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1. Introduction

The language we speak, and in particular the way in which we speak it, identifies us as members of a specific speech community and social group. When we open our mouths we are conveying much more information than the mere ideational content of the message we intend to convey: from our regional origin to our political preferences and our socioeconomic background, when we speak, we voluntarily and involuntarily give away much more than what we think ‘meets the ear’.

As speakers of (at least) one mother tongue we are born within a specific speech community with a specific (set of) language variety/ies and we adopt its specific characteristics and idiosyncrasies. In specific contexts the characteristics and idiosyncrasies of these language varieties become markers loaded with social meaning, which at the same time coexist with other varieties. This coexistence is of a complex nature and the understanding of it can not only help resolve conflicts resulting from the contact of different varieties but it can also help plan for a wider understanding and tolerance towards other varieties and their speakers. The study of language attitudes is an important tool in this goal since a deep understanding of language attitudes can shed light on particular issues that might not be easy to grasp immediately.

The present study analyses the language attitudes held by native English speakers in the United Kingdom towards Iberian-Spanish-accented English. The specific setting of this study is the recent European economic crisis and the consequent Spanish diaspora and increased presence of Spanish nationals searching for jobs in the United Kingdom. Details will be given here as to the impact of the economic crisis in relation to the migration figures of young Spaniards to the United Kingdom. The hegemony of English as a *lingua franca* is unquestionable around the globe today and speaking English has become a crucial key to success globally, especially for Spanish migrants to the United Kingdom.

The aim of this study is to unveil the current language attitudes of British native speakers of English towards these Spanish migrants and thereby provide a good ground for comparison with similar studies done in the past or the future. To this end, this paper will provide an analysis of similar studies done in the United Kingdom where language attitudes towards Spanish speakers of English were explored. Examples of similar studies carried out in the United States will also be considered. Although the nature of the relationship with Spanish speakers in the United States is marked by different social and historical factors, common useful ground can nevertheless be found

for the purposes of this study. Through its exploration of modern-day language attitudes this study also seeks to raise awareness of the impact of the economic crisis on young qualified Spanish professionals and how they might be perceived by their fellow European citizens.

In order to achieve these goals this paper will first seek to define key concepts such as language and language attitudes. Consideration will be given to the definitions other researchers have developed and used in order to establish a clear framework and propose definitions valid for this study. It will also look at the contributions other disciplines have made to language attitude research and how they have contributed to the present study, in particular social psychology. This will establish a theoretical framework relevant for this study through which key aspects will be presented such as the relationship between language, society and identity and the role they play in the formation of language attitudes.

This paper also explores the methodology used in similar studies and the process used when selecting a particular methodology in order to elicit the attitudes of native British English speakers towards the Iberian-Spanish-accented variety of English. The choice between direct and indirect methods will be discussed in detail, exploring both their advantages and disadvantages in relation to the present study. The same action will be taken when analysing the potential benefits of taking a qualitative or quantitative approach in the design of the questionnaire in this study. The method of choice in this case, which is also the method most widely used in language attitudes research, as will be exposed in section 2.3.2, is the Matched Guise Technique, an indirect method. In this study the Matched Guise Technique is used in combination with rating scales, with participants asked to rate a series of three recordings based on a series of fifteen adjectives in a covert attempt to elicit their attitudes towards the speakers. The recordings will be performed by two speakers with one speaker of Spanish origin performing two counterpart guises, first an English guise with no Spanish accent (EngSpa) and then an Iberian-Spanish-accented guise (IbSpa), and the second speaker acting as a distractor with a Received Pronunciation (RP) guise. At the same time, a direct method will be used for a pilot questionnaire that will contribute to the overall design of the questionnaire and the better understanding of the specific context in which this study takes place. In addition, qualitative elements will be added to the questionnaire for the same purpose. This paper also dedicates a subsection to discussing the evaluative dimensions selected for the data analysis. The fifteen attributes

mentioned above will be classified in three dimensions, namely competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness that will enable an accurate interpretation of the results.

The third section of this paper outlines the field study itself, detailing the specific scope of the work undertaken. The sociocultural background will be presented together with details on language attitudes and stereotypes in the United Kingdom. The specific aims and hypotheses of the study will also be included in this section and presented in close relation to the theoretical background and the context of the field study. This third section will serve as an introduction to the actual details on the questionnaire designed for this research.

Section four will outline the factors taken into consideration for the design and distribution of the questionnaire. For this study a four-part online questionnaire was distributed among British undergraduate and postgraduate students. Data was collected during six weeks yielding a total of 78 responses which are later analysed with the SPSS software. The results show the consistency of certain attitudes towards the Spanish and hint towards a slight shift in the evaluations of the informants in their perception of the Received Pronunciation guise. Details on the results of this study will be presented in section five together with a description of the limitations of this study.

2. Theoretical background

The field of language attitudes is relatively recent and generates much debate when it comes to defining certain key concepts that are central to its research. A second source of debate, closely related to the first one, are the techniques used to measure attitudes. This section seeks to consider where the field is at the moment in relation to both of these issues and will also consider the different disciplines that have helped shape it as it is today. The first step is to look at attitude itself, how it is defined by different researchers and propose a definition that will be used in this study.

A closer look will then be taken at language attitudes and a definition will also be established for the purpose of this study. The section dedicated to language attitudes should provide insight as to what this study aims at unveiling and within which frame. In order to do so, different disciplines that have contributed to language attitude research will be discussed with special emphasis on social psychology and its social identity theory approach.

This section also focuses on attitude measurement techniques that different theoretical approaches have used and how successful they have been. The analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches will lead to the specific choice of techniques for this study which will also be detailed in this section.

2.1. Attitudes

As mentioned above, the definition of attitudes raises an intricate debate. The Oxford English Dictionary defines attitudes as the ‘settled behaviour or manner of acting as representative of feeling and opinion’. Sarnoff stated in 1970 that the concept of attitudes is rather ‘slippery’ and he defined it as ‘a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects’ (1970:279). Weber adds to this definition stating that attitudes consist of ‘forming an evaluative reaction to social experience’ (1992:117) and Baker (1992:10) defines attitude as the ‘hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour’. These definitions seem to add more elements the closer they are to the present and the latest ones also establish a relationship between the unobservable and observable aspects of attitudes, namely hypothetical constructs (or thoughts) on the one hand and reactions and behaviours on the other. Smit contributes to these definitions by defining attitude as a ‘way of feeling, thinking or behaving’ which happens in the ‘human mind’, posing therefore a question as to its observability (1996:24).

Agheyisi and Fishman distinguished two different approaches in order to define attitudes that questioned the relationship between the observable and the unobservable; namely the behaviourist approach and the mentalist approach (1970:138). On the one hand the mentalist approach defines attitudes as an ‘internal’ (Smit 1996:24) or ‘mental state’ (Soukup 2000:40) that, under stimulation, can be seen in the subject’s output. Attitude is perceived under this approach as an ‘independent variable intervening between stimulus and response’ (2000:40). On the other hand the behaviourist approach believes that attitudes ‘are found in the people’s social response to social situations’ (Smit 1996:24) and they can be ‘determined through observation and behaviour analysis’ (Soukup 2000:40).

The dichotomy presented by these two approaches presents difficulties for researchers since both of these in isolation exclude elements that are of relevance to attitude research. The behaviourist approach looks only at the subjects’ response when searching for attitudes, which according to Smit makes the responses ‘less

comprehensive' and subject to only one specific situation. This approach limits the 'explanatory power' of research (1996:25). Soukup also agrees with this reasoning and thinks responses being so dependent on concrete situations makes 'behaviour unpredictable' (2000:40). This means that a purely behaviourist approach to language attitudes would deprive attitude research from being applicable to analogous situations. This is detrimental for the field, as it fails to provide conclusions that are useful to the understanding of the development of attitudes in general.

In relation to the mentalist approach, Smit and Soukup acknowledge the difficulties this approach presents when it comes to investigation since it 'assumes that attitudes are not directly observable' (Soukup 2000:40). The issue of observability becomes crucial in attitude research. In order to ensure the validity of the results of such studies, attitudes need to be observable and measurable and, consequently, unobservable elements of study pose a significant problem. In addition to this, the mentalist approach includes the complexity of the concept of attitudes that requires consideration when defining it. According to Smit, attitudes are formed by three components, namely 'belief, opinion and perception' (1996:28). The third component Smit identifies, perception, is linked to cognitive values, which according to Wood relate to attitude and 'result from a sensory impression as well as cognitive activity' (1987:145). This component is of a mental nature which makes it difficult to observe and measure. This poses a problem for researchers in terms of including it in questionnaires and later measuring it.

The second component Smit refers to is the opinion component. It can be interpreted as a synonym of attitude with the advantage that it is more observable. For Stenzenberger opinions lay on a conscious level and they are formed in relation to concrete objects (1992:26). Roos interprets opinions as 'cognitive verbalisations' (1990:26), meaning that they can be elicited by asking informants directly and they should be able to reflect someone's personal opinion since they are of an individual nature (Stenzenberger 1992:26). For a researcher this presents an additional advantage to the perception component, making observation, measurement and analysis easier. At the same time, this component poses a problem in that there is not always a correlation between people's opinions when asked directly, and their actions. The most famous example of this would be the case exposed in La Piere's study where hotel and restaurant staff was asked about their policies in accepting Chinese patrons. The results showed a lack of correlation between the opinions expressed and the actions carried out

by the staff, who contrary to their statements did not welcome these patrons (Baker 1992:15, Soukup 2000:41).

The study of attitudes is of importance to 'preassess future behaviour' but this is indeed a controversial assumption since there is a lack of correlation between what people say and what they do (Weber 1992:129). In order to counteract this lack of correlation Smit argues that the methodology used should be chosen carefully to ensure the credibility of the results. She also asserts that attitudes should be 'investigated on various occasions in order to combine the results and analyse the more 'salient behaviours', which can be interpreted as stronger predictors of future behaviour (1996:27-28).

Finally, for Weber the belief component is 'the closest cognitive component of attitude' (1992:118). Fishbein and Ajzen explain the belief component as 'the information' an individual 'has about the object'. They see the belief as the 'link' between an object and an attribute (1975:12) with the object being anything a study tries to unearth attitudes towards. For Smit, beliefs are more conscious than attitudes (1996:29) and, according to Stenzenberger, beliefs are easy to elicit and are also supported by arguments (1992:26) as opposed to attitudes. Together with the opinion component, the belief component would also give easy access to the researcher to these aspects of attitude since individuals can be asked to reason their attitudes overtly.

Looking at both approaches to attitudes, the behaviourist and the mentalist, there are elements of value in both that this study wants to include in order not to neglect any relevant aspects of attitudes. Before taking a stance as to the definition of attitude for this study, this section will address one further consideration that is also of relevance, namely attitude strength. Attitude strength has recently become of interest, especially among scholars in the United States, and focuses on the durability and impact an attitude has. These elements relate to the extent to which first, an attitude can last in time and remain unchanged by different influential factors and second, the influence it can exert in 'information processing or guiding behaviour (Petty & Krosnick 1995: 3/4) Soukup 2000:41). Attitudes that show a bigger resistance to change and more stability over time are believed to have a bigger impact in behaviour (be it interpersonal relationships or memorising information) than those believed to be weaker (Petty & Krosnick 1995: 8/9). This study will consider whether the specific contextual framework chosen shows any variation in attitudes towards Spanish-accented English.

A comparison with other studies will be established by which attitude strength will become relevant in order to interpret potential changes in attitudes.

Attitudes present a high level of complexity and researchers are responsible for adopting different approaches that will depend on their studies and the design of their research. For this reason, after the considerations above, the present study proposes a definition of attitudes that is based mostly on Smit's (1996:50/55) and Soukup's (2000:42) definitions. First of all this study seeks to combine the mentalist and the behaviourist approach assuming that attitudes are in principle directly unobservable in essence but at the same time can be observed through behaviour analysis. The assumption in declaring these two approaches not exclusive of each other lays in the choice of methodology as developed in section 3 of this paper. This methodology seeks to explore attitudes that show a close correlation between all the components encapsulated in the mentalist approach, namely; belief, opinion and perception. Attitudes are of an undeniably complex nature that cannot be ignored and their conscious and unconscious nature has to be explored as a whole with the right methodology.

The complexity and multicomponential nature of attitudes that this definition wants to reflect also includes the factor of strength. This factor becomes of relevance in the analysis of the results, which in comparison with the results of other studies, will show how certain attitudes have evolved and under which circumstances. The design of the questionnaire in this study enables the informants to numerically evaluate their responses that provides analysable data in this regard. Attitudes are also subject to change based on experience and in close relation with their strength. The definition of attitude proposed in this paper seeks to encompass both personal and contextual experience. This study aims to first reflect the personal experience by analysing the contact the informants have had with the group under study (Spanish citizens) through a series of questions in part IV of the questionnaire¹. For the contextual experience, this study refers to the sociocultural context, which is presented in detail in section 3.

The definition of attitude in this paper proposes to take into account the above considerations as follows: attitudes are mental entities of an unobservable nature in essence which can, under the adequate stimulation, be translated into measurable and observable behaviour. Attitudes consist of belief, opinion and perception components

¹ Details on this are found in section 4.5 of this paper and a transcript of this part of the questionnaire are found in the appendix.

that exist in relation to a referent. Attitudes also vary in strength and are subject to experience.

2.2. Language attitudes

Having considered the definition of attitude, it is important for this study to look at the definition of attitudes in relation to languages. The aim of this section is to present a classification of language attitudes in order to identify the most relevant type for the current study. In addition to this, this section will present three different variables that shape language attitude research and also identify them in the framework of this study. Finally, this section will explore different disciplines that have contributed to language attitude research, paying special attention to social psychology. As part of its analysis of the contributions of social psychology, the last part of this section will be dedicated to the analysis of social identity theory, which will present details on the relationship between language, society and identity.

According to Smit, language attitudes can be classified in three different types. The first type represents attitudes towards languages, the second type represents attitudes towards language varieties and the third type represents attitudes towards specific uses (1996:38). According to Schmied the second type, attitudes towards language varieties, refers to the opposition between a given variety and the established norm or variety considered to be the standard one (Schmied 1991:164). This opposition highlights the fact that a variety considered to be the norm exists and that all others will be judged in relation to it. For Smit, this concept goes hand in hand with the idea of ‘social group marking’ (1996:38). Different language varieties can act as identifiers to both speakers and listeners, meaning that these varieties can identify each other as part of one group or another in a given social context. Reflecting on Schmied’s and Smit’s respective contributions leads to the central question of what determines each variety to be deemed one or the other and who determines it. Language has the capacity to clearly relate a speaker to a given social group, serving as an easy source of information for immediate and apparently unequivocal social classification. The description Schmied and Smit provide of this second type of language attitudes is the most relevant for the present study. The first type would be relevant if analysing the attitudes of native British speakers of English towards the Spanish language, which is not the case.

The third type of language attitudes relates to language use, a type which is also not of direct relevance here given that this study is not seeking to investigate attitudes

towards different uses of English by Spanish migrants but the variety of English spoken with an Iberian-Spanish accent. Spanish migrants in the United Kingdom might later make efforts to acquire a specific use of English and perfect different uses to progress socially or to integrate to a deeper level in the British society. However, consideration of such developments would require further investigation to analyse the integration of Spanish migrants in the United Kingdom and their different levels of ability to mimic native uses. For the purpose of this study the distinction between language attitudes towards language varieties or specific uses is important because it refers to two different social realities, making the second type of language attitudes exposed by Smit more relevant to the current paper.

The different agents in the opposing relationship stated in the second type of language attitudes, can be identified in the present study. The variety that would be established as the norm would be the English spoken by native English speakers in the United Kingdom. The variety to the norm would be the Iberian-Spanish-accented English spoken by Spanish migrants to the United Kingdom. In this contextual frame the concept of ‘social group marking’, as introduced by Smit, would be pertinent especially bearing in mind the setting of this study as introduced above. The variety of English spoken by Spanish migrants in the United Kingdom, marks them as part of a migrant group that has most likely arrived in the United Kingdom in search of employment.

In addition to this classification there is another way to differentiate language attitudes exposed by Gardner and Lambert in relation to the motivations behind attitudes. For them, language attitudes can be classified depending on the orientation and motivation behind them. The first type is the instrumental orientation conditioned by the wish to acquire social recognition and economic advantage. The second type is the integrative orientation which relates to the desire to become similar to the speakers of a given language community Gardner and Lambert (1972:14). This method of classification presents a useful approach to language attitudes when analysing the motivations behind attitudes. In the case of this study these types of language attitudes are applicable in analysing the motivations of Spanish migrants to speak English. Although these would lay beyond the scope of this study, further analysis along these lines would add to the present study from a different perspective.

According to Smit, the types of language attitudes conforms one of three variables in language attitude research. The first variable is the ‘attitude holders as

members of groups and a society', the second variable is the 'referents' which are part of the social context of those holding attitudes. Finally, the third variable is the types of attitudes as exposed above, or 'the types of attitudes held by the holders towards the language' (1996:39). These variables are identifiable in the present study and contribute to further define the different agents under investigation. The first variable corresponds to the native English speakers of the United Kingdom or 'attitude holders' towards the Spanish migrants speakers of the Iberian-Spanish-accented English, representing the second variable or 'referents'. The third variable, as exposed above in this section, would be the type of language attitude, which in this study corresponds to attitudes towards language varieties.

Having established the definition of attitudes, the type of language attitudes and the variables in language attitude research that will be employed in this study, there is one further consideration to be taken into account in order to comprehensively frame the approach that will be taken in this paper in the research of language attitudes. This further consideration refers to the different disciplines in language attitude research and how they have contributed to the field, especially social psychology.

2.2.1. Social psychology and other disciplines in the field of language attitudes

The field of language attitudes has been investigated by different disciplines such as social psychology, linguistics, anthropology, sociology and sociolinguistics that have enriched the debate and have added a wide variety of perspectives that deserve consideration in the context of this study. Anthropology, sociology and linguistics have brought to the research of language attitudes a plethora of studies rich in data through the use of questionnaires and interviews. Anthropology in particular has contributed with the 'ethnography of communication' which has shed light on language attitudes through the understanding of the community values within groups being investigated (Fasold 1990:47-50).

Sociolinguistics has also enriched the field, following mainly Labov's lead (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2) by focusing on two main issues. The first issue is the understanding of the link between the specific linguistic features of a group and the social context in which they occur. The second issue is the understanding of the 'inferences listeners make' about that link. Focusing on these two elements Labov

establishes a link between society and language that becomes of importance in language attitude research. It is safe to say that an increased understanding of the community under study can in turn only enhance the understanding of its attitudes towards other languages and varieties; that is the approach taken in this study.

In addition, Labov introduced to the field the concept of the sociolinguistic ‘marker’ (Smit 1996:40). This concept is relevant to the study of language attitudes because it contributes to the understanding of the link between language and society. These markers represent ‘variables’ that shed light on social structuring (Labov 1972:237). Labov also linked these variables - markers - with ‘social status’, believing that markers serve to convey status and at the same time they have a relation with the individual’s reaction to them (1972:241). This means that sociolinguistic markers are part of language and they not only reflect social structures but are also charged with symbolic meaning, thereby revealing social preconceptions, such as status, which can be seen in subjective reactions to them.

Another contribution from sociolinguistics to language attitude research that came from Labov in 1966 and also from Trudgill 1974, was the description of two types of prestige that have an impact in the way language is used, namely ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ prestige. Overt prestige is enjoyed by the groups in power. These groups are perceived as higher status groups and members of other groups try to emulate the ‘ways’ and ‘behaviour’ of them (Smit 1996:41). It is important to note too that out-group members can also adopt the language of the lower-status groups in order to accommodate to a specific situation (Smit 1996:40). Covert prestige is of a subconscious nature and refers to the changes in language use speakers make without being aware of them (Trudgill 1974:96). Although, as established in the previous section, this study will not focus on attitudes towards specific uses of language, awareness of a distinction between overt and covert attitudes has nevertheless had an impact in the design of this study. In order to unveil attitudes that are unconscious the choice of methodology must adhere to that approach, indicating that an indirect method might be preferable to a direct method.. The methodological approach in this study will be analysed in more detail in section 2.3 of this paper. What is important also for this study is the link sociolinguistics establishes between society and language. This relationship is key in the development of this study, which aims at interpreting the attitudes elicited in close relation to the sociocultural context.

Finally, the contribution of social psychology to language attitude research, mainly lead by Lambert (1967), is relevant because it approaches attitudes directly, enabling a better understanding and analysis of language attitudes overall. It has also contributed strongly to the theoretical understanding of language attitudes research. Social psychology's approach differs from the sociolinguistic approach in that it focuses on the attitudes expressed by individuals towards 'in-group and out-group members as elicited by language and as reflected in its use' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2). This means social psychology wants to go beyond sociology and provide more than a description of 'linguistic behaviour' (Smit 1996:41). Social psychology asks why individuals react the way they do to different languages or varieties.

Fishman (1976:1) contributes to answering that question, stating that 'language has a symbolic value which is viewed within societal and situational contexts' and it can be 'used as a symbol of group membership' (Fasold 1984:158). Language and language speakers do not exist in a void but in a particular social and historical context. This 'symbolic value' to which Fishman refers, holds a close bond with these particular contexts and can change with time as a natural consequence of social change, or as a result of specific language policies that consciously aim for a given change. Fishman also asserts that there is a close association between the attitudes a given language variety elicits and the attitudes towards its speakers, the understanding of which can be of great sociological value. This aspect is of particular value for the present study since this relationship is assumed and the results of the language attitudes elicited will be interpreted as attitudes towards the speakers of the different guises presented to the informants. Furthermore, understanding the symbolic value of Iberian-Spanish-accented English in the specific context outlined above can assist in understanding the effects of the (still) current economic crisis in Spain and the consequent brain drain of Spanish skilled young migrants.

Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, who agree with Fishman with regard to the relation between attitudes to language varieties and attitudes towards their speakers (1982:2), also established a link between language and society. This link moves away from seeing them as separate entities but rather presents a close bond of interdependency between them. Cargile et al. summarise this by stating that, from a social-psychological perspective, language research consists of the understanding of 'people's processing of and disposition towards various situated language and communicative behaviours and the subsequent treatment extended to the users of that forms' (1994:211).

It is also of relevance, for the purposes of the present study that social psychology provides a definition of language attitudes that includes both the ‘abstract unobservable nature of attitudes’ and a ‘description of the observable factors’ or, in other words, it includes the cognitive, emotional, behavioural aspects of attitudes and the reactions, which are the ‘observable’ aspect of attitudes (Smit 1996:42). Ryan, Giles and Sebastian provide a definition that tries to include both observable and non-observable factors, stating that language attitudes are ‘any effective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers’ (1982:7). This definition also emphasises the link between attitudes towards language and attitudes towards speakers, so crucial in language attitude research and the present study.

The definition of language attitude provided by Ryan, Giles and Sebastian has been considered the most accurate for the purpose of the present study. The link between attitudes towards language variation and towards the speakers of that variety is central to the development of this study. In addition to exploring this link, the current study also acknowledges the interdependent relationship that social psychology establishes between language and society. According to social psychology, attitude is subject to experience, from which it can be assumed that language attitudes are not formed in a vacuum and do not come into existence with no relation to contextual determinants. For StClair, language attitudes develop under ‘social and political forces operating within the history of a nation’ (Ryan and Giles 1982:164). With that statement St Clair adds elements to the study of language attitudes that directs researchers towards an investigation that goes beyond language attitudes in isolation. According to St Clair’s approach the social context in which the language attitudes under investigation in this study are formed become a relevant part in this investigation. Smit also underlines the importance of contextual factors when it comes to researching language attitudes, emphasising that ‘the situational settings’, ‘the temporal context’ and other ‘participants’ all influence language attitudes (1996:34). Both St Clair and Smit give language a social function in linking the individual to social structures and, according to Smit, attitudes contribute to that link as part of language.

