was discovered. This is probably the main reason why the 25-to-45-year-olds reveal more positive attitudes than the younger-than-25-year-olds.

As for the interviews, there is a consensus between the interviewees that younger people have more positive attitudes to English than older ones. It is argued that the younger speakers have had better opportunities to learn English; they listen to English music, they watch films in English, and they have more opportunities to participate in exchange programmes than has been the case for the older generation. These opportunities will most likely make younger speakers more familiar with English, and probably also make them more positive to English language and English speakers.

Based on the difference found between the speakers over 45 and the speakers under 45 in the responses to the statements in the questionnaire, in addition to what the interviewees say; *Hypothesis 5 is corroborated.*

The results referring to Hypothesis 5 partly give answer to research question 1: *What influence do the variables age and gender have on French attitudes towards English?* Age seems to influence French attitudes to English in the way that older speakers are more negative than younger ones; there is a clear division at the age of 45. More research needs to be done in order to see if there are also differences related to other age groups.

7.6 Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6: There is no big difference between men and women regarding attitudes towards English

The results of the semantic differential scale (Part B) show that the women have more positive attitudes than the men (see 6.6.3, Figure 6.5). Similarly, this tendency is also found in the results of the Likert Scale (Part A). The male respondents tend to use the most negative category (category 5) more frequently than the women. The percentages of negative responses are almost always higher for men than for women. However, this difference is very small and it does not correspond to the one that has been discovered by, for example, Flaitz (1988). In Flaitz's study the variables age, occupation and educational background turn out to be the most significant, and for Walker (1998) age is the most influential variable. In other words, gender does not seem to be

an important variable for language attitudes according to the studies by Flaitz (1988) and Walker (1998).

Moreover, Baker (1992:41) says about gender and attitudes that “as age goes up, favourability of attitude comes down”. She argues further that there is a difference with regard to attitudes which is not due to biological factors but a result of “the socio-cultural behaviours of the two genders” (Baker 1992: 42). According to Baker (1992), the reason for the higher negative percentages for the men in her study might be that the socio-cultural behaviour of men makes it more acceptable for them to reveal negative attitudes than it is for women, rather than men actually being more negative. If it is more acceptable for men to express negative attitudes, this is an interesting result, but more research needs to be done in order to see if this is the case. Also, in Baker (1992) the attitudes to Welsh are more positive for men than for women, but this is not a statistically significant difference, which may indicate that the theory of different socio-cultural behaviour is the best explanation for the difference between men and women.

As can be seen from the responses given by the interviewees, the only slightly negative attitudes are expressed by two male respondents. This is very little evidence, but it does not contradict the assumption that it might be more acceptable for men to express negative attitudes than it is for women. Based on the data of this study *Hypothesis 6 is corroborated*. There is no *big* difference between men and women, but as already mentioned, it seems that there is a small difference which may be interesting to investigate in the future.

Similar to Hypothesis 5, also Hypothesis 6 is related to research question 1 (see 7.5) and, as expected, gender does not seem to play a major part with regard to attitudes, but it may have some influence. According to the results of the present study, and supported by results of other studies (such as Flaitz 1988, Baker 1992 and Walker 1998) age seems to be more important than gender. However, it has been argued (Baker 1992) that there is an intricate interplay between different variables and that one variable cannot be seen separately from others. If this is the case, a more comprehensive study needs to be done in order to investigate other variables than age and gender. For example, it would be interesting to investigate the socio-economic background in relation to attitudes, as suggested by Walker (1998).

7.7 Why are the attitudes revealed by the present study so positive?

As for the study of Flaitz (1988) the major question that comes out of this study is: *Why is there such a big discrepancy between what people believe about French attitudes and the attitudes that are expressed by the French respondents?* One reason could of course be the *social desirability*

bias (see Garrett et al 2003: 28). The French give the impression of being well educated and of having good manners, and it is normal that they are reluctant to express attitudes that would make them appear to have prejudices or racist ideas. As explained by Garrett et al (2003: 28): people tend to be tempted to “give replies that make them appear well-adjusted, unprejudiced, rational, open-minded and democratic”. When the questionnaires were distributed, and also in the questionnaire itself, it was underlined that the researcher is Norwegian, and not British or American so that the respondents should not be afraid of being honest about their attitudes to the British and the Americans. However, particularly in the interviews, it is understandable if the respondents do not want to confirm the negative reputation that French speakers have, even if there is some truth in the reputation. Even though social desirability bias may have influenced the results of the present study, at least three other previous studies (Flaitz 1988, Walker 1998 and Oakes 2001) have shown that the French respondents have more positive attitudes than people tend to believe. Therefore, it is unlikely that the social desirability bias is the only reason why 50 % of all respondents of the present study show positive attitudes to English.

Another reason is that the negative attitudes expressed by French official institutions in the media are not representative for the French in general. Flaitz (1988) refers to *the intelligentsia*, as represented by academics, journalists and governmental officials (Flaitz 1988:51) and argues that their attitudes are not representative of the attitudes of the common people. Flaitz goes as far as claiming that common people are “torn between the rhetoric of the intelligentsia and his/her own perception of English as the world language” (ibid, cf section 3.4.1). Similarly, Oakes (2001: 230) argues that *official circles* in France continue to encourage a ‘strong linguistic and national consciousness’ but that this ‘linguistic consciousness’ is not shared by the respondents. In addition, the conclusion of Walker (1998) is that the purism expressed by the French elites such as The French Academy, is not at all transmitted to the people. The impression of France as a nation, as explained in Chapter 3, is that the French are rather negative to English; through the “Francophonie” they try to strengthen the position of French in the world (Truchot 1994, Truchot 2001, Le Marchand 1999); through the school system they emphasize the teaching of French, and traditionally little importance is assigned to the teaching of English (Truchot 1994). France as a nation is more reluctant than other countries to use English in the EU (Truchot 2001). In addition, according to Etiemblé in Thody (1995), English words used in French (le Français) are considered to be very negative by some French speakers. Finally, France refused to sign the European Charter of Minority Languages (Tabouret-Keller 1999), and values and attitudes expressed by prescriptive institutions such as the French Academy are still

very present (Walker 1998). It follows from all this information that it is not surprising that people outside of France get the impression that French attitudes to English are not very positive.

However, that the French have negative attitudes to English is not a conclusion that can be drawn from the present study. The findings from the present study indicate that the theory of Flaitz (1988), Walker (1998), and Oakes (2001) is corroborated: the attitudes expressed by French official institutions are not representative of the ordinary people. The fact that official institutions are more visible in the media than common people, probably explains why people outside of France have an impression of the French as a people with negative attitudes to English.

Moreover, Flaitz (1988) argues that *cultural relativity* may be a reason why the French are perceived of as being negative to English. This means that different social conventions of behaviour, which are culturally dependent, create misunderstandings which make the French appear to have negative attitudes to English, even if this is not the case. Maybe tourists visiting France, without being aware of it, approach the French in a way that they perceive as very rude, and thereby offend the French speakers? Or maybe the reluctance to speaking English is caused by uncertainty and fear of making mistakes more than a negative attitude? The responses to statement 35 in the questionnaire indicate that fear of making mistakes stops many French respondents from using English; at least this is true for older women (see 6.4 for details about this question). Yet, more research needs to be done in order to see if this is the case.

Fear of making mistakes leads to another, and perhaps the main, reason why French speakers appear reluctant to speak English. This reluctance seems to be related to the teaching of foreign languages in France. It is made clear by the interviewees that the elitist, purist and prescriptive tradition is still visible in the school system. The focus of language teaching is mainly on writing, literature, grammar and orthography, and communication is not encouraged. As commented by a professor in France (personal conversation): “Fais-moi une belle phrase” (make me a beautiful sentence; my translation, AMB) is commonly used by teachers in France, and this statement reflects the traditional mentality of teaching. English is taught in the same way as French, and the pupils are not encouraged to open their mouth if they do not know that the phrase they are going to say is grammatically correct. Besides, mistakes are often stigmatized (Cf comment in section 6.6.7); this creates an obstacle for using a foreign language, such as English, for communication, simply because the speakers do not believe they know English well enough, and they prefer to wait to speak it until they know it perfectly. As a result, they keep waiting and

never use the language. Everyone who has learned a second language knows that it is at the moment one starts to use the language in actual interaction that the language is really learned.²⁰

To illustrate the tradition of teaching in France, the teachers were told by the Ministry of Education in 1921 that “teaching of French is not only about working for the maintenance and spread of a beautiful language and literature, it is also about strengthening national identity”(Oakes 2001:62). On the whole, it seems that this tradition has had consequences for teaching until our days. In France, “a uniform language [is] made a symbol of a united nation” (Lodge in Oakes 2001:74), and this idea is to some extent still visible in the schools. The Swedish and Norwegian tradition of language teaching, where communication is encouraged more than orthography and grammar, is not at all present in the French school.²¹ Even so, it should be mentioned that this is changing: in the new teaching manuals for teaching of foreign languages in France the focus on communication is much more present than it used to be, but it will still take a long time to change this tradition.

Another point that should be mentioned is that there is no consensus about the influence of attitudes and motivation on second language acquisition. Some linguists (such as Lambert et al 1972) argue that attitudes and motivation are important factors, while others, (such as Gardner 1991) argue that these factors do not play a major role (see 2.4.2). However, regardless of the influence of attitudes and motivation in the process of learning a foreign language, if it is true that language teaching in France does not tell the pupils that a language is learned with the purpose of communication, then the French pupils can have very positive attitudes to English and be very motivated to learn it, but still be unable to use it in interaction.

According to Katz (in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129 and in Baker 1992:100), one of the functions of attitude is the instrumental-utilitarian function, which implies that attitudes are used to gain reward or avoid punishment. If it is the case that pupils in French schools are punished if they do not speak grammatically correctly, as some of the respondents of the present study indicate, a normal consequence of the instrumental-utilitarian function of attitudes would be to avoid speaking. Moreover, if this attitude is adapted through many years of schooling, it is not

²⁰ See section 6.7.7 for comments made by the interviewees about the teaching of English in France

²¹ See 3.6: “An important goal of the teaching of Swedish is to strengthen the pupil’s self esteem, so that they are not afraid to express themselves and express their opinions. Work should therefore be based on the language and experiences the pupils have. All children must feel their language is good enough and that they can use their experiences and words in learning to read and write” (from teaching plan for Swedish primary school in Oakes 2001:73). This attitude is not found in the French school.

likely that the pupil as an adult will suddenly start using English for communication. More likely, the person will expect an English speaker to judge his or her pronunciation as the teacher used to do, and therefore he or she would be reluctant to speak. This reluctance, which is only a fear of punishment, is perceived by foreigners as a negative attitude.

The study by Walker (1998), shows that the negative attitudes often expressed by official institutions in France are not shared by the majority of people. However, it seems that the elitist tradition, represented by, for example, the French Academy, to some extent still is visible in the educational system. If this is the case, it may indicate that Oakes (2001:75) is right when she argues that the tradition in France has made the average French speaker “not consider his language as a malleable instrument, at his disposal to express himself and communicate” but as “an immutable institution, constrained in its traditions and particularly untouchable”. If this view of the French language as an ‘immutable institution’ is transferred to other languages, this is a probable explanation to the discrepancy between how the French are viewed from the outside, and how they view themselves.

7.8 Future Research

It would be interesting to see how variables other than age and gender influence language attitudes in France. Comments made by French respondents during the in-field-stay suggest that socio-economic background and educational background exert some influence on language attitudes. Similarly, findings in the study by Flaitz (1988:183) indicate that positive attitudes increase with the level of education. The present study includes respondents only with at least upper secondary education, and most of them also have university education. It would be interesting to see to what extent the level of education influences attitudes to English.

Further, the data from the present study seem to indicate that men are slightly more negative than women, either because they have more negative attitudes, or because it is more acceptable for men to express negative attitudes, as have been argued by Baker (1992:41). Previous research has not found gender to be a very important variable for attitudes, but as this study shows a difference in responses for men and women it would be interesting to further investigate the role of gender.

Also, in order to find out to what extent the results are influenced by social desirability bias, it would be interesting to design a study where the respondents are less aware of being observed, for example, pretend to be an English speaking tourist and ask people on the street

about the way to the nearest Post office. Observing the reactions of people when approached in English could be an interesting indication of their attitudes to speaking English.

Perhaps most interesting would be to find out more about the teaching of languages in France and how this influences attitudes. Is there really as much focus on literature and writing as the interviewees claim? Is the lack of focus on communication in language teaching in France the main cause for the French people's reluctance to speak English? And does this approach trigger the instrumental-utilitarian function of attitude which stops a person from speaking in order to avoid punishment?

7.9 Critique of the Questionnaire

During the in-field-stay some of the respondents had criticism which should be commented on. To what extent does the present study really investigate what it was designed for?

7.9.1 Attitudes and beliefs

It has been mentioned by several respondents that the questionnaire used in this study does not investigate only *attitudes* but also *beliefs*. Part B of the questionnaire, where the respondents are asked to give their opinions about British and American speakers, has particularly been criticized. This has also been the case for some of the statements in Part A, for example statement 36: *The British are not very polite and generally not very nice people*, statement 22: *The British are more open than the Americans*, and statement 10: *I do not like English food*. Many respondents have said that average French people do not know any English or American speakers personally, neither do they know English food from personal experience and therefore their responses are based on the impression they have from the media, or, in other words, the often stereotyped beliefs they have about the issue in question. If this is the case, it will negatively influence the validity of the study, as the questionnaire was designed to investigate attitudes, and not beliefs.

To a certain extent the respondents are right in their criticism, but, as referred to in Agheysi & Fishman (1970), Deperz & Peerson (1987) (see section 2.1.3); there are different views of how attitudes and beliefs are related. Fishbein (in Agheysi & Fishman 1970) argues that the same belief can lead to several different attitudes and that several different beliefs can be related to the same attitude. He is criticized by Deperz & Peerson (1987), who argue that there is no one-to-one relationship between attitudes and beliefs, and that it is impossible to know how the one influences the other. If, as suggested by Deperz & Peerson (1987), there is no one-to-one relationship between attitudes and beliefs, it makes no sense to argue that beliefs are not

interesting in an investigation about attitudes. If beliefs and attitudes are closely related, as argued by Fishbein (in Agheysi & Fishman 1970), and for that matter also by Deprez & Peerson (1987), it should not make the study less valid if some of the items investigate beliefs more than attitudes. Certainly, beliefs can give important information about attitudes.

More importantly, Kramrae (1982), Giles and Coupland (1991b), and Edwards (1999), have suggested that attitudes are often based on stereotypical presumptions. Edwards (1999) argues that it is stereotypical presumptions which trigger different attitudes. Similarly, as argued by Kramrae (1982:95), the “stereotypes of speech will influence our understanding of what is said”. If the theories of Edwards (1999) and Kramrae (1982) are correct, it is necessary to investigate people’s stereotyped views as this will be the basis of their attitudes. Therefore, the goal of the present study is not to arrest the French respondents for saying something wrong about American and British speakers, but to explore what they believe about British and American speakers and possibly find out to what extent their stereotypes influence their attitudes. If the French respondents believe that Americans are very unfriendly and stupid, whether this is the case or not, they are not likely to have very positive attitudes to American English (language). Based on the theories of Edwards (1999) and Kramrae (1982) the statements about beliefs or stereotypes included in the questionnaire can be defended. They do not decrease the validity of the study.

Finally, according to the definition of attitude used for the present study: *Attitudes can be inferred from stereotypes, beliefs, statements, ideas, opinions and different types of behaviour* (Cf section 2.2.2), it is relevant to investigate stereotypes, beliefs, opinions and ideas to be able to understand people’s attitudes.

7.9.2 Leading questions

Another critique of the questionnaire is that the statements appear to be biased, and that the hypotheses are disclosed too clearly in the statements. Ideally, the statements should be neutral so that the respondents are not influenced to respond in a particular way. In statements such as 4: *American international politics is generally not correct* or statement 7: *Schools should teach British English rather than American English* it is rather clear that the researcher expects the respondents to agree with the statement. Some respondents have expressed insult by statements such as 25: *English speakers appear less intelligent than French speakers* as these statements have given them the impression that the researcher believes they are racists.

To some extent the respondents are right in claiming that some of the statements in the questionnaire are leading, but it was designed that way for a reason. The hypotheses which have influenced the statements are based on the reputation the French have abroad, which is not very positive. The goal of the thesis was to confront the respondents with the beliefs that other people have about them and give them the opportunity to express their own attitudes. That the respondents were provoked is also an interesting result which in itself indicates that the reputation of French speakers is not correct. Further, it should also be mentioned that it is impossible to design questions that are not to some extent influenced by the researchers' hypotheses, whether these hypotheses are formulated explicitly or not.

7.9.3 Sensitive issues

Furthermore, as argued by Fife-Schaw (1995: 182), sensitive issues should be avoided, or at least they should be treated carefully. The questionnaire used for the present study included 5 “distracters” (see 5.4.1), and one of these, statement 6: *I prefer people from North Africa to English people*, turned out to be a very sensitive issue. Unfortunately, the researcher was not aware of this at the stage when the questionnaire was designed; neither did the respondents of the pilot study comment on it.

However, it turned out that in France ‘Les Maghrebins’ (People from North Africa) have caused much trouble and discussion on the political level. The extreme right wing party Le Front National, which has a very controversial policy, has very strong and negative opinions about ‘les Maghrebins’. If someone dares express anything negative about ‘les Maghrebins’, this person can be considered positive to Le Front National, which most people absolutely do not want. The issue concerning ‘Les Maghrebins’ has become almost a taboo, and the respondents were shocked and felt very awkward to be asked about this, particularly in a questionnaire claiming to investigate language attitudes. Statement 6 should not have been included. Also, the introduction to the questionnaire should not underline that it is a study on *language* attitudes as the respondent then expects questions directly concerning language, and easily become uncertain and suspicious when they are asked about their opinion about British or American food, speakers or politics.

8 CONCLUSION

The conclusion from this study, based on both questionnaires and interviews, is that the French respondents are very positive to English (50% or more reveal positive attitudes, cf Ch 6). If the French respondents are believed to have negative attitudes, this is not what they express in the present study. In the questionnaires and in the interviews, the respondents express positive attitudes to English ideology, speakers, culture and language (Hypothesis 1). They do not see English as a threat to their identity (Hypothesis 3); and even though they have slightly more negative attitudes to English as a world language (Hypothesis 2), this is not enough to say they have negative attitudes about English as a world language in general. The results related to Hypothesis 4 show that they are more positive to British English and to British speakers, culture and ideology than to American English and to American speakers, culture and ideology.

The results of the present study indicate that the French respondents avoid speaking English not because they have negative attitudes, but because they are taught that they have to speak perfectly before they can use a foreign language for communication. This conclusion can be summed up by the comment made by one of the contact persons: *« À l'école on apprend plutôt l'anglais littéraire, et ça nous apprend pas forcément de communiquer avec les gens dans la rue. Les profs nous apprennent l'anglais comme si c'était le français ; toute erreur est interdite, presque stigmatisée »* (In school they teach us literary English and that does not necessarily teach us how to talk with the man in the street. The teachers teach us English as if it was French; every mistake is forbidden, almost stigmatized; my translation, AMB). The attitudes expressed by those in agreement with the elitist, prescriptive and purist tradition, which promotes the French language and uses it to create national identity, are not shared by common people (Walker 1998).

However, as the respondents say in the interviews, this tradition is still present in the schools, and it has to a large extent influenced the teaching of languages in France. This is a tradition which focuses more on writing and grammar than on communication, and it makes the pupils afraid of making mistakes and leads them to think that they need a high level in their foreign language in order to use it for communication. As a result they dare not use the foreign language, in this case English, for speaking, which is in tune with Katz's (in Deprez & Persoons 1987:129 and in Baker 1992:100) instrumental-utilitarian function of attitude, according to which attitudes are used to avoid punishment.

