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Attitudes of Austrian Teenagers towards English:
Social and Cultural Parameters

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1. Introduction

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, we find ourselves increasingly confronted with an omnipresence of English. Globalisation, the media, the Internet, social networks etc. make it almost impossible for us to avoid contact with the English language, which has, in the meantime, spread over the whole world. This 'world language' has a high influence on the younger generation in our country, since they are on the one hand required more and more foreign language skills in their professions, and on the other hand confronted with English via the Internet, the radio, computer games and so on and so forth. This is also the reason why teenagers are the target group of the study presented in this paper, which is on the attitudes of Austrian teenagers towards English, with regard to their social and cultural background.

In order to outline the idea for the topic and the study, one has to briefly describe the Austrian school system. From six to ten years, all pupils are educated in primary schools. But at the age of ten, there is a major decision to take for the parents and the students, for they either go to a 'Hauptschule' (general secondary school) or an 'Allgemein bildende höhere Schule- Unterstufe' (academic secondary school). Four years later, they can again decide whether to attend an 'Allgemein bildende höhere Schule' (academic secondary school- upper level), 'Berufsbildende mittlere / höhere Schule' (technical and vocational college / school), a 'Polytechnische Schule' (pre-vocational school), or training schools for Kindergarten teachers, health and nursing schools etc. AHS or BHS can only be attended when certain requirements (i.e. marks) are fulfilled and in addition, the process is often linked to entrance examinations. The recent development shows that the majority of teenagers who strive for higher education usually have a middle class family background, which already implies that migrants and socially lower situated people are underrepresented in those schools. Some educational specialists even argue that the social segregation begins at the age of ten in Austria.

This is now the starting point of the study: Austria has a heterogeneous society and hence a multilingual situation in almost every city and village, with different mother tongues as well as social, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. In the meantime,

there is also no doubt that we are all exposed to English, the new lingua franca, which is to the advantage of the intellectual communities, since they are enabled to communicate, trade and work together with colleagues and companies from all over the world. Nevertheless, history has shown that such processes can bridge but also widen the gap between social classes, most often depending on their educational level and financial situation. Such gaps can cause a disparity between people who belong to different social classes by giving the elite access to the globalised world, whereas the others remain caught in their local culture. In school, however, students who represent the whole spectrum of society are educated together. The study is therefore intended to find out, if the attitudes towards English depend on the students' social and cultural backgrounds, i.e. if the increasing importance of English intensifies the differences in the social order. The hypothesis is, as already implied, that there are contrasts according to the social status and the study will try to examine the problem.

The thesis itself falls into two major parts, namely the theoretical background and the description and analysis of the study. In the first part, it seems important to show why English is omnipresent in our lives, for which reason a short history of the spread of English as well as an analysis of the present situation shall be given in the first chapter. It will be followed by a part on language attitudes, in which differences between standard and non-standard speech, gender, ethnicity and class are to be outlined, in order to allow a comparison with the results of this study later in the paper. The second major part of this thesis is to describe the setup of the study, its objectives and of course the results of the data analysis.

One of the problems when investigating differences within society is not to offend anybody by using certain terms and classifications which are inevitable in a data analysis. I would therefore like to express that it is not my intention to insult people, but it is simply necessary to make categorisations to have a good working basis for the analysis of 200 questionnaires.

2. The global presence of English and its reasons

2.1 Introduction

When the reign of Queen Elizabeth I ended in 1603, there were an estimated number of five to seven million speakers of English in the world. In 2010, which we may regard as being towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, almost two billion people in the world speak English. This is at least partly due to the fact that English is no longer only spoken by its native speakers in e.g. the UK, the USA, Australia, Canada, etc., but by people all over the world who use it as their second language. (Jenkins 2005: 2) But what makes a language global and why is it English and not Mandarin or Hindi for example, since both have many more native speakers than English?

This chapter deals with these and other questions, tries to find a proper definition for term ‘global language’, presents some of the historical reasons for the international status of the English language and intends to outline why there is still an increase in its use and presence, particularly among younger people.