Fishman (1976:228-233) also explores the relationship between language and society but from a different perspective, focusing on how language varieties are affected by social stratification. In Fishman’s analysis there are four factors that reflect the treatment a variety receives in a given social context: ‘standardisation’, ‘autonomy’,

‘historicity’ and ‘vitality’. For Fishman the first three factors are ‘interdependent’ whereas the fourth; ‘vitality’ is independent. Vitality for Fishman refers to the level at which a language or variety is used by native speakers for different purposes. The higher the vitality the higher the chances of a language or variety of becoming standardised (1976:230).

Fishman’s analysis was not considered applicable to this study due to the nature of the relationship of the groups and varieties being examined. This study seeks to analyse the ‘social meaning’ that Iberian-Spanish accented English has in the specific context of the post-economic crisis and not how British social stratification impacts this specific language variety. Furthermore, this study does not aim to expose the treatment the specific variety of English under study receives but rather seeks to identify what attitudes this variety and its speakers receive from native British English speakers.

Section 3 of this paper presents a description of the specific context in which language attitudes are investigated in this study. As stated in the introduction, this study aims to explore language attitudes in the specific context of the post-economic European crisis and the consequent migration of Spanish young qualified professionals to the United Kingdom in search of employment. The language attitudes this study tries to elicit towards Iberian-Spanish accented English should help in identifying whether this specific context has played a role in changing language attitudes towards Spanish speakers of English. Comparing the results of this study with other similar previous studies should serve to determine the actual influence this particular ‘temporal context’ might have had on attitudes towards Spanish migrants in the United Kingdom today. The results of this analysis may also allow for a determination as to whether that influence has ultimately modified attitudes towards Spanish migrants in a positive or negative way.

A final element that will be included in the approach to language attitudes taken in this study is the relation between language attitudes, society and social identity. As mentioned earlier in this section, social psychology seeks to identify why individuals react the way they do to different languages or varieties. The next section is dedicated to exploring the social identity theory approach to language attitudes. Born from the work conducted in the field of social psychology, social identity theory provides a framework of particular relevance to this study both from a theoretical and methodological perspective.

2.2.1.1. Social identity theory

Dirven and Smit agree in stating that the formation of language attitudes ‘reflects and embodies societal structures on various levels’, with both also placing language at the centre of social identity (Dirven 1991:11)(Smit 1996:8). For Smit, language attitudes research needs to consider the elements conditioning the attitude holder, one of the main variables in language attitude research as established above. Attitude holders are part of a society and are members of specific ‘groups’ with ‘basic structural elements’. In order to include these elements in language attitude research, Smit proposes a definition of language attitudes ‘within the framework of social identity theory’ (1996:8).

Identity is formed by two elements namely ‘personal identity’ and ‘social identity’. The former relates to personal ‘cognitive elements’, ‘traits’ and ‘attributes’ unique to the individual. The latter refers to the identity of the individual within a social context, not in alienation, and the place any given individual gives themselves within society. This social identity is formed through a process of comparison whereby the individual assesses their own uniqueness in a positive or negative way in relation to others (1996:9). Depending on the outcome of this process the individual will also assess their level of satisfaction with their current position in society as part of a group and choose to make changes to their identity or reinforce it.

Besides these two key elements, sociocultural factors also play a role in the shaping of identity, both personal and social. Smit defines three sociocultural factors that shape identity (1996:42); personal identity, psychological identity and group identity. The first refers to agents such as ‘age, gender’ or ‘intelligence’ whereas the second relates to more emotional factors such as ‘anxiety’ or ‘depression’. The third, ‘group identity’ is the most complex, relating directly to language attitudes and the ‘social meaning’ of language varieties within a specific social context. Language attitudes are formed in relation to how language varieties are perceived and also in relation to the social status they hold (1996:43).

The concept of group becomes relevant in the social identity theory approach to language attitudes since the group not only defines identity but also makes use of language for in-group and out-group distinctions. Weber defines the group as ‘a minimum of two or more people who interact, communicate with, and influence each other for a period of time’ (1992:176). As part of the establishment of personal identity, individuals establish the groups they belong to and, just as importantly, the groups they do not belong to. Under this scope a speech community would also be defined as a

group that shares a language or whose language characterises them. Language reflects societal structures (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:1) which means that language also mirrors social identity. Language and society are inalienably bonded and language does not only reflect societal structures but also reinforces and transmits them (Weber 1992:11).

In society, language, language varieties and accents become both ‘intergroup markers’ and markers of in-group identity. The power that certain social groups hold, or are perceived to hold by other groups, also plays a role in the formation and structural system of societies and intergroup relations. The groups in power establish ‘the norm’ causing all other groups to be automatically labelled as ‘deviant’ (StClair 1982:166-167). Group labelling itself happens in language and through language, with accents in particular playing an important role in that process as group markers. While the dominant group or ‘group in power’ establishes the norm, the out-group is left to attempt to comply with the norm in order to have access to that power. Language is a good measure of social power and identity within the groups mentioned above and between the different groups (Smit 1996:12).

Smit also adds that an individual’s attitude ‘towards a language is not uniform’, it is dependent on other coexisting attitudes towards that language and on different contexts (Smit 1996:34). Bearing this in mind, the analysis of the results of similar language attitude studies and a close examination of the context in which language attitudes are analysed becomes important. Assuming that all languages are equal, since they all fulfil the purpose of enabling communication, understanding must be sought as to why there is such a variety of attitudes towards them. The search for this understanding is the key motivation behind language attitude research, including the present study. Certain varieties are preferred over others, enjoying a higher status. In order to understand this we must look at the social structures they respond to. In this frame, language attitudes ‘reveal the social importance of language as a symbol of group membership’, they are a ‘means of information gathering on social relationships’ (Edwards 1982:21).

The current study identifies two clear groups under this approach. On the one hand the native English speakers of the United Kingdom represent the group in power establishing the ‘norm’ St Clair refers to. Their position of power is given by the fact that they are the hosting group to the second group under study. Their position as hosts is closely linked to economic power since it is their group that provides the

employment opportunities sought by the migrant group. The second group corresponds to the Spanish migrants who have to acquire a good enough level of English in order to have access to the labour market. A failure to succeed in acquiring a sufficient level is detrimental to their goals. The Iberian-Spanish-accented English spoken by this group becomes a marker that reveals their place in the British social structure. It becomes a symbol of the group membership Edwards refers to, which in the given context indicates that they are likely to be migrants in search of employment. According to the social identity theory, these factors in combination have an impact in language attitude formation and this study will analyse the results achieved under this light.

Within the frame of social identity theory there is an undeniable bond between society and language. Furthermore, in this frame language lays at the centre of social identity which enables the study of language attitudes to contribute further to the understanding of this bond. According to Smit, these elements, namely, the bond between society and language, and social identity, play a crucial role in the development of language attitudes in individuals. The impact these elements have on attitude holders conditions not only the research focus and design of this study, but also the interpretation of the results elicited by studies of this nature.

The current study aims to include these elements not only in the analysis of the social context in which the two groups under study coexist but also in the chosen methodology and design of the questionnaire through which language attitudes towards Spanish speakers of English are elicited. Furthermore, the comparison of the results obtained under this study with those of other similar studies will provide important insights into the evolution of attitudes in the United Kingdom towards Iberian-Spanish speakers of English, thereby shedding light on the factors influencing the attitude holders of this study. Details on the questionnaire design can be found in section 4 and the following section 2.3 will contain a comparative analysis of other related studies.

2.3. Measurement techniques

Besides the intricate task of the definition of attitude itself, another of the challenges faced by language attitude studies is the choice of measurement techniques and, perhaps more importantly, consideration as to whether attitudes can in fact be measured at all. The theoretical framework established above should already provide indications as to the most appropriate measurement techniques to use. This section explores potential measurement techniques for language attitude research, focusing mainly on the Matched

Guisse Technique including through an analysis other studies where this technique has been used.. A brief section on evaluative dimensions is also included here since an accurate understanding of them can determine and shape the analysis of the results. Such dimensions must be considered early on in the design of a study to ensure that the measurement of attitudes is accurate and provides reliable data.

According to Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:7), Smit (1994:74) and Soukup (2000:49) there are three possible ‘assessment techniques’ when it comes to studying language attitudes and these choices need to be made early on in the preparation of language attitude studies. The first of these is the ‘content analysis of societal treatment’. This technique includes the analysis of the sociolinguistic context being studied, meaning the position of a given language or variety within its social context and how its speakers are treated. In order to do this there are a series of sources and disciplines that can be drawn upon such as history, ethnography, literature, observational and case studies, government policies or media such as newspapers and broadcasting media, in order to shed light on language attitude studies (Soukup 2000:49). Section 3 of this paper aims to conduct such an analysis by including details on the current social context in Europe in the wake of the recent economic crisis. Details on migration patterns of Spanish citizens to the United Kingdom and other countries will be presented together with an analysis of language attitudes in the United Kingdom both in general and specifically towards the Spanish and Spanish-accented English.

The second and third of the potential ‘assessment techniques’, the use of direct and indirect measurements respectively, will be explored in more depth in the following section. A way forward for the present study through the combination of both of these techniques will then be proposed as an effective method of obtaining comprehensive and relevant results.

2.3.1. Direct and indirect methods in language attitude research

Another early consideration researchers need to take into account when conducting language attitude studies and measurement techniques is the choice between direct and indirect methods. Direct methods consist of posing questions to informants directly on their attitudes about specific language or language varieties. According to Ryan, Giles and Sebastian the direct method is cognitive oriented (1982:7) and taps directly into the main components of attitudes established above as per the mentalist approach to

language attitudes. This method, however, confronts researchers with the risk of getting answers that are conditioned by social desirability or, in other words, answers that are not entirely genuine but perceived as being more correct by the individual providing the response.

An example of the direct method being applied in a language attitude study can be found in MacKinnon's analysis (1981) of the attitudes in Scotland towards Gaelic. In this study the informants were presented with sixteen open questions on their views on the Gaelic language such as: 'Do you think the Gaelic language is important for the Scottish people as a whole?' or 'If Gaelic became more noticeable in everyday life, in what way would this affect you?' The informants were asked these questions orally and it was for researchers to record their answers on forms. The informants were given a choice of six responses ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree', including 'no response' (Garrett 2010:37). For only one of the questions, the second example given above, were records kept as to the comments of the informants. These comments were later subject to analysis and classified into 'themes' by the researchers (2010:38).

In this example, the informants are aware at all times of the topic being investigated, which can be a disadvantage in terms of the reliability of the responses received. A further disadvantage to this technique is the problem it presents in relation to scoring and classification since the data elicited demands exhaustive analysis, thereby running the risk of more subjective and less scientifically rigorous results. However, this does not mean that this method should be dismissed altogether. The advantage of this method is that it elicits varied and rich answers and can provide very valuable information at a pilot stage prior to the design of a final questionnaire (Soukup 2000:50).

Indirect methods differ from direct methods in that the informants are not aware of the object of study. They have been the preferred methodology coming from social psychology into the research of language attitudes. The use of indirect methods was introduced to the study of language attitudes by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960). Under these methods several informants are exposed to a series of recordings, which speakers have to be evaluated. In this setting, no information is given on the speakers in order to keep control over the 'linguistic factors' and successfully uncover the 'underlying attitudes' towards a given language or variety (Cargile et al. 1994:213). Also, in this setting an assumption is made on the link between attitudes

towards the language and attitudes towards the speakers (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2).

The indirect method of preference of language attitude researchers or ‘classic’ (Soukup 2000:50) is the Matched Guise Technique.

For the purpose of this study both these methods have been considered as both include relevant aspects. The methodology used in this study includes a mix of direct and indirect methods. In order to include direct methods, Soukup’s recommendation was followed and a direct pilot questionnaire was used as part of the early stages of the design of the final questionnaire. This pilot questionnaire elicited valuable information that not only helped the design of the final questionnaire but also contributed to the understanding of the sociocultural context under investigation. The results of this pilot are exposed in section 4.1.2 of this paper.

The indirect method of choice for this study is the Matched Guise Technique. This technique has been deemed adequate based on the definition of attitudes and language attitudes established above in this paper. The Matched Guise Technique approaches the mental aspect of attitudes and captures the reactions to languages and variations in a covert way, thereby reducing the number of variables and allowing for a clearer analysis of the linguistic aspects. This technique is explored below including an analysis of previous studies in which it has been employed.

2.3.2. The Matched Guise Technique

The Matched Guise Technique (MGT) was introduced by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum in a study they carried out in 1960, in an attempt to determine the extent to which spoken language could be of use in analysing the reactions to English and French. The technique consists in presenting the informants with a series of recordings of bilingual individuals who master the languages or variations being investigated. Lambert et al. presented four bilingual males reading a French text on psychology, which was later, translated into English. Two further recordings, unmatched, were also added as distractors. As a key factor the informants, or ‘judges’ as Lambert and his colleagues call them, were not to be aware that there were four bilingual males doing both guises, meaning that any differences in the rating could only be attributed to the differences in the language.

Each guise was to be rated separately using fourteen traits to be scored along a six-point scale that ranged from *very little* to *very much*. The traits were selected to

reflect certain desirable physical appearance such as 'height' and 'good looks' and personality traits such as 'kindness' or 'ambition'. In addition, Lambert et al. presented the judges with further questions aimed at obtaining more data in order to facilitate a more refined analysis and to enhance the qualitative data gathering. The choice of the questions is interesting in that the answers provided Lambert and his colleagues with variables that would allow for an analysis of the influence of certain factors in language attitudes towards English and French.

First of all they asked the informants to guess what they thought could be the speakers' occupation in order to elicit their perceived socioeconomic background. Secondly, informants were asked for personal data such as sex, place of birth and religious affiliation in order to elicit their own socioeconomic background. After that they were asked to rank the traits provided in terms of 'importance or desirability' thus establishing a correlation between the scoring of the speakers and the perceived desirability of given traits. Attitude scales were also provided where fourteen sentences were to be completed in order to elicit the stereotyped views of informants towards English and French Canadian speakers. Finally, a preference scale was to be completed where informants had to openly state their preference for English or French Canadians in different roles such as 'marital partners', 'friends', 'political candidates' or 'colleagues' among others (1960: 44).

In this study a mixture of direct and indirect methodologies was used to deliver reliable data and results which, at the time, were surprising such as the better scoring of English speakers by both English and French Canadian informants. With this study, Lambert and his colleagues prepared the ground for future language attitude studies and the MGT has become a reliable method when seeking to unveil language attitudes in many other contexts. Today there are numerous studies using this technique or modified versions of it.

Later on in 1967, Lambert presented another series of studies with a modification that provided new grounds to analyse data more accurately and reliably. He furthered the technique by introducing the division of the traits or attributes into three 'categories of personality', namely 'competence', 'personal integrity' and 'social attractiveness' (1967:95). On this occasion his results led him to the conclusion that the MGT was an effective technique to elicit 'stereotyped impression of one group to the other'. Other scholars concur with him in the efficiency of his technique such as Carranza and Ryan (1975:87) who conducted a study using a modified version of the

MGT which they believe shows ‘more private reactions or biased views than direct attitude questionnaires’.

Besides the validation the MGT has received from different researchers, it also has a number of advantages worth exploring in order to approach the design of new studies with a critical eye and not dismiss the possibility of variations and improvements. One of the main advantages of the MGT is that it is an indirect method as discussed in section 2.3.1, and is therefore more likely to elicit an individual’s attitudes accurately by avoiding issues such as the social desirability bias. Another advantage is that it elicits data that allows the comparison of results between similar studies in different contexts that use the same method. In addition to that it proves in a systematic and quantifiable way that languages do cause an impression on individuals (Garrett 2010:57).

It was important however for this study to also be aware of the imperfections of the MGT. Thorough research was conducted in order to critically analyse the technique as a valid measurement tool in this context and to consider what modifications may be necessary to the MGT approach for the purposes of the current study. Fasold’s (1984) analysis of the MGT provided an interesting assessment of the technique and its potential flaws. One of the first things that Fasold refers to when looking at the MGT critically is the choice of passage to be read by the taped speakers. Fasold points out potential alternatives for the choice of text in an attempt to optimise the results of the study, such as presenting the speakers in conversation or reading different texts on the same topic. At the same time he points out the importance of the topic of choice being of a non-controversial or neutral nature. Cooper and Fishman (1974) suggest using a technique for the taped voices in which the same conversation could be presented but including a role reversal in each guise.

Garrett also discusses the issue about the taped speakers, calling it the ‘salience question’² (2010:57). He points out the lack of spontaneity and natural context in the recordings where certain particular traits of a specific language or variety might be ‘exaggerated’ or made more salient. This would remove the exercise far from a real, natural environment and can therefore give rise to questions regarding the accuracy of the reactions elicited. The validity of these concerns, although undeniable, can be counter-argued however by the idea that the MGT proves that different languages or

² Also exposed by Lee in 1971.

variations do elicit different reactions with the only variable of the language. Also, the fact that the MGT aims at covertly eliciting reactions should counteract the fact that the recordings are not developed in natural spontaneous situations and, given the inescapable nature of the observer's paradox, the MGT provides a tool to minimise the impact of these factors.

Garrett approaches the issue of artificiality in a more detailed manner by presenting five further issues, or 'questions' as he calls them (2010: 58-59), in relation to the 'salience question' mentioned above. The second disadvantage Garrett discusses is the 'perception question' which presents a twofold argument related to the perception of speakers of the languages or varieties that are being investigated. On the one hand, and according to Bradac (1990), some of the language variations presented could be interpreted as ungrammatical rather than different to the standard. On the other hand, as exposed by Preston (1989), it can be argued that the MGT does not guarantee that informants identify the speakers as members of the particular group under study. This is a valid point which this study addresses by asking the informants where they think the speakers are from. This should enable the researcher to gauge the informant's awareness and the relevance of their judgements. In addition, the results can be correlated to those of the informants that did not guess the speaker's origin correctly to assert the validity of the results and the relevance of this factor in this study.

The third disadvantage of the MGT that Garrett exposes he calls 'the accent authenticity question' (2010:58). Since the guises are supposed to be performed by speakers fluent in the two varieties being exposed to judgment it is also unavoidable to question the ability of the speaker to pose both necessary guises. For this reason, researchers take the choice of speakers very seriously and normally go through different candidates before choosing the most appropriate one. The selected speakers should be able to use both guises to a native or near-native level, thereby leaving the language or language variation as the only variable. Section 4.1.3 of this paper presents a detailed description of the speakers chosen for the present study.

A fourth similar disadvantage is 'the mimicking-authenticity question'. This concern applies mainly to studies where speakers have to produce several varieties, meaning that some of the guises might appear to be unnatural or 'odd' (Preston 1989:65). One way to address these concerns and ensure the suitability of counterpart guises could be to submit pilot recordings to representatives of the target group for the

study and incorporate their feedback with the aim to minimise or polish any aspect that would detract from the authentic value of the recordings.

One further disadvantage that Garrett discusses is ‘the community-authenticity question’. Here, Garrett addresses the issue of labelling of the speech varieties in language attitude studies, arguing that the inaccuracy of this labelling might lead to confusion and a lack of correlation between results of a similar nature (Garrett 2010:58). Special attention needs to be paid therefore to the description and labelling of the varieties being analysed to ensure a fruitful and accurate contribution to the field. Taking this disadvantage into account, this study has aimed at consistently using the following label for the variety under study: Iberian-Spanish accented English. Section 3.4 of this study includes details on this choice.

‘The style-authenticity question’ and the ‘neutrality question’ are the last two disadvantages of MGT studies presented by Garrett. The former makes the assumption that judgements towards ‘spontaneous speech will be evaluated in the same way as the recordings presented to informants’. The latter refers to the content of the recordings themselves. Giles and Bourhis (1976) also discuss this disadvantage of the MGT. They legitimately point out that the MGT presents the informants with controlled recordings that remain distant from real life. This brings up the logical question of how reliable can the results obtained using the MGT be, when they take place in such a controlled environment? This could be an argument for the use of ‘natural-like’ recordings of conversations for informants to respond to.

Because of the necessity to minimise all variables but the language one in language attitude studies in order to achieve reliable valid results, one of things that has been shed is the spontaneity of the recordings. As per the recommendations of (Fasold 1984), the neutrality of the content of the recording is key to achieving valid results, meaning that including spontaneous recordings of a neutral nature might be very difficult. Furthermore the results so far achieved with the MGT and the use of recordings with neutral and artificial content have provided results with significant consistent differences between the different guises, reflecting the impact in judgements these guises have.

A final disadvantage of the MGT discussed by Agheyisi and Fishman is the issue of ‘validity’ (1970:150). The issue of validity poses a challenge when it comes to measuring attitudes if adhering to a mentalist approach given that the ‘cognitive and affective aspects’ of language attitudes are difficult to unveil since we cannot directly

and unequivocally see into the informants' thoughts and feelings. This is still a controversial issue since Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:150) insist on the lack of a satisfactory correspondence between 'attitude and overt behaviour'. At the same time, other researchers like Giles and Bourhis (1976) are comfortable in their study validating the MGT as a reliable tool to study language attitudes. These concerns were dealt with in this study through the definition of attitude established above that includes both mentalist and behaviourist aspects.

In 1976 Giles and Bourhis considered the MGT a valid tool for language attitude study, later on in 1984, Fasold stated that 'the ultimate language attitude measuring instrument is yet to be found' (1984:155) and in 1996 Smit acknowledged that to this day there has been no other method to produce such valid and reliable results as the MGT's, noting further that it is yet to be improved (1994:83-84). Until the perfect method for language attitude study is found efforts need to be made to mitigate the disadvantages of the MGT and refine the method further to obtain the most accurate results. The only way to achieve this goal is to confront the difficulties and imperfections of the method in use. This section has attempted to outline the alternatives or mitigation techniques that will be deployed in this study in order to address each of the disadvantages presented above. In doing so, it is hoped that the validity of the results achieved will be significantly strengthened.

2.3.3. The rating scales

According to Garrett (2010:55) and Soukup (2000:50-52) the semantic differential scale is the technique most typically used with the Matched Guise Technique and it is widely used in many language attitude studies as will be presented in this paper. These scales were introduced by Osgood et al. (1957) where sets of opposing attributes (i.e. honest/dishonest) were presented on both ends of a numbered scale from one to seven and informants had to score speakers across the scale based on each attribute. As Garrett also points out, it is 'inevitable' for these scales to appear in several varied forms such as the one in this study as elaborated in section 4.3. The rating scales used in this study make use of several attributes that informants have to rate after hearing each speaker on a five-point rating scale.

In the field of language attitudes rating scales appear with multiple labelling on the different points of the scale or even with a scale containing even points in order to avoid the stating of a 'neutral' attitude and make informants choose one way or the

other on the scale (Garrett 2010:55). In general the semantic differential scales are preferred to other tools such as the Likert scale because they are believed to elicit ‘snap judgements’, they avoid over-thinking and reduce the effect of ‘social desirability or acquiescence of biases’ (2010:56). Likert scales present the informants with longer statements that require more careful thinking in order to assess different levels of agreement or disagreement with the given statements.

Although the use of scales is common practice in language attitude studies that choose to use the MGT, the issue of the choice of attributes to use in the scales and the choice of evaluative dimensions also remains open. Garrett (2010) describes three ways in which this choice can be made. The first way is taking the attributes used in previous studies like Zahn and Hopper (1985) did in their study. The second way involves putting together the attributes from scratch by interviewing a group of similar characteristics to the final representative sample. The third way consists of a mixture of the first and second options by which newly retrieved attributes are mixed with attributes from previous studies like Nesdale and Rooney (1996) did in their study. Selecting previously used attributes has its advantages not only for the obvious saving of time but it also contributes to ‘better comparability’ across studies (2010:56). Furthermore, previously selected and tested attributes give researchers more confidence in the fact that the attributes cover all the relevant dimensions.