The rigid, elitist tradition of teaching is changing as pupils now start learning English at an earlier stage each year and as the focus is more on communication than it used to be (Lang

2002). Still, it will probably take time for this new communicative approach to language teaching to give results. However, the difference in attitudes from younger to older people shows that there seems to be a change going on towards more positive attitudes to English. Further, with regard to gender it is not clear if, and to what extent, this variable plays a role. Yet, according to previous research, age is a more important variable than gender when it comes to language attitudes.

The most obvious reason for the discrepancy between people's beliefs about French attitudes to English and the attitudes expressed by the French themselves is the teaching of languages, as mentioned above. Even so, there might be other reasons for the results in the present study to be so positive, such as social desirability bias, cultural relativity, and difference between the attitudes expressed by official institutions and the attitudes expressed by common people. More research needs to be done in order to see which of these variables are the most influential, and also to see the importance of variables such as gender, age, and social- and educational background on language attitudes.

To return to the main question presented in the introduction; *Is it a stereotype that the French have negative attitudes to English, or are they as negative as people tend to believe?* The results of this thesis show that to some extent the view of the French as having very negative attitudes to English is a stereotype. All the results of this study, and also of those by Flaitz (1988), Walker (1998) and Oakes (2001) reveal that often more than 50% of the French respondents express positive attitudes to English.

However, there are indications that French people are reluctant to speak English, which the respondents explain by the uncommunicative approach to language teaching used in French schools. This reluctance to speak English is caused by uncertainty and fear of punishment more than by negative attitudes, but is by many foreigners interpreted as negative attitudes. As the present study shows, the reason just mentioned is the most likely explanation for the stereotypes about French attitudes to English, and further research needs to be done in order to gain more insight into this issue.

Résumé en français

Ce mémoire de maîtrise est une étude sociolinguistique sur l'attitude des Français envers l'anglais. Beaucoup de gens disent que les Français ne sont pas doués pour les langues, ou qu'ils n'aiment pas parler anglais. J'ai voulu faire une étude pour vérifier si cette réputation dit la vérité sur l'attitude des Français.

Les hypothèses *a priori* de mon étude sont basées sur ce que j'ai entendu dire sur les Français, et elles sont les suivantes :

1. L'attitude des Français envers la langue, la culture, les idées anglaises et envers les anglais sont en général négatives.
2. Les Français voudraient que la langue mondiale soit le français plutôt que l'anglais.
3. Les Français pensent que l'anglais menace leur identité.
4. Les Français sont plus négatifs envers l'anglais américain qu'envers l'anglais britannique.
5. Les jeunes ont une attitude plus positive que les plus âgés envers l'anglais.
6. Il n'y a pas une grande différence entre hommes et femmes concernant les attitudes envers l'anglais.

Pour étudier ces hypothèses, j'ai distribué 150 questionnaires en France, et j'ai aussi enregistré sept interviews. Les personnes interrogées sont divisées en 3 catégories d'âge ; moins de 25 ans, entre 25 et 45 ans et plus de 45 ans. 70 hommes et 76 femmes ont participé à ce sondage.

En général, l'attitude exprimée par les réponses au questionnaire est positive. Les résultats sont présentés dans le tableau suivant :

Tranche d'âge	1	2	3	4	5	Nombre de sondés
Moins de 25	24%	23%	18%	19%	16%	53
Entre 25 et 45	29%	23%	18%	15%	15%	54
Plus de 45	20%	25%	19%	19%	17%	39

Les numéros de 1 à 5 correspondent aux cases qui pouvaient être cochées dans le questionnaire. 1 et 2 sont les catégories qui correspondent à l'attitude positive, 3 correspond à l'attitude indifférente et 4 et 5 sont les catégories qui correspondent à l'attitudes négative.

Dans le tableau ci-dessus on voit qu'environ 50 % des sondés expriment une attitude positive (catégorie 1 et 2) dans toutes les tranches d'âge. Les plus de 45 ans sont les moins positifs. Basées sur les informations données par les gens interrogés, les hypothèses 1,2 et 3 sont rejetées. Les

Français n'ont pas une attitude très négative envers la langue, la culture, les idées anglaises et envers les anglais (hypothèse 1) et ils n'ont pas du tout l'impression que leur identité est menacée par l'anglais (hypothèse 3). La plupart ont aussi accepté l'anglais comme langue mondiale, mais il paraît que les Français ne veulent tout de même pas que le français perde la position qu'il occupe maintenant dans les institutions comme l'ONU ou l'UE.

Concernant l'hypothèse 4, elle a été corroborée, car les gens interrogés expriment une attitude plus négative envers l'anglais américain qu'envers l'anglais britannique, aussi bien concernant les langues que ceux qui les parlent. Il apparaît que les jeunes ont une attitude plus positive que les plus âgés envers l'anglais, bien qu'il n'y ait pas une grande différence entre les tranches d'âge (hypothèse 5 est corroborée). Il paraît aussi y avoir une petite différence entre hommes et femmes, les hommes ayant tendance à avoir une attitude plus négative que les femmes. Cela doit être étudié plus avant qu'on puisse tirer une conclusion.

Pour résumer, il apparaît que les Français ne sont pas aussi négatifs que le dit leur réputation. La question principale est de savoir pourquoi il y a un tel écart entre l'attitude exprimée par les Français eux-mêmes, et l'attitude que les autres leur prêtent. Une explication proposée par Flaitz (1988) et par Walker (1998) est que l'attitude exprimée par les élites, c'est-à-dire les institutions politiques et les institutions linguistiques, comme l'Académie Française, n'est pas représentative de celle de l'homme de la rue. Je pense que cela est vrai, bien que mon étude ne demande pas aux gens ce qu'ils pensent de l'attitude des institutions politiques envers l'anglais.

Plus intéressant : d'après cette étude, il paraît y avoir un problème concernant l'enseignement des langues étrangères en France. Tous les interviewés et autres personnes avec qui j'ai parlé disent que l'enseignement de langues en France ne met pas l'accent sur la communication orale, mais plutôt sur la langue écrite, la grammaire et la littérature. « Fais moi une belle phrase » est souvent entendu par les élèves qui apprennent une langue étrangère en France, et cela donne l'impression qu'avant de parler il faut savoir formuler une phrase grammaticalement correcte. Quand, plus tard, les gens ont l'occasion de parler l'anglais, ils ne se sentent pas capables parce qu'ils savent qu'ils ne vont pas pouvoir exprimer ce qu'il veulent sans faire de fautes. Ils préfèrent ne rien dire, non pas à cause d'une attitude négative, mais de peur de faire des fautes. Cela est très dommage, car c'est en parlant en faisant des fautes que l'on apprend à la parler comme il faut.

À l'école maintenant, on privilégie l'oral, et les enfants commencent à apprendre l'anglais de plus en plus tôt. Mais à cause de cette longue tradition écrite il va falloir du temps avant de pouvoir changer la mentalité de l'enseignement.

Pour terminer, la conclusion de mon étude peut être résumée ainsi : les Français ne sont pas forcément négatifs envers l'anglais, mais ils évitent souvent de le parler à cause de l'approche non communicative avec laquelle il leur a été enseigné. Comme dit une des personnes interrogées: *« À l'école on apprend plutôt l'anglais littéraire, et ça nous apprend pas forcément à communiquer avec les gens dans la rue. Les profs nous apprennent l'anglais comme si c'était le français ; toute erreur est interdite, presque stigmatisée. »*

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire- French version

Bonjour, je m'appelle Anne Marie Bakke. Je fais une recherche sur les attitudes linguistiques dans le cadre de mon mémoire de Maîtrise à l'université de Bergen. Vous me rendriez un grand service en répondant à ce Questionnaire le plus honnêtement et le plus sincèrement possible. Toutes les informations données resteront anonymes. Je vous remercie de votre attention!

S'il vous plait, pour chaque proposition, veuillez cocher la case qui reflète le mieux votre opinion.

Exemple: J'aime voyager. Tout à fait d'accord ----- Pas du tout d'accord

Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Indécise	Plutôt pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
	X			

PARTIE A.	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Indécis(e)	Plutôt pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
1. Je suis fier(e) d'être Français(e) et de parler français.					
2. Je préférerais d'aller en vacances en Angleterre plutôt qu'aux États-Unis.					
3. L'anglais a toutes les qualités pour être une langue mondiale.					
4. La politique étrangère américaine n'est pas toujours correcte.					
5. Je trouve les Anglais froids et réservés.					
6. Je préfère les Maghrébins aux Anglais.					
7. Les écoles devraient enseigner l'anglais britannique plutôt que l'anglais américain.					
8. On ne devrait pas pouvoir acquérir la nationalité française si on ne parle pas français.					
9. On ne devrait pas conserver l'usage du français dans les anciennes colonies.					
10. Je n'aime pas la cuisine anglaise.					
11. Les Belges préfèrent les Anglais aux Américains.					
12. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'améliorer les possibilités d'apprentissage de l'anglais en France, ni dans les écoles, ni dans les cours privés.					
13. Cela ne me dérange pas que l'anglais soit la langue la plus importante pour une carrière en commerce internationale ou en science.					

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Indécis(e)	Plutôt pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
14. On ne devrait pas employer des mots anglais quand on parle français.					
15. MacDonald a une influence négative en France.					
16. L'accent de l'anglais britannique est plus sophistiqué que celui de l'anglais américain.					
17. Les films américains et anglais ne devraient jamais être diffusés en version originale, sous-titrés en français.					
18. Raconter des blagues sur les Belges fait partie de notre identité française.					
19. L'influence américaine sur la langue et la culture française est plus négative que l'influence britannique.					
20. Je ne souhaite pas aux Anglais la bienvenue en France avec plaisir.					
21. L'anglais devrait être la seule langue officielle dans l'UE.					
22. Les Anglais sont plus ouverts que les Américains.					
23. Si nous, les Français, commençons à parler anglais plus souvent, nous finirons par adopter les valeurs américaines ou anglaises.					
24. Il devrait y avoir plus d'explications en anglais dans les musées et les monuments nationaux en France.					
25. Les gens qui parlent anglais paraissent moins intelligents que ceux qui parlent français.					
26. La Belgique francophone devrait être rattachée à la France.					
27. Connaître l'anglais menace mon identité française.					
28. La France a plus en commun avec l'Angleterre qu'avec les États-Unis.					
29. Je n'aime pas qu'on emploie des mots comme "baby-sitting", "businessman" et "week-end" en français.					
30. L'humour anglais n'est pas drôle.					

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Indécis(e)	Plutôt pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
31. Je pense que l'anglais devrait être la première langue de communication dans l'UE.					
32. Si quelqu'un m'invitait à une soirée culturelle anglaise, je n'irais pas.					
33. Les Belges sont moins intelligents que les Anglais.					
34. Il y a trop de films américains et anglais à la télévision et dans les cinémas en France.					
35. Je n'aime pas parler l'anglais car j'ai peur de faire des fautes.					
36. Les Anglais ne sont en général pas très polis et pas très sympas.					
37. Ça ne me dérange pas que l'anglais ait une position plus importante dans le monde que le français.					
38. Toutes les publications académiques devraient être en anglais.					
39. Le français se détériore parce qu'on parle d'autres langues/patois en France.					
40. L'influence britannique sur la langue et sur la culture française ne m'inquiète pas.					

PARTIE 2

S'il vous plait, cochez la case qui se rapproche le plus de votre opinion sur la langue anglaise.

Exemple: cool : _____ : X _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : pas cool

Je trouve la langue anglaise:

41. Rapide : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Lente
42. Directe : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Indirecte
43. Claire : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Embrouillée
44. Riche : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Pauvre
45. Formelle : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Familiale
46. Simple : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Complexe
47. Élégante : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Vulgaire
48. Douce : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Dure
49. Belle : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Pas belle
50. Civilisée : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Pas civilisée

Je trouve les Anglais:

51. Polis : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Malpolis
52. Sympathiques : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Pas sympathiques
53. Drôles : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Ennuyeux
54. Intéressants : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Inintéressantes
55. Aimables : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Désagréables
56. Intelligents : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Bêtes
57. Généreux : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Egoïstes
58. Élégantes : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Vulgaires
59. Cultivés : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Non cultivés
60. Honnêtes : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Malhonnêtes

Je trouve les Américains:

61. Polis : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Malpolis
62. Sympathiques : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Pas sympathiques
63. Drôles : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Ennuyeux
64. Intéressants : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Inintéressants
65. Aimables : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Désagréables
66. Intelligents : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Bêtes
67. Généreux : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Egoïste
68. Élégantes : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Vulgaires
69. Cultivés : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Non cultivés
70. Honnêtes : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Malhonnêtes

PARTIE C: Données personnelles (anonymes): (Cochez une case par statement)

71. Age: Moins de 25 ans _____ entre 25 et 45 ans _____ Plus de 45 ans _____
72. Sexe: Homme _____ Femme _____
73. Diplômes: moins que le BAC _____ Le BAC (ou équivalent) _____ Plus que le BAC _____
74. Connaissance d'anglais:

(Cochez les deux cases qui convient).

Je comprends l'anglais:			Je parle l'anglais		
Bien	Un peu	Pas du tout	Bien	Un peu	Pas du tout

Si vous avez des statements concernant au Questionnaire, ou bien si ça vous intéresse de connaître les résultats de ma petite recherche, n'hésite pas à me contacter sur: annembakke@hotmail.com ou a

anne.bakke@student.uib.no

UN GRAND MERCI POUR VOTRE AIDE !!

Appendix 2: Questionnaire- English version

My name is Anne Marie Bakke. I am doing research on language attitudes as part of my MA-thesis at the University of Bergen. Please, fill in this Questionnaire being as honest as you can. All information will be kept strictly confidential. Thank you so much for your help!

Please, tick off the appropriate slot depending on how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

Example: I like traveling. Agree-----Disagree

Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	X			

SECTION A.	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I'm proud of being French and speaking French.					
2. I would prefer a holiday in Britain rather than in the US.					
3. English has all the qualities for a world language					
4. American international politics is generally not correct.					
5. I find the British cold and reserved.					
6. I prefer people from North Africa to English people.					
7. Schools should teach British English rather than American English.					
8. One shouldn't be able to obtain French citizenship unless one speaks French.					
9. Knowledge of French in former French colonies does not need to be preserved.					
10. I don't like English food.					
11. People from Belgium like the British better than the Americans.					
12. It is not necessary to improve the opportunities to learn English in France, neither in school nor in private courses.					
13. It is okay that English is the most important language if you want a job in international business or science.					
14. One shouldn't use English words when speaking French.					

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
15. I think Mc Donald's has a bad influence in France.					
16. British English is more sophisticated than American English.					
17. No British and American films should be shown in the English original version with French subtitles.					
18. Jokes about the Belgians are a part of French identity.					
19. American influence on the French language and culture is more negative than British influence.					
20. I do not welcome British people in France with pleasure					
21. English should be the only official language in the EU.					
22. The British are more open than the Americans.					
23. If we, the French, speak more English, we'll adopt English or American values.					
24. There should be more explanations in English in museums and at national monuments in France.					
25. English speakers appear less intelligent than French speakers.					
26. The French speaking Belgium should be united to France					
27. Knowing English is a threat to French identity					
28. France has more in common with Britain than with the US.					
29. It is not acceptable in French to use words like "baby-sitting", "week-end" and "businessman".					
30. English humour is not fun.					
31. It is okay that English will become the language of communication in the EU.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
32. If I was invited by a friend to an English cultural event, I would not go.					
33. The Belgians are less intelligent than the British.					
34. There are too many English/American films in French cinemas and on television.					
35. I don't like speaking English because I'm afraid of making mistakes.					
36. The British are not very polite and generally not very nice people.					
37. It is okay that English has a stronger position in the world than French.					
38. All academic publications should be printed in English.					
39. The quality of the French language is destroyed because other varieties than standard French are used in France.					
40. British influence on the French language and culture does not worry me.					

SECTION B

Please tick an appropriate slot for each pair of words (e.g rapid---slow) depending on how you view the English language. Example: cool : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : uncool

I find the English language:

41. Rapid : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Slow
42. Direct : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Indirect
43. Clear : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Obscure
44. Rich : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Poor
45. Formal : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Informal
46. Simple : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Complex
47. Elegant : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Vulgar
48. Soft : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Hard
49. Beautiful : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Ugly
50. Civilized : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Uncivilized

I find the British:

51. Polite :____:____:____:____:____: Rude
52. Friendly :____:____:____:____:____: Unfriendly
53. Pleasant :____:____:____:____:____: Unpleasant
54. Interesting :____:____:____:____:____: Uninteresting
55. Kind :____:____:____:____:____: Unkind
56. Intelligent :____:____:____:____:____: Stupid
57. Generous :____:____:____:____:____: Egoistic
58. Elegant :____:____:____:____:____: Vulgar
59. Educated :____:____:____:____:____: Uneducated
60. Reliable :____:____:____:____:____: Unreliable

I find Americans:

61. Polite :____:____:____:____:____: Rude
62. Friendly :____:____:____:____:____: Unfriendly
63. Pleasant :____:____:____:____:____: Unpleasant
64. Interesting :____:____:____:____:____: Uninteresting
65. Kind :____:____:____:____:____: Unkind
66. Intelligent :____:____:____:____:____: Stupid
67. Generous :____:____:____:____:____: Egoistic
68. Elegant :____:____:____:____:____: Vulgar
69. Educated :____:____:____:____:____: Uneducated
70. Reliable :____:____:____:____:____: Unreliable

SECTION C

Personal information:

71. Age: less than 25 _____ Between 25-44 _____ Over 45 _____ (tick off)
72. Sex: male _____ female: _____
73. Educational background: Less than BAC _____ BAC (or equivalent) _____ More than BAC _____
(Le BAC corresponds at A-levels/upper secondary education)

74. Knowledge of English: (tick off the appropriate slot)

Understanding English			Speaking English		
Well	A little	Nothing	Well	A little	Nothing

If you have any statements, or are interested in the results of my research, please do not hesitate to contact me at: annembakke@hotmail.com or at anne.bakke@student.uib.no Thanks a lot for your help!!

Appendix 3: Interview- French version

- 1) Quelle est votre/ton relation de l'anglais ?
- 2) Crois-tu/croyez-vous que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui sait parler l'anglais ?
- 3) C'est un mythe que les Français ne sont pas très doués ou pas très positifs à parler l'anglais. Est-ce que vous êtes/ tu es d'accord? Si oui, pour quelle raisons ?
- 4) Est-ce que vous/tu trouvez/s que les jeunes voient l'anglais différemment que les plus âgé(e)s ?
- 5) Est-ce que cela vous/te dérange que l'anglais devient la langue mondiale de communication la plus importante ?
- 6) Est-ce que vous/tu autant que français vous sentez /te sent « obligé » de ne pas aimer les Anglais ? (Si oui, est-ce que cela a une influence sur les attitudes par rapport à la langue anglaise ?)
- 7) Est-ce que vous croyez /tu crois que la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie anglaise rendent les gens plus négatif à apprendre l'anglais ? Est-ce qu'on peut séparer la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie d'un pays de la langue qui y est parlé ?
- 8) Quelle variété/accent d'anglais est-ce que vous/ tu trouvez/s la plus belle, l'anglais américain ou l'anglais britannique ?
- 9) Quelles adjectives utiliseriez vous/ tu pour décrire la langue anglaise ?
- 10) Voulez-vous rajouter quelque chose ?

Si non, un grand merci pour votre/ton coopération !! ☺

Appendix 4: Interview- English version

- 1) What is your relationship with English?
- 2) Do you think it is positive that many people in France know how to speak English?
- 3) It is a myth that the French are not very gifted or not very eager to speak English, do you think this is true? If yes, for what reasons?
- 4) Do you think the younger generation in France thinks differently about English than the older?
- 5) Do you find it okay that English seems to take over the role as a world language?
- 6) Do you as French feel expected to not like the British? (If yes, does this possibly influence peoples' attitudes to the English language?)
- 7) Do you think the English culture, history and ideology put people off learning the language?
- 8) Which variety, American or British English, do you think is more beautiful?
- 9) Which adjectives would you use to describe the English language?
- 10) Do you have anything to add?

Thanks a lot for your cooperation! ☺

Appendix 5: Interview transcriptions

Interview with « Mélanie », woman, over 45.

Interview number 1

I: interviewer

R: respondent

(1) I : Tu as dit que tu as appris l'anglais à l'école déjà ?

R : Oui, oui j'en ai fait au lycée moi, jusqu'au.... Je dois avoir fait 6 ans normalement. Ca devrait être mieux que ça le résultat, mais en fin ça allait quand même.

I : oui...

R : Mais oui...

I : Ca t'as plu ?

R : Oui, l'anglais oui, l'anglais oui, l'allemand zéro. En anglais j'étais première, dernière en allemand. Tout le temps

I : a oui... L'anglais c'était plus facile?

R : L'anglais était beaucoup plus facile pour moi. Ca veut dire,pensait au professeur (??) Donc on avait un professeur nous et on avait appris l'allemand nous avec les caractères, tu sais, l'allemand comment vous appelez, tu sais, l'écriturecomment ça s'appelle ?

I : Je sais pas

R : À ben, l'écriture allemand,....en fin bref, tu sais que l'on avait fait pendant un an seulement, et après c'est tombé. C'était en quarante cinq...

(2) I : Alors, est-ce que tu crois que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui parle l'anglais ?

R : Il y en as pas assez à mon avis...

I : non ?

(3) R : C'est un mythe que les Français ne sont pas doués à parler l'anglais?

Les Français sont doués pour aucune langue. Il n'y a pas l'anglais.... oui

I : Mais pourquoi ?

R : Je ne sais pas, peut-être de la paresse simplement

I : La paresse ?

R : De la paresse pour tra... pour étudier la langue, parce qu'il faut quand même la travailler

I: oui....

R: Alors, il y a peut-être de la paresse, et puis ils ne voient pas l'utilité comme ça

I : non

R : ils pensent que c'est le étranger qui font l'effort de parler français.

I : oui

R : donc c'est la paresse, c'est bien ce que je dis, de toute façon

I : Tu penses que c'est lié, fin... à la pédagogie dans les écoles ?

R : A oui, aussi

I : est-ce que c'est enseigné bien, ou c'est plutôt... ?

R : Non, moi je pense surtout que ce sont les programmes. Maintenant peut-être, maintenant notre époque, maintenant c'est bien fait. Mais les programmes que nous avons faits c'étaient les cules (??) dans les langues. On nous demandait de faire des choses qui nous servent pas dans la vie, la vie courante, dans la vie pratique...

I : oui

R : Alors, j'ai eu l'occasion d'avoir des livres d'anglais, d'allemand parce qu'on parle les deux. C'est une langue qui est utile.....alors si on prend Goethe on ne peut pas le placer à table

I : Donc, ce que vous avez appris à l'école c'était plutôt littéraire ?

R : C'était plutôt littéraire, donc, pas placable dans la vie courante.

I : oui

R : et les mots dont on a besoin de tous les jours, par exemple, je me rend compte quand j'allais prendre le train pour aller en Allemagne, je sais pas dire « le quai ».

I : Oui

R: Tu vois, „sûr quel quai ? » Voilà, mais, mais il y a des phrases tout simples qu'on sait pas.

I : oui, et on sait dire.....

R : Alors que maintenant, ils y font attention maintenant. A oui, si, si

(4)I: Alors, tu penses que les jeunes voient l'anglais différemment que les plus âgés ?

R : Oui, ils ont compris que c'était indispensable.

I : oui

R : Mm

I : et tu as l'impression que la plupart sont positifs par rapport à l'anglais

R : A oui, moi je pense. Maintenant je crois qu'ils l'apprennent, justement parce que les méthodes de... de pour l'apprendre sont plus, sont plus étudiées, plus pratiques

I : oui

R : Alors, avec ce qu'on les apprend, ils peuvent se débrouiller plus vite dans la vie courante

I : oui

R : moi, je pense que c'est ça qui a fait le, qui a fait faire le progrès

I : oui, c'est plus, sais pas, plus pour la communication, c'est plus que littéraire peut-être

R : oui, oui

(5)I : Alors, est-ce que ça vous dérange que l'anglais devienne une langue mondiale de communication ?

R : Pas du tout.

I : non ?

R : Pas du tout

I : Par contre, est-ce que tu crois que ça sera mieux que ça soit l'anglais uniquement que soit la langue de communication mondiale ?

R : Moi je crois que ça soit, ils parlent de la langue de communication mondiale, ça peut, ça ne veut pas dire que ça doit être la seule. Si il doit en avoir qu'une, je pense que c'est l'anglais

I : oui....

Et ça ne te dérange pas, autant que français...

R : Non, cela ne me gêne pas du tout

I : non?

R : Pas du tout !

I : Bon....

(6) R : Autant que français,

I : est-ce que tu te sens obligé, entre guillemets, de ne pas aimer les Anglais ?

R : Non, pas du tout

I : Non ?

R : non, pas du tout

I : Pas du tout

R : non, ça n'a aucune influence sur, sur la langue, par rapport à leur langue

(7) I : Alors, numéro sept, est-ce que tu crois que la culture, l'histoire, et l'idéologie anglaise rendent les gens plus négatif à apprendre l'anglais ? Je sais pas si tu....

R : non, non..... Et on peut très bien, moi je sais pas si on peut séparer, par contre, la culture, de l'idéologie et l'histoire d'un pays.

I : oui

R : de la langue qui est parlée (??)

I : Tu ne penses pas que les Français ont été influencé par le passé, toutes les guerres qu'ils ont eu... ?

R : il n'y a pas de raison qu'on monte au Moyen Age, alors à ce moment là... Non, il y en a qui dit ça (.....) Car, quand on entend quand même les Français disent, en parlant de l'Angleterre, « l'ennemi héréditaire ». He he Où est-ce qu'ils sont allés pour chercher une bêtise pareil ?

I : Oui ...he, he

R : he, he est-ce que tu as entendu ça ? J'ai entendu ça, attend, quand les gens s'approchent de moi, c'est un cousin qui dit, mais évidemment, écoute, si tu vas remonter à Jeanne d'Arc, pourquoi pas remonter encore au celtique (??) grec ?

I : oui

R : Non, non ça sera..... on s'"engagera" avec tout le monde car on a été en guerre dans le temps avec en tel, un tel,

I : oui

R : ça peut poser des querelles aussi des anciens, aussi des notre, je crois (??)

I : Mais, il y a quand même des Français qui font ça, tu crois ?

R : Il y en a, il y en a .

I : oui

R : ah, le coup de 'l'ennemi héréditaire' crovoche (??) t'as entendu souvent

I :oui

R :oui, oui, oui

I : oui, quand même

R : Ca me fait rire chaque fois

(9) I : le question huit je ne vais pas la poser parce qu'on en a parlé déjà....

oui, tu as dit que l'anglais est pratique comme langue

R : oui

I : Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres mots que tu voulez employer pour....

R : Pratique, utile, on avait, ben, je dis indispensable, au fur et au mesure que le temps passe. Bah, ce n'est déjà pas mal pour une langue

I : Non

R : C'est a dire a part celui de France (??) He, he

(10) I: Voila, il y a aura chose ?

R: Merci, merci

I : C'est bon !? Bah, merci

R : Bah, de rien !

Interview with "Marie", woman under 25

Interview number 2

I.: interviewer R: respondent

I: Voila. Mathilde, tu as donc quelle âge ?

R : J'ai quinze ans

I : quiz ans. Donc là tu es au lycée déjà ?

R : Oui, en seconde

I: Donc, il te reste deux ans, ce ça?

R : Deux ans, oui, c'est vrai.

I : oui

Et raconte moi d'abord un peu, comment ça se passe l'anglais –tu as l'anglais là ?

R :oui, oui eh, trois heures et demi d'anglais par semaine.

I. Trois heures et demie ?

R : Non, quatre heures et demi peut-être.... Oui, ça peut être bien.

I : Et c'est plutôt l'écrit, ou c'est l'oral un peu aussi ?

R : C'est plutôt de l'écrit.

I : oui

R : ou des..... Pendant les cours on essaye de, le prof il essaye quand même de nous faire parler sur les textes à l'oral, mais c'est plutôt de l'écrit quoi.

I : oui

Et c'est des textes littéraires ou c'est des textes des journaux ou ?

R : Eh....les deux

I : Les deux ?

R : oui, on fait des extraits des romans, ou alors, des extraits des articles qui sont apparus dans les journaux.

I : oui, vous avez beaucoup de vocabulaire à apprendre ?

R : Eh....bouf....Non, pas trop pour l'instant.

I : Pas trop ?

R : Il y a un petit peu, mais pas trop.

I : Est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup de dévotion à rendre toutes les semaines ?

R : On a des essais à faire.....deux fois par semaine

I : oui

R : Mais si non, en fin.....on a des petites exercices de grammaire....oui, de grammaire ou de petites choses comme ça, mais pas très souvent.

I : Et t'as UN prof, ou....?

R : oui, c'est un prof.

I : Et tu penses qu'il est déjà partie en Angleterre ou aux États-Unis?

R : Oui, je pense. Au moins avec des voyages scolaires, mais je pense qu'il a du y aller tout seul, ou peut-être avec sa famille, sais pas.....

I : oui...Tu as l'impression qu'ils savent bien son sujet ?

R : Oui

I : oui ?Et, tu penses que c'est le cas pour la plupart de profs d'anglais qu'ils ont partie en Angleterre, qu'ils savent bien parler l'anglais

R : Eh.....Bah.....Je pense, oui, mais en fin, mais je n'ai pas non plus eu beaucoup de profs eh d'anglais, mais je pense qu'ils connaissent quand même bien leur sujet

I : oui.....Hm.....

Et tu as commencé l'anglais à quel âge?

R : A....eh.....à dix ans. Non, onze ans. En CM 2.....Mais en CM 2 on ne faisait pratiquement rien. On a pas appris beaucoup de choses quoi, c'était juste une initiation....

I : des couleurs peut-être ?

R : oui, des couleurs, les jours et les mois

I : oui

Et là, maintenant, si tu recroise un Anglais dans la rue, est-ce que tu te sentirais capable d'avoir une conversation avec lui ?

R : Eh...oui peut-être.....mais bon, pas très, pas très développée quoi.

I : non

R : Quelques.... tu peux aborder quelques sujets, mais...j'ai pas.....

I : Tu as déjà eu l'occasion d'essayer ?

R : Eh...Oui, mais c'était pas avec un Anglais, c'était un Romain qui parlait l'anglais un peu prés aussi....pareil que moi quoi. Donc, on se comprenait assez bien.

I : Donc, ça se bien passé, vous avez pu communiquer un peu ?

R : Oui, oui. Même un peu....bien quoi !

I : oui ?!

Mais tu t'envisage faire ça plus, si tu rencontre des gens de l'étranger ?

R : Eh...Oui, ça me plairait de parler l'anglais plus souvent, en fin, avoir des conversations vraiment, parce qu'on cours on ne fait pas vraiment des conversations quoi.

I : Non..... Vous allez partir avec l'école quelque part ?

R : Eh.....Pas cette année, mais j'espère que, peut-être l'année prochaine, j'espère qu'on pourrait y aller

I : Oui, parce que ça aide quand même

R : m-hm

I : Bon, on va passer sur les questions que j'ai marquées sur ma feuille. Donc, numéro un on a déjà fait...

(2) Est ce que tu crois, ou tu penses que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui sait parler l'anglais ?

R : Bah... oui, je pense que c'est bien quoi, parce que ça permet d'avoir plus de relations avec les autres pays, quand il y a des étrangères qui viennent en France, qu'ils puissent..... Qu'ils soient pas totalement perdu quoi. Je crois que.....Moi, je pense que c'est bien.

I : Tu penses que la plupart des Français pensent comme ça ? Quelle est ton impression ?

R : Eh.....Non, je pense que.....en fin, ça dépend, c'est partagé. Il y en a qui, qui ont envie que...il y a beaucoup de monde qui parlent l'anglais pour accueillir des gens, d'autres qui pensent que c'est pas nécessaire.....Je pense que c'est partagé

I : Oui, ça dépend un peu

R : Ehm...

(3) I : On entend souvent dit que les Français ne sont pas doués pour les langues. Et tu penses que c'est vrai ?

R : Eh...oui, parce que....En fin, ça dépend des personnes aussi, mais je pense que, on a...fin....on apprend pas très bien à l'école, on apprend des bases quoi, mais si on n'est pas motivé, on peut, on peut très bien ne pas... en fin...Oui, il y en a beaucoup qui ne sont pas du tout motivé, donc

I : oui....

R : on ne peut pas beaucoup avancer, et on commence assez tard quand même à apprendre des langues, donc c'est plus difficile

I : oui

Mais, tu penses qu'il y a un problème au niveau pédagogique dans l'éducation qui fait que les gens ont peur de parler, parce que, bon, la France est quand même un pays développé, c'est pas logique que les gens sont moins doués pour les langues que d'autres, sais pas...

R : Oui, je pense que c'est plutôt..... eh parce que.....Oui, on....fin.....Je pense que on n'est pas assez poussé vers l'avant quoi, pour apprendre plus de langues, pour les apprendre mieux, plus tôt....

I : Et peut-être que on met l'accent surtout sur l'écrit

R : oui

I : peut-être que ça fait que les gens ont peur

R : oui...

I : de parler, sais pas

R : Oui, parce que, bon....Oui, fin, on peut savoir des choses à l'écrit qu'on ose pas dire à l'oral ou est que pendant les cours, en fin, sais pas, le prof, s'il pose des questions, il y a une personne qui y répond, mais il y a des gens qui ne peuvent pas parler du tout pendant toute l'année quoi...

I : oui

Et si quelqu'un répond quelque chose qui n'est pas tout à fait correct au niveau de grammaire, syntaxe et tout ça, le prof a des rapproches par rapport à ça, ou ?

R : Bah..... Il le reprend, mais il va pas non plus eh.....en faire toute une histoire quoi. Il va dire : Bah, mais non, ce n'était pas ça, ou alors, il fallait dire autre chose, ou.....oui, je pense, je pense pas que ça soit à cause de ça.

I : Non

R : Fin, je sais pas trop....

(4) I : Est-ce que tu penses que les jeunes voient l'anglais différemment que les plus âgés ?

R : Oui, parce que, on a pas été élevé de la même manière.

I : oui

R : Pas, en fin, bah... Les jeunes, ça peut être une manière de se tourner vers d'autres pays, d'autres, finpar exemple, comme on suit pas mal les (marchands ??) des américains, ça peut être une manière de, d'être plus proche d'eux, voilà, alors que pour les gens plus âgés ça peut être pour leur travail, parce que ils ont obligé, ou

I : Oui, tu penses que beaucoup de jeunes aimeraient apprendre les langues pour pouvoir voyager par exemple ?

R : Oui, je pense qu'il y en a pas mal qui aimerait voyager, avoir plus de possibilités, oui...

I : Tu aimerais faire ça toi aussi ?

R : oui

I : Oui ?.....Tu voudrais partir où ?

R : Moi, j'aimerais bien partir en Chine ou en Angleterre, ça me plairait bien.

I : oui

R : Mais, fin... sais pas.....

I : Il faut avoir ton BAC peut-être, c'est plus pratique après, peut-être il y a plus de possibilités

Bon,.....

(5) Est-ce que ça te dérange que l'anglais est devenu la langue mondial de communication la plus importante ?

R : Bah, non, parce qu'il bien une langue qui permet que tout le monde se comprenne, quoi.

I : oui

R : Et comme déjà l'anglais est déjà très répondu, je pense que non, c'est bien au contrat.

I : C'est pratique

R : Oui

(6) I : Est-ce que tu autant que Français te sent obligé de ne pas aimer les Anglais ?

R : Non, moi j'aime bien les Anglais.

I : oui

R : Fin, J'ai pas souvent l'occasion de les côtoyer, quoiMais, j'ai les..... On n'as pas, on n'est pas obligé de ne pas les aimer, et je ne pense pas que les Français n'aime pas les Anglais quoi

I : non

R : Non, je pense que c'est juste comme, fin, on ne les voit pas très souvent. Moi, j'en connais pas assez, donc

I : oui

R : je ne peux pas dire que je les aime pas. Où même si j'en connaissais un ou deux, je ne pouvais pas dire que je ne les aime pas

I : non Fin, je sais pas, on entend souvent dire que les Français n'aiment pas la nourriture anglaise

R : Bah oui.....oui on dit souvent ça, mais c'est parce qu'on est pas habitué

I : oui

R : Oui, parce que on est habitué à notre nourriture à nous

I : Vous êtes quand même gâtés en France (☺)

R : oui (☺)

(7) I : Alors, est ce que tu pense que la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie anglaise rendent les gens plus négatif à apprendre l'anglais ?

R : Eh...Je sais pas trop en fait, parce que, enfin.....

Bah, je ne pense pas, pas pour moi en tout cas

I : non

R : Au contraire, ça peut être,fin...en fin ça peut être la façon de découvrir une autre idéologie, une autre façon de voir....

(8)I : Est-ce que tu penses, par rapport à l'anglais britannique ou l'anglais américaine tu penses que laquelle, quelle variété est la plus belle ? (je sais pas si tu connais bien les différences, mais...)

R : Oui, fin... je pense que l'anglais britannique est plus, il a subi plus...en fin on voit bien qu'il a évolué, qu'il s'est construit.....fin, ça date de très, très - c'est une vieille langue quoi

I : oui

R : Fin, c'est la même base, bien sûr, mais fin, on dirait peut-être que c'est un peu l'argot quoi,

I : oui

R : Souvent, ça dépend, c'est bien d'apprendre les deux quoi, les deux façons de parler

I : Tu penses que l'anglais britannique est peut-être plus formelle, plus sophistiquée ?

R : oui

I : Comment tu dirais toi ?

R : oui, alors que l'anglais américain c'est plus cool.....

I : oui....Tu vois des fois des films en version originale ?

R : oui, bah...en général quand je vais au cinéma je préfère de voir le film en version originale, mais en général, quand j'ai des sous-titres je ne comprend pas tout, en fin, je comprend, mais après avoir lu les sous-titres, je ne comprend pas bien directement quoi.

I : oui

Bon, ça permet quand même d'entendre, de s'habituer un peu

R : oui

I : C'est déjà pas mal

(9) I : Alors, quel adjectif utilise-tu pour décrire la langue anglaise ?

R : Eh....

I : Tu peux voir ce que j'ai écrit sur le Questionnaire, ou bien autre chose...

R : Moi, je dirai chantante. On utilise beaucoup pour tout ce qui est musique, c'est une langue facile à adapter.....et douce aussi ☺

I : oui

Chantant ? Tu veux dire en parlant ou vraiment que c'est bien pour chanter ?

R : Oui, les deux. Quand on parle, il y a des mouvements un peu mélodieux quoi.

I : Ca te plait ?

R : oui, c'est très joli à écouter, quoi

I : A oui

R : Si on ne comprend pas, on entend....

(10) I : Alors, est-ce que tu as d'autres choses à dire sur l'anglais, les Français etc.

R : eh...

I : Bon, tu n'es pas obligée !

Si non, merci !

R : De rien ☺

Interview with « Sylvie », woman over 45

I: interviewer R: répondent

Interview number 3

(1) I : Anne, raconte moi d'abord, ton relation de l'anglais. Tu as appris déjà l'anglais à l'école ?

R : oui, j'ai appris l'anglais en quatrième.