As will be exposed in further detail in section 4.3, this study has chosen the use of rating scales using fifteen carefully selected attributes that are of common use in other similar studies. The three ways Garrett exposed were considered and a pilot open questionnaire was distributed among similar members of the representative sample for this study. The aim of this exercise was to test whether the most used attributes used in similar studies to the current one were valid for this study and whether the dimensions of choice were also relevant. After eliciting a large number of adjectives a careful analysis was done and the different attributes elicited were classified in different categories in order to see if new adjectives could be added in this study together with other attributes already used. The results of this analysis, as will be exposed later on, did not provide any new adjectives or dimensions that had not been used before and a list of attributes was established mainly based on the one Soukup uses (2010).

2.3.4. Qualitative and quantitative research

Another methodological consideration to make during the early stages of language attitude study design is the value, advantages and disadvantages of two different research paradigms, namely the qualitative and the quantitative research. (Dörnyei 2007:19). Both these approaches have traditionally been perceived as mutually exclusive but they both have advantages and disadvantages that cannot be disregarded. Following Dörnyei's description of these two paradigms, this section aims at exploring them both in order to see how they can contribute to the research at hand.

Quantitative research refers to a type of data collection that generates 'mainly numerical data' which can be analysed statistically. On the other hand qualitative research provides 'open-ended, non-numerical data' that is not analysed with statistical methods. A third approach to these two is the mixed method research. This method is relatively new but is a 'growing trend' in research. It represents a combination of qualitative and quantitative research, which can take place either at the data collection stage or at the analysis stage (2007:24). Combining these two paradigms aims at making use of the advantages of both these methods and providing the most accurate and complete results.

The quantitative and qualitative research paradigms have been differentiated as opposing ways to observe the same phenomena and have developed as exclusive of each other. Traditionally quantitative research has enjoyed the unquestionable leadership as the star method in research. In the middle of the 20th century the distinction between the two methods started to be defined as a way of questioning that 'hegemony' (2007:25). Both these paradigms aim at shaping data and both do it using 'categories' or 'codes'. The main difference between these two approaches lies in these codes and the way they are created, what they mean and how are they used, by each approach. On the one hand quantitative research establishes and defines the variables and assigns numerical values to them. On the other hand the qualitative research, although it also uses coding, gives codes a verbal value, not numerical, and these are not determined prior to the actual study. Another difference between these approaches can be identified in the way in which they deal with the variations in sample population in research. While quantitative methods seek to minimise or fix these variations, qualitative methods use variations as sources of meaning. This means that qualitative methods are more open to a more targeted and detailed data analysis that sees value in individual responses (Dörnyei 2007:26/27).

Quantitative research represents a structured and very regulated way of presenting a perspective of the world that is easily transferable to other contexts. On the other hand, qualitative research is more flexible and more sensitive to context that focuses more on the individual perspective. These two perspectives are not negative or positive per se but conform two different paradigms. In order to make a decision as to which approach is the most appropriate for a particular study what really needs to be assessed is which one better represents 'human life and the social world in general' (2007:29). This study will take a pragmatic approach to this dichotomy and will choose to not discard either approach but instead try to include the benefits both approaches present.

Numbers are the strongest argument for a quantitative approach, they are 'powerful' and disciplined but they are empty of meaning on their own and their meaning needs to be provided by the researcher. A quantitative method aims at identifying the relationship between the different variables by measuring it in a numerical way. This gives the quantitative approach a standardised objectivity that allows for generalisations to be made out of the data collected. Finding 'universal laws' that are applicable to all contexts is the cornerstone of research. The quantitative approach is 'systematic, rigorous, focused, and tightly controlled' and provides 'quality checks' that can assess how valid the retrieved data is. This approach is universally valued in research as a reliable approach (2007:34-35).

In spite of all the advantages the quantitative method presents, there are certain gaps in this approach that deserve consideration. It works with averages which means that the subjective aspects of data will not be reflected in data gathered and analysed quantitatively. It does not shed any light on the underlying factors of research such as the reasons behind particular results or the causes of a given phenomenon. From a qualitative perspective, quantitative research runs the risk of being too simple, disconnected from the context or reductionist when it comes to making generalisations (2007:35).

While the qualitative approach is not as organised or as theoretically defined as the quantitative one it still brings important aspects to research. The data elicited by this approach is in the form of 'interviews' or 'recordings', making the word, rather than numbers, its main form of data, which has the advantage that it can be quantified. Its main goal is to understand the 'meanings in the observed phenomena', which calls for detail-rich data which can include any relevant information. This means that qualitative

data can provide much more varied and meaningful – full of meaning – results directly related to specific contexts and individuals, the unique characteristics of which will not be lost in the averaging out of figures.

The qualitative approach also requires a smaller sample of informants due to the nature of the data to be analysed and it does not rely on previous findings. It can answer questions that quantitative data struggles to answer such as *why* or *how* and it can also generate more results based on less data. At the same time, it relies very much on the interpretation of the researcher which means that more than one interpretation might be possible and that this interpretation is subject to personal factors which may cause a bias and deprive the analysis of objectivity. This lack of objectivity also potentially deprives it of the rigorousness that comes with strict methodology and risks not being able to theorise accurately based on analysis.

Both these approaches seem to be complementary and have the potential to enrich a study such as the present one in different ways. Taking a pragmatic approach to this dichotomy, an effort was made in the current study to integrate both these approaches in order to provide results that would provide useful and complete information on the language attitudes under study. The rating scale that has traditionally been used in combination with the MGT and which is used here, provides quantitative quality to this study and the numerical data it produces can be analysed statistically which can add reliability and objectivity. Having understood the advantages of qualitative research and the gaps it can fill, an attempt was made to include this method too in the form of a pilot open questionnaire. This pilot provided interesting insight as to the contextual setting of the study and the group whose attitudes this study wants to unveil. In addition to that, the analysis of the results of this questionnaire assisted in establishing the theoretical focus of the study and added to the design of the questionnaire. Details on this analysis are found in section 4 of this paper where details on the questionnaire are presented.

2.3.5. The Matched Guise Technique in other similar studies

After Lambert introduced the MGT in 1960 a multitude of studies have used this technique in their attempt to research language attitudes. The MGT has become a valid and reliable technique to measure language attitudes and Lambert provided a crucial foundation on which other similar studies have been built. The successful results of these studies and the consistency among them, not only legitimises the use of this

technique but they also contribute to this research with examples in similar contexts that have aided its design. In this section different studies will be presented that were particularly helpful for this research and in particular two studies will be analysed in closer detail. The first of these is Carranza and Ryan's (1975) and the second one is Eisenchlas and Tsurutani's (2011).

The analysis of other similar studies shows a pattern in the results obtained that have been of use to set the hypothesis for this study. One of these patterns, according to Carranza and Ryan, is the 'downgrading of speakers of lower prestige languages' (1975: 85). Another pattern different language attitude studies show is that native guises score higher in terms of competence but lower in terms of integrity and social attractiveness as is the case of Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) where the Received Pronunciation (RP) guise scored higher in competence than in personal integrity and attractiveness. This is similar to the case presented by Teufel (1995) who studied language attitudes of Anglo-Australians towards German-accented English in Australia. Her results showed that non-standard speakers achieved higher scores in terms of solidarity. The case of Teufel is also interesting for the present study because she establishes a direct inversely proportional relation between the level of accentedness and competence. In her study the ratings of competence increase as the level of accentedness decreases, which is a pattern expected also in the present study.

Looking now in more detail at Carranza and Ryan's study (1975), the same patterns can also be observed in the language attitudes of high-school students towards English and Mexican Spanish in the United States. 'Mexican Americans are the largest bilingual minority in the United States' and together with other minorities 'they are on the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder'. They are also under a certain amount of pressure to adopt English in detriment to their Spanish and learning English is seen as a necessity to survive. The 'English-only' policies in American schools at the time seemed to have generated a pattern by which Mexican-American and American students had internalised the concept that Spanish is 'associated with disapproval' which to the researchers is an unhealthy environment that can lead to identity crises (Carranza & Ryan 1975:83).

Interestingly, as a modification of Lambert's initial study using the MGT, Carranza and Ryan identify two distinct spaces in the use of English and Spanish, analysing in particular the different associations Mexican American and 'Anglo' students have for both languages (1975:86). In order to do this, the researchers use a

modified version of the MGT by adding two new variables; 'the contextual domain' and the 'distinction between status and solidarity ratings'. For the researchers the MGT was the most suitable because it unveils 'more private reactions or biased views than the direct attitude questionnaires' (1975:87). Besides the addition of the 'contextual domain' variable, which was an innovative addition to language attitude studies, they also included the 'distinction between status and solidarity' ratings (1975:88), another variable tailored to the specific context under study.

According to Edwards (1982:26) the contextual domain is important in that it is not a 'static entity' and attitudes change with changes in the context although as he himself says 'judgements are by nature resistant to change' (1982:30). For this reason Carranza and Ryan (1975) present their speakers with two sets of recordings that are clearly set in distinct domestic and academic domains.

The researchers had four clear hypotheses. The first one was that Mexican-American students would rate Spanish higher in the home domain and English higher in the school domain. The second hypothesis was on the Anglo ratings, with the expectation that they would rate English more favourably than Spanish in both the domestic and the school domain. The third hypothesis related to the solidarity scales, with Mexican-American students expected to rate Spanish higher on the solidarity scales but lower than English on the status scales. Finally the fourth hypothesis was on the Anglo ratings where no differences were expected on the ratings for either scale. The students were presented with sixteen different speakers, reflecting the domain and language combinations: English-home, Spanish-Home, English-School, and Spanish-school. Four recordings for each domain-language combination were presented. The nature of the recordings was of a neutral emotional value and 'consistent in style' depicting a mother preparing breakfast for the home domain and a teacher giving a history lesson for the school domain.

The results showed that English obtained higher scoring in general especially in the status scales but it did get lower scores in the solidarity scales. Spanish scored a bit higher in the home domain. It came as a surprise to the researchers however, to find that contrary to their predictions there was no significant difference between the ratings of the two groups but differences were clear between the two different domains and dimensions. It also came as a surprise that Anglo students rated Spanish higher in the home domain which is interpreted by the researchers as a sign that Spanish lessons (the Anglo students were studying Spanish too) were having an effect in the awareness of

the students as to the preservation of the mother tongue and also as a sign of positive relationships between these two groups in that given school. The researchers would not expect such results in another school in a more conflicting area. The results of Carranza and Ryan's study serve as a foundation for the results expected in the present study. Furthermore, in the same way the Spanish courses had an effect in the school where Carranza and Ryan carried out their study, the impact of the context in the present study is also expected to have a presence.

Another study of relevance to the present research is Eisenchlas and Tsurutani's (2011). In this case a modified version of the MGT was used to study language attitudes towards non-standard accented varieties of English in Australia among foreign-born teachers. This study is based on four premises that were deemed of importance for the current study. The first of these premises is that negative attitudes towards foreign accents can be translated into a worse treatment towards immigrants, which might lower expectations in relation to their performance. This can have a direct impact on their lives especially in relation to employment, access to housing or education opportunities (2011:217/218). The second premise is that language attitude studies towards speakers on the basis of accent become particularly relevant in relation to countries that receive high levels of immigration (2011:220). The third premise is closely linked to the second, states that such attitudes can change, reflecting the importance of studying attitudes in countries where a sudden contact with accented versions of their native tongue takes place. The last premise relates to the relation between attitudes and the familiarity of informants with the speakers of the accented variety of their mother tongue. Eisenchlas and Tsurutani believe that the closer the contact the more positive the attitudes towards those speakers can be expected to be.

Based on these premises Eisenchlas and Tsurutani ask three questions in their study, namely 'Do language and linguistics students have positive attitudes towards non-standard accented English speakers?', 'If so, are they positive attitudes restricted to the accents of speakers of the target foreign language or does it extend to speakers of other languages?' and 'Does familiarity with the accent impact on students' positive evaluations? (2011:222). These questions served as a source of inspiration for the current study as will be presented in section 4.4.

The researchers tried to answer these questions by presenting 41 students, native speakers of Australian English, with a total of six recordings including various foreign accents in English and one Australian native. Their study was a modified version of the

MGT as they were unable to find a speaker that could successfully perform all six guises to a native level. Informants were asked to rate the speakers across a seven-point semantic differential scale on a selection of twelve personality traits chosen from previous studies. These traits were then divided into three dimensions, namely competence, integrity and attractiveness. In addition to the rating scale they also asked informants to identify the speaker's occupation and native language. As will be exposed in section 4.4 these two last questions were also included in the questionnaire of the present study.

The results of Eisenchlas and Tsurutani's study showed that the native guise scored higher in the dimensions of competence and integrity but lower on social attractiveness. Interestingly, there was one exception in which a foreign accent was rated 'as highly as the native speaker for Competence and Integrity' (2011:227) and that was the Spanish accent. Also, the speakers with the heavier accents were rated lower in competence and integrity but were considered socially attractive. In spite of the higher scores of the native guise and the low scores of the heavy accented guises, the researchers found a general positive evaluation of speakers with an accented speech. They explain this phenomenon through the constant presence of foreign accents these students are exposed to in their classrooms and the fact that they are language students. This combination has enabled them to subvert certain stereotypes that associate foreign accents with a low level of intelligence or low capabilities (2011:227).

A number of the patterns identified in the previous studies summarised above are expected to be found in the present research and they will serve as a comparative basis for the analysis detailed in section 5.

2.3.6. The evaluative dimensions

Another factor of importance for this study was the establishment of evaluative dimensions in order to approach the analysis of attitudes towards Iberian-Spanish accented English. Evaluative dimensions provide a way to 'structure attitudes toward language and language variations' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:8) and the choice of dimensions needs to reflect the factors under investigation in order to enable an accurate analysis. This section will briefly expose different approaches to dimensions as an introduction to the rationale behind the dimensions chosen for this study.

At the onset of language attitude studies there were two preferred dimensions, namely; social status and group solidarity (Brown & Gilman 1960, Fishman 1976 and

Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982). Ryan et al. define the 'group solidarity' dimension as 'the value of speech variety for identification with a group' and the 'social status' dimension as 'the value of speech variety for social advancement' (1982:155). These dimensions tap directly into the basic differences between speakers in the social hierarchy mentioned in the introduction section of this study, that of status and position. They reflect the dichotomy established between standard and non-standard varieties of a language. The relation between these and the perceived concepts of power and status of speakers of any variety is clearly identified. Digging deeper into this distinction it can be seen that the language variety of the groups with higher social status will be associated with attributes such as 'intelligence, expertise, ambition and confidence' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982: 8) while the group solidarity dimension is associated with the upkeep of a given social variety in spite of its lack of social prestige, being more closely related to attributes such as social attractiveness or integrity. Later, Garrett (2010:57) states that the main dimensions have been established by researchers and that they are 'prestige, social attractiveness and dynamism', however, different studies in fact present a variety of dimensions that focus on different aspects, depending on the nature of the research being undertaken. This is a positive aspect of variation between studies because although using the same dimensions and attributes can be positive for the field in terms of enabling 'comparability across studies' (Garrett 2010:56), it is also important to explore other dimensions that might be relevant and specifically tailored for each social context under investigation.

The established dimensions Garret suggests were considered and deemed appropriate and relevant for this study but with some modifications. Since this study does not aim at establishing the situation of the Iberian-Spanish accented variety of English in the United Kingdom, the dynamism dimension was especially problematic and was dismissed. On the other hand the prestige and social attractiveness dimensions were considered better suited for this study, especially the social attractiveness dimension.

Further research, and in particular the analysis of similar studies to this one, provided different perspectives to dimensions that were considered. In addition, a number of informal conversations were held with a sample of the target informant group for this study from which a series of stereotypes were elicited. These stereotypes were later contrasted with other sources such as academic articles and the media. The aim of eliciting these stereotypes was to ensure that the dimensions of choice would reflect the

most common stereotypes in England towards the Spanish. At the same time, these were also relevant in the choice of attributes that would be later encapsulated in the different dimensions.

Although stereotypes will be analysed in further detail in section 3.3.1 it is important at this point to note the role specific stereotypes played in the selection of the dimensions used in this study. Stereotypes of the Spanish *character* elicited during the informal conversations included: bossy, friendly, not very efficient, lazy, passionate or fun. These coincided to a large extent with the stereotypes presented by Iñigo in her study of stereotypes in Anglo-American films. Some of the stereotypes she notes are: friendly, anarchic, hot-blooded, proud, party lovers, siesta lovers, and late eaters. She also mentions ‘proud, lawless and highly individualistic’ descriptions of Spaniards provided by renowned authors such as Hemingway or Orwell at the beginning of the 20th century. In her paper Iñigo also states that Spain has never enjoyed the same popularity other European countries enjoy such as France or Italy (2007:2). This study seeks to contribute to that debate by providing evidence as to the actual attitudes a European country such as the United Kingdom has towards Spanish migrants based on an analysis of their language attitudes toward the variety under study.

Based on the stereotypes elicited and the precedents identified in previous studies outlined above, especially Lambert’s (1967), Soukup’s (2000) and Eisenclas and Tsurutani (2011), the three dimensions chosen in this study are: competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness.

These three dimensions include the main relevant aspects for the current research. The competence dimension relates directly to the perceived employability of Spanish migrants in the context of interest for this study; personal integrity encapsulates stereotypes like lawless or individualism; and social attractiveness relates to the fun and friendly stereotypes noted above. The attributes chosen for this study, which are later classified into these dimensions for the purpose of analysis, will be presented in section 4. The results expected are that the non-standard most accented guise will score lower than the other guises in the dimension of competence and personal integrity but higher in social attractiveness. The opposite results are expected for the native guise.

2.4. Summary

In this section different approaches to defining attitude have been exposed and different elements have been taken into consideration before proposing a definition for the

purposes of the current study. Faced with the dichotomy presented between a mentalist and a behaviourist approach to attitudes, a combination of the two has been proposed in order not to neglect any relevant aspects of the concept of attitudes. This compromise seeks to incorporate the complexity of attitudes as perceived by the mentalist approach, allied with the evidence of attitudes that can be found in individual responses observable through behaviour.

Attitude strength has also been considered as an important factor in this study. Given that attitudes are subject to influences of different kinds, including the sociocultural context, one of the aims of this study is to observe the evolution of language attitudes in the United Kingdom towards Spanish speakers of English within the specific context of Europe after the economic crisis of 2008. Consideration has also been given to language attitudes, presenting a classification from which it was concluded that this study will focus on attitudes towards language varieties. The variables involved in language attitude research were also presented and each relevant variable was identified for the purposes of the present study.

Finally, different disciplines that have contributed to language attitude research were exposed, identifying their main contributions to the field. Special emphasis was given to social psychology which, through its direct approach to attitudes, seeks to understand why individuals react the way they do to different languages or varieties. In doing so, a link is established between attitudes to languages and attitudes to speakers which is crucial for the development of the present study. It also provides a definition of language attitudes that combines the abstract and unobservable elements of attitudes with the observable.

The bond that social psychology establishes between language and society, and identity, has also been explored, leading to the inclusion of the social identity theory as another relevant approach for this study. Details on the sociocultural factors defining social identity were exposed, presenting the importance of one of them in particular - group identity - to the understanding of the social meaning of language varieties.

Having established the key concepts that will underpin this study, the methodological considerations taken into account in order to fulfil the different aims of this study were considered. The theoretical approaches discussed above have posed several questions as to how to elicit, observe and analyse language attitudes. The analysis of different measurement techniques led to the selection of the methodology to be employed in this research.

The first key technique identified was the content analysis of societal treatment which provides details on the sociolinguistic context being studied. Further detail in relation to this technique will be included in the next section where a description of the current context will be provided together with specifics on language attitudes in the United Kingdom. Direct and indirect methods were also explored, with their advantages and disadvantages presented in detail. On the basis of this analysis, the choices made for this study were presented, with a combination of both indirect and direct techniques deemed as the most complete approach. Direct methods will be used in this study in the form of a pilot questionnaire. The final questionnaire will use the MGT as the main indirect technique, in combination with rating scales.

The advantages and disadvantages of the MGT were also analysed in depth and mitigating strategies were presented for the disadvantages, which will be used in this present study. The process for the selection of attributes for the rating scales was also outlined with the advantages and disadvantages of both quantitative and qualitative methods presented. This study, as explained in this section, will include qualitative elements in the questionnaire in order to not neglect information that may provide additional insight in relation to the topic at hand. Further details on this will be provided in section 4 of this paper where the final questionnaire will be presented.

As part of the methodology, this section also included details of similar studies to the present one in order to provide ground for comparison and frame the expectations of the results obtained here. A number of patterns were identified and the corresponding patterns will be presented in relation to the present study in section 5. Finally, details on the choice of evaluative dimensions were provided to finish framing the methodological approaches selected. Three dimensions were selected, namely competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. It is anticipated that the patterns emerging from the results of this study in relation to these competences, as outlined in section 5, will closely reflect those identified in earlier studies.

3. The field study

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this field study is to investigate the language attitudes held by native British speakers of English towards the Iberian-Spanish-accented English spoken by Spanish immigrants in the United Kingdom today. In order to do so a five-part questionnaire has

been designed. Details on the design and content of the questionnaire are found in section 4 of this paper. This section will focus on defining the frame and scope of the study in close relation to the theoretical background detailed in section 2 of this paper.

Following social psychology's approach to language attitudes, this study firmly believes that language attitudes are a reflection and consequence of external historical and political factors. Here, a description of the sociocultural context within which this study is developed will be detailed. The focus will be mainly on the recent European economic crisis and its consequences that are of relevance to the scope of the study, namely the migration of Spanish citizens to the United Kingdom. In addition to the description of this contextual frame, details will be given on the development of language attitudes in more detail in the United Kingdom, paying special attention to stereotypes and other language attitudes studies done in this country. Another further section has been dedicated to detail the choice of the label Iberian-Spanish to frame the scope of the study as opposed to just Spanish.

3.2. The economic crisis and the Spanish migration

The European Commission identifies the origin of the economic crisis that started in 2008, as 'initially triggered' by events in the American banking sector'³. American mortgage payers could no longer face their payments, which together with a series of bad investments caused the extreme caution of investors. As a consequence, the fourth largest bank, Lehman Brothers defaulted due to the lack of money lending. Unfortunately European banks had 'invested heavily in the American Mortgage Market' and European governments had to rescue these banks causing Europe to fall into recession in 2009 as they could not afford this rescue.

Some European economies were not strong enough for such a move, such as Greece, Ireland or Spain, countries that were hit very hard by the crisis. The economies of these countries were already in a very precarious state being reliant on borrowing money to finance their budgets and having accumulated high sums of debt. Lending was not possible any more converting the 'bank crisis' into a 'debt crisis' and causing the crisis to spread rapidly. The easy money these governments had had access to before, became suddenly unavailable, which combined with the consistent neglecting to observe vital warning signs, contributed to the worsening of the situation. In addition to

³ This information is found in the sections labelled 'Why did the crisis happened?' and 'Why did the crisis spread?'.

that, some governments in the Eurozone had been ‘losing competitiveness’ and did not adhere to the economic reforms as established by the European Union. In some cases, as it is the case of Spain, ‘property bubbles’ developed together with other economically unhealthy decisions that made the situation remarkably worse for these countries. The situation escalated rapidly falling into a ‘vicious cycle’ where ‘financial instability stifled economic growth’ which at the same time ‘lowered tax revenues and increased government debt’.

In addition to this unstable situation its high levels of corruption worsened the case of Spain. Transparency International is an independent body that tracks levels of perceived corruption all over the world based on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Under this index, Spain currently ranks on position 37 out of 175 countries whereas in 2008 it was on position 28. Other less severely affected European fellow countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany currently rank on positions 14 and 12 respectively. Together with France, The United Kingdom and Germany have become the main hosting countries for young qualified Spanish migrants in search of employment.