I : oui

R : Seconde langue, parce que j'avais choisi l'allemand première langue, donc j'ai commencé l'anglais en quatrième. Et j'en ai fait jusqu'au terminal à l'école, donc, cinq ans. Et après, j'ai attendu d'être à l'école supérieure, quand j'avais vingt-deux ans, j'ai fait ma maîtrise, donc, j'aurai pratiqué mon anglais, en fin j'avais fait un petit peu dans les études supérieures, j'ai fait un peu d'anglais. Mais j'ai toujours eu un petit handicap avec l'anglais parce que c'était ma deuxième langue, et il y a eu un moment des bases comme on apprend au première langue, tu sais, en première langue on fait beaucoup de travail les formes idiomatiques et des choses comme ça. Alors qu'on deuxième langue, c'est moins approfondi, et j'ai traîné comme ça, un peu je dirai handicapé sur la langue, bon ...

I : Mais après les Etats-Unis, ça était quand même?

R : oui, ça était mieux parce que j'étais, c'est vrai que j'ai pratiqué. Et c'était le meilleur moyen pour apprendre. Et j'ai fait avant, avant, oui avant j'étais aussi en Ecosse et en Irlande un petit peu. Eh.....pour travailler... Donc là j'ai appris, bien appris quoi.

I : Ca t'a plu ? les pays...

R : Oui, et j'ai beaucoup aimé. L'Irlande j'ai adoré, l'Écosse j'ai adoré, et les Etats-Unis j'ai adoré. Tout ! J'adore parler l'anglais. (??).....Mais, j'aiIl faudrait que je la travaille plus sérieusement, quoi. Je voudrais travailler plus sérieusement cette langue. Quand j'étais au Peru, j'ai fais un cours genre un mois intensif, avec des profs....et j'ai arrêté, mais j'ai regretté parce que là je trouvais vraiment que j'approfondi la langue, et ça me plaisait quoi.

I : oui

R : je referai bien des cours de langues. J'aime bien. Je trouve c'est sympas

I : Et là, tu enseignes aussi un petit peu l'anglais ?

R : Non, pas du tout.

I : C'est pas encore obligatoire ?

R : Non, pas du tout.

I : Parce que tu enseignes sur quel niveau là ?

R : J'enseigne au maternelle, et donc les enfants de trois et six ans. Je pourrais enseigner jusqu'au douze ans, si par exemple j'avais une classe de dix ans, si j'avais une classe avec des enfants de neuf ans ou dix ans je pourrais avoir trois heures, non, une heure d'anglais ou une heure et demi d'anglais à faire par semaine. Mais il faut faire un examen particulier, d'habilitation à faire ce cours. Et je pourrais, comme un prof de langue, donner ces cours quoi. Avec l'expérience que j'ai-je pense que je pourrais, mais faudrait que je... je travaille un petit peu.....Des petits examens quoi.

I : Et d'après ton expérience à l'école l'enseignement d'anglais c'était bien, c'était plutôt l'écrit ou oral?

R : Plutôt l'écrit, plutôt l'écrit. On faisait un peu d'oral, mais c'était plutôt de l'écrit. Evidemment, quand on arrivait en Angleterre, bon il fallait, bah.....on avait beaucoup de difficulté. Mais bon, moi, comme j'ai une caractère plutôt extraverti, j'ai pas eu trop de problème quoi.

I : oui

R : Pour parler quoi, mais ça a demandé, oui, il a fallu un mois pour arriver à exprimer quelques petites phrases, pour pouvoir un peu faire comprendre, discuter et ça c'est, oui, un mois quoi.

I : Est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui trouvent ça difficile parce qu'ils ont appris surtout l'écrit ?

R : Beaucoup de gens ma génération, fin, beaucoup de gens de ma génération ont beaucoup de problèmes à parler l'anglais parce que en France à l'époque, maintenant ça a changé, je pense, avec Mathilde, peut être il y a d'autres défauts, mais je sais que ça a changé un peu. On pratique plus l'oral maintenant quand même, c'est plus vivant quoi. Alors que nous, eh c'est des textes classiques, des fois littéraires, des fois des articles des journaux, mais plus littéraire quoi.

I : oui

R : Oui, on a commencé à évoluer un peu, mais je crois qu'on a fait des progrès depuis pour développer l'oral, la pratique de l'oral

I : C'est bien

(2) Tu penses que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui sait parler l'anglais ?

R : Eh...Oui, moi je pense que c'est bien de parler l'anglais. C'est une belle langue, donc c'est bien oui

I : oui.....

R : ☺ ...C'est une langue pratique. Quand on aime voyager comme moi, et bah, on peut se débrouiller partout avec l'anglais. C'est super, je trouve.C'est tellement important de parler avec les gens que c'est bien de savoir parler une langue qui permet de communiquer avec les gens. (.....)

(3) I : on entend souvent dire que les Français ne sont pas très doués pour les langues. Est-ce que tu penses que c'est vrai ? Si oui, pour quelle raison ?

R : Eh.....

I : pourquoi est-ce que tu penses les gens disent ça ? Je sais pas si tu l'a entendu dire, mais....

R : Mm, les Français sont pas doués pour les langues.....Je pense que c'est de moins en moins vrai, je crois.....

(little part missing due to mistake in recording.)

(6) I : Est-ce que autant que Français tu te sens « obligé » de ne pas aimer les Anglais ?

R : Non, moi j'aime bien les Anglais. Je trouve qu'ils ont de l'humour -j'aime bien l'humour anglaise. Ça me dérange pas, non. Je connais des Anglais très bien, donc ☺

I : Oui, mais comme tu as déjà été là bas...

R : Oui, moi j'ai un image, bon déjà plutôt positif des Anglais. Ils ont un côté sympathique les Anglais qui me gêne pas. Maintenant, je n'ai pas de mauvais rapport avec les Anglais quoi. J'étais là bas et je les trouvais sympathiques.

I : Mais, est-ce que tu penses que c'est vrai pour certains ?

R : Pour certains. Bon, mon mari, je sais qu'il a travaillé avec des Anglais mais il comprend pas, il se sent pas à l'aise avec les Anglais.

(7) I : Est-ce que tu pense qu'on peut séparer la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie d'un pays de la langue qui est parlé dans ce pays ?

R : Eh.....

I : C'est à dire est-ce qu'on peut séparer la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie anglaise ont une influence sur les attitudes que les Français peuvent avoir sur la langue ?

R : Mais comme la langue anglaise, déjà je trouve que la langue anglaise elle regroupe l'Angleterre, les Etats-Unis que sont des pays extrêmement différents, et qu'à part cette différence, pour moi, la langue anglaise, on c'est sûr, ça fait référence aux Anglais, ça fait référence aux Américains, mais c'est pas très connoté on va dire, marqué au niveau idéologique ou, eh..... Oui, si tu me parles des Américains, oui je vais te dire, là j'ai une impression, mais la langue anglaise, pour moi, c'est la langue de voyage en fait. C'est pas connoté trop idéologiquement. C'est la langue du commerce, la langueje sens par une connotation ni positif ni négatif, ni en relation avec l'histoire, non pas trop

I : Non, c'est plutôt un moyen de communication

R : Voilà !

I : On le parle partout....

R : Oui, c'est ça

(8) I : Et pour comparer l'anglais britannique avec l'anglais américain, quel variété ou quel accent est-ce que tu préfères ? Ou trouve la plus belle ?

R : Ehh...Je préfère l'anglais, l'anglais britannique. Je suis plus à l'aise avec l'anglais britannique. même si c'est finalement l'anglais américain que j'ai le plus pratiqué.

I : oui

R : Mais je trouve que c'est plus eh....plus classe de parler l'anglais britannique, je sais pas, plus sophistiqué ☺ Non, je suis plus à l'aise avec l'anglais britannique, peut-être. Mais en fait, qui parle l'anglais britannique ? C'est vrai ! Moi, j'étais en Irlande, ce pas l'anglais britannique, il y accent très fort, après en Ecosse, c'est pareil, un accent très fort et j'étais en Cornouaille (?) en Essex, là c'était déjà plus facile, fin, l'anglais plus britannique quoi. Et encore que, en Cornouaille (?) tu sais, c'est déjà l'anglais du sud c'est pas facile. Mais quand j'entend l'anglais britannique, je trouve que c'est facile à comprendre quoi. Plus facile, donc, que l'américain.....Ils parlent vite, ils mangent les mots, il y a une espèce de.....Non, je trouve que c'est pas très beau, franchement. Et en plus, même aux Etats-Unis, si on va en Caroline, Texas...là c'est encore pire quoi. On ne comprend carrément rien, quoi !

I : Oui ☺

R : Et, voilà il y a aussi ce problème là bas, alors l'américain c'est pas facile, et si on va dans les états où il y a un accent un peu fort, c'est pire quoi. Donc, bon....

(9) I : Tu as dit que l'anglais britannique est plus sophistiqué, plus classe et y a t il d'autres mots que tu utiliserez pour décrire cette langue ? Des adjectifs

R : Adjectifs de la langue....eh... C'est chantante je trouve quand même. Surtout sous l'aspèct, au niveau de la définition de la langue, voilà chantante, agréable à parler....Je trouve que c'est musical comme langue.....

(10) I : Avant de finir, est-ce qu'il y a autre choses que tu as à dire sur l'anglais ? Ou les Français par rapport avec les Anglais ou

R : Non, que j'aime bien parler l'anglais, je trouve que c'est une langue agréable. Bon, ça j'ai déjà dit. Il faudra commencer plus tôt à apprendre cette langue là en fait. Comme c'est une langue facile à utiliser. Mais, en fait, je trouve que c'est une langue complexe. Et au même temps, si on l'apprend tôt, si on a le goût des langues, au début c'est facile d'apprendre l'anglais mais je trouve que c'est une langue complexe quand on l'approfondit.

I : oui

R : Beaucoup de nuances, des subtilités et bon, c'est une langue très riche en fait. Souvent, justement quand on l'apprend on ne voit qu'une partie de la langue. On la voit sous côté facile, bon, pas des déclinaisons, la grammaire un peu simple comme ça....

I : Pas de féminin/ masculin

R : Voilà, bon ça ne paraît pas au départ, mais en fait je trouve que c'est une langue assez subtile quoi. Quand on rentre dans la littérature par exemple, c'est sûr c'est une langue complexe quoi. Et ça demande beaucoup de mémoire de retenir tous ces formes idiomatiques qui sont, bon....

I : oui

R : C'est différent du début, donc voilà

I: Viola, mais merci ☺

Interview with "François", man under 25

Interview number 4

I: Interviewer R : respondent

(1) I : Alors, Damien, juste pour les formalités, tu as quel âge ?

R : Dix neuf ans

I : Dix neuf ans. Et là tu es en train de...tu étudies un peu l'anglais ?

R : Eh, oui.... deux heures par semaine, non, deux heures et demi

I : Et avant, fin, tu as commencé déjà à quel âge à apprendre l'anglais ?

R : Alors, l'anglais c'est....On commence à sixième, donc on doit avoir onze ans.

I : Et ça se passait comment ? C'est plutôt l'écrit ou l'oral ?

R : Au début j'ai eu les deux. Oui, c'est les cours avec toute la classe, il y a trente personnes, et puis la prof elle essaye de nous parler qu'en anglais

I : oui

R : Elle pose des questions, on essaye d'y répondre et puis on travaille sur des textes, ou elle nous passe des bandes de duo (?) ça dépend. Et puis, après, pendant toute la scolarité, c'est un peu près ça.

I : oui

R : Mais plus on avance, plus c'est réduit : c'est l'écrit

I : Oui, d'accord

Mais tu te sens quand même capable de parler un peu ?

R : Eh, bah en fait j'arrive mieux à comprendre que à parler, fin...si il y a quelqu'un qui parle en anglais j'arrive un peu près à comprendre,

I : Oui, et quand tu es partie en Suisse là ?

R : Oui, ça allait, parce qu'on était douce, et quand ils parlaient, ça allait, j'ai eu du mal à rentrer dans le truc, mais j'arrivait à comprendre ce qu'ils disaient quoi.

I : Oui, il faut s'entraîner

R : Oui, mais c'est pas évident, eh ?

I : Non

R : C'est pas évident, et en France on n'est pas très, très fort

(2) I : Est-ce que tu penses que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui savent parler l'anglais ?

R : Bah, de toute façon c'est obligatoire, puisque tu es obligé pour tous les documents, tout ce qui est document scientifique c'est souvent en anglais, et des que tu as un truc spécialisé c'est en anglais et bah forcément c'apporte quelque chose, je veux dire, pour parler avec l'extérieur t'es obligé d'apprendre des nouvelles langues, que ça soit l'anglais ou autre chose c'est pareil, mais

I : oui

R : Donc, oui, c'est bien

(3) I : très bien. Tu as dit tout à l'heure que les Français ne sont pas très doués pour les langues, tu penses que c'est vrai ?

R : Oui, oui c'est vrai. Même à l'école il y a peu de gens qui aiment les cours d'anglais, et c'est un cours un va peut être pas dire pas intéressant, mais il y a pas beaucoup de monde qui est motivé pour faire l'anglais quoi. C'est plutôt une matière obligatoire et on subit un peu les choses quoi.

I : Oui

Et pourquoi, pour quelle raison ?

R : Bah, sais pas, peut être que ça soit une langue imposée....Quatre vingt dix pour cent des gens choisissent l'anglais, fin, choisissent, ils prennent l'anglais comme première langue, et après ils prennent l'allemand ou l'espagnol, mais fin, dans les études supérieures, tu as du mal à garder plusieurs langues. Finalement, tu garde une seule langue, et c'est l'anglais ou l'allemand, mais généralement c'est l'anglais quoi. C'est par obligation parce que tu es obligé. Mais je pense que si on était pas obligé, il y a plein qui arrêteraient.

I : oui

Tu pense pas que les jeunes sont motivés pour apprendre l'anglais pour pouvoir voyager plus tard ? ou pour avoir un travail ?

R : Eh, ça dépend en fait, je pense que ça dépend. Mais je pense que ceux qui aiment pas...il faut faire un effort quand même. Et je sais pas, c'est le cadre, le cadre en France c'est (...) donc pour apprendre l'anglais il faut vraiment que tu travail. Tu n'as pas de films en anglais, pas dessi tu veux t'entraîner il faut faire un effort quoi. Ça ne vient pas tout seul.

I : Mais, c'est pareil avec les mates non ?

R : Oui, c'est pareil oui, je sais pas, c'est l'anglais quoi.

I : Bah, tu penses que les profs d'anglais, par exemple, sont plus mauvais que les autres ?

R : Bah, ça je sais pas

I : non....

R : Bah, non, il y a des bons profs d'anglais, il y a des mauvais, mais c'est le cadre quoi. C'est depuis toujours c'est comme ça, et puis ça ne change pas beaucoup, en fin, c'est en train de changer, mais...

I : Et par le cadre, tu veux dire ?

R : Bah, l'esprit quoi. Le fait qu'on s'intéresse pas trop à la langue anglaise, je veux dire dans le pays il n'y a pas beaucoup de choses qui font penser à l'anglais quoi. Par exemple, je sais pas moi, les publicités ils sont tous en français, dans les autres pays il y a souvent des trucs en anglais, et partout en France c'est en français

I : oui

Mais la musique, vous n'écoutez pas la musique anglaise ou américaine ?

R : oui....un petit peu, mais c'est par énorme quoi. Ça dépend des gens quoi. Je sais pas.....

(4) I : Est-ce que tu penses qu'il y a une différence d'attitude entre les jeunes et les plus de 45 ans par rapport à l'anglais ?

R : Bon, c'est pareil, ça dépend des gens, je pense que ceux qui n'ont pas appris l'anglais quand ils étaient jeunes déjà, fin, ils ont un handicap encore plus grand comparé aux autres, parce qu'apprendre une langue qu'on n'a pas eu c'est pas terrible. Et je pense qu'ils sont encore plus à leur regard, je vais dire, ils ont encore plus, sais pas, c'est un frein pour le développement d'anglais je pense.

I : Oui

R : Pour les jeunes, si on leur dit qu'il faut apprendre l'anglais, ils l'apprennent quoi.

Et il y a qu'à changer le truc et le système et c'est tout.

I : oui

(5) I : Est-ce que ça te dérange que l'anglais devient ou est devenu la langue mondiale de communication la plus importante ?

R : Non, ça me dérange pas, de toute façon, je sais pas s'il faut une langue mondiale, c'est sûr que ça facile peut être les choses, parce que ça évite de traduire cinquante fois les choses.....mais en même temps, les Américains n'apprennent plus d'autres langues, ils savent plus rien, donc, si on veut parler en français avec eux c'est impossible, donc pour ça c'est pas terrible, et pareil avec les Anglais ils savent que parler l'anglais. Bah, pour ça ils deviennent un peu ignares quoi, c'est tout. Et si non, que ça soit l'anglais ou l'espagnol ou autre chose c'est pareil quoi. Je sais pas, mais je trouve ça pratique.

I : Tu aurais préféré que le français soit plus fort... ?

R : Bah, ça change rien en principe, ça ferait que j'ai pas d'autres langues à apprendre, mais ça me penserait à rien, au contraire parce que là je suis obligé d'apprendre quelque chose, alors que si c'était le français qui était la langue internationale j'aurais plus rien à faire, et c'est pas intéressant quoi.

I : C'est quand même bien d'apprendre autre chose.

R : Oui.

(6) I : Est-ce qu'autant que Français tu te sens obligé de ne pas aimer les Anglais ou l'anglais ?

R : Bah, non. Bon, c'est vrai il y a des petites redissances des fois, mais c'est comme tous les pays quoi. Il y en a qui s'aiment moyennement entre eux, ça dépend des gens, c'est pareil. Tu peux t'entendre très bien avec tout le monde que ça soit les Hollandais, les Suédois, les Allemands les Belges tout ça

I : Même les Belges ??

R : Oui ! Ils sont sympas, c'est à dire c'est toujours pareil, il y en a toujours qui ne sont pas sympas, il y en a toujours qui sont sympas quoi. Pareil partout.

I : Oui, il faut voir les individus.

R : Oui !

(7) I : Est-ce que tu penses que l'histoire, l'idéologie et la culture rendent les gens plus négatives par rapport à l'anglais ? Tu penses qu'on peut séparer la culture, l'idéologie et l'histoire d'un pays ou on parle cette langue ?

R : Eh... Si on peut séparer...Oui et non, ça dépend le pays en fait. L'anglais c'est attaché de l'Angleterre, bah eux c'est vraiment leur culture quoi. En parlant plus d'américain, ce n'est pas vraiment leur culture quoi. Pour eux, l'anglais c'est une langue comme une autre. Par exemple, aux Etats-Unis on parle aussi bien l'espagnol ou l'italien dans certaines villes. Donc, si, ça dépend des pays quoi. Mais, bouf....rendent les gens plus négatifs ? Non, pas forcément non.

I : Par exemple, la guerre d'Irak, tu penses que cela a influencé les attitudes linguistiques des Français par rapport à l'anglais ?

R : Bah, si, c'est sûrement un frein, si, c'est quand même l'anglais qui domine tout et chaque fois les communications sont en anglais, du coup ça nerve, je pense que ça énerve certaines personnes qui comprennent peut être pas. Mais à part ça, fin, ils ont qu'à apprendre l'anglais c'est tout ! Mais c'est sûr, je comprends que ça énerve certaines personnes.

I : Donc, c'est peut être difficile à séparer des fois.

R : Oui

(8) I : Eh....Si tu peux choisir entre l'anglais britannique et l'anglais américain, qu'est-ce que tu préférerais ?

R : Bon, je ne suis pas assez bon pour choisir, mais le britannique c'est plus distinctif, on comprend mieux ce qu'ils veulent dire. Les peu des fois que j'ai entendu des gens c'était plus simple de comprendre un Anglais britannique qu'un Américain, maintenant c'est une habitude, fin, je sais pas, au lycée on n'apprend pas l'américain ou alors quand il y a des mots qui sont pas pareil en anglais et en américain, tu peux mettre les deux, mais finalement ils nous disent de ne pas mettre les mots américains- ne mettez que les mots d'anglais britannique. Je pense que c'est l'habitude, mais c'est la langue d'origine quand même, que l'américain c'est une langue un peu transformée. Il faut apprendre l'origine quoi.....

I : oui.....

(9) I : Tu as dit déjà que l'anglais est pratique. Quels autres mots peux tu utiliser pour décrire ?

R : Pour décrire ? C'est une langue, à priori, c'est pour faciliter les communications. Donc, oui sais pas, comparativement, je n'ai jamais fait de l'allemand, ça n'a pas l'air évident. L'espagnol, ce n'est pas aussi facile que ça, même si on sait parler le français. Le norvégien, je n'ai jamais essayé ☺ mais ça doit pas être facile non plus. Mais c'est vrai que l'anglais assez accessible quoi, fin au départ. Après, je trouve que ça devient de plus en plus dur, parce que de qu'on a compris la base ça va, mais après il y a pleine des choses qui se rajoutent, et plein de subtilités, mais au début c'est pas très dur quoi. Si on veut communiquer avec quelqu'un en anglais, on peut, même si on n'est pas très fort. Alors qu'en allemand c'est plus dur.

I : Bon, peut-être.....

As tu d'autres choses à dire ?

R : Non, pas spécialement.

I : Bon, merci ! ☺

R : De rien !

Interview with « Jean Claude », man over 45

Interview number 5

I : Alors, raconte moi déjà un peu, tu as appris l'anglais déjà à l'école ?

R : J'ai appris très peu d'anglais à l'école parce que dans ma région on apprenait d'abord l'allemand. Et à l'époque où j'ai appris l'allemand, l'anglais n'était pas considéré comme une langue importante.

I : Ehm...

R : Donc, moi-même....

I : C'était en Lorraine ?

R : C'était en Lorraine. Donc moi-même en Lorraine je n'ai jamais attaché beaucoup d'importance à l'anglais à l'époque où j'ai étudié au collège et au lycée.

I : Ehm. Et après tu as quand même appris un peu ?

R : Après, j'ai pris conscience de l'importance de la langue anglaise quand j'étais en situation professionnelle.

I : Oui. Et là tu as pris des cours où ?

R : Bon, pas dans beaucoup d'années, parce que je travaille avec la langue espagnol, que je maîtrise, eh... je me suis rendu compte que pour communiquer avec des institutions, avec des personnes d'autres pays dans la communauté Européenne, il fallait maîtriser l'anglais. J'ai repris un peu les bases de l'anglais que j'avais, le peu de bases, et j'ai essayé d'apprendre un peu seul quoi. Des méthodes et des choses comme ça.

I : Et ça c'est passé bien, ou ?

R : Pas vraiment, parce que, fin si, je maîtrise un peu mieux l'anglais, mais j'ai... Disons que j'ai pas fait l'effort de reprendre de façon intensive l'apprentissage d'anglais. Donc, je comprend, j'arrive à lire mais disons que dans les discussions, dans les réunions que se passent en anglais j'ai beaucoup de mal.

I : Oui...d'accord

(2) I : Est-ce que tu penses quand même que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui sait parler l'anglais ?

R : Pour moi, c'est tout à fait positif, parce que tout le temps a demandé de parler avec d'autres langues, le français d'abord, et l'espagnol, je pense que c'est important parce que c'est une langue qui facilite la communication au niveau international.

I : Oui

R : Donc, c'est important.

I : et pratique

R : Oui, c'est pratique

(3) I : On entend souvent dire que les Français ne sont pas doués pour les langues. Tu penses que c'est vrai, ou bien ?

R : Non, je pense que les Français sont sans doute assez doués que d'autres pour apprendre des langues, mais peut-être que dans notre pays on est dans un environnement où ils nous ont toujours dit que c'est important de.... Que le

Français est important, et donc il y a une sorte de concurrence entre l'anglais et le français. Mais on se rend compte que finalement l'anglais s'impose. Je pense que, disons la politique de l'éducation Nationale n'a pas été assez active pour favoriser l'apprentissage de l'anglais depuis, disons, le début de l'école primaire, au collège etc. Moi, j'aurais bien aimé si tu veux à l'époque où j'étais au collège et au lycée qu'on nous encourage beaucoup plus d'apprendre cette langue.

I : Tu dit que ON dit que le français est important, On c'est qui, c'est à l'école ou c'est l'académie Français ou ?

R : Je pense que c'est un peu une politique nationale. C'est-à-dire qu'il y a une sorte de concurrence entre le français et l'anglais. En France il y a tout un ensemble d'institutions qu'on situe dans le cadre de la francophonie. Donc, il y a un peu un « lobbying » si tu veux, pour développer et étendre l'apprentissage du français dans le monde. Il y a des marches, et des encouragements un peu dans ce sens là, et puis, si tu regarde un peu dans l'espace au niveau internationale dans nos anciennes colonies françaises, on entretiens l'apprentissage du français. Mais je pense que ça change actuellement. C'est un peu un pragmatisme, on se rend compte que finalement l'apprentissage de l'anglais d'une façon beaucoup plus large auprès des jeunes ou des adultes ça s'impose du fait de la mondialisation. Donc, les entreprises travaillent de plus en plus avec des partenaires de différents pays du monde, donc au point de vue professionnel c'est nécessaire, et finalement on se rend compte que la connaissance et l'apprentissage de l'anglais c'est pas contradictoire avec le développement aussi de l'apprentissage du français.

I : Oui, les institutions de la francophonie, tu penses qu'ils ont une certaine influence encore, ou c'est moins maintenant qu'avant ?

R : Oui, je pense elles ont toujours une influence, eh fin, dans pratiquement tous les pays la France est présenté officiellement par ses ambassades, les services de coopération et de l'action culturelle, donc en première priorité, le développement de la francophonie. C'est à travers par exemple de lycées franco-péruviens, franco-boliviens, franco etc avec des différents pays, donc la France met beaucoup de moyens, d'argent pour financier, justement pour soutenir les démarches, disons l'apprentissage du français. Ça correspond si tu veux, d'une volonté de développement, fin, d'entretien et de développement de la connaissance du français et de la culture. Je pense que c'est autant culturel que sur la langue, en fin, les deux ensembles.

I : oui.... C'est dans les anciennes colonies qu'ils font ça ?

R : Même dans les autres pays. J'ai beaucoup travaillé en Amérique Latine, dans tous les pays d'Amérique Latine il y a par exemple des services de coopération au niveau culturel des ambassades, comme, en fin, on accorde prioritairement leurs moyens, le budget au développement de manifestations culturels, et les actions au faveur de l'apprentissage du français, ça se passe par les actions dans les pays, le pays soutiens les lycées où on apprend le français, il y a des échanges, des bourses d'études pour les étudiants du différents pays qui sont payé pour qu'ils viennent étudier en France. Donc, forcément ces étudiants maîtrisent le français, et donc, sur des longues termes ce sont des liens au niveau culturel mais aussi au niveau économique. Tout est relié.

I : J'ai cru que la francophonie était moins importante maintenant qu'avant.

R : L'initiation internationale de la francophonie entre la France, le Canada, beaucoup de pays d'Afrique de l'ancien empire colonial, mais aussi des pays comme la Roumanie, où la langue française été la première langue étrangère étudiée.

(4) I : Tu as dit qu'on se rend compte que l'anglais est quand même important. Tu penses quand même qu'il y a une différence entre les jeunes et les plus âgés, ou c'est tout le monde qui se rend compte que l'anglais est important ?

R : Je pense que maintenant, comme je l'aperçoit comme ça, c'est que c'est assez naturel pour les jeunes de parler l'anglais parce qu'il y a beaucoup plus d'échanges dans l'union Européenne par exemple, il y a beaucoup plus de voyages. Donc je pense que c'est naturel si tu veux que les jeunes apprennent l'anglais, c'est nécessaire. Et chez les adultes je pense qu'il y a de plus en plus de personnes qui se trouve en situation professionnelle qui les emmènent à devoir utiliser l'anglais pour leurs activités professionnelles. Pour lire les documents, car il y a beaucoup de publications en anglais scientifiques, techniques etc. il y a beaucoup plus de liens, avec la mondialisation, des échanges. Donc la langue anglaise est un bon outil pour pouvoir aussi travailler.

I : Oui

R : Dans mon cas par exemple, j'ai quelques fois des réunions à Bruxelles, avec d'autres pays, il y a des Anglais, des Allemands et c'est souvent la langue anglaise qui est utilisée. Quelques fois le français, et dans notre cas souvent l'espagnol mais l'anglais est souvent utile. Je reçois par exemple dans mon travail beaucoup de documents en anglais. Donc, c'est une langue de travail.

(5) I : Et ça te dérange pas que c'est l'anglais qui devient ou est devenu la langue mondiale de communication la plus importante ?

R : Je préférerais que ça soit le français, mais il faut être pragmatique, eh ?! Et bon, c'est l'anglais, je pense que ça nous pousse nous, en France à maîtriser cette langue, et toujours pareil, ça ne concurrence pas, comment dire, le maîtrise de français quoi.

(6) I : Bon, est ce que tu, autant que Français, te sent obligé entre guillemets de ne pas aimer le Anglais ?

R : Non, je pense que les Anglais ont leur culture spécifique, et leur façon d'être...eh...Ils sont différents, c'est pas qu'ils sont...fin différents....J'ai des collègues d'origine anglaise et que j'apprécie beaucoup. Mais ce qui peut être conte un petit peu, les dix- quinze dernières années, c'est que les anglais ont un model économique un peu différent que le notre. Tout ce qui à été fait avec Mme Thatcher par exemple, une politique très libérale, et à la situation actuelle, très liés aux Etats-Unis. Et comme il y a une politique spécifique française, peut être qui est partagé par d'autres pays européens, on est toujours un peu critiques par rapport aux Anglais., qui ont adopté une politique très neo-libérale. C'est plutôt le model d'économie ou de société qui nous dérange, plus que la langue. C'est plutôt ça.

(7) I : Est- ce que tu penses que les attitudes de la langue sont aussi liés à l'idéologie et la culture d'un pays ou on parle cette langue?

R : Bon, dans le cadre des Anglais et des Américains effectivement, ils sont dominants dans le monde, fin, surtout les Etats-Unis, et ils ont vecteurs d'un model que nous au niveau français on comprend pas toujours. En tout cas sur laquelle on les critique. Parce que, fin, dans le cadre des Etats-Unis, c'est quand même une position très hégémonique, très impérialiste, et le fait par exemple dans la guerre d'Irak que les Anglais se sont aussi associé si facilement aux Américains sans faire « coore » si tu veux, avec d'autres pays de l'union Européenne, par rapport à positionnement commun, notamment par rapport à ce qui se passe en Irak, mais aussi sur des autres sujets, moi, ça me dérange toujours un petit peu quoi.

I : Oui

R : Oui, bon, mais dans le cadre de la communauté Européenne chaque pays reste autonome, quoi. Mais je trouve que c'est quand même, quelques fois les Anglais font.....sont trop alliés aux Etats-Unis.....Mais c'est surtout ça le problème, ce ne pas tellement la langue, c'est plutôt leur position.

I : Mais ça te dérange un peu, ça te motive moins d'apprendre mieux l'anglais ?

R : Non !

I : Non ?

R : Non, non. Je pense pour bien comprendre, pour se dialoguer avec ces interlocuteurs anglais, je pense que c'est bien de maîtriser la langue.

I : Donc, on peut faire la différence ?

R : Oui....

(8) I : Quelle variété ou quel accent est-ce que tu préfères, l'anglais britannique ou l'anglais américain ?

R : Plutôt britannique

I : Oui ? Pourquoi ?

R : bon, moi je maîtrise pas bien l'anglais et je trouve que l'anglais américain est prononcé....bon, il y a une question de prononciation, et peut être que derrière, mais c'est plus subjectif, il y a le model américain qui me dérange un peu plus. Donc, j'apprécie beaucoup plus l'anglais du Royaume Unis (GB). Je pense qu'on est plus proche quand même, même culturellement, et dans l'histoire aussi.

I : oui

(9) I : Et si tu dois choisir des adjectifs pour décrire l'anglais britannique et l'anglais américain quel adjectif..... ?

R : Bon, l'anglais britannique est plus pur peut être, je compare un peu l'anglais du Royaume Unis avec le français de la Loire, c'est plus pur quelque part. L'anglais parlé aux Etats-Unis est un petit peu déformé avec un accent très marqué, si on n'est pas très initial en anglais on a des fois du mal à comprendre.

I : C'est plus facile à comprendre l'anglais britannique, c'est ça ?

R : Oui

I : Ça s'apprend peut être aussi

R : Sans doute, mais bon, je ne connais pas assez

I : Bon, est-ce que tu as d'autres choses à dire sur le sujet ?

R : Non, moi je pense que c'est bien d'apprendre l'anglais, c'est bien de maîtriser l'anglais, c'est important pour que les gens, les populations se comprennent. Et en versement, je pense que les Anglais et les Américains ont tout intérêt à apprendre le français. Hors, je crois que les Américains sont très mauvais pour les langues étrangères. Ça c'est un peu regrettable.

I : Oui

R : Donc, c'est tout à fait normale, c'est tout à fait logique aussi de défendre la francophonie.

I : Bon, merci !....

R : Ce que je pense, c'est que le maintien de langue, de langue importante, aussi des langues régionales, c'est très important pour la future, parce que ça révèle des diversités culturelles qu'il convient de maintenir. Ça sera dommageable, si tu veux, que l'anglais se diffuse au même rythme qu'une culture. C'est-à-dire, je ne suis pas pour l'uniformisation d'une culture. Ce qui est riche dans une culture c'est la diversité. Et la diversité passe aussi par les langues, ça révèlent les cultures, donc c'est important que les gens connaissent l'anglais qu'ils connaissent d'autres langues et pour cela il faut pas abandonner sa langue maternelle. Toute langue est intéressante, parce que elle révèle la profondeur de chaque culture, par exemple quand on est dans les pays indien, où je travaille, le « cetchouis », le

« himara » ce sont des cultures extrêmement intéressants, difficile à comprendre, mais très intéressants, en Afrique il y a beaucoup de langues, et ça il faut pas le perdre. C'est une richesse, c'est un patrimoine mondial

I : En Europe, ça change quand même un peu, avec l'UE on met plus l'accent sur les langues régionales, non ?

R : Voilà, avec l'union Européenne c'est compliqué parce qu'il y a beaucoup de langues dans l'espace de l'union Européenne, et en plus avec l'arrivée de dix nouveau pays, il y a des nouvelles langues, il y a le polonais, le romain, le bulgare, le turque dans quelques années, bon donc c'est compliqué pour faire fonctionner l'union Européenne parce qu'il faut faire beaucoup de traductions, et l'anglais, peut être un bon vecteur pour que les gens communiquent. Mais il faut pas que ça soit au détriment du maintien de ses langues, parce que derrière ses langues ce sont des cultures, ce sont des identités. Et la richesse de l'union Européenne c'est aussi la diversité de ces cultures et de ces langues. Même si c'est compliqué, même si c'est lourd pour faire fonctionner les instances avec plusieurs langues, bah...il faut les maintenir. Il faut pas aller à la simplification en disons que tout soit en anglais, point.

I : Mais tu as un peu peur que ça sera comme ça ?

R : Non, je pense que les Européen sont très attachés à leurs langues, les différents pays sont très attachés à leurs identités et à leur langue. Donc, ils sauront maintenir ça, et ils sauront maîtriser l'anglais pour communiquer au moment ou il y a des réunions, des assemblées, des conseils européens, des parlements etc..... Voila

I : D'accord, très bien ☺

Interview with « Louise », woman, between 25 and 45

Interview number 6

I : Alors, tu as appris l'anglais à l'école ou bien ? Raconte moi un peu comment ça se passe.

R : Oui, j'ai appris l'anglais à l'âge de onze ans, donc c'est ma première langue vivante que j'ai apprise, et je l'ai continuée pendant sept ans au collège et au lycée, et ensuite j'ai continuée à la faculté pendant deux ans. Et c'est assez rare, parce que la plupart des étudiants l'arrêtent une fois qu'ils ont passés le BAC.

I : Oui

R : Ils apprennent plus de langue vivante à la fac...à l'école des ingénieurs c'est différent, mais à la fac on apprend quasiment plus des langues vivantes.

I : Ça t'a plus alors ?

R : Oui, ça m'as beaucoup plu, fin, la première année c'était basée sûr la littérature ce qui était, je pense, pas du niveau de tous les élèves, et ensuite j'ai adorée parce qu'on a fait vraiment de la prononciation, on a appris aussi beaucoup sur la civilisation anglaise, on avait des cours en anglais donc on prenait des notes et on était interrogés dessus, donc ça fait une bonne exercice. Et j'ai appris à aimer l'anglais en dehors du système scolaire en fait. Parce que en France tout est basé sûr l'écrit, et moi j'ai préféré de parler qu'écrire. Et j'ai appris à l'aimer quand je suis partie en Angleterre et aux États-Unis.

I : Donc, tu as fait des vacances avec ta famille quand tu étais jeune, ou tu es partie... ?

R : Non, en fait je n'étais pas très bonne au lycée en anglais, parce que justement, l'écrit je n'étais pas très douée, et donc mes parents m'ont envoyé deux semaines en Angleterre pour prendre des cours, et j'étais dans une famille très sympas, et ensuite j'ai partie aux États-Unis deux mois, et j'ai fait un camp d'été là bas. Donc, j'étais animatrice, et j'étais avec des enfants et eux ils m'apprenait plein, plein des mots, tous les jours ils m'apprenait quelque chose à midi, donc je pense que j'ai vraiment appris à aimer l'anglais.

I : Et après, c'était l'université ou une grande école ?

R : L'université. Et j'ai pu le prendre deux ans, et après les deux ans à l'université on avait plus accès au cours d'anglais. Pour avoir des cours d'anglais, il fallait faire des études d'anglais, et j'ai voulu faire autre chose, donc je n'avais plus accès à l'anglais.

I : Est-ce que tu penses que l'enseignement est meilleur à l'université qu'au lycée et au collège ?

R : Je pense qu'ça s'adresse vraiment au gens...fin, moi, c'était une option que j'ai prise, à l'université c'étais pas des études purement d'anglais, c'était quelque chose en plus de mes études d'histoire et de géographie, donc ça s'adresse vraiment au gens qui ont envie et qui sont motivés. Alors qu'au collège et au lycée tous les élèves sont plus ou moins obligés d'apprendre des langues, et surtout l'anglais, alors c'est vrai que c'est peut être plus difficile quand ils sont pas intéressés, donc les cours sont moins vivants. Et en France aussi, les langues sont écrites, c'est peu parlé donc c'est dommage. On est trop nombreux en cours pour pouvoir faire des progrès en langue parlée, en langue vivante...fin....

I : Tu penses que ça cause des problèmes après pour les gens pour parler ?

R : Je pense, oui, il y a beaucoup de Français qui évitent de parler l'anglais même s'ils ont un très bon niveau à l'écrit, qui vont hésiter à parler l'anglais les étrangers ou avec les Anglais, ou les Américains, parce que ils pensent que à l'oral ils sont pas bons, qu'ils parlent pas bien, qu'ils ont un mauvais accent, qu'ils trouve pas leur mots parce qu'ils n'ont pas été habitués à les trouver facilement, et que oui je pense que ça pose problèmes.

I : Intéressant ! ☺

(2) I : Est-ce que tu penses que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui sait parler l'anglais ?

R : Ça sera bien s'il y a plus de monde en France qui parle l'anglais, oui ! Je pense qu'on n'est pas assez nombreux à parler anglais, et ça se voit d'ailleurs que certains employant ont du mal à trouver des gens qui parlent l'anglais couramment, et c'est dommage parce que c'est quand même la langue internationale actuellement, et ça permet des échanges avec la reste du monde, donc c'est très dommage qu'on n'est pas plus nombreux à parler anglais.