In this situation of economic crisis, worsened by corruption, and in order to understand the impact this has had in the young population of Spain it is important to look at some figures and migration patterns immediately after the beginning of the economic crisis. These figures are also relevant in order to assess the impact this migration has on the hosting countries and the potential impact on their attitudes towards Spanish migrants.

The Instituto Nacional de Estadística⁴ (INE) is an independent organ which collects statistical data for the Spanish state and which regularly publishes migration figures among many other statistical facts on the population of Spain. On the 1st of January 2015 there were 2.1 million Spanish nationals registered in the census of residents abroad. This figure includes Spanish nationals born abroad and foreign nationalised Spanish who later also migrated in the years after the onset of the economic crisis. In 2009, the year after the beginning of the crisis, migration from Spain to other countries increased by 48%. In 2009 there were 1.4 million Spanish nationals living abroad. These figures do not include the number of Spanish migrants to other European countries that have not registered in the foreign resident census since it is not

⁴ National Institute of Statistics of Spain, which is the official source of all statistical data relating to the Spanish population in Spain and abroad.

a legal requirement to do so within the European Union. It is easy to estimate these figures to be substantially higher but unfortunately there is no reliable source of information for these figures.

According to a press release published by INE dated on the 18th of March of 2015, the countries receiving the most Spanish migrants were Argentina, France, Venezuela and Germany. The United Kingdom hosted 81.519 Spanish migrants of all ages in 2014 and this figure increased to 91.316 by the beginning of 2015 (2015a:4). Looking at the figures of migrants by age, there is a clear peak between the ages of 20 and 44⁵, which is an indicator to the main objective of this migrant move, which is employment. Within this age range there is a substantial increase of migrants to the United Kingdom between 2009⁶ and 2015. Table 1 shows migration figures divided in age groups between these years:

	Ages 20-24	Ages 25-29	Ages 30-34	Ages 35-39	Ages 40-44	TOTAL
2009	1.981	4.877	8.794	8.105	5.380	29.137
2010	2.032	4.607	8.507	8.581	5.979	29.706
2011	2.320	4.495	8.420	9.159	6.808	31.202
2012	2.638	4.724	8.572	9.725	7.715	33.374
2013	3.118	5.154	8.580	10.3095	8.457	35.704
2014	3.543	5.885	8.931	10.963	9.563	38.885
2015	4.126	6.981	9.937	11.861	10.818	43.723

Table 1 Spanish registered residents in the United Kingdom between 2009 and 2015

This table shows that in 2009 a total of 29.137 people registered as residents abroad in the United Kingdom and how that figure raised to 43.723 by the 1st of January 2015 with a sustainable yearly increase.

⁵ These figures are available on the INE website and can be consulted when filtered by country, age group and gender but can not be downloaded.

⁶ The INE does not provide figures previous to 2009.

Another press release published by INE on the 25th of June 2015 (2015b:10) shows that the countries receiving the biggest number of Spanish migrants in 2014 were the United Kingdom, France, Ecuador and Germany in that order per number of registered Spanish immigrants. The migration to Ecuador is mainly attributed to Spanish-nationalised Ecuadorians or Ecuadorians born in Spain returning to their countries of origin which can be attributed also to the economic crisis and lack of job opportunities.

Looking at both these latest press releases it is clear that the United Kingdom is one of the top destinations of Spanish migrants, especially those between the ages of 20 and 44. Also, analysing the situation after the economic crisis it is evident that the reason for this influx of migrants is motivated by the search of employment in the British labour market by this large segment of the population.

Milroy (2001) considers that social background is still a very important factor when it comes to succeeding in the labour market in the United Kingdom and he also establishes a direct relationship between establishing an individual's social background and their language use. Hopper and Williams (1973) for instance, researched the importance of speech in a job interview setting. The results showed that black people speaking the Received Pronunciation (RP) variety were better received in job interviews in Britain. Rey (1977) developed a similar study in the United States on attitudes towards potential employees including white Americans, black Americans and Cuban, these last two with varied accent levels of Spanish in their spoken English. The results showed that all informants, which included black Americans and Cubans, rated the white American candidates more highly in terms of status.

Although these studies are relatively old and some stereotypes in general have evolved since the seventies, they raise very contemporary questions such as the ones presented in this study. How are the Iberian-Spanish young work seekers being perceived in the United Kingdom? How is their accent perceived in job interviews? Where in the social hierarchy does their accent put them? It is also true that the sociocultural and historical context in the United States for Latin American Spanish speakers is very different from that of European Iberian-Spanish speakers in the United Kingdom, however parallels can be drawn if analysed in terms of higher and lower-status languages in a given context where a pattern is found in establishing such hierarchies. The present study wants to analyse if there is a repetition of such pattern in the context of Spanish-accented English in the United Kingdom today. Although the

main focus of this study is not on the work environment, the context described above established the importance of employment seeking in this study.

3.3. Language attitudes in the United Kingdom

3.3.1. Stereotypes

Stereotypes are but a mere tool of social categorisation (Garrett 2010:32). Individuals divide the world that they know in different categories or groups that allow them to 'classify individuals as members of social groups in the basis of them sharing certain features' (Smith & Mackie 2000:160). At the same time this enables them to classify themselves as members of a given group and also in opposition to another group. Weber considers stereotypes to be 'rigid attitudes formed by group members about other groups in order to stress intergroup differentiation (1992:70). For this purpose the similarities between the members of one group are 'exaggerated' and become the perfect foundations for stereotyping. Stereotypes can be developed on any attribute, physical or other, positive or negative and they have the function 'to bring order to a complex social world, making it easier to predict and negotiate' (Garrett 2010:32-33). For Smit 'stereotypes are more rigid and fixed than attitudes' and they are 'formed in intergroup relationships'. Unfortunately there is no unequivocal way to establish a divisive line between attitude and stereotypes so the criteria is left to the researcher or not resolved (1996:28).

The lack of the divisive line Smit refers to leaves the door open to theorise about a relationship between stereotypes and language attitudes. Milroy and McClenaghan (1977: 8/9) talk about the relationship between accents and stereotypes. Accents can identify the membership of a speaker within a given group and attitudes towards that speaker and their speech are associated with the attitudes towards the group itself formed in a stereotypical way. Robinson (1979) agrees with the above stating that speech calls upon the stereotypes related to the group the speaker belongs to. For Garrett (2010:4) stereotypes are 'cognitive shortcuts' and he thinks they play a very important role in the construction of attitudes and should not be disregarded when researching this field. In addition to that, Garrett also discusses the strong relation between those stereotypes and personality traits. Speaking 'gives rise to judgements in people's honesty, competence, intelligence, enthusiasm' among others (2010:10).

The present study wants to give room to stereotypes for different reasons. As mentioned in section 2.3.6 stereotypes played a role in the selection of the attributes and dimensions of choice selected for the questionnaire and later analysis. Another reason is the relationship they have to accents as described by Milroy and McClenaghan. In order to unearth the attitudes held by native British speakers of English towards Iberian-Spanish-accented English it is important to understand the stereotypes the informants are going to be calling upon to make their judgements. This is particularly important bearing in mind that the methodology of choice for this study is the Matched Guise Technique which deprives informants of any kind of information or context for them to build their judgement. Having only the language variety as a variable, informants are precisely expected to make use of the ‘cognitive shortcuts’ Garrett refers to, associated to the language varieties they are hearing in order to score the different speakers on the rating scales. This process might be more or less conscious, however, the fact remains that the only variable available is the language variety, which as seen above, should elicit honest reactions to the different guises presented. In addition to this, Garrett establishes a relationship between stereotypes and personality traits, which makes stereotypes even more relevant given that informants will be asked to score the different guises based on several personality traits.

Having established the role of stereotypes in the current study it is relevant to discuss some of the most relevant stereotypes about the Spanish people common in the United Kingdom. In section 2.3.6 some of the most common stereotypes were established by Iñigo (2007) through the characterisation of Spaniards in Anglo-American films. In films and entertainment media traits are sometimes exploited to create characters and in this exploitation certain traits are exaggerated declining into stereotypical depictions.

A popular example of this in the United Kingdom to this day, is the character called Manuel in the 1970’s BBC sitcom called *Fawlty Towers*. Manuel was a waiter from Barcelona as he himself repeated constantly in a strong Spanish accent. Upon being called by name, Manuel always replied with a strong *que*⁷ which is still a common catch phrase in the United Kingdom among people over 35 years of age, as a response to someone stating they come from Barcelona. Manuel was short and had a bushy moustache. He always smiled and was nice but was not portrayed as being easily

⁷ Spanish word for *what*.

preoccupied or very efficient at his job. His English never seemed to improve enabling numerous scenes based on puns and misunderstandings. Although old, this sitcom is according to the BBC ‘eminently quotable and stands up to this day as a jewel in the BBC’s comedy crown’ (2014a) and has a place in the collective cultural background of the United Kingdom. Manuel’s portrayal, although caricaturised, does embody several of the stereotypes Iñigo refers to in her paper such as: anarchic, hot-blooded or proud.

Iñigo also mentions other stereotypes in her study such as: friendly, party lovers, siesta⁸ lovers or late eaters. More recent references to some of these stereotypes perceived by the English are found for instance, in airline advertisement. At the beginning of 2015, British Airways displayed several large banners located at Heathrow airport in London that read: ‘Barcelona. Tapas⁹, siesta, repeat.’¹⁰. Easyjet, a low-cost British airline, advertises flights to Spain making reference to ‘the three S’s’ which stand for ‘Sun, Sea and Sangria’. In addition to that it makes the following statements: ‘One thing that the Spanish have in common is a shared sense of fun’ and ‘Let’s just say the Spanish know how to throw a party’ (2015).

The clichés of sun, *fiesta*, *siesta*, *paella*¹¹ and even bullfighting talk about a perception of the Spanish people that in this study would score highly in dimensions such as social attractiveness but that probably would drop when it comes to competence or personal integrity. The analysis of the results of this study, in section 5, shows the extent to which these assumptions are accurate.

3.3.2. Language attitudes in the United Kingdom

For the purpose of this study it is necessary to stop briefly to look into the way language attitudes have worked in the United Kingdom to better interpret later the results of the present study bearing in mind the purpose of this study which is the analysis of the reactions of British nationals towards Iberian-Spanish-accented English in the United Kingdom as spoken by a large group of young Spanish professionals that have recently and are still migrating to the United Kingdom mainly in search of jobs.

⁸ Spanish word for *nap*, considered a very Spanish tradition. Informally called in Spain ‘Spanish yoga’.

⁹ Typical Spanish small dishes to share.

¹⁰ An image of this campaign can be found in the appendix.

¹¹ Traditional Spanish rice-based dish very well known and liked in the United Kingdom.

Most of what is known of accent evaluations in the United Kingdom comes from studies such as Giles (1970), Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982) discussed throughout this study, Ryan, Giles and Hewstone (1988), Garrett, Williams and Evans (2005), Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003). All these studies have presented informants with a series of language varieties or 'labels' for them to 'draw on social stereotypes to express generalised attributes to those varieties' and they have all also used scales to collect the relevant data (Bishop, Coupland & Garrett 2005:132).

This section will discuss two language attitude studies similar to the present study. The first study this section explores is the one carried out by Howard Giles in 1970 where he studied the reactions of teenage students in the United Kingdom towards various accents both native to the country and foreign, which at the time were commonly heard in the country. Closely related to it is the second study carried out by Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005) which was built as a contrast study to Giles' and which offers interesting insights in the evolution of accent perception in the United Kingdom in the span of thirty years.

In 1970, Giles studied attitudes towards different varieties and foreign languages. Among the foreign accents included in the study there was German, French and Italian. Unfortunately in this study Spanish was not one of the languages chosen perhaps because its presence was not significant enough at the time in the United Kingdom. The aim of Giles' study was to establish a 'hierarchical structure of accent status' (1970:213) and his results remain of interest to this study and also the methodology used. Giles introduced three evaluative dimensions, namely 'aesthetic' 'communicative' and 'status' (1970:211). The informants were made aware of these dimensions and were asked to evaluate them along a 7-point scale. They were also aware that they were being asked about their attitudes but what made this method indirect was the fact that they did not know that they were going to be rating the accents (Garrett 2010:41). The students were presented with thirteen different recordings produced by one speaker only although they were told that they were thirteen different speakers. The speaker managed to produce 'realistic guises' while reading a factual passage on archaeology. The speaker also aimed at keeping the same 'speech rate, vocal intensity, pitch and personality' in all recordings in order to keep the number of variables to a minimum (Giles 1970:214).

After hearing each guise the informants were asked to rate the dimensions on the 7-point scales and identify the accent. Afterwards, the students were divided according

to their ratings. The second part of the experiment consisted of similar rating scales but this time as a response to accent 'labels'. The students were provided a list of the different accents presented previously and asked to imagine what they sounded like in order to fill in the scales. In this case Giles is using a direct method since the students were aware at that point that they had to rate the accents unlike in the first part where they rated 'vocal guises' (Garrett 2010: 42). The results of the study showed a very high correlation between the direct and indirect method parts of the study which is very interesting and gives a vote of confidence to mixed methodologies.

On all three dimensions the RP accent scored the highest except in the communicative dimension of the second part of the experiment where RP was only second to 'accent identical to your own' (Giles 1970:218). Most of the accents scored negatively and the accents with the lowest scores were 'town and industrial accents' of the United Kingdom (Garrett 2010:54). Of the European foreign accents, although their positions vary across the different dimensions and from part one to part two of the study, French is the only one that scores higher than the rest being awarded positive attitudes consistently, in fact the French and North American accents are the only foreign accents to be positively regarded in terms of status. This fact could be due to the intricate historical relations between France and the United States with England and it does not allow for the prediction of Spanish doing any better than German and Italian if subject to this study.

The second study to be presented here is a contrast study to that of Giles' run by Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005) in collaboration with the BBC under the name *Voices* (2014b), which aimed at assessing if 'any general ideological and sociolinguistic-evaluative shifts have occurred' in the thirty-year gap between the two studies (2005:131). This study is also relevant for the present study not only because it analyses language attitudes in the United Kingdom but also because the data was collected online (2014b). Furthermore a decision in this study was made to include Spanish as a more relevant substitute for Italian which should offer some interesting insights and comparable data.

The *Voices* study took place in 2004 and it was built to be a 'near-replication' to Giles' in 1970. The collaboration of the BBC also made it of a 'greater scale' (Bishop, Coupland & Garrett 2005:132) by building an interactive survey online that was launched as part of a TV program and got more than 5,000 respondents. All informants were presented with a confirmation message they had to read to proceed with the

survey, including a message ensuring the privacy of their data. Informants were asked details about their ‘own language use’ and what other languages they could speak and they were enquired about their ‘ideological stances towards linguistic diversity’ by rating the statement ‘I like hearing a range of accents’ (Garrett 2010:172).

This experiment differs with the present study in that it used mainly direct methods by asking informants directly to rate 34 accents ‘presented conceptually’ which were mainly native British accents but also included accents from other countries with a clear presence in the United Kingdom (2005:143). Bishop, Coupland and Garrett’s study as exposed in their 2005 paper wants to focus only on the 16 accents that most closely fit Giles’ study. They also focused on the responses to the following questions: ‘How much prestige do you think is associated with each accent listed?’ and ‘How pleasant do you think each accent listed below sounds?’ as they were deemed the closest related to the social dimensions of prestige and social attractiveness.

The researchers hypothesised that the results of their study would show a ‘sociolinguistic evaluative shift’ showing an improvement in the scoring of non-standard varieties or a balancing of the overwhelming positive scoring of standard varieties (2005:135). According to Fabricius there has been a shift, throughout the past century in the ‘British sociolinguistic landscape’ which has shifted from being ‘culturally working-class dominated’ to ‘culturally middle-class dominated’. This has implied also a shift in the perception of RP, which although still enjoying a prestigious position can be a disadvantage in certain situations or even subject to prejudice (2006:118/119). According to Trudgill that shift entails that ‘it is no longer permitted in British society to be seen to discriminate against someone on the basis of their accent’ (2002:176). Therefore any ‘quantitative differences’ between the results of both studies should show that shift (Bishop, Coupland and Garrett 2005:136).

The results of this study were interesting and surprising because in spite of the cultural shift pointed out by both Fabricius and Trudgill, there seemed to be ‘attitudinal consistency’ (2005:131) meaning that the differences between Giles’ results and the *Voices* study’s did not show significant changes in the attitudes towards the same varieties, most of them ending being ranked in the same position in 2005 as in 1970. In the scoring awarded within the prestige dimension there was a ‘striking similarity’ in the results and RP was clearly favoured followed by ‘an accent identical to your own’ which pointed towards a strong in-group loyalty. These results were considered ‘discouraging’ by Garrett (2010:174) especially since informants reported to feel

‘positively disposed to sociolinguistic diversity around them’ (Bishop, Coupland & Garrett 2005:139). It was observed though, that the scoring overall was lower for the different languages and varieties for the prestige dimension, than it was in 1970 including the scoring of French and German accents (Garrett 2010:174). When it comes to the scoring of these accents within the social attractiveness dimension there are also great similarities with Giles where RP and ‘identical to your own’ accents remain in the lead. Although the ideological shift hypothesis was not proved a trend was seen among younger informants since they evaluated accents less negatively than the rest of the informants, but negatively nonetheless. This could be interpreted as a sign of a future shift.

The relevance of these studies for the present study lays in the safe assumption that the near-native and native guises presented in this study can be expected to score higher than the Iberian-Spanish-accented guise. The ‘attitudinal consistency’ that Bishop, Coupland and Garret identify is also expected to be compatible in this study with Trudgill’s discovery that ‘it is no longer permitted in British society to be seen to discriminate against someone on the basis of their accent’. As will be exposed in section 4.1 of this paper, a pilot questionnaire was distributed as part of the incorporation of direct and qualitative methods in the study. Informants were asked to judge a speaker with a strong Spanish accent and they were all aware of the purpose of the questionnaire. The analysis of the results proved that Trudgill’s statement is right as informants made their discomfort explicit mentioning on occasions that it was unfair to judge the speaker on their accent. In general, there was a tendency to give apologetic responses especially when sharing negative judgements.

In addition to that, the *Voices* study substitutes Giles’ Italian accent for Spanish. This interchangeability is important for the present study in that attitudes towards the Spanish guise should also be considered even if the informant identifies the mother tongue of this guise to be Italian since a certain amount of overlap can be assumed between the two due to linguistic and cultural similarities. The same assumption could also be extended to other Mediterranean languages that share similar phonetic features and stereotypical depictions such as Greek.

In relation to the *Voices* study, Garrett points out at certain reasons that might have led to the hypothesis of the study being disproved. One of the reasons is that creating a voluntary online survey implies that the informants are a self-selecting group which can limit the sample of informants. This point in particular is of importance to the

present study as one of the limitations taken into account when designing the survey. More details on this will be provided in section 4.1.3 together with steps taken to compensate the limitations of the chosen methodology. Additionally section 5.4 will also detail the limitations of this study.

3.4 Iberian Spanish and Latin American Spanish

One of the issues Garrett points out, as presented in section 2.3.2, in relation to using the MGT is what he calls ‘the community authenticity question’. He calls for the accurate and specific labelling of the speech varieties in language attitude studies in order to avoid a lack of correlation with other studies that might have used the same labels but a different regional variety that falls also within a given category. Garrett gives the example of ‘Welsh English’ (2010:58) .

The different regional varieties in Spain, although sometimes acute, especially in the south of Spain (Andalucía) and in the regions with their own languages (Catalunya, Galicia or Euskadi) were not deemed relevant for this study due to its nature. These varieties, which are very perceptible to a Spanish ear, might not be as relevant to the target group of this study unlike the ‘Welsh English’ case Garrett bases his concern on. Exploring the impact of these differences and their presence in spoken English as a second language for Spanish speakers would demand further research that would go beyond the scope of this study.

Garrett’s point however was given due consideration and it was deemed necessary for this study to narrow down the type of Spanish under scrutiny here. In the field of language attitudes there are multiple studies in relation to Spanish in the United States¹² which called for a specific label for this study in order to clearly establish the subject matter. Although multiple varieties of Spanish and various languages coexist in the Spanish state there is a clear-cut difference between the Latin American varieties of Spanish and those of the Iberian Peninsula and also a clear historic and socioeconomic distinction between the presence of Spanish in the United States and in the United Kingdom. Bearing this in mind the label ‘Iberian Spanish’ was chosen as opposed to Latin American Spanish.

The aim of this study is also to present reliable data and results that could be correlated with those of studies of language attitudes towards Spanish in the United

¹² For instance: Carranza and Ryan (1975), Bradford, Farrar and Bradford (1974), De la Zerda and Hopper (1979) and Hopper and Williams (1973).

States. It would be certainly interesting and valuable from a sociolinguistic point of view to compare both results and the present study aims at contributing to that line of study.

3.5. Aims and hypotheses

Having defined the scope and the context in which this study is framed, this section will collect the different aims of this research and the hypotheses to be tested. Most of the language attitude studies take place in a context where languages are in competition or where minority languages are perceived to be a ‘nuisance’ (Garrett 2010:11). According to Jorgensen and Quist (2001:42) the minority languages, such as immigrant languages, are the ones that generate the most negative attitudes from the speakers of the majority language in a given social context. Garrett’s, Jorgensen’s and Quist’s perceptions are the trigger for the present study.

The aim of this study, as presented in the introduction of this paper, is to unearth the attitudes of native British English speakers towards Iberian-Spanish accented English. Following the association established above between attitudes towards language and speakers (Smit 1996:42), this study wants to investigate the attitudes towards a specific current migrant group in the United Kingdom. This group is conformed by the Spanish young professionals that have been forced to migrate to the United Kingdom in the past decade as a consequence of the European economic crisis of 2008 in search of a job. According to Eastman language attitude research is ‘a fruitful source of policy-oriented information’ (1992:99). This study aims at contributing to raise awareness on the perception of Spanish migrants other European countries have and the consequences of the economic crisis on the group mentioned above.

The study has been designed in order to test three hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that the three different guises presented to informants will yield different results based only on the language variable. Achieving results that supported this hypothesis would build up the legitimacy of the methodology used and contribute to the field of language attitudes. In Giles’ study of 1970, all foreign accents towards which attitudes were elicited from native British English speakers, rated low on all dimensions (aesthetic, communicative and status) with the exception of French. Given the different historical relationship that exists between Spain and the United Kingdom there is not reason to believe that Spanish will get better scoring than the foreign languages in Giles’ study. The second hypothesis of this study is that the IbSpa guise will score

lower than its EngSpa counterpart and significantly lower than the RP guise in the dimensions of competence and personal integrity but higher in the dimension of social attractiveness.

The third and final hypothesis relates to the influence personal experience has on language attitudes. Finally, according to Garrett (2010:22) and Sherif (1967:2) attitudes are dependent on 'personal experiences' and the 'social environment' (Garrett 2010: 22) (Sherif 1967:2). Social and historical contexts exert an influence on attitudes, which make language attitude research all the more relevant. The third hypothesis states that the scoring awarded the IbSpa guise will be higher in the case of the informants that are more exposed to Spanish culture or that are accustomed to travelling than the scoring of those who are not. Bishop, Coupland and Garrett expected to find signs of a 'sociolinguistic evaluative shift' (2005:131), which their study did not yield. This study also wants to search for signs of this shift and in order to do so adds the qualitative aspect of asking for traveling experience and friendships with people of other nationalities. The assumption behind this hypothesis is that the shift is real and that informants that are accustomed to travelling and being in touch with other nationalities will award less negative scores to the foreign guises.

4. The questionnaire

This section presents details on the questionnaire distributed among students of different universities in the United Kingdom. The first subsection will present details on the process of designing the questionnaire. Early considerations taken into account will be presented together with details on the pilot questionnaire run among a sample group and the conclusions reached afterwards relevant for the final questionnaire. A section will also be dedicated to detailing the rationale behind the choice of using an online questionnaire including details on the advantages and disadvantages of that choice. Finally, detailed information will be given on the choice of speakers. Visuals on the totality of the questionnaire have been included in the appendix for reference.