(3) I : On entend souvent dire que les Français ne sont pas doués pour les langues. Est-ce que tu penses que c'est vrai ou pas ?

R : Eh...Je ne sais pas si c'est parce qu'on n'est pas doué ou parce qu'ils nous apprend pas bien. On commence déjà très tard, on ne commence qu'à onze ans, un peu plus tôt maintenant, mais la plupart des gans savent pas très bien parler les langues, donc c'est déjà trop tard je pense pour les enfants, en plus, comme je t'ai expliqué, c'est basé sûr la grammaire, et l'écrit, et je pense que ça ne débloque pas l'intérêt pour une langue. Il faudra plus de conversation des plus petits groupes, et je pense que c'est beaucoup plus vivant. On est trop attaché à la langue française, peut être

I : C'est peut être plutôt une excuse qu'ils donnent qu'ils ne sont pas doués pour les langues !?

R : Peut être, oui.... Certains sont doués, certains pas évidemment, mais je vois pas de raison que les Français plus que les autres serez nul, quoi. ☺

I : Non...

(4) I : Est-ce que tu penses que les jeunes voient l'anglais différemment que les plus âgés ?

R : Eh oui, je pense parce que, déjà ils doivent apprendre deux langues, la plupart du temps on apprend l'anglais en plus une autre langue, ou avant une autre langue, alors que par exemple la génération de mes parents ils n'apprenait qu'une seule langue vivante. Mes parents par exemple n'ont appris que l'allemand. Donc justement, je pense que ça nous difficile la vision qu'on a de la langue, d'apprendre un petit peu et d'apprendre pas du tout ça va forcément

modifier la vision de la langue, et puis, actuellement, on voit beaucoup plus d'anglais à la télé à travers les chansons, on a plus accès aussi aux films en V.O, même que ça reste limité on en voit quand même plus facilement, je pense que l'anglais est devenu plus courant, fin ça devient une pratique plus courante par mis les jeunes que par mis les gens plus âgés.

I : Et peut être qu'ils vont voyager aussi ?

R : Aussi, oui, oui, on voyage plus, et puis aussi pour trouver du travail, surtout pour des emplois qualifiés, on demande souvent de l'anglais, même un tout petit peu, c'est souvent demandé, donc je pense qu'il est plus en plus nécessaire de parler l'anglais, ça ils se rendent bien compte.

(5) I : Est-ce que ça te dérange que l'anglais est devenu la langue mondiale de communication la plus importante ?

R : Bah...non, fin, c'est comme ça. Si ça aurait été la français, ça aurait été bien pour moi, mais non, je pense que il fallait bien qu'une langue devienne la langue de communication. L'anglais c'était mieux placé parce que les pays les plus forts économiquement parle anglais, les États-Unis et la Grande Bretagne, et je pense que c'est comme ça et on n'a pas d'être dérangé ou pas quoi, après tout, tant mieux ! Ça nous fait parler une autre langue et c'est pas plus mal.

I : Ça peut être utile.

R : Oui

(6) I : Est-ce que autant que Français tu te sens obligé entre qui mets de ne pas aimer les Anglais, comme vous racontez les blagues sur les Belges..... ?

R : Bah, les Belges on les aime bien !

I : Oui !? Malgré tout !

R : Bah, c'est vrai que les Français et les Anglais....je pense qu'on a une mentalité différente, et donc une vision des choses différent, donc forcément des antagonismes, fin, des frictions entre les deux peuples, mais c'est pas pour ça que je n'aime pas les Anglais en général quoi. Je n'aime pas forcément la politique dans certains domaines, mais les Anglais autant que personnes, non, je m'entends bien avec, j'en connais plusieurs Non, je ne vois pas pourquoi je ne les aimerait pas !

(7) I : Est-ce que tu penses que la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie d'un pays, dans ce cas de Grande Bretagne ou des Etats-Unis, ont des influences sur les attitudes que les Français ont de la langue ?

R : Au point de vue histoire, c'est vrai que avec l'Angleterre on a été quand même plusieurs siècles en guerre, ou plus ou moins en guerre ou jamais d'accord sur beaucoup de choses, sur la politique européenne etc Eh... Je sais pas si ça nous rend négatifs à apprendre l'anglais. Ça nous rend peut être....je ne pense pas au point de vue de la langue que ça peut nous rendre.... Que ça peut nous couper plutôt l'envie d'apprendre l'anglais. Parce que l'anglais est utile pour parler avec beaucoup d'autres peuples, nations....je sais pas comment on peut dire, que des Anglais et des Américains, et donc, à la rigueur on peut dire que si on n'aime pas les Anglais et les Américains c'est pas grave, l'anglais c'est toujours utile quoi.

I : Donc, on peut distinguer....

R : On peut distinguer si on n'aime pas la culture, l'histoire ou l'idéologie anglaise ou américaine c'est pas pour ça qu'on n'est obligé de ne pas aimer l'anglais. Je pense que l'anglais est une belle langue, et de toute façon langue de communication donc c'est utile.

I : Au niveau de l'histoire, tu penses que les gens pensent toujours au Jeanne d'Arc ou je sais pas quoi ?

R : Non, je pense pas. Je crois que c'est vraiment anecdotique, c'est plus de temps en temps ça remonte un petit peu et « off, les Anglais ils ont brûlé Jeanne d'Arc » mais je pense que ça reste vraiment la petite histoire qu'on se dit de temps en temps, mais je pense pas que ça puisse nous influencer sur tous les jours... ça reste vraiment anecdotique quoi.

I : Oui....

(8) I : Bon, si tu peux choisir entre l'anglais britannique et l'anglais américaine, qu'est ce que tu préfère ?

R : Bah...L'anglais britannique, je trouve que l'accent est plus classe, et peut être plus clair aussi, plus compréhensible, mais je trouve que l'anglais américain est plus répondu peut être, fin, j'en sais rien. C'est peut être plus facile a communiquer avec l'anglais américain qu'avec l'anglais britannique.

I : Oui ? Pourquoi ?

R : Sais pas, parce que dans les films, dans les magazines, mais surtout dans les films c'est beaucoup de l'anglais américain, donc c'est ce qui va être retenu par les gens je dirai. Donc, ça sera peut être l'outil de communication le plus efficace, je sais pas. Je n'ai pas trop d'idées la dessus. En France on fait assez peu la distinction. Même si moi je la fais parce que je parle plus facilement l'anglais américain que l'anglais britannique, mais c'est peut être aussi parce que j'ai été aux Etats-Unis pendant deux mois et que donc ça m'est plus facile a les comprendre, et je suis plus habitué aussi a leur termes, je sais pas. C'est peut être tout personnel ce que je te dis.

(9) I : Tu as déjà dit que l'anglais britannique est plus classe, quel autre adjectif utilise tu pour décrire la langue ? Tu as dit classe et clair....

R : Oui, plus claire je pense que c'est ...les mots sont moins mâché, donc on comprend un peu mieux. Si non, décrire différemment, je sais pas.

I : Et l'américain par rapport a britannique c'est pas claire ?

R : Si tu prend l'accent de Texas, ce n'est pas très claire, pas facile a comprendre....bah, sais pas...Je ne suis pas assez bonne en anglais pour te dire plus....

R : Mais tu peux dire des choses comme pratique, ou je sais pas...

I : Mais pratique, je sais pas, pour moi c'est plus facile a parler l'anglais américain c'est sûr, et j'ai beaucoup de mal a apprendre un accent très « british », j'ai vraiment l'impression d'être comique quand je parle avec les Anglais, parce que j'étais plus longtemps aux Etats-Unis, donc, ce mon meilleur anglais quoi. Donc j'ai la tendance a transformer les /t/ en /d/ et donc pas toujours être compréhensible par des étranger parce que je parle avec en accent trop américain, mais.....

I : Bon, je pense que c'est normal comme tu as été là-bas.

R : Oui, parce que tu apprends l'accent que tu as entendu le plus longtemps je pense.

(10) I : Est-ce que tu as d'autres choses a rajouter ?

R : non....

I : Bon, merci ☺

R : Je t'en prie.

Interview with "Pierre", man between 25 and 45

Interview number 7

I : Alors, raconte moi d'abord un peu sur ton expérience avec l'anglais. Tu as appris l'anglais déjà à l'école ?

R : Oui, j'ai commence en quatrième, donc j'avais onze ans. J'en ai fait jusqu'au BAC. Et après j'en ai plus fait à l'école. Mais maintenant je pratique au travail.

I : Oui

Ça s'est passé comment à l'école ?

R : Pas mal, ça allait. J'étais moyen.

I : Mais, c'était l'écrit ou l'oral ou c'était un peu les deux ou... ?

R : C'était beaucoup l'écrit, c'était pas très bien, mais j'étais sûrement meilleur en écrit qu'en oral.

I : Et pour communiquer avec les gens la maintenant que tu l'utilise au travail, ça va quand même ?

R : Oui, maintenant ça va très bien. En fait, quand j'ai arrêté les études, avant de travailler, j'avais un niveau pas très bon. Je comprenais un texte en anglais, je pouvais demander mon chemin dans la rue, mais au début j'ai eu beaucoup de mal à travailler en anglais, il m'a fallu du temps pour m'habituer, et maintenant ça va.

(2) I : Est-ce que tu crois que c'est positif qu'il y a beaucoup de monde en France qui sait bien parler l'anglais ?

R : Oui, je pense que c'est bien.

(3) I : On entend souvent dire que les Français ne sont pas très doués pour les langues. Tu penses que c'est vrai ou ?

R : Oui, oui

I : Oui ? Pourquoi ?

R : Je pense déjà pour les raisons historiques, parce que la France autrefois.... on avait pas mal de colonies, on a essayé de promouvoir le français à l'étranger, donc forcément on essayait moins d'apprendre les autres langues. Donc, il y a ça je pense, et aussi la manière dont on utilise pour enseigner les autres langues à l'école. On met l'accent sur l'écrit, et pas assez sur l'oral. Mais il faut d'abord parler, et ensuite apprendre à écrire je pense. Ça je pense c'est une raison pour laquelle les Français ne parlent pas très bien les langues, fin l'anglais et des autres, mais si non, je pense que ça s'améliore. Il y a cinq, dix ans ils étaient beaucoup plus mauvais de ce qu'ils ne sont maintenant. C'est dur à croire, mais c'est vrai.

I : Oui ?! ☺

(4) I : Donc, les jeunes maintenant sont plus positifs que les plus âgés ?

R : Oui, oui.... Et en plus, comme ça devient de plus en plus une obligation pour le travail, je pense que les gens se rendent compte, et voilà !

(5) I : Tu as parlé un peu de raisons historiques, est-ce que ça te dérange que l'anglais est devenu la langue mondiale de communication la plus importante ?

R : Non, ça me dérange pas, je prend ça comme une fait et ça ne me dérange pas, non.

I : Mais les raisons historiques, tu penses que les gens pensent quand même encore à tous les guerres qu'il y a eu et les colonies et tout ça ? Si ils ont des attitudes négatives par rapport à l'anglais à cause de ce qui s'est passé, qu'ils disent « les Anglais ont brûlés Jeanne d'Arc, alors on les aime pas » etc....

R : Non, je pense pas.

(6) I : Est-ce que tu autant que Français te sent obligé de ne pas aimer les Anglais ?

R : Non...

I : Non ? Ça fait pas partie de l'identité comme, je sais pas, raconter les blagues sur les Belges ?! On entend un peu ça sur les Français....

R : Pour rire, on peut faire des blagues sur les Anglais, mais moi je le prend vraiment comme un jeu, et ça ne va pas plus loin. Aucun animosité envers les Anglais.

I : C'est pas méchant

R : Non, à la limite ça sera pour jouer, pour faire des blagues quoi, mais c'est tout. J'ai rien contre les Anglais.

(7) I : Est-ce que tu pense qu'on peut séparer la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie d'un pays de la langue ? Tu penses que la culture, l'histoire et l'idéologie de Grande Bretagne et des Etats-Unis ont une influence sur les attitudes que les gens ont par rapport à la langue ?

Les attitudes des Français dans ce cas.

R : Sais pas.....

I : Par exemple la guerre en Irak, l'Amérique, la politique et tout ça, est-ce que ça influence la façon de voir la langue ? C'est-à-dire, si les gens n'aiment pas la politique étrangère américaine, ils ne veulent pas parler la langue, tu penses que c'est comme ça ? Ou est-ce qu'on arrive à voir la langue séparément de la politique et l'idéologie d'un pays ?

R : Non, je pense que c'est lié. C'est un tout. Si quelqu'un n'aime pas la politique ou l'idéologie américaine ou anglaise, forcément, ils vont peut être pas trop aimer parler l'anglais, fin, ça ira avec disons, c'est pas séparé.

(8) I : Alors, si tu peux choisir entre l'anglais britannique et l'anglais américaine, quelle variété est-ce que tu préfère ?

R : Je préfère l'accent britannique ; c'est plus joli, plus classe, plus élégant...

I : Et pour décrire l'américain ?

R : Bah....un petit peu vulgaire, mais évidemment, ça dépend qui le parle, si on écoute un Texan c'est assez vulgaire, rien qu'entendre, mais bon, le new yorkais c'est sûrement moins prononcé.

I : Oui, ça dépend un peu.

R : Oui, ça dépend des accents et puis la personne qui tu écoutes, avec un niveau sociale plus élevé, ils parlent sûrement mieux avec un accent moins fort que quelqu'un d'un niveau social moins élevé.

(9) I : Oui, est-ce que tu as d'autres choses à dire sur les Anglais, la langue anglaise ou ?

R : Non, fin....J'ai rien contre les Anglais, j'ai rien contre la langue anglaise, je suis contente de parler l'anglais. Et en fait souvent l'animosité qu'on a envers les Américains ou les Anglais, ça vient justement du fait qu'on n'a pas appris à les connaître. C'est un problème de connaissance.

I : Et tu penses qu'il y a beaucoup de Français qui on des vues un peu stéréotypes ?

R : Sais pas trop.....

I : Bon, bah, merci ☺

Appendix 5: Raw data Questionnaires

Part A of the questionnaire uses the Likert Scale; the responses to each statement vary along a continuum from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’. The five categories of response are given value from 1 to 5, with 5 representing the most negative attitude and 1 representing the most positive attitude. For statements with negative wording, here in bold, the responses have been reversed in the coding; for example, for statement 1, the 15 respondents in category 5 (see below) actually selected the option ‘strongly agree’.

MEN > 25 Questionnaire Part A, n=27						
Statements in bold are reversed in the coding,(as explained in 5.5.3),						
Statements in parenthesis are the distracters, not used for analysis.						
	Positive			Negative		
	Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n of respondents
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1	1		2	9	15	27
Statement 2	4	7	4	9	3	
Statement 3	2	9	8	5	3	
Statement 4			2	3	22	
Statement 5	2	11	9	5		
(Statement 6)	4	4	12	5	2	
Statement 7	3	8	11	3	2	
Statement 8	2	2	8	9	6	
Statement 9		4	12	7	4	
Statement 10	1	4	5	10	7	
(Statement 11)						
Statement 12	13	8	2	2	2	
Statement 13	6	8		7	6	
Statement 14	4	13	4	3	3	
Statement 15	2	4	5	11	5	
Statement 16	8	11	4	3	1	
Statement 17	17	6	2	2		
(Statement 18)	3	9	2	9	4	
Statement 19	7	6	9	2	2	
Statement 20	16	8	1	2		
Statement 21		1		5	21	

Statement 22	1	8	12	5	1	
Statement 23	10	7	2	7	1	
Statement 24	3	6	9	4	5	
Statement 25	13	3	7	1	3	
(Statement 26)						
Statement 27	21	5		1		
Statement28	3	9	9	2	4	
Statement 29	12	9	2	2	2	
Statement 30	12	6	1	1	7	
Statement 31	5	6	2	6	8	
Statement 32	14	12	1			
(Statement 33)						
Statement 34	2	9	3	7	6	
Statement 35	9	6	8	4		
Statement 36	8	9	9		1	
Statement 37	3	8	4	5	7	
Statement 38		4	2	6	15	
Statement 39	12	8	2	4	1	
Statement 40	4	10	1	9	3	27
TOTAL n of responses	227	248	176	175	172	998
% of 998	22,74%	24,84%	17,56%	17,46%	17,16%	99,76%

MEN 25-45 Questionnaire Part A (The Likert Scale)						
Statements in bold are reversed (Cf 5.5.3) n=24						
	Positive			Negative		
	Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n of respondents
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1	1		5	4	14	24
Statement 2	2	4	10	4	4	
Statement 3	6	8	4	3	3	

Statement 4				7	17	
Statement5	3	3	13	4	1	
(Statement 6)	6	6	10	1	1	
Statement 7	3	7	13		1	
Statement 8		5	2	10	7	
Statement 9	3		7	5	9	
Statement 10	2	4	7	6	4	
(Statement 11)						
Statement 12	17	6		1		
Statement 13	8	7	2	6	1	
Statement 14	4	9	1	5	5	
Statement 15	6	8	3	3	4	
Statement16	4	4	11	3	2	
Statement 17	16	4	1	1	2	
(Statement 18)	3	2	3	10	6	
Statement19	6	4	7	2	5	
Statement 20	19	2	3			
Statement 21		1	1	2	20	
Statement 22		5	14		5	
Statement 23	11	8	1	3	1	
Statement 24	3	5	8	4	4	
Statement 25	20	2	2			
(Statement 26)						
Statement 27	21	2		1		
Statement28	5	5	5	4	5	
Statement 29	11	3	5	3	2	
Statement 30	13	6	3		2	24
Statement 31	2	2	3	7	10	
Statement 32	18	4	1	1		
(Statement 33)						
Statement 34	4	4	5	6	5	24
Statement 35	9	6	2	6	1	
Statement 36	9	9	5		1	
Statement 37	4	6	4	5	5	
Statement 38	2	1	3	6	12	
Statement 39	15	6		3		
Statement 40	9	4	3	5	3	24

TOTAL n of responses	265	162	167	131	162	887
% of 887	30%	18%	19%	15%	18%	100%

MEN +45 Questionnaire Part A, (The Likert Scale)						
Statements in bold are reversed (Cf 5.5.3). n=19						
	Positive			Negative		
	Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1				3	16	19
Statement 2	4	2	5	4	4	
Statement 3	3	8	2	4	2	
Statement 4			1	2	16	
Statement 5		8	8		3	
(Statement 6)	6	5	5	3		
Statement 7	3	8	6		2	
Statement 8	1	1		5	12	
Statement 9	1	2	4	5	7	
Statement 10	1	5	5	3	5	
(Statement 11)						
Statement 12	6	4	5	2	2	
Statement 13	5	6	3	2	3	
Statement 14	1	3	1	9	5	
Statement 15	1	2	1	10	5	
Statement 16	4	3	10	1	1	
Statement 17	2	7	6		4	
(Statement 18)	2	3	1	8	5	
Statement 19	3	9	3	1	3	
Statement 20	8	6	1	4		
Statement 21	3	1	1	3	11	
Statement 22		1	10	4	4	
Statement 23	1	10	4	3	1	
Statement 24	1	10	3	2	3	
Statement 25	9	5	2	1	2	
(Statement 26)						
Statement 27	14	5				
Statement 28	5	8	2	3	1	
Statement 29	4	3	3	7	2	
Statement 30	4	7	2	4	2	

Statement 31	1	1	3	4	10	
Statement 32	10	4	1	2	2	
(Statement 33)						
Statement 34	2	1	5	6	5	
Statement 35	4	2	2	9	2	
Statement 36	3	11	3	1	1	
Statement 37	2	6	5	3	3	
Statement 38			2	8	9	
Statement 39	8	10	1			
Statement 40	1	8	6	1	3	19
TOTAL n of responses	123	175	122	127	156	703
% of 703	17,50%	24,89%	17,35%	18,07%	22,19%	100%