4.1. The questionnaire design process

4.1.1. Early considerations

Before designing the questionnaire three main decisions were made. The first decision was in relation to the methodology, the second was the choice of the sample of

informants to target and the third related to the actual format of the questionnaire and distribution.

In terms of the methodology used for the field study, the research presented in section 2 provided guidance as to the overall approach and the inclusion of different elements in the questionnaire. According to Fasold, in order to expose language attitudes successfully, a lot of work needs to be invested in creating a questionnaire that will prevent the informants from being aware of the purpose of the study (1984:147). Following Fasold's lead and that of other similar studies conducted by other researchers, the Matched Guise Technique in combination with a rating scale was the method of choice. In addition to that, and following mainly the steps of Lambert (1967), Soukup (2000) and Eisenchlas and Tsurutani (2011), the attributes selected for the rating scale have been organised in three different categories or dimensions; competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. These dimensions enable a structured analysis of the results of the quantitative data elicited.

The main techniques of use chosen constitute a solid and respected indirect quantitative method but further investigation on research methods revealed other techniques that could be taken into account and add value to the study, namely qualitative and direct research methods. It was considered that adding elements of these methods in the study would provide for a fuller and richer interpretation of the results and a more accurate testing of the hypothesis presented above. This section will also present details as to how these elements were incorporated practically.

The second consideration taken in to account for the design of this study was the actual logistics in the distribution of the questionnaire which would, as will be detailed here, very much condition the format. Due to logistical limitations it was deemed appropriate to distribute the questionnaire online. This decision had its advantages and disadvantages and since online questionnaires are relatively recent in this field it is important to detail them carefully for future research.

The third and final consideration is the sample population of choice for the study. Following, also in this case, the steps of other studies, the study targets British undergraduate and postgraduate students in the United Kingdom whose mother tongue is English. It was also decided that any informants not fulfilling those requirements would not be discarded for the purpose of comparing their results with those of the British students across a number of variables. The use of an online questionnaire

enabled the inclusion of all submitted questionnaires since incomplete questionnaires were automatically not submitted.

4.1.2. The pilot questionnaire

According to Fasold (1984) when creating a questionnaire it is recommended to do a pilot questionnaire with open questions that can then contribute to the closed-question questionnaire. Williams (1970) and Nesdale and Rooney (1996) also use this strategy to create a pilot questionnaire in their studies using the MGT. As seen in section 2.3, Garrett considers it a good strategy to ensure the validity of the attributes selected by combining the use of already tested attributes with new attributes found in a preliminary questionnaire (2010:56). Following Fasold's recommendation and the examples above stated, the first step taken towards the design of the questionnaire was sending a simple set of questions and a short recording to a small sample of informants, all native English speakers, all British.

This pilot questionnaire was also deemed necessary, following Soukup's recommendation, to include qualitative data to complement the numerical data elicited through the MGT. The recording sent to the informants was extracted from the speech in English the Mayor of Madrid Ana Botella delivered in 2013 in Buenos Aires for the representatives of the International Olympic Committee. Her speech was part of the bid of the city of Madrid to host the Olympic games to be held in 2020¹³. While the speech did not contain ungrammatical errors, according to Roman, the mayor of Madrid did show a 'rudimentary command of English', spoke with a strong accent and mispronounced most of the words 'including some sentences in the patois know as Spanglish' (2013). Her delivery of the speech was received by the Spanish people, in particular the media and social media, as unprofessional and childlike. At the time it resulted in the mayor being made a laughing stock and to this day a phrase from the speech¹⁴ is still of common use and part of the popular culture as a joke to imply something or someone is stupid and/or naïve. Numerous memes and humorous videos can be found easily on the Internet related to this matter.

In order to retrieve genuine answers the identity of the speaker was not disclosed to the informants at any point and they were asked to listen to the sixteen-second

¹³ Madrid failed the bid to host the Olympic Games in 2020.

¹⁴ The phrase was 'a relaxing cup of café con leche', *café con leche* being the Spanish equivalent of the Austrian *mélange*.

recording carefully and imagine what the speaker was like in order to answer the questions based on the way she spoke and her accent. The study took into account that according to Fishman (1976:150) the informants would probably aim at giving ‘correct answers rather than honest answers’ especially since almost all informants had a close relationship with the researcher who is of Spanish origin. In a close qualitative analysis of the responses, it was interesting to confirm Fishman’s statement not only in the answers within the questionnaire but also in the direct communication with the informants after the questionnaire was delivered.

The closer the informants were to the researcher the more they would apologise for the negative impressions and the more explanations they would give, some of them establishing a direct relationship between the speaker’s Spanish accent and the fact that the researcher is of Spanish nationality. The discomfort of being asked such direct questions was made explicit in the communication with the informants which confirmed to the researcher that an indirect method would be preferable to a direct one. It also confirmed Trudgill’s assessment of a sociolinguistic evaluative shift, which implies that discriminating someone based on accent is not socially acceptable, anymore (2002:176). It was interesting to note that in some cases the descriptions of the speaker were closer to a description of the researcher although unfortunately this can only be asserted at a speculative level and further inquiry would have to be made to justify this assumption. What was apparent was that there was a clear difference between the answers of those close to the researcher and those who did not know the researcher at all, the impressions of the latter containing more negative aspects and less politically correct impressions than those of the former.

This experience also helped shape one of the hypothesis of the study in relation to the expected results. Although the results expected for the IbSpa guise are lower than those of the EngSpa and the RP guises, the general reluctance of the pilot informants to qualify Mrs Botella negatively and the apologetic tone of those who did have something negative to say, can enable the prediction that the results for the IbSpa guise will be lower but not radically negative compared to the other two guises and also that the results might show the same shift that Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005) identify in their study.

The questions included in this questionnaire¹⁵ aimed at tackling two of the three main dimensions as specified by Lambert (1967:95) namely ‘competence’, ‘social attractiveness’ being the two that were estimated to elicit more extreme reactions. Watson and Clark identify a potential flaw when using the MGT in that using attributes from other studies ‘might evoke different things to different communities’ (2014:2). In order to counteract this, informants were encouraged to use as many adjectives as possible in order to explore the possibility of including different attributes for this study that might be more relevant to the group tested and specific sociological background of the study.

A total of 130 attributes were elicited from a total of 15 questionnaires. They were classified under the three dimensions of choice in order to find any relevant new attributes that would fall outside the dimensions and assess whether another dimension could be incorporated. They were also compared to a selection of attributes used in other similar studies of reference that were deemed appropriate for the current study. This enabled the dismissal of most of the attributes that could be encapsulated in the selected attributes from other studies or were exactly the same. After this analysis it was concluded that the attributes used in previous studies were sufficient for the purpose of this study since they were all reflected in the answers provided and no new attributes appeared significantly enough to be included.

Another interesting point that arose in this initial exercise was the confirmation that the nature of the text being read had to be as neutral as possible which confirms Fasold’s (1984) approach. On many occasions the informants identified the context of the speech by the mayor of Madrid which was surely rehearsed and duly staged with the intention to convey reliability and confidence. Many respondents assumed that it was an educated individual, respected and with authority and based their answers on that assumption which the audio piece revealed due to its content. In the audio Mrs Botella uses high-standard vocabulary and structures besides the now infamous phrase *a relaxing cup of café con leche*. It was clear to the informants that the small extract was a public speech of a certain relevance which is why it was deemed indispensable for the closed-question questionnaire to include a much more neutral extract such as a weather report.

¹⁵ Both the transcript of the recording and the questions of the pilot questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

Finally it was also concluded from this exercise that the anonymity of the researcher was vital for the quality of the data to be collected. It was obvious that the ‘observer’s paradox’ (Garrett 2010:43) was very much latent and the closeness between these initial informants and the researcher, elicited interesting but non-reliable data as part of the results of the study. Following this observation it was deemed appropriate to do a more unorthodox online questionnaire where there is limited or no contact between the informants and the researcher. The reasoning behind this choice will be further developed in the next section.

4.1.3. The online questionnaire

The questionnaire distributed as part of this study was developed using the survey design and data collection electronic tool SoGoSurvey. After researching different tools, this one was considered the most complete to incorporate all the necessary features deemed indispensable for the questionnaire.

The first indispensable feature was the possibility to include audio clips and rating scales, the tools that did not include this feature were dismissed immediately. The audios were recorded, converted to mp3 and uploaded to the audio platform SoundCloud which were later linked to SoGoSurvey with the relevant questions. The second feature was the possibility to distribute it easily via sharing a link that could be emailed or shared electronically. The link was shared with a professor at the University of Lancaster who distributed it among his undergraduate and postgraduate students at the beginning of the winter semester 2015. In order to encourage participation a £90 pound Amazon voucher reward was advertised for one of the participants to be chosen at random. Unfortunately, this did not yield all the necessary responses and further measures were taken to compensate the low number of responses. A five-day campaign was launched on the social network Facebook to target users who were between the ages of 18 and 30 who had British university institutions among their interests and likes and who were British in the United Kingdom. This campaign yielded more responses but, as will be exposed in section 5.1, not as many as was desired achieving a total of 78.

A third feature was the elimination of a back button in the survey. This was necessary due to the lack of control over the situation in which the survey is taken. In order for the MGT to be efficient the researcher needed to keep control over the sequence in which questions were answered and it was indispensable to ensure that all

questions were responded consecutively without the possibility to jump back and forth in the survey. Also, in order to elicit the quick ‘snap judgments’ Garrett refers to and eliminate the ‘social desirability or acquiescence of biases’ it was important to prevent informants from being able to rethink their answers and go back and make amendments (2010:56).

The fourth feature that was deemed indispensable was the inclusion of compulsory fields that would prevent informants from proceeding with the questionnaire without completing all fields. All answers in the questionnaire were made obligatory and failing to give an answer would prevent the informant from moving to the next slide. This feature minimises the number of invalid questionnaires due to lack of responses and all submitted questionnaires have been fully answered. A risk was acknowledged here and it is that of random answering to be able to submit and opt for the prize. This risk is true of any questionnaires, online or else, and the results will be analysed in detail to spot patterns that indicate thoughtless filling in of the questionnaire like excessive repetition of selection of the same points on the rating scale or responding irrelevant information on the open questions.

The fifth feature was the possibility to run an online pilot questionnaire which meant that feedback could be given from informants that did fill the questionnaire in the exact situation as the final informants. This process provided insight that enabled important changes such as modification of wording or changing questions that were piloted as open to closed questions. It was also useful to confirm that the overall format was acceptable and comprehensible and that the results yielded would be accurate. The final feature was the possibility to receive a live feed on the responses obtained. This gives the researcher the power to control the progress of the study and take the appropriate measures, as was the case, in order to attempt to increase the number of responses or stop the survey at any time.

The final questionnaire includes seventeen slides which overall contained 28 questions. These 28 questions include fields like the compulsory disclaimer and the submission of the informants email to opt to the prize. It consists of four parts that will be detailed in sections 4.2 to 4.5. The first part is the introductory part which gave informants information on how to fill in the questionnaire. The second part includes the MGT where the audios and the rating scales are presented to the informants one at a time. The third part contains a repetition of the audios and direct questions on the

speaker such as mother tongue or comprehensibility of the speech. The four and final part collects data on the informants themselves.

The use of online questionnaires in the field of language research is still a rather untapped method that could bring a lot of light and contribute in an innovative way exploring the options the new technologies can bring to academic research. The example set by Bishop, Coupland and Garret's *Voices* study (2005) using an online questionnaire was considered inspirational. One of the main advantages is the possibility to reach a bigger number of informants since the use of new technologies is generalised today especially among the target group of informants for this study. Presenting an online questionnaire should pose no problem to students who use digital tools on a daily basis both in their academic and personal life. Also, new technologies enable the study with a series of features that are beneficial to the study like the ones presented above. It also ensures total anonymity of the researcher and minimises the effect of the observer's paradox. This was considered an advantage because it enables the informant to be less constricted by the classroom or interview room setting on hopefully enables them to focus in a more relaxed environment and therefore provide comfortably honest answers.

A disadvantage is that the informants become a 'self-selecting group' since they are not obliged by anybody or anything to fill in the questionnaire which is of a voluntary nature. In the case of the *Voices* study, this disadvantage implied that the informants who responded could have been 'particularly predisposed' to answer questions on accents as a personal interest (Garrett 2010:172). In order to mitigate these disadvantages the current study uses an indirect method which means that informants are not aware of what they are going to be asked. This means that in this case the informants would be a group of people willing to help which was not considered a factor that would invalidate their results. In order to find another motivation, different to the interest in the subject matter that the informants in the *Voices* study might have had, the Amazon voucher is offered.

4.1.4. The speakers

In order for the MGT to elicit valid and reliable answers the choice of speakers is of crucial importance. Researchers agree that with this technique bilingual speakers need

to record counterpart guises to be played to informants¹⁶, except those that use modified versions of it¹⁷. The speakers to record the counterpart guises should be able to produce both guises to a native level in a way that their origin remains undistinguishable to the listeners. Also distractor speakers should be added to establish a correlation between the scoring of the bilingual speakers and the distractors. In the choosing of the speakers certain concerns raised by some scholars were considered. The authenticity of the varieties was a major concern in the study as exposed by Garrett (2010) and explored in section 2.3.2. In order to assess that authenticity of the counterpart guises the recording was shared with 5 British-English native speakers who gave relevant feedback as to the quality of the both the EngSpa and IbSpa guises. Several takes were necessary to incorporate the feedback and a final recording was approved and deemed appropriate by the researcher and natives.

For this study two different female speakers were chosen of similar physical constitution and similar voice pitches in order to minimise the differences between the counterpart guises and the distractor guise. The first speaker performing the EngSpa and IbSpa guises is of Spanish origin with a semi-native/native command of the English language. She studied English since the age of twelve until the end of her academic studies at the University of Barcelona on English Philology. She also lived in the United Kingdom several years and is habitually assumed to be of an Anglophone origin there. She now lives in the United States where she is always assumed to be of British origin in her interaction with natives and her Hispanic origin is not recognised.

The second speaker, also female, is originally British of Irish descent and speaks an RP/high standard variety of English. Several other female candidates from various other English-speaking countries such as Canada, South Africa, the United States or Australia were considered for the third guise to act as a distractor. The characteristics of this speaker were to be determined by the speaker to do both the EngSpa and IbSpa guises so the choice was made based on the similarities between both speakers. The British native speaker was chosen due to her similar physical characteristics, age and similarity in voice pitch.

Once the bilingual speaker recorded both guises lasting exactly 29 seconds each, the distractor speaker was given the characteristics of the bilingual speaker's recording

¹⁶ For instance; Fasold (1984:150), Garrett (2010: 39) Watson and Clark (2014:2)

¹⁷ For instance; Eisenclas and Tsurutani (2011), Carranza and Ryan (1975), Bayard, Weatherall, Gallois and Pittam (2001)

so she could generate a recording as similar as possible. The recordings of the bilingual speaker were not shared in order to not condition the other speaker and make sure it was as natural as possible. The result was a 30 second recording of similar speed and voice pitch. The extra second is due to a slight pause of the distractor at the beginning of the recording that was deemed irrelevant and therefore left unedited.

4.2. Part I

This part of the questionnaire is constituted by the first three introductory slides containing first a short disclaimer, second, instructions on the questionnaire and finally a short audio test. Following the example set by the *Voices* study that also includes a disclaimer (Garrett 2010:172), this slide contains several very relevant pieces of information that are deemed indispensable for an online questionnaire of this nature. Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005:133) present a confirmation message for informants to accept before they can proceed with the survey (2005:134). The current study also contains a disclaimer message that has to be read and a check box is provided for informants to tick. Failing to do so will not enable the *next* button in order to proceed. The disclaimer informs the participants about the anonymous nature of the survey and that their details will not be shared with anyone. This slide also contains a greeting that aims at setting the tone for the questionnaire bearing the target sample in mind. The researcher is very aware that the relaxed and flexible setting an online questionnaire represents incurs in a risk of informants giving up before getting started or half way through the questionnaire. After consulting with a marketing expert in digital education platforms at Avallain AG¹⁸ it was considered necessary to use a friendly introductory tone to capture the attention of the informants in a non-threatening way.

On this first slide, information is also given as to the length of the questionnaire to be able to manage the expectations of the informants. Given that this is an online voluntary questionnaire, which the informants should be able to fill in their own time, it was considered important to disclose immediately the time it should take. The design of the survey took this into account and marked a 15-minute maximum in order to ensure the biggest number of informants filled the questionnaire from beginning to end. Furthermore the informants are also told about a £90 pound prize included as an

¹⁸ Avallain AG is a Swiss company specialised in education technology and digital publishing that owns a similar software to that of SoGoSurvey, the software used to develop the questionnaire.

incentive to persuade them to share their impressions in the questionnaire and complete it to the end.

The second slide contains brief instructions on how to proceed with the questionnaire and a transcript of the text performed in the different guises. The use of an online questionnaire made it possible for the instructions to be relatively simple since the software efficiently guides the informant as to what to do. In relation to the transcript, it was considered important, given the nature of the study, to provide the informants with the text to be read by the different speakers. The choice of text also posed some questions in relation to including a setting in the study and the nature of the text chosen. These questions were answered through the research as presented in section 2.

The possibility to include a setting as part of the questionnaire as a variable was considered in a similar way Carranza and Ryan (1975), Smit (1996) or Soukup (2000) did in their studies¹⁹. In the case of these studies the relationship between the groups under study was considered of a different nature to the relationship between the groups under investigation in this field study. In this case the Iberian-Spanish speakers of English are a mere first generation of immigrants into the United Kingdom and their presence at the moment is not substantive enough in the British society, unlike the situations the researchers above investigate. For the above reason, no setting was selected for the recording and a choice was made to opt for a neutral recording on a weather report to avoid tampering with evaluations due to context or content as per Fasold's recommendation (1984:153). The weather report was sourced from the Met Office website (2015) which is the national weather service of the United Kingdom.

The third and final slide of the first part of the questionnaire is simply a reminder for the informants to turn on their speakers and a short recording is included to test that the speakers are working correctly. This would be another measure taken especially for an online questionnaire since the researcher has no chance to control the audio on the questionnaire environment therefore a simple reminder is needed to ensure the smooth and successful running of the questionnaire. A transcript of the message is included in the appendix.

¹⁹ Namely, the use of English and Spanish in the home and at school, the use of specific South African language varieties for educational settings and employment opportunities in sales jobs, respectively.

4.3. Part II

Slide four to nine constitute part II of this questionnaire which includes the recordings of the guises and the rating scales. On an alternate order the informants are presented first a guise and then the rating scale to score each guise. Slide four contains a recording named Speaker#1 which corresponds to the EngSpa guise, information that is at no point disclosed to informants, all the information available on the screen is Speaker#1 and the play button linked to SoundCloud. After listening to the recording, informants have to move to the next slide without the possibility of going back to listen to the guise again.

On slide five, informants are presented with the first rating scale labelled Speaker#1. The instructions on this slide are simply: 'Below is a list of adjectives. Can you rate the speakers you have just heard for each of the below on the scale from 1 to 5, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'? As mentioned previously in this paper, a lot of effort was put into ensuring an accurate selection of the adjectives and the final selection was a total of fifteen attributes: intelligent, likeable, successful, self confident, reliable, trustworthy, friendly, educated, open minded, polite, industrious, ambitious, sociable, outgoing and honest. These adjectives appear in a random order every time an informant reaches a slide with a rating scale. This means that each rating scale informants have to complete will present the attributes in a different order. The decision to randomise the order of the adjectives was made in order to mitigate the risk of automatic answers. The list of attributes is rather long and if they appeared in the same order in each rating scale by the time the informants reached the rating scale for Speaker#3, automatic responses could be provided.

The design of the rating scales is a modified version of the semantic-differential scales introduced by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum in 1957 and are conceptually closer to a Likert scale. The fifteen attributes selected are not presented along a bipolar scale including the opposite counterparts of each attribute on each end of the scale but just the positive attribute. The informants are asked to score from one to five along the scale as to how much they think a speaker can be described according to each attribute. The reason to not chose a semantic-differential scale was to avoid adding negative attributes. The trend identified by Trudgill²⁰ in attitudes towards accents was matched in the pilot open questionnaire done previous to the design of the questionnaire. The discomfort

²⁰ Trudgill said 'it is no longer permitted in British society to be seen to discriminate against someone on the basis of their accent' (2002:176).

expressed by informants in the pilot questionnaire was to be expected in the final questionnaire which led to the decision to move away from the semantic-differential scale. This study assumes that informants will be more comfortable expressing their attitudes from a positive perspective awarding speakers lower or higher scores that reflect negative and positive attitudes respectively. This is made clear by awarding score 1 the value *not at all* and 5 to *very*. With this approach informants should be able to give honest answers and escape the desirability bias which might play a role in spite of the anonymous setting of the online questionnaire.

For the purpose of analysis, as will be discussed in section 5, the attributes were divided into the dimensions mentioned in section 2.3.6. Table 2 shows this classification:

Competence	Personal integrity	Social attractiveness
Intelligent	Reliable	Outgoing
Ambitious	Honest	Sociable
Successful	Trustworthy	Friendly
Educated	Open minded	Likeable
Industrious	Polite	Self confident

Table 2 Classification of attributes in evaluative dimensions

The evaluative dimensions are namely, competence, social attractiveness and personal integrity and the attributes grouped under each relate to them

On slides six to nine the informants are presented first with Speaker#2 which corresponds to the IbSpa guise and then on slide eight they are presented with Speaker#3 the RP guise. Slides seven and nine correspond to the rating scales to complete based on Speakers#2 and #3 respectively.

4.4. Part III

This study has taken into consideration some of the disadvantages of the MGT and has tried to compensate for the gaps the method still presents by introducing questions in this section that will complement the results of the speaker's scoring in part II. As exposed in section 2.3.2 Bradac (1990) and Preston (1989) raise concerns in relation to

the correct interpretation of informants of the recordings as per the focus of a study that uses MGT to elicit attitudes. Their points were considered valid in this study since in order to have relevant and reliable results the attitudes of the informants should be elicited on the basis that they can identify the group they are judging. Since the MGT is an indirect method and avoids revealing the purpose of the study to its informants, this study chooses to add some questions after all semantic scales had been filled in and are unrevisable by the informants. This third part of the questionnaire contains such questions, which are found in slides ten to fifteen following the pattern established in part I.

The informants are given the chance to listen to the recordings a second time replicating part I alternating the questions after each recording. In this case informants have to answer five questions. On questions 1 and 2 of this part informants are asked about the speaker's native language and country of origin by selecting one among a pool of limited items. They are also given the choice to add another alternative language and country of origin in case none of the options reflects their impressions. The need to add both questions in spite of the apparent repetitiveness was to make sure the informants had the possibility to identify the EngSpa guise as of Spanish origin although the design of the study aims at that information not being apparent. Also, it was deemed necessary to avoid automatic answers since there should be a correlation between the answers to both these questions.

The third and fourth questions were inspired by Giles' study (1970). In his study Giles asked informants direct questions on the language of the recordings as to the pleasantness of the guises and how comfortable would the informants feel in interaction with the speakers. In this study the questions were presented on a five-point Likert scale. The questions are: 'Was the speaker easy to understand?' and 'Did the speaker have a strong accent?' These questions aim at establishing a correlation similar to that of Bishop, Coupland and Garrett who state that there is a correlation between respondents reporting to feel 'positively disposed to sociolinguistic diversity around them' and less negative scores towards accents (2005:139). Teufel (1995) also establishes a correlation in her study between the level of understanding the informants claim after hearing the recorded speakers and their scoring in rating scales. Teufel's results showed that the levels of understanding increased as the level of accentedness decreased.

The fifth and final question of this section was inspired by Hopper and Williams (1973:301) and Eisenchlas and Tsurutani (2011) who in their studies, asked informants to rate speakers on an occupation scale. This question was added also for the purpose of establishing correlations in the results and in an attempt to add a more qualitative element to the questionnaire. Bearing in mind the context of this study as detailed in sections 3.2 and 3.3 it was considered appropriate to present the informants with several job options to choose from in order to establish their perception of the speaker's socioeconomic background. The options given were chosen as general representatives of five different ascending tiers of occupations, namely cleaner, bar tender, administrative staff, manager and director. A further field was added to provide the possibility to add a different occupation, which will require a qualitative analysis and was considered to bring value to the results of this study.

4.5. Part IV

This final part of the questionnaire contains two further slides. Slide sixteen has two main aims. The first aim is to collect information to assess that the informants fall under the selected sample group for this study. The second aim is to collect further information to complement the data collected in parts II and III of the questionnaire. This information is on the personal profile of informants which is why it was included in this final slide after the completion of the questionnaire.

Questions one to four of slide sixteen relate to the sex, age, nationality and mother tongue of the informants. This study targets undergraduate and postgraduate students between the ages of 18 and 29 from the United Kingdom whose mother tongue is English. Question five is a yes/no closed branching question 'Are you a student?'. Selecting the answer 'yes' opened a new question (question six) inquiring about the specific studies of the informant where a text box was made available to state the exact studies. The data elicited in this question also requires qualitative analysis, as the values are not numerical.

Questions seven to eleven in this slide relate to the second aim of this section. The inspiration for these questions came from Garrett's 'contact hypothesis' (2010:33) and the conclusions of Eisenchlas and Tsurutani's study (2011) as presented in section 2.3.5. Garrett refers to stereotypes which are not easy to change but 'social mixing and exchange with members of the opposing groups is a way of changing negative stereotypes'. As established in section 3.3.1 stereotypes are closely linked to language

attitudes and therefore this part of the questionnaire wants to take into account two aspects. The first aspect is the level of contact between the informants and Spanish individuals or the Spanish culture in an attempt to establish a correlation between the closeness to the Spanish culture and the language attitudes held. The second aspect is to establish a causal relationship between the exposure of informants to other cultures in general and their openness to other accents, which should be reflected in more positive scoring.

In order to do so questions seven to ten ask informants on their traveling experience on the one hand and the presence of people from other nationalities in their lives on the other. Question seven is also a yes/no closed branching question asking the informants if they have lived abroad for more than a month in order to establish the level of contact with other cultures. In the case of a positive answer, they are asked to state where they have lived in an attempt to test the level of contact with the Spanish culture in particular. Question nine enquires about having close friends from a different nationality to the informant's also in the form of a yes/no closed branching question. In this case, if answering 'yes', the student is asked to share the nationalities of those friends in a text box again in order to assess contact with other cultures and the Spanish culture in particular. Finally question ten of this slide is on the amount of countries visited in the past 5 years, also to contribute to build the profile of the informant and try to establish correlations with the answers elicited on the other parts of the questionnaire.

In their study Carranza and Ryan (1975:99) obtained, to their surprise, high scores for Spanish in the home domain by Anglo students. They explained these results as a consequence of the Spanish courses taken by the Anglo students and the exceptionally good relations between Mexican Americans and Anglos in the given school of the study. They also state that such results should not be expected in other more conflicting centres. This study also believes in the influence the contact with other languages and cultures has on language attitudes and therefore the decision was made to test this assumption by including questions that enquire about foreign friends, and traveling.

5. The results

In this section the statistical analysis of the data collected in this study will be presented. The results will be approached in the inverse order of the questionnaire, meaning the results for part IV will be discussed first, followed by part III and finally part II. The

analysis of part IV will provide a description of the informants selected from the totality of the participants in the questionnaire. Additionally, the data elicited in this part of the questionnaire will enable the presentation of the group variables selected for analysis. The results of part III will define the impressions of the informants on the profile of the speakers which will in turn contribute to the understanding of the analysis of part II, containing the rating scales.

This inversion of the order of the questionnaire for the analysis seeks to first present the profile of the participants, followed by the profile of the speakers as perceived by the informants, both of which will play a role in the analysis and interpretation of the results of the rating scales in part II.

The software used for the analysis of the data is version 20 of SPSS for Windows. In most instances the mean values will be used with the exception of the use of percentages. Both cases will be duly indicated for clarity in all charts, together with the *n* value specifying the population of each analysed group.

5.1 The informants

The study produced a total of 78 responses to the online questionnaire shared via email and a campaign on Facebook. Of those 78, a total of 65 were students. The target sample group for this study is British undergraduate and postgraduate students with British English as their mother tongue. These parameters led to the selection of 53 participants. One further questionnaire was excluded from the final count and considered void after an initial analysis of the raw data due to the choice of the same score consistently on all attributes for all speakers. The answer to the other questions were also the same in all cases which was an indication of thoughtless completion of the questionnaire. A total of 52 participants were therefore selected for the final analysis.

The profile of the participants to be detailed in this section will first include factors such as age and sex. Tables 3 and 4 show the distribution of the informants across the different age groups and genders:

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i> 18-21	46	88,5	88,5	88,5
22-25	4	7,7	7,7	96,2
26-28	1	1,9	1,9	98,1
29-99	1	1,9	1,9	100,0
<i>Total</i>	52	100,0	100,0	

Table 3 Number of informants by age group.

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i> Female	47	90,4	90,4	90,4
Male	5	9,6	9,6	100,0
<i>Total</i>	52	100,0	100,0	

Table 4 Number of informants by sex.

As per the tables above, the majority of participants were females between the ages of 18-21. The low number of male participants or participants of other age groups led to the decision to not include the variables of age or sex in the overall analysis of the results. The potential reasons for the overwhelming majority of females within one age group only will be explored in the section dedicated to the limitations of this study. The predominance of younger informants can be considered an advantage in identifying the potential shift towards a less overwhelmingly positive attitude in relation to RP, as predicted by Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005). The younger the respondents the closer they will be, in terms of generation, to a potential shift. This means that any evolution in language attitudes would be first identified in younger participants.

Part IV also includes a series of questions that do constitute variables relevant for the study. These variables, responding to the ‘contact hypothesis’ discussed in section 4.5 as exposed by Garrett (2010:33), address the traveling habits of the

informants and their social relations with people of different nationalities to their own. In order to establish a clear correlation between these two variables, three questions are asked within the traveling variable and two within the social relationships variable.

The first question within the traveling variable is ‘Have you ever lived in a foreign country for more than a month?’ and if the answer yes, informants have to state where. The aim of this branching question was to be able to establish a correlation with the attitudes of those students who have lived in Spain and those who have not. This required the qualitative analysis of the answers but no pattern emerged in order to include this additional information as part of the traveling variable.

Table 5 shows the number of participants that have lived abroad for more than a month:

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	42	80,8	80,8	80,8
Valid Yes	10	19,2	19,2	100,0
Total	52	100,0	100,0	

Table 5 Number of participants who have and have not lived abroad.

This table shows an overwhelming majority of informants, eighty percent of the total, who have not lived abroad, against twenty percent who have lived abroad. The distinction between these groups will be drawn upon in section 5.3 when analysing the scoring given by the informants to the different speakers.

The second question within the traveling variable inquires about the number of countries visited by the informants in the last five years. Informants could list up to five countries visited in an open text box. The answers elicited were analysed and allocated on a scale from zero to five. Table 6 shows the figures obtained:

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	,00	4	7,7	7,7
	1,00	4	7,7	15,4
	2,00	6	11,5	26,9
Valid	3,00	9	17,3	44,2
	4,00	11	21,2	65,4
	5,00	18	34,6	100,0
Total	52	100,0	100,0	

Table 6 Number of participants by number of countries visited

The highest number of participants, 34.6 per cent, had visited at least five countries in the past five years. These figures will be analysed by grouping the results of those having visited between zero to three countries in the past five years as low-frequency travellers, as opposed to those who have travelled to four or five countries who are considered to be high-frequency travellers. This will provide two groups of 23 and 29 informants respectively.

Finally, within the variable of traveling, the countries provided by the informants were analysed and a further division was established to enable further analysis. In this case the informants were divided between those who have visited Spain and those who have not in an attempt to see if this kind of contact also has an impact in their reactions to the different guises. Table 7 shows the figures of this division:

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	No	31	59,6	59,6
Valid	Yes	21	40,4	100,0
Total	52	100,0	100,0	

Table 7 Number of participants that have traveled to Spain in the past 5 years

This table shows a more balanced distribution, with 59.6 percent of informants not having traveled to Spain as opposed to 40.4 percent who have.

The second variable taken into account is the social relations variable. In this case two questions were asked to build the profile of the informants. The first question is the branching question inquiring about the existence of foreign friends among the closest relations of the participant. Table 8 shows the distribution of the informants in two groups, those who do and those who do not have foreign friends:

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	16	30,8	30,8	30,8
Valid Yes	36	69,2	69,2	100,0
Total	52	100,0	100,0	

Table 8 Number of participants that have foreign friends.

In this case 69.2 percent of the informants have foreign friends among their close relations as opposed to 30.8 percent who do not. These figures reflect the social context of this study, indicating that foreigners living in the United Kingdom have integrated with the local population. This in turn is likely to have an impact on the informant's attitudes, resulting in a more positive, or less negative, rating of the non-standard guises.

The second question within the variable of social relations asked the informants to list the nationalities of their foreign close friends. From these answers two groups emerged; those with Spanish friends and those without. In this case this variable also had to be dismissed due to the low number of informants with Spanish friends which did not allow for a reliable comparison of the results.

5.2 Impressions of the speakers

Part III of the questionnaire contains questions on the speakers. These results provide a wider understanding on the overall impressions and judgements of the informants towards the three guises. The first and second questions enquire about the mother tongue and nationality of the speakers. Although these two questions might seem redundant, figures 1 and 2 below show interesting results. The radar charts form a triangle with a different guise at each point. The guises are EngSpa for the non-Spanish-accented English, IbSpa for the Iberian-Spanish-accented and finally RP. The different mother tongues and nationalities chosen from a limited pool in the questionnaire have

been, for the purpose of the analysis, divided in two groups named relevant and other. The relevant group is the language the guises are supposed to portray, English, Spanish and English respectively. The category named other, groups all other erroneous options.

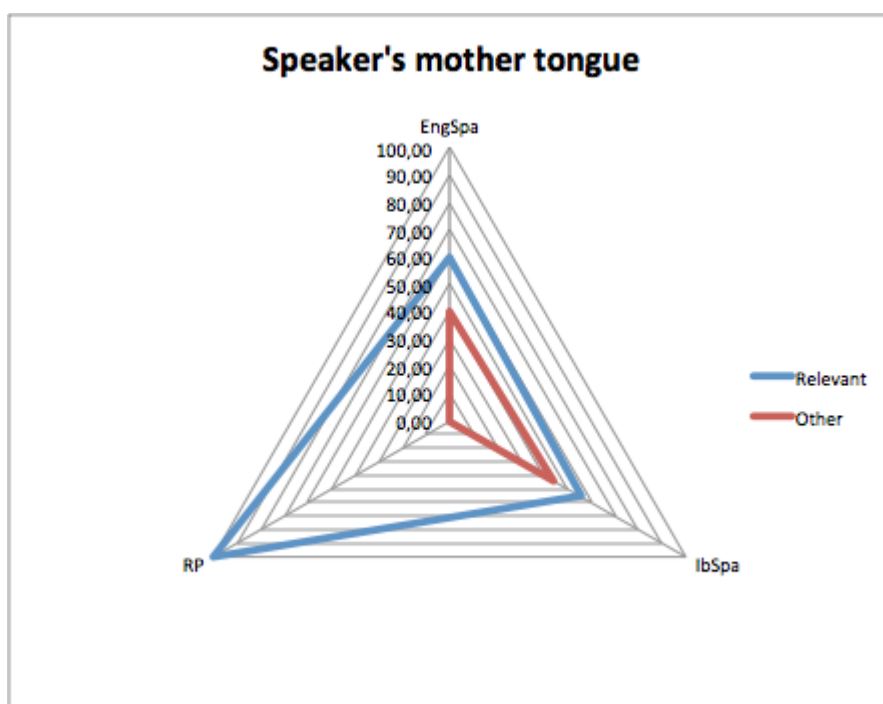


Figure 1 Speaker's mother tongue.

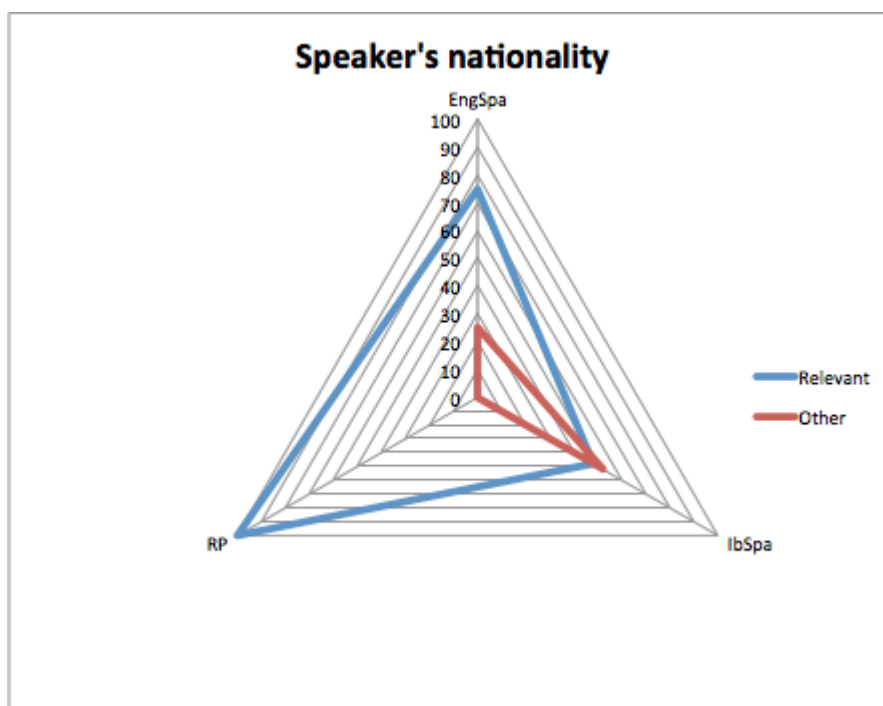


Figure 2 Speaker's nationality.

Figure 1 and 2 show that there is not a one hundred percent correspondence between the perception of the mother tongue and the nationality of the EngSpa and IbSpa guises. Although the number of informants identifying the relevant mother tongue is higher in

general than those that have not identified it, there seems to be some confusion in relation to the nationality when it comes to the IbSpa guise. Interestingly, 19.2 percent of informants identify Bengali as the mother tongue of IbSpa and 25 percent identify Bangladesh as the country of origin of the speaker.

The reason for this lack of consistency could be that including a second question of such a similar nature might cause over-thinking on the part of the participants and hesitation. Other informants also added 'Indian' as a language in the text box provided. This is not surprising since the United Kingdom has close bonds with India and there is a large Indian migrant community established there. This implies that accents of languages spoken in India, which share phonetic characteristics with Spanish, are the most familiar to British students which explains why they would establish the relation between the IbSpa guise and the languages from India or countries neighbouring India. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that informants identified the IbSpa guise with the speech of another migrant group in the United Kingdom which might provide information about the associations students are making at a mental level, however this would require further study.

The third and fourth questions try to understand the level of comfort of informants with the guises presented. The scoring done on a Likert scale should complete the interpretation of the results obtained from the rating scales. Figure 3 presents the results obtained in a column graph:

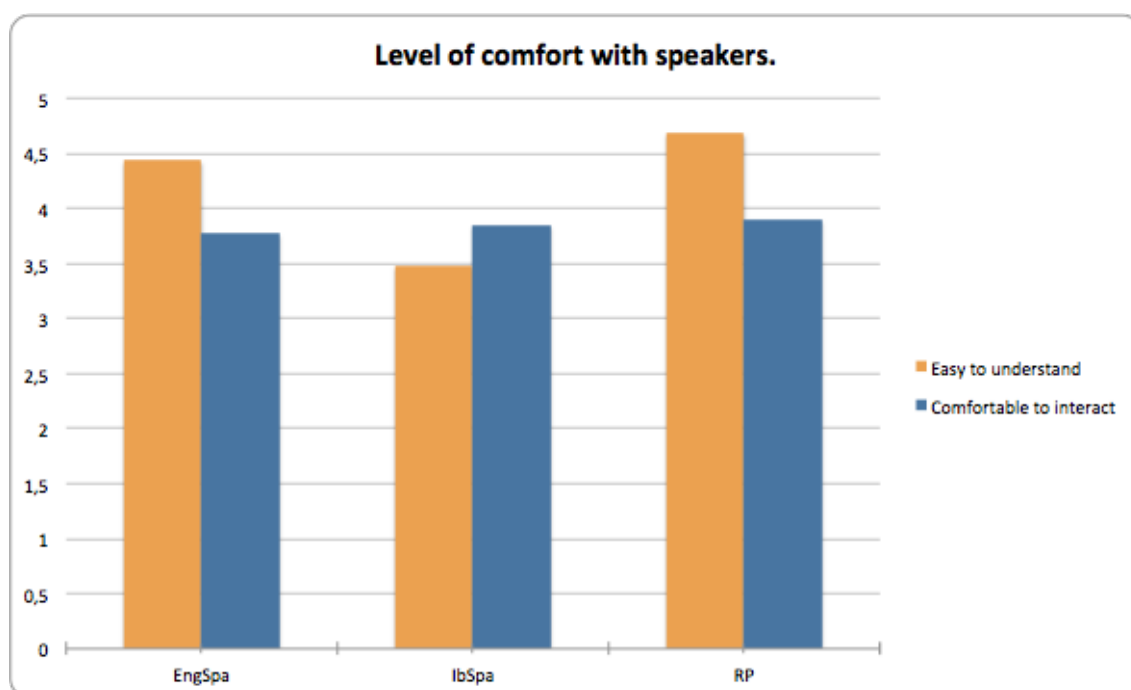


Figure 3 Level of comfort with speakers

Similar to the results obtained by Teufel (1995), this graph shows an increase in the level of understanding as the accentedness decreases. IbSpa, the most accented guise, scores the lowest in understanding followed by the EngSpa guise which would be the next in level of accentedness followed by RP the highest scorer. When it comes to evaluating the comfort in interaction we observe that there is a different pattern and IbSpa scores almost as high as RP and above EngSpa. Thus, although the EngSpa and RP guises score higher when it comes to being understood, the informants would feel less comfortable interacting with them whereas the exact opposite happens with IbSpa which presents a lower level of understanding and yet the informants would feel comfortable to interact with the speaker.

This could provide a preview to the results that will be obtained in the analysis of the evaluative dimensions, in particular the dimension of social attractiveness which is closely related to the idea of comfort in interaction. The IbSpa guise is expected to score higher when it comes to social attractiveness, following the pattern established in previous studies of this nature. Such results would serve to corroborate this pattern.

The final question is an ascending occupation scale where the informants can select the job they think the speaker holds from a list containing the following options; cleaner, bar tender, administrative staff, manager and director. This question also included a text box, providing an open option for the informants to add more specific occupations if they wished to do so. The data collected in this text box was then classified under the occupations listed above. The alternative occupations provided by the informants were; teacher, tutor, television presenter and weather woman. For the purposes of the statistical analysis all of these were grouped under the category of manager since they require a higher education but do not represent the highest-ranking positions in the relevant industries, for instance, the informants could have said school director instead of teacher. The alternative responses given most likely reflect the nature of the recording listened to by participants, which is a weather forecast report. Figure 4 illustrates in percentages on a radar chart the occupations most associated to each guise:

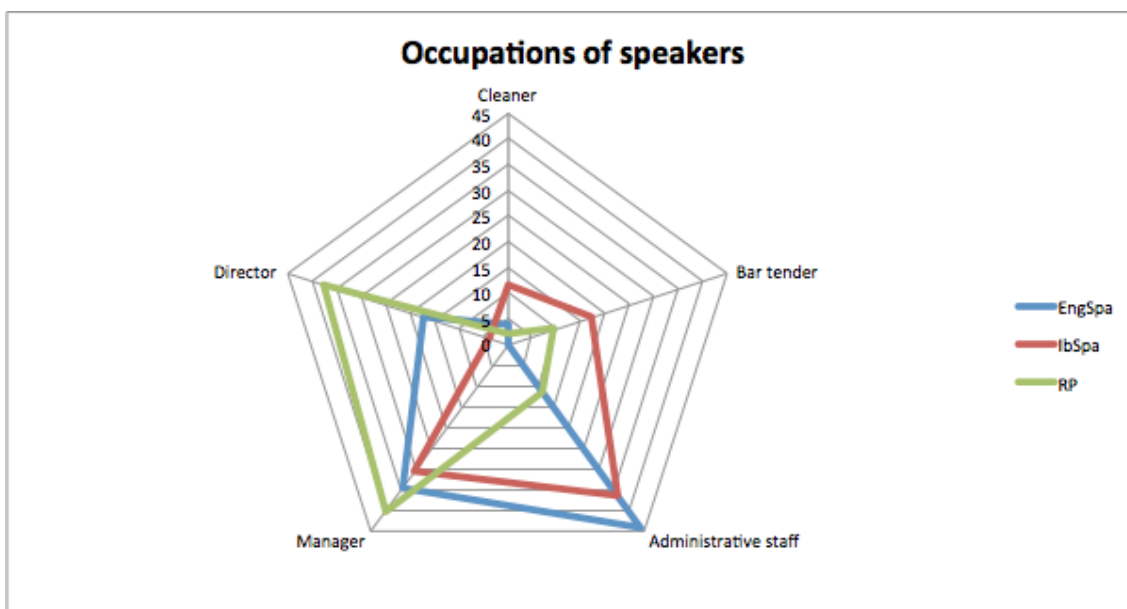


Figure 4 Occupations of speakers

In the same way the previous questions acted as a preview of the results expected in the social attractiveness dimension, this chart complements the results in the competence dimension. The RP guise obtains the highest percentages in the positions of director and manager and the lowest for cleaner, establishing a higher perceived status of this guise over the other two. At the other end of the scale is the IbSpa guise which has a comparatively higher level of association with the two lowest status occupations in this scale, cleaner and bar tender, while falling behind in the other three higher status occupations. The association between the higher and lower status jobs and the standard and non-standard speakers can be seen clearly in this chart, confirming another pattern found in similar studies.

The results analysed in this section show first that in spite of the lack of correspondence between the impressions of informants on the mother tongue and nationality of the EngSpa and IbSpa guises, the majority did nevertheless identify the origin of the speakers. The erroneous answers could be due to the quality of the guises themselves, as will be elaborated in section 5.4. However the identification of the IbSpa guise with another long-term migrant group in the United Kingdom could establish a relation with the context of the informants and the fact that the speech of both these groups could be perceived as non-standard and therefore lower status.

The divergence between the ease with which informants were able to understand the speakers and their perceived comfort in interacting with them, presents a preview to the expected results in the scoring of the social attractiveness dimension. The most accented guise showed the lowest levels of understanding and yet a higher perception of

comfort in interaction, which is the opposite pattern to the other two guises.

Additionally, the inversely proportional relation between the level of accentedness and the level of understanding, a pattern observed by Teufel, was confirmed.

The results on the occupational scale also anticipated the results of the scores for the competence dimension expected in the next section. Figure 4 showed a clear association between the higher-status occupations and the higher-status guise and the same association was established between the lower status occupations and the non-standard guises. These results also confirm patterns established in other similar studies, as explored previously in this paper.

5.3 Scoring of the speakers

The analysis contained in this section corresponds to the data elicited from the questions found in part II of the questionnaire. The overall scores of the three dimensions for each speaker will first be displayed in column graphs in order to confirm the patterns previously identified in this paper. The analysis of the results in relation to the different variables identified above, namely traveling experience and social relations, will then be presented in radar charts and graphs. This analysis will enable the observation of more specific results and analysis of the influence of external factors in the impressions of language attitude holders.