WOMEN > 25 Questionnaire Part A (The Likert Scale)						
Statements in bold are reversed (Cf 5.5.3).						
	Positive			Negative		
	Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	n
Statement 1		1	3	10	12	26
Statement 2	3	4	6	8	6	
Statement 3	5	10	6	5		
Statement 4		1	1	11	13	
Statement 5		6	14	4	2	
(Statement 6)	3	3	15	4	1	
Statement 7	2	9	7	6	2	
Statement 8	4	5	4	9	4	
Statement 9		3	3	16	4	
Statement 10	2	2	5	9	8	
(Statement 11)						
Statement 12	19	6	1			
Statement 13	9	6	2	7	2	
Statement 14	5	11	2	4	4	
Statement 15	3	5	7	5	6	
Statement 16	2	13	6	4	1	
Statement 17	19	6			1	
(Statement 18)	6	4	2	11	2	
Statement 19	2	8	5	9	2	
Statement 20	20	5	1			

Statement 21	1	1	2	6	16	
Statement 22		1	15	4	6	
Statement 23	13	6	4	3		
Statement 24	2	8	9	7		
Statement 25	19	2	2	3		
(Statement 26)						
Statement 27	22	4				
Statement28	3	9	7	5	2	
Statement 29	18	4		2	2	
Statement 30	5	4	9	4	4	
Statement 31	2	9	5	4	6	
Statement 32	17	4	3		2	
(Statement 33)						
Statement 34	4	7		11	4	
Statement 35	7	5	3	7	4	
Statement 36	7	9	6	2	1	
Statement 37	4	9	5	5	3	
Statement 38		3	5	5	13	
Statement 39	11	7	2	6		
Statement 40	10	5	6	4	1	26
TOTAL n of responses	249	205	173	200	134	961
% of 961	26%	21%	18%	21%	14%	100%

WOMEN 25-45 Questionnaire Part A (the Likert Scale)						
Statements in bold are reversed (Cf 5.5.3). n=30						
	Positive			Negative		
	Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1	1		2	11	16	30
Statement 2	7	5	10	6	2	
Statement 3	6	16	6	2		
Statement 4		1		9	20	
Statement5	3	14	8	5		
(Statement 6)	8	7	11	4		
Statement 7	3	8	17	2		
Statement 8	7	9	2	7	5	
Statement 9	1	1	5	13	10	

Statement 10	4	6	4	10	6	
(Statement 11)						
Statement 12	23	7				
Statement 13	11	13		6		
Statement 14	5	6	6	10	3	
Statement 15	2	11	7	6	4	
Statement 16	8	10	8	2	2	
Statement 17	18	10	2			
(Statement 18)	3	6	11	7	3	
Statement 19	1	15	8	5	1	
Statement 20	25	5				
Statement 21	1	2	1	5	21	
Statement 22		2	16	7	5	
Statement 23	15	10	2	3		
Statement 24	3	10	11	4	2	
Statement 25	20	6	4			
(Statement 26)						
Statement 27	25	4			1	
Statement 28	1	11	10	7	1	
Statement 29	19	8	1	2		
Statement 30	12	9	7	2		
Statement 31	2	10	5	6	7	
Statement 32	26	2	1	1		
(Statement 33)						
Statement 34	2	11	5	9	3	
Statement 35	10	8	2	7	3	
Statement 36	13	11	6			
Statement 37	6	16	2	3	3	
Statement 38		5	5	8	12	
Statement 39	17	8	2	3		
Statement 40	12	12	3	2	1	
TOTAL n of responses	320	295	190	174	131	1110
% of 1110	28,83%	26,58%	17,12%	15,68%	11,80%	100,00%

WOMEN +45 Questionnaire Part A (the Likert Scale)			
Statements in bold are reversed (Cf 5.5.3). n=20			
	Positive		Negative

	Strongly agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1			1	7	12	20
Statement 2	1	5	5	5	4	
Statement 3	4	9	4	3		
Statement 4			1	3	16	
Statement 5	1	7	9	3		
(Statement 6)	5	8	7			
Statement 7	1	9	8	1	1	
Statement 8			2	8	10	
Statement 9		1	7	8	4	
Statement 10	2	5	7	5	1	
(Statement 11)						
Statement 12	8	4	5	2	1	
Statement 13	6	8	1	5		
Statement 14	2	4	3	11		
Statement 15		3	5	12		
Statement 16	2	11	6		1	
Statement 17	9	8	2		1	
(Statement 18)	4	4	1	8	3	
Statement 19	2	9	6	3		
Statement 20	15	5				
Statement 21	3	1	2	3	11	
Statement 22		2	11	5	2	
Statement 23	4	13	1	1	1	
Statement 24	2	7	6	5		
Statement 25	15	4	1			
(Statement 26)						
Statement 27	14	5			1	
Statement 28	3	10	3	3	1	
Statement 29	6	2	5	6	1	
Statement 30	7	5	6	2		
Statement 31	3	4	5	5	3	
Statement 32	12	6		2		
(Statement 33)						
Statement 34	3	4	6	5	2	
Statement 35	3	2		12	3	
Statement 36	4	8	7	1		
Statement 37	2	4	8	5	1	

Statement 38	1		6	9	4	
Statement 39	11	8	1			
Statement 40	3	7	4	5	1	
TOTAL n of responses	158	192	152	153	85	740
% of 740	21%	26%	21%	21%	11%	100%

Part B of the questionnaire is based on the Semantic differential scale. The respondents are given pairs of words which are semantic opposites, and they are asked to respond along a continuum from 1 to 5. Category 5 reflects a negative attitude and category 1 reflects a Positive attitude.

MEN > 25, Questionnaire Part B, The semantic differential scale, n=27						
n=27	Positive	The English language			Negative	n
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 41	7	12	7	1	0	27
42	5	9	9	3	1	
43	3	13	5	6	0	
44	4	9	4	8	2	
45	2	7	8	8	2	
46	8	8	4	4	3	
47	4	7	12	4	0	
48	3	9	10	5	0	
49	5	8	10	4	0	
50	6	10	10	1	0	
TOTAL n of responses	47	92	79	44	8	270
% of 270	17,4%	34,1%	29,3%	16,3%	2,96%	100 %

English speakers						
Item 51	4	7	13	3	0	27
52	2	11	12	2	0	
53	1	11	11	3	2	
54	1	10	13	2	1	
55	1	9	14	3	0	
56		5	21	1	0	
57	1	3	19	3	1	

58	1	7	11	7	1	
59	1	10	11	4	1	
60	1	6	17	2	1	
TOTAL n of responses	13	79	142	30	7	271
% of 271	4,7%	29,2%	52,4%	11,1%	2,6%	100

American speakers						
Item 61		3	11	8	5	27
62	2	5	12	7	1	
63	1	5	13	6	2	
64	2	2	13	9	1	
65	0	4	11	10	2	
66	0	4	14	6	3	
67	1	2	11	9	4	
68	1	1	13	10	2	
69	1	3	8	6	9	
70		4	10	10	3	
TOTAL n of responses	8	33	116	81	32	270
% of 270	3 %	12%	43%	30%	12%	100

MEN 25-45 Questionnaire Part B, The semantic differential scale, n=24						
The English language						
n=24	Positive				Negative	N
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 41	5	10	8		1	24
42	6	5	11	1	1	
43	7	10	5	2	0	
44	5	7	5	4	3	
45	2	7	10	4	1	
46	9	5	4	6	0	
47	2	6	14	2	0	
48	4	7	8	5	0	
49	2	9	8	5	0	
50	4	13	5	2	0	24

TOTAL n of responses	46	79	78	31	6	240
% of 240	19,2%	32,9%	32,5%	12,9%	2,5%	100%
English speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 51	6	9	8	1	0	24
52	3	8	11	2	0	
53	2	5	14	3	0	
54	2	11	10	1	0	
55	2	8	13	1	0	
56	1	11	12	1	0	
57	1	4	13	4	2	
58	1	7	13	3	0	
59	1	10	11	2	0	
60	1	10	12	1	0	
TOTAL n of responses	20	83	117	19	2	241
% of 241	8,3%	34,2%	48,8%	7,9%	0,8%	100%
American speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 61	2	3	11	5	3	24
62	3	6	10	1	4	
63	3	4	15	1	1	
64	3	5	9	6	1	
65	3	8	8	2	3	
66	1	5	10	4	4	
67	2	3	11	3	5	
68	1	1	11	6	5	
69	1		12	6	5	
70	3	4	12	2	3	24
TOTAL n of responses	22	39	109	36	34	240
% of 240	9,2%	16,3%	45,3%	15%	14,2%	100%

MEN +45 Questionnaire Part B, The semantic differential scale, n=16

The English language						
n=16	Positive				Negative	
	1	2	3	4	5	N
Item 41	4	9	2	1	0	16
42	2	5	6	3	0	
43	2	4	7	2	1	
44	1	2	7	5	1	
45	1	2	9	3	1	16
46	1	4	2	8	1	
47	2	2	8	3	1	16
48	0	3	4	8	1	
49	1	3	6	6	0	
50	1	4	8	3	0	16
TOTAL n of responses	15	38	59	42	6	160
% of 160	9%	24%	37%	26%	4%	100%
English speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 51	2	10	2	2	0	16
52	2	9	4	1	0	
53	1	6	7	1	1	
54	1	5	6	4	0	
55	1	9	5	1	0	
56	0	4	11	1	0	
57	0		12	3	1	
58	0	1	9	4	2	
59	0	3	9	4	0	
60	0	3	11	2	0	
TOTAL n of responses	7	50	76	23	4	160
% of 160	4%	31%	48%	14%	3%	100%
American speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 61	1	5	5	4	1	16
62	1	2	8	3	2	16

63	1	2	6	5	2	16
64	1	4	4	6	1	16
65	1	2	9	2	2	16
66	0	2	8	4	2	16
67	0	4	3	7	2	
68	0	2	4	8	2	
69	0	1	6	7	2	
70	0	3	9	2	2	16
TOTAL n of responses	5	27	62	48	18	160
% of 160	3%	17%	39%	30%	11%	100%

WOMEN >25, Questionnaire Part B, The semantic differential scale, n=26						
The English language						
	Positive				Negative	n
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 41	3	15	7	1	0	26
42	4	10	10	2	0	
43	5	9	4	5	3	
44	5	9	4	4	4	
45	3	10	11	1	1	
46	4	10	4	4	4	
47	6	9	11			
48	5	3	14	3	1	
49	5	7	10	2	2	
50	3	15	8	0	0	
TOTAL n of responses	43	97	83	22	15	260
% of 260	16,5%	37,3%	32%	8,5%	5,8%	100,1%
English speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 51	4	15	7		0	26
52	2	10	12	2	0	
53		4	15	6	1	
54	5	10	10	1	0	
55	2	9	13	2	0	

56	5	9	10	2	0	
57	4	5	14	2	1	
58	5	10	9	1	1	
59	3	11	10	2	0	
60	3	6	15	2	0	
TOTAL n of responses	33	89	115	20	3	260
% of 260	12,7%	34,2%	44,2%	7,7%	1,2%	100%
American speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 61		1	18	6	1	26
62	4	10	7	5	0	
63	5	7	12	2	0	
64	3	5	11	4	3	
65	2	6	15	2	1	
66	0	7	10	8	1	
67	2	5	13	5	1	
68	0	1	13	10	2	
69	0	3	9	12	2	
70	1	4	13	8	0	
TOTAL n of responses	17	49	121	62	11	260
% of 260	6,5%	18,8%	46,6%	23,8%	4,3%	100%

WOMEN 25-45, Questionnaire Part B, The semantic differential scale, n=30						
The English language						
	Positive				Negative	n
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 41	6	13	11		0	30
42	12	8	7	3	0	
43	7	13	7	3	0	
44	6	6	7	8	3	
45	5	9	12	3	1	
46	5	6	10	8	1	
47	5	9	13	2	1	
48	4	8	15	3	0	
49	6	8	10	6	0	
50	6	11	13	0	0	

TOTAL n of responses	62	91	105	36	6	300
% of 300	21%	30%	35%	12%	2%	100%
English speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 51	9	9	11	1	0	30
52	5	9	15		1	
53	1	9	18	2	0	
54	2	14	14		0	
55	4	13	12	1	0	
56	4	8	17	1	0	
57	1	9	17	3	0	
58	4	7	15	3	1	
59	4	10	15	1	0	
60	4	5	21		0	
TOTAL n of responses	38	93	155	12	2	300
% of 300	13%	31%	52%	4%	1%	100%
American speakers						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Item 61	4	4	15	6	1	30
62	4	8	11	6	1	
63	5	6	13	5	1	
64	4	4	16	6	0	
65	4	6	19		1	
66	2	8	15	3	2	
67	3	5	13	7	2	
68	1	3	13	10	3	
69	2	6	12	8	2	
70	3	4	16	6	1	
TOTAL n of responses	32	54	143	57	14	300
% of 300	11%	18%	48%	19%	5%	100%

WOMEN +45, Questionnaire Part B, The semantic differential scale, n=20							
The English language							
		Positive				Negative	n
		1	2	3	4	5	
Item	41	6	13	1	0	0	20
	42	3	10	6	0	1	
	43	2	10	6	2	0	
	44	1	4	12	3	0	
	45	1	7	11	1	0	
	46	1	4	5	8	2	
	47	2	6	9	3	0	
	48	1	4	11	4	0	
	49	1	7	8	4	0	
	50	2	11	6	1	0	
TOTAL n of responses		20	76	75	26	3	200
% of 200		10%	38%	37,5%	13%	1,5%	
English speakers							
		1	2	3	4	5	
Item	51	1	8	9	1	0	19
	52	0	7	9	3	0	
	53	0	7	8	4	0	
	54	0	10	9		0	
	55	0	12	6	1	0	
	56	0	3	16		0	
	57	0	1	15	3	0	
	58	0	3	9	7	0	
	59	0	6	9	4	0	
	60	0	6	13	0	0	
TOTAL n of responses		1	63	103	23	0	190
% of 190		1%	33%	54%	12%	0%	
American speakers							
		1	2	3	4	5	
Item	61	1	9	5	4	0	19
	62	2	5	8	4	0	
	63	0	4	7	7	1	

64	0	5	8	6	0	
65	3	4	6	6	0	
66	0	1	14	3	1	
67	0	2	8	8	1	
68	0	1	7	9	2	
69	0	3	5	9	2	
70	0	4	13	2	0	
TOTAL n of responses	6	38	81	58	7	190
% of 190	3%	20%	43%	31%	4%	

Appendix 6: Results of the Questionnaires grouped according to hypotheses

Appendix 6 is based on Part A of the questionnaire, and the 40 statements in Part A are in appendix 6 grouped according to the hypothesis they refer to. For hypothesis 1 and 3, the scores of the statements are inverted because of the negative wording of the statements (Cf 5.5.3). Categories 1 and 2 always refer to positive attitudes and categories 4 and 5 always refer to unfavourable attitudes.

MEN > 25, Part A						
Hypothesis 1 :Attitude to English language, culture, ideology (Scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 4			2	3	22	
Statement5	2	11	9	5		
Statement 10	1	4	5	10	7	
Statement 15	2	4	5	11	5	
Statement 17	17	6	2	2		
Statement 20	16	8	1	2		27
Statement 25	13	3	7	1	3	
Statement 30	12	6	1	1	7	
Statement 32	14	12	1			
Statement 34	2	9	3	7	6	
Statement 36	8	9	9		1	
Total n of responses	87	72	45	42	51	297
% of 297	29%	24%	15%	14%	17%	100,00
Hypothesis 2: Prefer French as a world language						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 3	2	9	8	5	3	
Statement 9		4	12	7	4	
Statement 13	6	8		7	6	
Statement 21		1		5	21	
Statement 24	3	6	9	4	5	

Statement 31	5	6	2	6	8	
Statement 37	3	8	4	5	7	
Statement 38		4	2	6	15	
Total n of responses	19	46	37	45	69	216
% of 216	9%	21%	17%	21%	32%	100,00 %
Hypothesis 3 :English as a threat to French identity (scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1	1		2	9	15	
Statement 8	2	2	8	9	6	
Statement 12	13	8	2	2	2	
Statement 14	4	13	4	3	3	
Statement 23	10	7	2	7	1	
Statement 27	21	5		1		
Statement 29	12	9	2	2	2	
Statement 35	9	6	8	4		
Statement 39	12	8	2	4	1	
Total n of responses	84	58	30	41	30	243
% of 243	35%	24%	12%	17%	12%	100%
Hypothesis 4 :More negative to Am than to British English						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 2	4	7	4	9	3	
Statement 7	3	8	11	3	2	
Statement16	8	11	4	3	1	
Statement19	7	6	9	2	2	
Statement 22	1	8	12	5	1	
Statement28	3	9	9	2	4	
Statement 40	4	10	1	9	3	
Total n of responses	30	59	50	33	16	188
% of 188	16 %	31%	27%	18%	9%	100%

WOMEN >25, Part A						
Hypothesis 1: Attitude to English language, culture and ideology. (scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 4		1	1	11	13	
Statement5		6	14	4	2	
Statement 10	2	2	5	9	8	
Statement 15	3	5	7	5	6	
Statement 17	19	6			1	
Statement 20	20	5	1			
Statement 25	19	2	2	3		
Statement 30	5	4	9	4	4	
Statement 32	17	4	3		2	
Statement 34	4	7		11	4	
Statement 36	7	9	6	2	1	
Total n of responses	96	51	48	49	41	285
% of 285	34 %	18%	17%	17 %	14%	100,00 %
Hypothesis 2: Prefer French as a world language						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 3	5	10	6	5		
Statement 9		3	3	16	4	
Statement 13	9	6	2	7	2	
Statement 21	1	1	2	6	16	
Statement 24	2	8	9	7		
Statement 31	2	9	5	4	6	
Statement 37	4	9	5	5	3	
Statement 38		3	5	5	13	
Total n of responses	23	49	37	55	44	208
% of 208	11 %	24%	18%	26 %	21 %	100,00%
Hypothesis 3: English as a threat to French identity responses are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	

	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1		1	3	10	12	
Statement 8	4	5	4	9	4	
Statement 12	19	6	1			
Statement 14	5	11	2	4	4	
Statement 23	13	6	4	3		
Statement 27	22	4				
Statement 29	18	4		2	2	
Statement 35	7	5	3	7	4	
Statement 39	11	7	2	6		
Total n of responses	99	49	19	41	26	234
% of 213	42 %	21 %	8 %	18 %	11 %	100,00 %
	42	21	8	18	11	

Hypothesis 4: More negative to Am English than to British English

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 2	3	4	6	8	6	
Statement 7	2	9	7	6	2	
Statement16	2	13	6	4	1	
Statement19	2	8	5	9	2	
Statement 22		1	15	4	6	
Statement28	3	9	7	5	2	
Statement 40	10	5	6	4	1	
Total n of responses	22	49	52	40	20	183
% of 183	12%	27%	28%	22%	11%	100,00%

MEN 25- 45, Part A

Hypothesis 1: Attitude to English language, culture, ideology (scores are inverted)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 4				7	17	24
Statement5	3	3	13	4	1	
Statement 10	2	4	7	6	4	
Statement 15	6	8	3	3	4	
Statement 17	16	4	1	1	2	
Statement 20	19	2	3			
Statement 25	20	2	2			

Statement 30	13	6	3		2	
Statement 32	18	4	1	1		
Statement 34	4	4	5	6	5	
Statement 36	9	9	5		1	
Total n of responses	110	46	43	28	36	263
% of 263	42%	17%	16%	11%	14%	100%

Hypothesis 2: Prefer French as a world language

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 3	6	8	4	3	3	
Statement 9	3		7	5	9	
Statement 13	8	7	2	6	1	
Statement 21		1	1	2	20	
Statement 24	3	5	8	4	4	
Statement 31	2	2	3	7	10	
Statement 37	4	6	4	5	5	
Statement 38	2	1	3	6	12	
Total n of responses	28	30	32	38	64	192
% of 192	15 %	16%	17%	20%	33%	