5.3.1 The evaluative dimensions

Figure 5 presents the overall average ratings of the evaluative dimensions by all the selected informants:

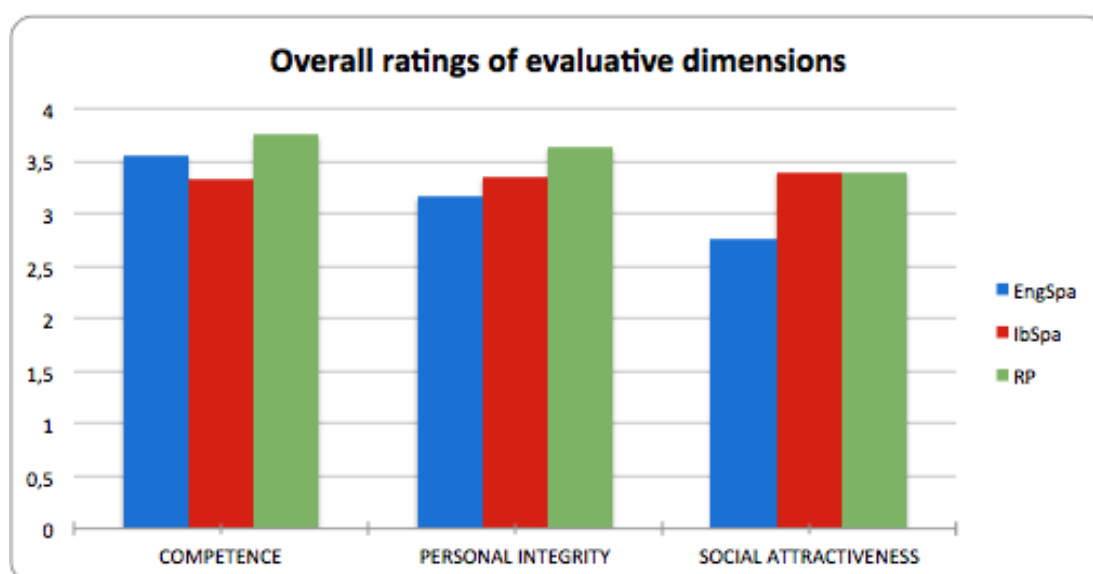


Figure 5 Overall average rating of evaluative dimensions

One of the general patterns traditionally expected in the scoring of the different dimensions is for the native guise to score higher in the competence dimension but lower in the personal integrity and social attractiveness dimensions. However a more recent study has produced different results similar to the ones presented in this graph. In Eisenchlas and Tsurutani's (2011) work, the native guise scored higher in both the competence and the integrity dimensions and lower in the attractiveness dimension. Together with this phenomenon, an overall more positive scoring of the non-standard guises was noticed. These results are similar to the ones identified in the above chart. The RP guise scores higher in competence and personal integrity and has the same score as the IbSpa guise in social attractiveness. Also, the gap between the scoring of the native guise and the non-standard guise is narrowed to the point that RP and IbSpa get the same scoring in social attractiveness.

The phenomenon of the RP and IbSpa guises scoring so similarly in terms of social attractiveness could be an indicator of the sociolinguistic-evaluative shift that Bishop, Coupland and Garret investigated in their study (2005). They predicted an improvement in the scoring of non-standard varieties or at least a narrower gap between the guises. The results captured in the graph above would confirm this shift. The cultural shift that was presented by Trudgill (2002:176) is also visible in the results of this study, in that informants are no longer downgrading the non-standard varieties.

The EngSpa guise, as presented in the previous section, generated some confusion among the informants who were unsure about the origin of the speaker. Although the majority of them identified the guise as being of English origin, Figure 5 shows that it does not follow the same pattern as the RP guise. Although it still scores higher than IbSpa in terms of competence, it falls behind both RP and IbSpa in personal integrity and social attractiveness. The lower scoring of EngSpa in personal integrity is not radically behind RP and IbSpa, although this is not the case in the scoring for social attractiveness where EngSpa falls significantly behind. This phenomenon could be explained with reference to the confusion identified before. The informants were probably unable to relate the EngSpa guise to a specific social referent, which produced varied results that might not establish a clear pattern.

5.3.2 Group variables

The first variable seeks to establish a relationship between the traveling experience of informants and was investigated in the form of three questions. The initial results were later classified into two distinct groups. The second variable was also investigated in the form of multiple questions. The first question aimed at finding the existence of foreign friends among the closest relations of the informants and the second sought to examine the results of those with Spanish friends in an attempt to identify any correlations with the direct closeness to Spanish people.

5.3.2.1 The traveling variable

The first question asked as part of the traveling variable aimed at investigating any differences in the scoring of students who have lived abroad for more than a month and those who have not. This division gave a total of 10 and 42 students respectively. Figures 6 to 11 aim to compare the scoring of each group per evaluative dimensions. Figures 6 and 7 contain the results for the dimension of competence:

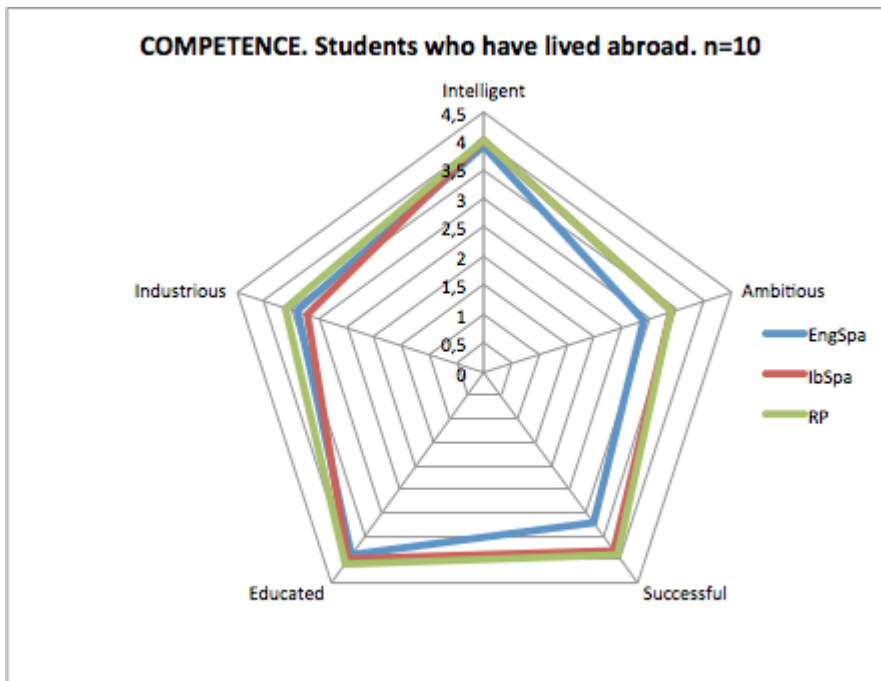


Figure 6 Ratings on competence of students who have lived abroad

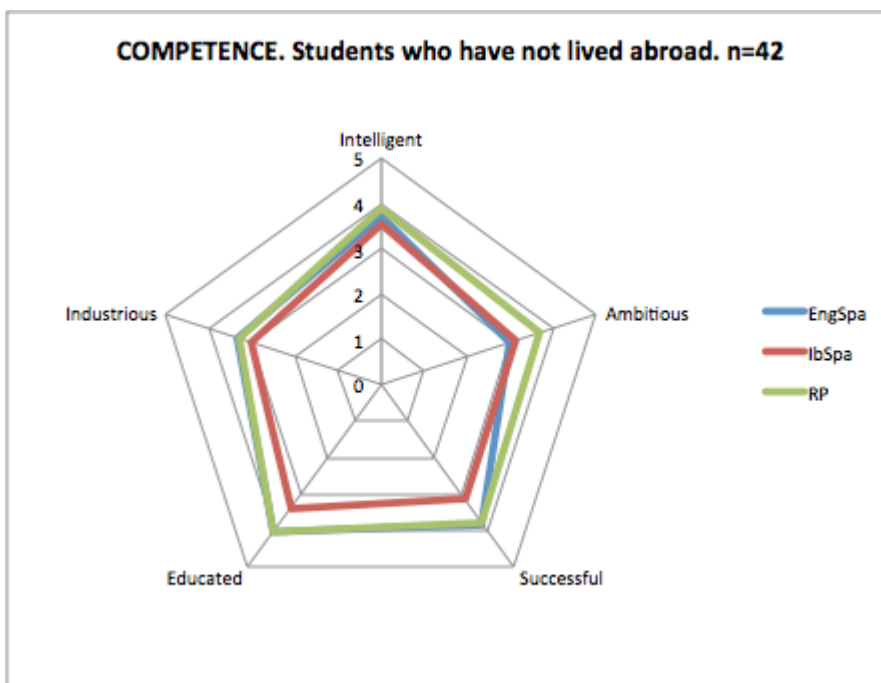


Figure 7 Ratings on competence of students who have not lived abroad

These figures show the native guise, RP, consistently scoring higher across all attributes as is marked by the outer green line in both charts which would be consistent with the expected patterns mentioned above. At the same time there is a clear difference in the scoring of the IbSpa guise, represented by the red line in the chart. The students who have not lived abroad award this guise lower scores than those who have lived abroad. This is an indicator of the effect the contact hypothesis Garrett mentions has on the students who have lived abroad, meaning that they do not downgrade the IbSpa guise as

much as the other group. One of the main differences can be seen in the scoring of the speakers as educated, ambitious and successful. The downgrading of the IbSpa guise in relation to RP and EngSpa is very visible in Figure 7 whereas the gap narrows in Figure 6. This means that students who have lived abroad are not comfortable awarding low scores in those attributes to the IbSpa guise. The experience these students have gone through is reflected here in the form of a shift in language attitudes that can be expected to become increasingly a norm in society, in light of the increased level of interaction between people of different cultures through the use of media and the increase in global travel.

The scoring in the dimension of personal integrity is presented in figures 8 and 9:

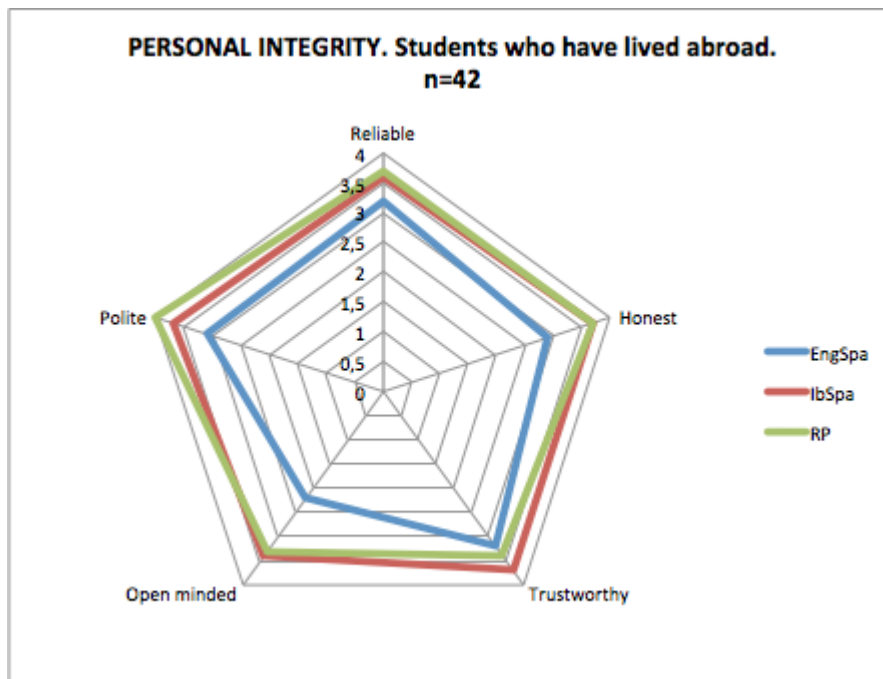


Figure 8 Ratings on personal integrity of students who have lived abroad

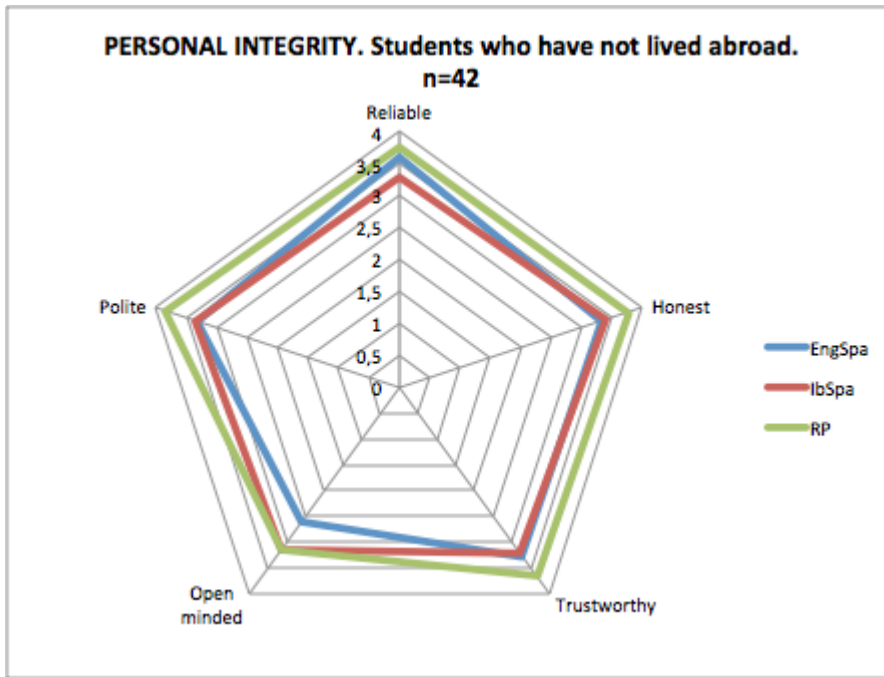


Figure 9 Ratings on personal integrity of students who have not lived abroad

Comparing these two graphs there are also salient differences between the two groups. The chart in figure 9 shows a correspondence with the pattern presented in Eisenclas and Tsurutani's (2011) study where the native guise also scores higher in this dimension, as can be seen in the external line marked in green. There is no overlapping with any other guise although the IbSpa guise obtains the exact same score in the attribute open minded. Figure 8 presents a different picture. In this chart the IbSpa guise, represented by the red line, scores higher in two of the five selected attributes and gets the same score as RP for honesty. In this case the guise that is being downgraded is the EngSpa guise, which scores the lowest in all attributes.

Finally, figures 10 and 11 display the scores for social attractiveness:

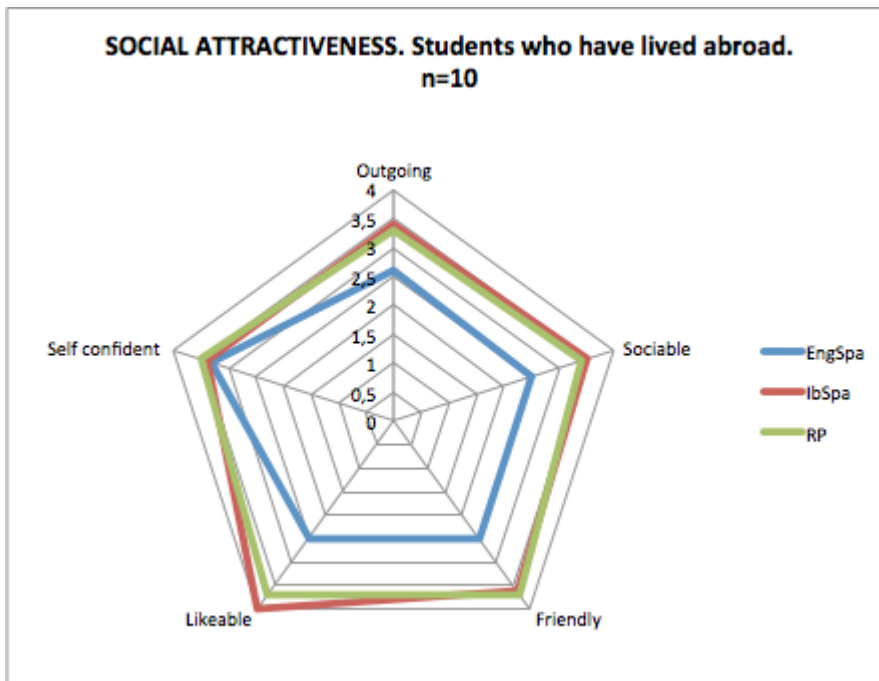


Figure 10 Ratings on social attractiveness of students who have lived abroad

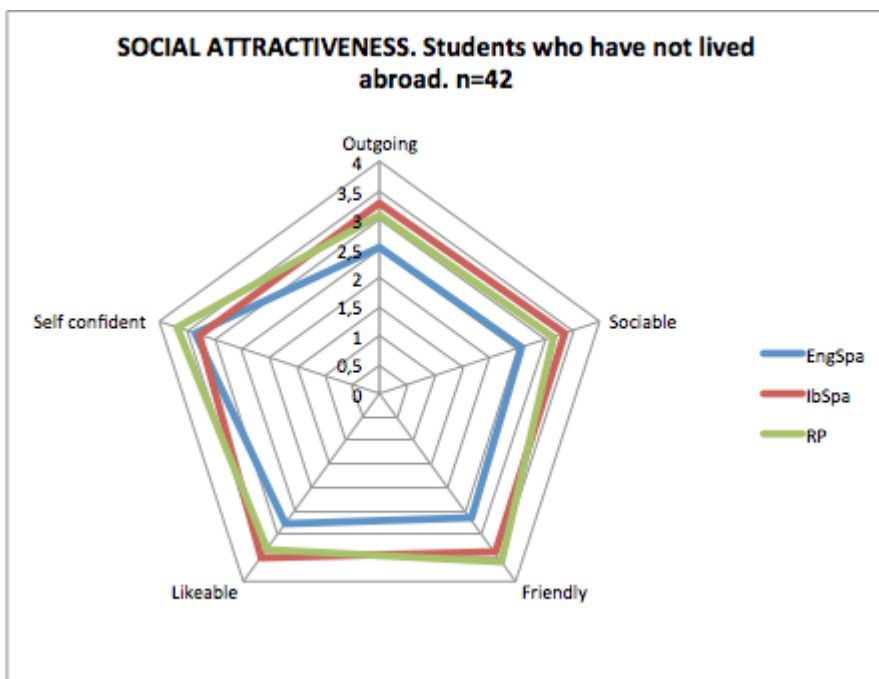


Figure 11 Ratings on social attractiveness of students who have not lived abroad

These charts follow the pattern presented in other studies where the lower-standard guise, represented by the red line, scores higher than in the other dimensions. However, both charts show an overlap with RP in attributes such as self confident and friendly. The students who have not lived abroad award higher scores to the RP guise than those who have lived abroad. The EngSpa guise in both these charts receives scores closer to

the traditional scores awarded to native guises, which tend to be downgraded below the non-standard guises.

The results presented so far confirm the evaluative shift identified by other researchers in which non-standard guises receive an overall higher score relative to previously established patterns, and at times even receiving higher scores than those of native guises in the dimensions of competence and social integrity.

The second question included in the traveling variable enquired about the number of countries visited by informants in the past five years. For this analysis the informants were split in two groups, namely small traveller and big traveller. There was a total of 29 informants in the big traveller group and 23 in the small traveller. In correlation with the results so far achieved, the main difference between these two groups was that big travellers award higher scores in general to all guises and do not overwhelmingly downgrade the non-standard variety. Figure 14 presents as an example a comparison between the scoring of the IbSpa guise on the competence dimension by both groups:

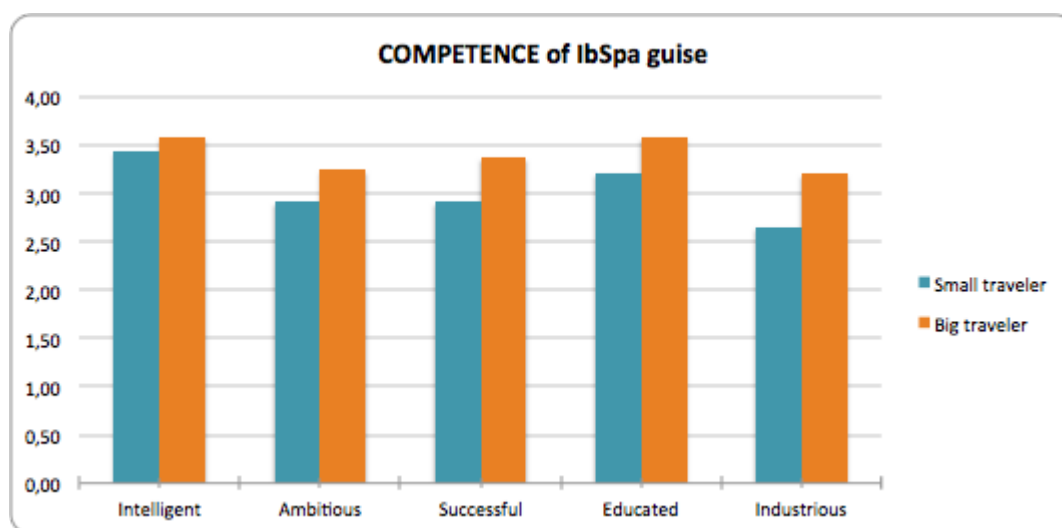


Figure 14 Ratings on competence of small and big travelers

This chart clearly shows the generalised more positive scoring from the big traveller group represented by the orange bars. Although the pattern of the scoring of IbSpa on competence is still generally lower than the other two guises, this chart shows a clear trend for more positive scoring from those students who have greater travelling experience. Again, this pattern confirms a shift in language attitudes towards non-standard varieties.

Finally, the third question within the traveling variable aimed at the identification of similar patterns among those students who have travelled to Spain. The division resulted in one group of 27 informants who have not travelled to Spain and 25 who have. In this case the pattern observed in the charts above was not reflected and no significant differences were found. The lack of correspondence on this occasion could potentially be related to a form of British travelling culture reflected in the British Airways marketing campaign mentioned previously in this paper²¹ with the slogan: 'Barcelona. Tapas, siesta, repeat.'. The kind of traveling this advertisement encourages is not one that aims at entering in contact with the local culture but rather aims at enjoying the local benefits such as the weather and the food. On most occasions these visits to Spain do not include close contact with Spanish people or cultural exchange. These results were anticipated, with the inclusion of the question on living abroad for more than a month intended to emphasise the difference in attitudes between those who insulate themselves from their foreign context when travelling and those who seek to engage and integrate. The lack of correlation here shows that the questions presented to informants in studies of this nature must be tailored closely to the needs of the study, as the use of this question alone would have not provided informative results.

5.3.2.2. The social relations variable

The second variable was analysed based on two questions included in part IV of the questionnaire. These questions sought to explore the contact of the informants with people of a different nationality under the premise that a close contact with different cultures should be reflected in their scoring. The first question focused on contact with foreigners in general and then a branching question requested the students to specify the nationalities of those they had been in contact with. After dividing the informants between those who have foreign friends and those who do not, a trend was identified by which certain stereotypes in relation to the Spanish appear to have weakened as reflected in their reactions towards the IbSpa guise. In general, informants who have foreign friends award higher scores to the IbSpa guise than those who do not but at the same time also award a higher score to RP. As an example of this trend, figures 12 and 13 are provided below detailing the ratings for social attractiveness given by students with foreign friends and students without:

²¹ An image of this campaign is available in the appendix.