Hypothesis 3 English as a threat to French identity (scores inverted)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1	1		5	4	14	
Statement 8		5	2	10	7	
Statement 12	17	6		1		
Statement 14	4	9	1	5	5	
Statement 23	11	8	1	3	1	
Statement 27	21	2		1		
Statement 29	11	3	5	3	2	
Statement 35	9	6	2	6	1	
Statement 39	15	6		3		
Total n of responses	89	45	16	36	30	216
% of 216	41%	21%	7%	17%	14%	

Hypothesis 4: More negative to Am English than to British English						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 2	2	4	10	4	4	
Statement 7	3	7	13		1	
Statement16	4	4	11	3	2	
Statement19	6	4	7	2	5	
Statement 22		5	14		5	
Statement28	5	5	5	4	5	
Statement 40	9	4	3	5	3	
Total n of responses	29	33	63	18	25	168
% of 168	17%	20%	38%	11%	15%	

WOMEN 25 – 45, Part A						
Hypothesis 1: Attitude to English language, culture, ideology (scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 4	1		2	11	16	
Statement5	7	5	10	6	2	
Statement 10	4	6	4	10	6	
Statement 15	2	11	7	6	4	
Statement 17	18	10	2			
Statement 20	25	5				
Statement 25	20	6	4			
Statement 30	12	9	7	2		
Statement 32	26	2	1	1		
Statement 34	2	11	5	9	3	
Statement 36	13	11	6			
Total n of responses	130	76	48	45	31	330
% of 330	39%	23%	15%	14%	9%	
Hypothesis 2: Prefer French as a world language						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 3	6	16	6	2		

Statement 9	1	1	5	13	10	
Statement 13	11	13		6		
Statement 21	1	2	1	5	21	
Statement 24	3	10	11	4	2	
Statement 31	2	10	5	6	7	
Statement 37	6	16	2	3	3	
Statement 38		5	5	8	12	
Total n of responses	30	73	35	47	55	240
% of 240	13%	30%	15%	20%	23%	100%

Hypothesis 3: English as a threat to French identity (scores inverted)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1	1		2	11	16	
Statement 8	7	9	2	7	5	
Statement 12	23	7				
Statement 14	5	6	6	10	3	
Statement 23	15	10	2	3		
Statement 27	25	4			1	
Statement 29	19	8	1	2		
Statement 35	10	8	2	7	3	
Statement 39	17	8	2	3		
Total	122	60	17	43	28	270
%	45%	22%	6%	16%	10%	

Hypothesis 4: More negative to Am than to British English

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 2	7	5	10	6	2	
Statement 7	3	8	17	2		
Statement16	8	10	8	2	2	
Statement19	1	15	8	5	1	
Statement 22		2	16	7	5	
Statement28	1	11	10	7	1	
Statement 40	12	12	3	2	1	
Total n of responses	32	63	72	31	12	210
% of 210	15%	30%	34%	15%	6%	

MEN + 45, Part A						
Hypothesis 1: Attitude to English language, culture, ideology (scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 4			1	2	16	
Statement 5		8	8		3	
Statement 10	1	5	5	3	5	
Statement 15	1	2	1	10	5	
Statement 17	2	7	6		4	
Statement 20	8	6	1	4		
Statement 25	9	5	2	1	2	
Statement 30	4	7	2	4	2	
Statement 32	10	4	1	2	2	
Statement 34	2	1	5	6	5	
Statement 36	3	11	3	1	1	
Total n of responses	40	56	34	33	45	208
% of 208	19 %	27%	16%	16%	22%	
Hypothesis 2: Prefer French as a world language						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 3	3	8	2	4	2	
Statement 9	1	2	4	5	7	
Statement 13	5	6	3	2	3	
Statement 21	3	1	1	3	11	
Statement 24	1	10	3	2	3	
Statement 31	1	1	3	4	10	
Statement 37	2	6	5	3	3	
Statement 38			2	8	9	
Total n of responses	16	34	23	31	48	152
% of 152	11%	22%	15%	20%	32%	
Hypothesis 3: English as a threat to French identity (scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1				3	16	
Statement 8	1	1		5	12	

Statement 12	6	4	5	2	2	
Statement 14	1	3	1	9	5	
Statement 23	1	10	4	3	1	
Statement 27	14	5				
Statement 29	4	3	3	7	2	
Statement 35	4	2	2	9	2	
Statement 39	8	10	1			
Total n of responses	39	38	16	38	40	171
% of 171	23%	22%	9%	22%	23%	

Hypothesis 4: More negative to Am English than to British English

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 2	4	2	5	4	4	
Statement 7	3	8	6		2	
Statement16	4	3	10	1	1	
Statement19	3	9	3	1	3	
Statement 22		1	10	4	4	
Statement28	5	8	2	3	1	
Statement 40	1	8	6	1	3	
Total n of responses	20	39	42	14	18	133
% of 133	15%	29%	32%	11%	14%	

WOMEN + 45, Part A

Hypothesis 1 Attitude to English language, culture, ideology (scores are inverted)						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 4			1	3	16	
Statement5	1	7	9	3		
Statement 10	2	5	7	5	1	
Statement 15		3	5	12		
Statement 17	9	8	2		1	
Statement 20	15	5				
Statement 25	15	4	1			
Statement 30	7	5	6	2		

Statement 32	12	6		2		
Statement 34	3	4	6	5	2	
Statement 36	4	8	7	1		
Total n of responses	68	55	43	33	20	219
% of 219	31%	25%	20%	15%	9%	

Hypothesis 2: Prefer French as a world language

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 3	4	9	4	3		
Statement 9		1	7	8	4	
Statement 13	6	8	1	5		
Statement 21	3	1	2	3	11	
Statement 24	2	7	6	5		
Statement 31	3	4	5	5	3	
Statement 37	2	4	8	5	1	
Statement 38	1		6	9	4	
Total n of responses	21	34	39	43	23	160
% of 160	13%	21%	24%	27%	14%	

Hypothesis 3: English as a threat to French identity (scores are inverted)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 1			1	7	12	
Statement 8			2	8	10	
Statement 12	8	4	5	2	1	
Statement 14	2	4	3	11		
Statement 23	4	13	1	1	1	
Statement 27	14	5			1	
Statement 29	6	2	5	6	1	
Statement 35	3	2		12	3	
Statement 39	11	8	1			
Total n of responses	48	38	18	47	29	180
% of 180	27%	21%	10%	26%	16%	

Hypothesis 4: More negative to Am than to British English

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Statement 2	1	5	5	5	4	
Statement 7	1	9	8	1	1	
Statement16	2	11	6		1	
Statement19	2	9	6	3		
Statement 22		2	11	5	2	
Statement28	3	10	3	3	1	
Statement 40	3	7	4	5	1	
Total n of responses	12	53	43	22	10	140
% of 140	9 %	38%	31%	16%	7%	

Appendix 7: Averages from Part B of the Questionnaire

Appendix 6 is based on the Semantic differential scale, Part B of the questionnaire. The closer the average is to 1, the more positive is the attitude.

Attitudes to the British English						
	Men > 25	Women > 25	Men 25-45	Women 25-45	Men +45	Women +45
Item 41	1.89	2.23	2.25	2.17	2	1.75
42	2.85	2.38	2.42	2.03	2.63	2.3
43	3.63	2.69	2.08	2.2	2.75	2.4
44	3.93	2.73	2.71	2.87	3.19	2.85
45	4.15	2.50	2.79	2.53	3.06	2.6
46	2.67	2.77	2.29	2.8	3.25	3.3
47	3.33	2.19	2.67	2.5	2.94	2.65
48	3.56	2.69	2.58	2.57	3.44	2.9
49	3.22	2.58	2.67	2.53	3.06	2.75
50	2.41	2.19	2.21	2.23	2.81	2.3
Attitudes to British speakers						
	Men > 25	Women > 25	Men 25-45	Women 25-45	Men +45	Women +45
Item 51	3.11	2.12	2.17	2.13	2.25	2.53
52	2.89	2.54	2.50	2.43	2.25	2.79
53	3.07	3.15	2.75	2.7	2.69	2.84
54	2.89	2.27	2.42	2.4	2.81	2.47
55	3.26	2.58	2.54	2.33	2.38	2.42
56	3.04	2.35	2.63	2.5	2.81	2.84
57	3.37	2.65	3.08	2.73	3.31	3.11
58	4.11	2.35	2.75	2.67	3.44	3.21
59	3.33	2.42	2.58	2.43	3.06	2.89
60	3.04	2.62	2.54	2.57	2.94	2.68
Attitudes to American speakers						
	Men > 25	Women > 25	Men 25-45	Women 25-45	Men +45	Women +45

Item 61	3.56	3.27	3.17	2.87	2.94	2.63
62	3.00	2.50	2.88	2.73	3.19	2.74
63	3.11	2.42	2.71	2.7	3.31	3.26
64	3.19	2.96	2.88	2.8	3.13	3.05
65	3.37	2.77	2.75	2.6	3.13	2.79
66	3.30	3.12	3.21	2.83	3.38	3.21
67	3.48	3.00	3.25	3	3.44	3.42
68	3.41	3.50	3.54	3.37	3.63	3.63
69	3.70	3.50	3.58	3.07	3.63	3.53
70	3.44	3.08	2.92	2.93	3.19	2.89

AVERAGES REGARDLESS OF AGE

	Averages men	Averages women
Item 41	2.12	2.08
42	2.49	2.22
43	2.42	2.42
44	2.87	2.82
45	2.96	2.54
46	2.6	2.92
47	2.7	2.43
48	2.81	2.7
49	2.69	2.61
50	2.36	2.24
Item 51	2.34	2.23
52	2.45	2.56
53	2.79	2.89
54	2.63	2.37
55	2.57	2.44
56	2.76	2.53
57	3.1	2.8
58	3.01	2.69

	59	2.78	2.55
	60	2.82	2.61
Item	61	3.27	2.95
	62	3	2.65
	63	3.01	2.75
	64	3.06	2.92
	65	3.09	2.71
	66	3.29	3.03
	67	3.39	3.08
	68	3.51	3.48
	69	3.64	3.33
	70	3.19	2.97

AVERAGES REGARDLESS OF GENDER

Attitudes to the English language			
Age	> 25	25-45	+ 45
Item 41	2.15	2.2	1.86
42	2.43	2.2	2.44
43	2.6	2.15	2.56
44	2.77	2.8	3
45	2.77	2.65	2.81
46	2.62	2.57	3.28
47	2.4	2.57	2.78
48	2.66	2.57	3.14
49	2.53	2.59	2.89
50	2.21	2.22	2.53
Attitudes to English speakers			
Age	> 25	25-45	+ 45
Item 51	2.34	2.15	2.4
52	2.53	2.46	2.54
53	3.02	2.72	2.77
54	2.49	2.41	2.63
55	2.64	2.43	2.4
56	2.6	2.56	2.83

	57	2.83	2.89	3.2
	58	2.68	2.7	3.31
	59	2.6	2.5	2.97
	60	2.74	2.56	2.8
Attitudes to American speakers				
	Age	> 25	25-45	+ 45
Item	61	3.42	3	2.77
	62	2.75	2.8	2.94
	63	2.77	2.7	3.29
	64	3.08	2.83	3.09
	65	3.08	2.67	2.94
	66	3.21	3	3.29
	67	3.21	3.11	3.43
	68	3.45	3.44	3.63
	69	3.6	3.3	2.57
	70	3.26	2.93	3.03

Appendix 8: Percentages for individual statements

Respondents younger than 25

Statements related to Hypothesis 1, > 25					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree
Men (n=27)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 20	16	8	1	2	
%	59%	30%	4%	7%	0%
Statement 32	14	12	1	0	0
%	52%	44%	4%	0%	0%
Women (n=26)					
Statement 20	20	5	1	0	0
%	77%	19%	4%	0%	0%
Statement 32	17	4	3	0	2
%	65%	15%	12%	0%	8%

Statements related to Hypothesis 2, >25					
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Men (n=27)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 21	0	1	0	5	21
%	0%	4%	0%	19%	78%
Statement 38	0	4	2	6	15
%	0%	15%	7%	22%	56%
Statement 3	2	9	8	5	3
%	7%	33%	30%	19%	11%
Women (n=26)					
Statement 21	1	1	2	6	16
%	4%	4%	8%	23%	62%
Statement 38	0	3	5	5	13
%	0%	12%	19%	19%	50%
Statement 3	5	10	6	5	0
%	19%	38%	23%	19%	0%

Statements related to Hypothesis 3, > 25					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree
Men (n=27)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 12	13	8	2	2	2
%	48%	30%	7%	7%	7%
Statement 27	21	5	0	1	0
%	78%	19%	0%	4%	0%
Statement 35	9	6	8	4	0
%	33%	22%	30%	15%	0%
Statement 14	4	13	4	3	3
%	15%	48%	15%	11%	11%

Women (n=26)					
Statement 12	19	6	1	0	0
%	73%	23%	4%	0%	0%
Statement 27	22	4	0	0	0
%	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%
Statement 35	7	5	3	7	4
%	27%	19%	12%	27%	15%
Statement 14	5	11	2	4	4
%	19%	42%	8%	15%	15%

Statements related to Hypothesis 4, > 25					
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Men (n=27)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 16	8	11	4	3	1
%	30%	41%	15%	11%	4%
Statement 22	1	8	12	5	1
%	4%	30%	44%	19%	4%
Statement 28	3	9	9	2	4
%	11%	33%	33%	7%	15%
Women (n=26)					
Statement 16	2	13	6	4	1
%	8%	50%	23%	15%	4%
Statement 22		1	15	4	6
%	0%	4%	58%	15%	23%
Statement 28	3	9	7	5	2
%	12%	35%	27%	19%	8%

Respondents between 25 and 45

Statements related to Hypothesis 1, 25-45					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree
Men (n=24)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 25	20	2	2	0	0
%	83%	8%	8%	0%	0%
Statement 17	16	4	1	1	2
%	67%	17%	4%	4%	8%
Statement 20	19	2	3	0	0
	79%	8%	13%	0%	0%
Statement 32	18	4	1	1	0
%	75%	17%	4%	4%	0%
Women (n=30)					
Statement 25	20	6	4	0	0
%	67%	20%	13%	0%	0%
Statement 17	18	10	2	0	0
%	60%	33%	7%	0%	0%
Statement 20	25	5	0	0	0

%	83%	17%	0%	0%	0%
Statement 32	26	2	1	1	0
%	87%	7%	3%	3%	0%

Statements related to Hypothesis 2, 25-45					
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Men (n=24)	1%	2%	3%	4%	5%
Statement 21	0	1	1	2	20
%	0%	4%	4%	8%	83%
Statement 9	3	0	7	5	9
%	12,5%	0%	29%	21%	37,5%
Statement 3	6	8	4	3	3
%	25%	33%	17%	13%	13%
Statement 38	2	1	3	6	12
%	8%	4%	13%	25%	50%
Women (n=30)					
Statement 21	1	2	1	5	21
%	3%	7%	3%	17%	70%
Statement 9	1	1	5	13	10
%	3%	3%	17%	43%	33%
Statement 3	6	16	6	2	0
%	20%	53%	20%	7%	0%
Statement 38	0	5	5	8	12
%	0%	17%	17%	27%	40%

Statements related to Hypothesis 3, 25-45					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree
Men (n=24)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 27	21	2	0	1	0
%	88%	8%	0%	4%	0%
Statement 39	15	6		3	
%	62,5%	25%	0%	12,5%	0%
Statement 12	17	6		1	
%	71%	25%	0%	4%	0%
Statement 35	9	6	2	6	1
%	38%	25%	8%	25%	4%
Statement 14	4	9	1	5	5
%	17%	38%	4%	21%	21%
Women (n=30)					
Statement 27	25	4	0	0	1
%	83%	13%	0%	0%	3%
Statement 39	17	8	2	3	0
%	57%	27%	7%	10%	0%
Statement 12	23	7	0	0	0
%	77%	23%	0%	0%	0%

Statement 35	10	8	2	7	3
%	33%	27%	7%	23%	10%
Statement 14	5	6	6	10	3
%	17%	20%	20%	33%	10%

Statements related to Hypothesis 4 ,25-45					
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Men (n=24)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 40	9	4	3	5	3
%	37,5%	17%	12,5%	21%	12,5%
Statement 7	3	7	13	0	1
%	12,5%	29%	54%	0%	4%
Statement 16	4	4	11	3	2
%	17%	17%	46%	13%	8%
Statement 28	5	5	5	4	5
%	21%	21%	21%	17%	21%
Women (n=30)					
Statement 40	12	12	3	2	1
%	40%	40%	10%	7%	3%
Statement 7	3	8	17	2	0
%	10%	27%	57%	7%	0%
Statement 16	8	10	8	2	2
%	27%	33%	27%	7%	7%
Statement 28	1	11	10	7	1
%	3%	37%	33%	23%	3%

Respondents over 45

Statements related to Hypothesis 1,+ 45					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree
Men (n=19)	1		3	4	5
Statement 20	8	6	1	4	0
%	42%	32%	5%	21%	0%
Statement 15	1	2	1	10	5
%	5%	11%	5%	53%	26%
Statement 32	10	4	1	2	2
%	53%	21%	5%	11%	11%
Women (n=20)					
Statement 20	15	5	0	0	0
%	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%
Statement 15	0	3	5	12	0
%	0%	15%	25%	60%	0%
Statement 32	12	6	0	2	0
%	60%	30%	0%	10%	0%

Statements related to Hypothesis 2, +45					
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	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Men (n=19)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 3	3	8	2	4	2
%	16%	42%	11%	21%	11%
Statement 13	5	6	3	2	3
%	26%	32%	16%	11%	16%
Statement 38	0	0	2	8	9
%	0%	0%	11%	42%	47%
Statement 21	3	1	1	3	11
%	16%	5%	5%	16%	58%
Women (n=20)					
Statement 3	4	9	4	3	0
%	20%	45%	20%	15%	0%
Statement 13	6	8	1	5	0
%	30%	40%	5%	25%	0%
Statement 38	1	0	6	9	4
%	5%	0%	30%	45%	20%
Statement 21	3	1	2	3	11
%	15%	5%	10%	15%	55%

Statements related to Hypothesis 3, +45					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree
Men (n=19)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 14	1	3	1	9	5
%	5%	16%	5%	47%	26%
Statement 35	4	2	2	9	2
%	21%	11%	11%	47%	11%
Statement 27	14	5	0	0	1
%	70%	25%	0%	0%	5%
Statement 12	6	4	5	2	2
%	32%	21%	26%	11%	11%
Women (n=20)					
Statement 14	2	4	3	11	0
%	10%	20%	15%	55%	0%
Statement 35	3	2		12	3
%	15%	10%	0%	60%	15%
Statement 27	14	5	0	0	0
%	74%	26%	0%	0%	0%
Statement 12	8	4	5	2	1
%	40%	20%	25%	10%	5%

Statements related to Hypothesis 4, +45					
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Men (n=19)	1	2	3	4	5
Statement 2	4	2	5	4	4
%	21%	11%	26%	21%	21%
Statement 19	3	9	3	1	3
%	16%	47%	16%	5%	16%
Statement 28	5	8	2	3	1

%	26%	42%	11%	16%	5%
Statement 16	4	3	10	1	1
%	21%	16%	53%	5%	5%
Women (n=20)					
Statement 2	1	5	5	5	4
%	5%	25%	25%	25%	20%
Statement 19	2	9	6	3	0
%	10%	45%	30%	15%	0%
Statement 28	3	10	3	3	1
%	15%	50%	15%	15%	5%
Statement 16	2	11	6	0	1
%	10%	55%	30%	0%	5%