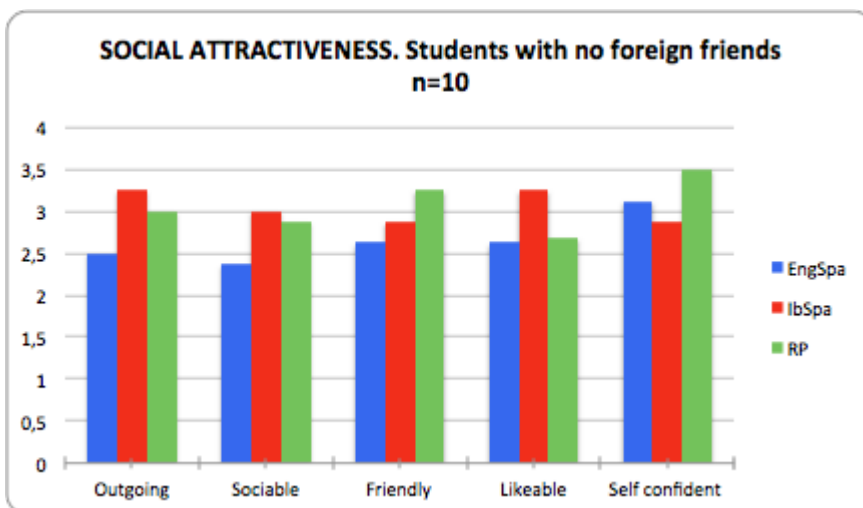


Figure 12 Ratings on social attractiveness of students with no foreign friends

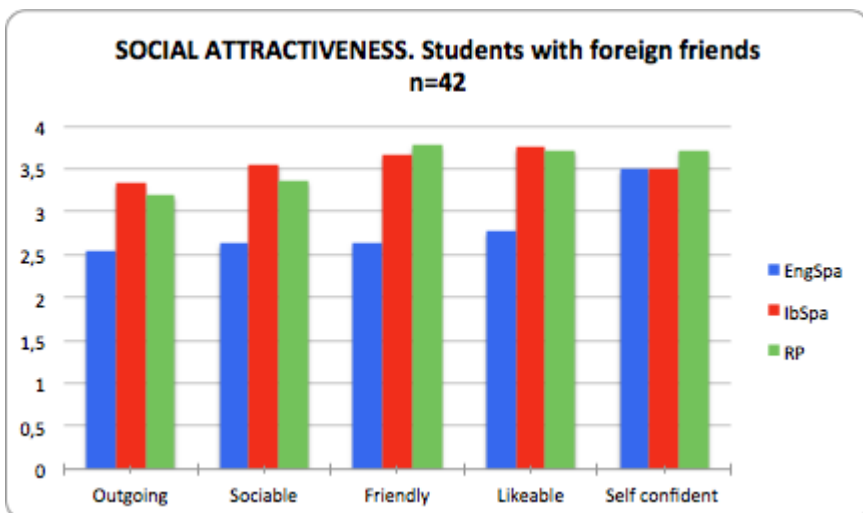


Figure 13 Ratings on social attractiveness of students with foreign friends

These graphs show that the scoring of IbSpa in terms of social attractiveness is not as high as expected and the scoring of RP has been significantly raised in this dimension. At the same time we can see two differences between these groups. The first difference is that students with foreign friends award higher scores overall to all guises. The second difference is that the gap between the scores awarded by members of this group to IbSpa and RP is narrower than patterns established in previous studies.

These results could anticipate a shift in evaluations of foreign accents, as stated above, which would go hand in hand with the perception of the own identity in relation to foreigners. There is an image of equality displayed in these graphs between the most and least accented guises which would point towards a more egalitarian relationship between the speakers of Iberian-Spanish-accented English and natives.

The last question included in this variable split the informants between those that have Spanish friends among their foreign friends and those who do not. The total number of informants in each group for this split did not constitute a balanced enough group to include this variable. With only four informants with close Spanish friends the results of the analysis were deemed inconclusive and therefore not considered in the final study. The lack of direct contact with Spanish people could be due to the difference in the groups under study. The Spanish migrants going to the United Kingdom might not establish a relation of close friendship with university students since their main goal is to find employment.

5.4. Limitations

This field study presented a series of limitations. The choice of an online questionnaire, which is a relatively unused method, did pose some problems. The first problem was the number of responses yielded. The choice of this method was made precisely for the possibility of getting a higher number of responses. Unfortunately this was not the case. This limitation could be counteracted with the inclusion of a specific marketing approach to publicise and distribute the questionnaire as in the case of the *Voices* experiment where other media was used to encourage informants to participate.

The second problem with the online questionnaire was the sample of respondents who opted to fill in the questionnaire. The majority of respondents were females between the ages of 18 and 21 which prevented an analysis of the results with age and gender as variables. Females are probably more prone to respond to calls such as the one sent to help with filling in a questionnaire and the option of a prize after completion probably encourage the younger potential informants to participate. The issue presented in the *Voices* experiment with the possibility of a self-selecting group was also apparent here and the incentive of a prize did not encourage larger numbers of participants.

The second limitation relates to the guises. The control questions presented to informants on the mother tongue and nationality of the speakers showed some confusion. In relation to the EngSpa guise, although the majority did guess the expected nationality and mother tongue the multitude of possibilities the other respondents offered is indicative that the guise was not clear enough, which could have affected the final results. At the same time, perhaps a larger sample of participants would have increased the number of informants that were correct and the results would have been

the same. The IbSpa guise also presented unexpected results to the same questions. Again the majority did identify the correct mother tongue and nationality but the high number of respondents that mistook the origin of the speaker for Bangladeshi and Indian might mean that their answers respond to that community rather than the Spanish community. Also in this case, a higher number of respondents might have mitigated the potential effects of this erroneous assumption. At the same time this also opened up the possibility of an alternative interpretation as explained above.

The content of the recordings constitutes a third limitation. A very low number of informants interpreted the content of the recording as relevant when asked about their occupations. A couple of informants assumed that one of the speakers was a weather woman in the open question provided. The low number of informants who provided these answers does not put in jeopardy the results of the study, however they do raise a question about the possibility to either use a different recording or make clear in the instructions of the questionnaire that the content is irrelevant.

6. Summary and conclusion

The aim of this field study was to unveil the attitudes of British native speakers of English towards Iberian-Spanish-accented English spoken in the United Kingdom today after the recent European economic crisis. In order to do so key concepts were established such as a definition of attitudes and language attitudes. The definition of attitudes established for the purpose of this study is: Attitudes are mental entities of an unobservable nature in essence which can, under the adequate stimulation, be translated into measurable and observable behaviour. Attitudes consist of belief, opinion and perception components that exist in relation to a referent. Attitudes also vary in strength and are subject to experience. This definition tried to encapsulate different relevant aspects that were deemed of importance for the present study such as the mental and behavioural aspects of attitudes and the direct relation to experience.

The definition of language attitudes selected for this study comes from Ryan, Giles and Sebastian who state that language attitudes are ‘any effective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers’ (1982:7). This definition also includes the behavioural aspects that enable the observation of attitudes in this study and also the link between attitudes towards languages and attitudes towards speakers. This last link was relevant for the design of

the study and for the interpretation of the results of this study, which will be detailed here.

The choice of methodology was also detailed and the study took place applying the Matched Guise Technique in combination with rating scales. Evaluative dimensions were also established as a framework for the statistical analysis of the results. Additionally a pilot questionnaire was ran using direct research methods and to collect qualitative data. This exercise provided valuable insight for the understanding of the group under study, namely the British native speakers of English and the current opinions towards language attitudes in the United Kingdom. The cultural shift in British society that Trudgill identified was confirmed at that stage with the expressed discomfort of informants when asked to judge someone solely on the basis of their accent. The shift Trudgill presents was also identified by other researchers such as Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005) who noticed a difference in the scores of the younger participants in their *Voices* experiment. In this experiment the overall evaluation of accents was less negative. The shift has been confirmed in this study where the accented guise was scored closer to the standard guise.

The context in which this study takes place was also presented containing details on the economic crisis that has caused so many Spanish young professionals to migrate to the United Kingdom. As part of the description of the context of this study, a section was dedicated to the description of other similar language attitude studies done in the United Kingdom which provided results that are being compared to the results of this study.

The analysis of the results was conducted in the inverse order of the questionnaire to analyse the profile of the informants first, then establish the variables for the analysis based on their traveling habits and social relations and finally look at the results of the rating scales. The informants of this study are undergraduate and postgraduate students between the ages of 18 and 21, an age range that should provide evidence of a any existing evaluative shift. Although the majority of them has not lived abroad it seems to be a well travelled group who includes foreigners among their close friends. Unfortunately Spain is not one of the main destinations of this group and Spaniards are not among their foreign friends.

The majority of them identified correctly the mother tongue and nationality of the speakers and among the ones that did not there seemed to be a tendency to identify the IbSpa guise as of Bangladeshi or Indian origin which could be related to the large

community of Indians in the United Kingdom. This can also be interpreted as positive aspect for the study by establishing a relationship between the Indian and the Spanish community as migrants to the United Kingdom.

They also showed a clear correlation between their level of understanding and the level of accentedness of the different guises, meaning that the more accented the guise, the lower the levels of understanding. This pattern was also observed by Teufel (1995). Additionally, in spite of the lower level of understanding displayed in relation to the IbSpa guise they would feel as comfortable interacting with IbSpa as interacting with RP which can be correlated with the high scores in social attractiveness non-standard guises tend to get in language attitude studies.

When asked to guess the occupation of the speakers, the scores awarded by the informants followed again the pattern established in these studies by presenting a direct relationship between lower-status jobs and non-standard guises like IbSpa. This result was mirrored by the relationship also established between higher-status jobs and the native guise RP. The results anticipated the expected results for the scoring of the non-standard guise in the dimension of competence.

The rating scales confirmed the patterns captured above and additionally displayed signs of the evaluative shift. In the *Voices* experiment the researchers were surprised to find the same language attitude patterns as in Giles's experiment thirty years prior. The results of this study also presented the traditional patterns such as the downgrading of non-standard guises in competence and the awarding of higher scores for the same in terms of social attractiveness. However the downgrading was not as overwhelming as expected bringing the scores of IbSpa closer to those of RP in many occasions.

The analysis of the group variables led to the confirmation of changing patterns in language attitudes towards non-standard varieties in the United Kingdom. The first variable was the traveling variable in which informants were classified in two different ways. The first division split informants between those who have lived abroad for more than a month and those who have not. The informants who have lived abroad consistently scored all guises higher and did not downgrade the non-standard IbSpa as those who have not lived abroad. There is a clear overlap between the IbSpa and RP guises across all three dimensions, which brings the attitudes towards these two guises closer. This overlap is less present among the scores awarded by those who have not lived abroad who award higher scores to the RP guise in the dimensions of competence

and personal integrity coinciding with the results of Eisenchlas and Tsurutani's study (2011).

The second question in the traveling variable split informants between those who are considered to be big travellers and those who do not travel so often. The informants who are more accustomed to traveling again award higher scores in general to all guises and do not downgrade the non-standard guise. They perceive the IbSpa guise to be more competent, have a higher personal integrity and be more socially attractive than those who have travelled less. The patterns established by the informants who have lived abroad and travelled more, clearly confirm the evaluative shift taking place in the United Kingdom. The increased level of contact with other cultures clearly has an impact in attitude formation for the better and as mentioned above this pattern is expected to progressively become the norm.

The analysis of the data with the social relations variable also confirms this trend showing that informants who have foreign close friends do not downgrade the IbSpa guise. Additionally they award the native guise high scores in social attractiveness, a dimension traditionally dominated by the non-standard varieties. The contact with other cultures not only has an impact in the way the other is perceived but it also has an impact in the perception of the self. The boundaries between the *other* and the *self* seem to be getting blurred in this evaluative shift which could explain these results.

This study presented three hypotheses. After analysing the results the first hypothesis has been proved since each guise yielded different results based only on the variable of language. This reinforces the validity of the methodology used and the success in eliciting language attitudes accurately. The second hypothesis of this study stated that the IbSpa guise was expected to score lower than its EngSpa counterpart and significantly lower than RP in the dimensions of competence and personal integrity but higher in the dimension of social attractiveness. This hypothesis has been disproved by the identification of an evaluative shift, which no longer adheres to traditional patterns in attitudes. The third hypothesis predicted a more positive scoring of the IbSpa guise by informants who are in closer contact with the Spanish culture or that are used to traveling. This hypothesis was partly proved. The overall number of informants was not high enough to provide enough informants with closer bonds to the Spanish culture. However there were clear differences in the scoring of those more used to traveling and in close contact with different nationalities to theirs, who showed a more positive judgement of the IbSpa guise.

Based on the results it can be assumed the Spanish young professionals migrating to the United Kingdom are being received in a moment of change. The shift identified in this study can be expected to spread especially amongst the younger generations who will be more and more exposed to other cultures and nationalities not only through exposure to immigrants but also through traveling and the new technologies. This study proves that the contact with *foreignness* has a positive impact in language attitudes towards accented varieties of English and also in the perception of the self. The stereotypical perceptions of other cultures are losing strength and the *otherness* of foreign groups is becoming blurred due to the vast amounts of information available.

This study proves that personal experience plays a crucial role in language attitude formation and that attitudes in the United Kingdom are changing for the better. Identifying the factors that generate change can raise awareness about erroneous preconceptions based on stereotypes and ultimately accelerate the shift for the better. This study hopes to contribute to this change by presenting a comprehensive analysis of the indicators of change and the current state of language attitudes in the United Kingdom.

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8. Appendix

British Airways campaign



Pilot open questionnaire

Transcript of audio

'I must say I'd like to continue our friendship and frankly I don't want this to be our last chance to speak to each other. So let me tell you a little more about my beautiful home town...'

The questions

After listening to this short piece, imagine what the speaker is like and answer the following questions based on the way she talks. Please do not hesitate to use as many adjectives as you find necessary wherever possible. Let your imagination run!

1. Overall what was your first impression of the speaker?
2. What do you think of her accent?
3. How do you think the speaker would behave at a dinner party?
4. What natural role do you think the speaker might play when working as part of a team?
5. How do you think the speaker would react when under pressure at work?
6. What level of education do you think the speaker has?
7. What kind of job do you think the speaker does for a living?
8. Imagine the speaker's personality and describe it.

The online questionnaire

Part I

Slide 1

✖ Required Information

✖ Hello there!

Welcome and thanks for giving us a little bit of your time. The following survey should take around 10-15 minutes and with a bit of luck you could win a **£90 Amazon voucher!**

The following questionnaire is totally anonymous and you will not be contacted in relation to it. You will be asked your email address only to opt to the prize and you will only be contacted if you win.

Any details you provide will not be shared with anyone under any circumstances.

Please do tick the box below and let us know that you have read and understood everything. Then click 'Next' to begin the questionnaire.

☐ I have read and understood the above.

Clear answers on page

Next >>

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6%

Slide 2

We would like you to listen carefully to 3 recorded voices and tell us your impressions on the speakers' personalities. You will hear each recording twice. After each recording you will be asked to answer some multiple choice questions on the speakers you have just heard. Each recording lasts around 30 seconds and all speakers read the same weather report. Here is the transcript of the text the speakers will be reading. Do read it carefully to make sure there are no surprises:

Mostly dry weather will continue this evening, with the odd shower in the north. It will quickly turn cool with largely clear skies, although some fog patches will develop later in the night.

Sunday will be another mostly dry day with plenty of sunny intervals and only a few showers in places, most likely in the northwest. Feeling a little warmer than today.

Dry with sunny spells for many on Monday and Tuesday and becoming warmer, although rain will spread to the far NE, perhaps heavy. Rain will spread east on Wednesday.

Click 'Next' to make sure that the speakers on your device are on and working.

Clear answers on page

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12%

Slide 3

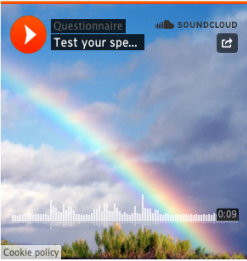
Please play this short message to check that your speakers are on and working. Then click 'Next'.

If you cannot hear this recording please make sure your speakers are on otherwise you will not be able to complete the questionnaire.

Questionnaire

Test your spe...

SOUNDCLOUD



Clear answers on page

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16%

PART II

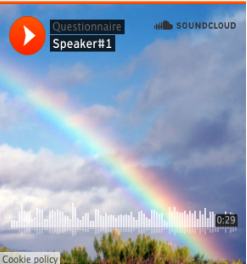
Slide 4

Click on the icon to listen to Speaker #1. Listen carefully and then click 'Next' to answer the questions.

Questionnaire

Speaker#1

SOUNDCLOUD



Clear answers on page

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24%

101

Slide 5

✖ Required Information

Below is a list of adjectives. Can you rate the speaker you have just heard for each of the below on the scale from 1 to 5, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'?

		SPEAKER #1				
		Not at all 1	2	3	4	Very 5
Reliable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Industrious	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Successful	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sociable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trustworthy	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educated	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Polite	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ambitious	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Likeable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Self confident	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Honest	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outgoing	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Open minded	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Clear answers on page

Next >>

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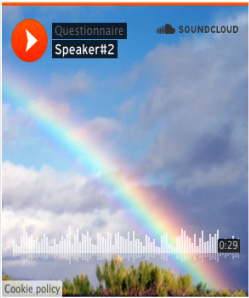
28%

Slide 6

Click on the icon to listen to Speaker #2. Listen carefully and then click 'Next' to answer the questions.

Questionnaire

Speaker#2



Clear answers on page

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35%

102

Slide 7

✖ Required Information

Below is a list of adjectives. Can you rate the speaker you have just heard for each of the below on the scale from 1 to 5, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'?

		SPEAKER #2				
		Not at all 1	2	3	4	Very 5
Likeable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Honest	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outgoing	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Self confident	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educated	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Successful	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Open minded	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trustworthy	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reliable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Industrious	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sociable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Polite	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ambitious	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Clear answers on page

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41%

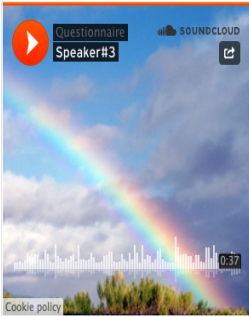

Slide 8

Click on the icon to listen to listen to Speaker #3. Listen carefully and then click 'Next' to answer the questions.

Questionnaire

Speaker#3

SOUNDCLOUD



Clear answers on page

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47%

Slide 9

✖ Required Information

Below is a list of adjectives. Can you rate the speaker you have just heard for each of the below on the scale from 1 to 5, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'?

		SPEAKER #3				
		Not at all 1	2	3	4	Very 5
Successful	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trustworthy	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Polite	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Self confident	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Likeable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ambitious	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educated	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Industrious	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outgoing	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Open minded	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reliable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Honest	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sociable	✖	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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53%


PART III


Slide 10


Click on the icon to listen to Speaker #1 again. Listen carefully and then click 'Next' to answer the questions.

Questionnaire

Speaker#1







0:23

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59%

Slide 11

 Required Information

✱ What do you think is the speaker's mother tongue?

- ☐ Arabic
 ☐ English
 ☐ Greek
 ☐ Korean
 ☐ Swedish
- ☐ Bengali
 ☐ Filipino
 ☐ Hebrew
 ☐ Polish
 ☐ Turkish
- ☐ Bulgarian
 ☐ French
 ☐ Italian
 ☐ Portuguese
 ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Chinese
 ☐ German
 ☐ Japanese
 ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Other (Please specify)

★ Where do you think the speaker is from?

- ☐ Afghanistan
 ☐ France
 ☐ Italy
 ☐ Portugal
 ☐ Turkey
- ☐ Bangladesh
 ☐ Germany
 ☐ Japanese
 ☐ South/North Korea
 ☐ Ukraine
- ☐ Bulgaria
 ☐ Greece
 ☐ Philippines
 ☐ Spain
 ☐ United Kingdom
- ☐ China
 ☐ Israel
 ☐ Poland
 ☐ Sweden
- ☐ Other (Please specify)

Please rate the speaker from 1 to 5 in the questions below, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'.

Speaker#1						
	Not at all 1	2	3	4	Very 5	N/A
Was the speaker easy to understand?	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How comfortable would you feel interacting with the speaker?	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

✱ What do you think the speaker's job is?

- ☐ Cleaner
 ☐ Bar tender
 ☐ Administrative staff
 ☐ Manager
 ☐ Director
- ☐ Other (Please specify)

[Clear answers on page](#)

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65%

Slide 12

Click on the icon to listen to Speaker #2 again. Listen carefully and then click 'Next' to answer the questions.

[Clear answers on page](#) [Next >>](#)

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71%

Slide 13

*** Required Information**

*** What do you think is the speaker's mother tongue?**

☐ Arabic ☐ English ☐ Greek ☐ Korean ☐ Swedish
☐ Bengali ☐ Filipino ☐ Hebrew ☐ Polish ☐ Turkish
☐ Bulgarian ☐ French ☐ Italian ☐ Portuguese ☐ Ukrainian
☐ Chinese ☐ German ☐ Japanese ☐ Spanish
☐ Other (Please specify)

*** Where do you think the speaker is from?**

☐ Afghanistan ☐ France ☐ Italy ☐ Portugal ☐ Turkey
☐ Bangladesh ☐ Germany ☐ Japan ☐ South/North Korea ☐ Ukraine
☐ Bulgaria ☐ Greece ☐ Philippines ☐ Spain ☐ United Kingdom
☐ China ☐ Israel ☐ Poland ☐ Sweden
☐ Other (Please specify)

Please rate the speaker from 1 to 5 in the questions below, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'.

	Not at all 1	2	3	4	Very 5	N/A
Was the speaker easy to understand?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How comfortable would you feel interacting with the speaker?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** What do you think the speaker's job is?**

☐ Cleaner ☐ Bar tender ☐ Administrative staff ☐ Manager ☐ Director
☐ Other (Please specify)


[Clear answers on page](#) [Next >>](#)

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65%

Slide 14

Click on the icon to listen to Speaker #3 again. Listen carefully and then click 'Next' to answer the questions.



[Clear answers on page](#) [Next >>](#)

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82%

Slide 15

Required Information

What do you think is the speaker's mother tongue?

☐ Arabic ☐ English ☐ Greek ☐ Korean ☐ Swedish
☐ Bengali ☐ Filipino ☐ Hebrew ☐ Polish ☐ Turkish
☐ Bulgarian ☐ French ☐ Italian ☐ Portuguese ☐ Ukrainian
☐ Chinese ☐ German ☐ Japanese ☐ Spanish
☐ Other (Please specify)

Where do you think the speaker is from?

☐ Afghanistan ☐ France ☐ Italy ☐ Portugal ☐ Turkey
☐ Bangladesh ☐ Germany ☐ Japan ☐ South/North Korea ☐ Ukraine
☐ Bulgaria ☐ Greece ☐ Philippines ☐ Spain ☐ United Kingdom
☐ China ☐ Israel ☐ Poland ☐ Sweden
☐ Other (Please specify)

Please rate the speaker from 1 to 5 in the questions below, 1 being 'Not at all' and 5 'Very'.

	Not at all 1	2	3	4	Very 5	N/A
Was the speaker easy to understand?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How comfortable would you feel interacting with the speaker?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

What do you think the speaker's job is?

☐ Cleaner ☐ Bar tender ☐ Administrative staff ☐ Manager ☐ Director
☐ Other (Please specify)

[Clear answers on page](#) [Next >>](#)

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76%

Part IV

Slide 16

Required Information

How old are you?

-Select-

What is your sex?

-Select-

Where are you from?

-Select-

What is your mother tongue?

-Select-

Are you a student?

Yes

No

Have you ever lived in a foreign country for more than a month?

Yes

No

Do you have any close friends with a different nationality to yours?

Yes

No

Name up to 5 countries that you have travelled to in the past 5 years.

Characters Remaining: 100

Clear answers on page

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Slide 17

You made it to the end! Congratulations and thank you again.
You are now eligible to win a £90 Amazon voucher. Please do give us your email address so we can contact you if you win.
Remember we will not be sharing this information with anyone.

THANK YOU!

[Clear answers on page](#)

Submit

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100%
▼