2.2 What is a ‘global language’ and (why) do we need it?

Crystal (2003: 3) states that “[a] language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country.” This neither means that a global language must have more native speakers than other languages, nor that it is officially recognised as a second language in a higher number of countries. On the contrary, one indicator of a global language is that it is taught as a foreign language in more than one hundred countries in the world today. Furthermore, it is not that important how many people speak the language, but rather who those speakers are. In the Roman Empire for example, Latin was the official language- not because the Romans were the biggest people but because they were the most powerful.

There is the closest of links between language dominance and economy, technological, and cultural power... Without a strong power-base, of whatever kind, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. Language has no independent existence living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it. Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails. (Crystal 2003: 7)

This statement makes the impression of being more reliable than other suggestions which have been made in the previous years, for example that English has less grammar than other languages or that it is easy to learn, since we do not need to worry about the difference between genders et cetera. But the complexity of former international languages like Latin and French disproves this argumentation. Languages have never become global languages because of grammar, vocabulary, literary history or religion but because of the power and strength of their users, particularly with regard to warfare and politics. 2,000 years ago, Greek became the language of the Middle East, when Alexander the Great expanded his empire and not when Socrates and other intellectuals proposed their ideas. The same is true for South America: why have Spanish and Portuguese been spoken there ever since these regions were encountered? They were nothing but the languages of the most powerful (and cruel) colonisers from Europe. (Crystal 2003: 4-10)

This leads to the question of the importance of an international language. What can be done to abolish hindrances of communication or the need of translators in order to speak with people from other countries? The solution can be to establish a language which acts as a lingua franca. Hence, languages like Swahili, Hindi, Spanish, French, Portuguese and English have taken over the roles of common languages in different territories of the world throughout the course of history. But the demand for a lingua franca for the whole world is much more recent- it is presumably rooted in the foundation of the United Nations after the Second World War. Currently, they consist of 192 member states and have six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish (<http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml>). The pressure to find a common language increased when the Commonwealth and the European Union came into being, not least because of the fact that the enormous amount of translation, administrative and clerical work that came with even six languages, as well as the exploding costs, needed to be reduced.

This search for a lingua franca is also very much appreciated by business companies and academic institutions, for it both simplifies and streamlines their work. Researchers can share and discuss their findings with colleagues from other countries easily by communicating in one language that everybody knows. “A situation where a Japanese company director arranges to meet German and Saudi Arabian contacts in a Singapore hotel to plan a multi-national deal...[would be much more complicated]...if each plugged in to a 3-way translation support system.” (Crystal 2003: 15)

These examples show that the necessity of an international language is also very much based on the development of modern communication technologies, i.e. the telephone, the fax, the Internet, and transport systems such as high speed rail and air travel. These two factors contributed to a high extent to the rapid globalisation and the demand for a lingua franca. Never before in human history have so many people needed to communicate, trade, travel etc. than in the 21st century. And never before has the requirement for an international language been so high. (Crystal 2003: 11-14)

But having a global language can also be dangerous in various ways. People may cease learning other languages when there is no longer any need for them to do so and consequently, these languages could die. There are about 6,000 languages spoken in the world, half of them in Asia and the Pacific, 2,000 in Africa and the remainder in Europe and the Americas and it is estimated that about 90 percent of these 6,000 could die in the next 90 or 100 years. The numbers for the languages in serious danger are lower but still show that 50 per cent of all languages in the world could be dead by 2100. (Thomason 2001: 241-242) The UNESCO even mentions the figure 6,700 as the number of languages in the world of which half could die. It is safe to assume that one language disappears every second week. (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00136>) Thomason claims that most of these languages die because of language contact, after which the majority of their speakers move to another language. Furthermore, there are only 63 nations in the world whose official language(s) is (are) not English, French, Spanish, Arabic or Portuguese. Only 600, which makes about 10 percent of all languages, are said to be ‘safe’, which not only indicates the decreasing number of peoples but shows the “...ongoing catastrophic destruction of the linguistic world.” (Thomason 2001: 242)

In addition to that, one has to mention the enormous cultural loss which goes hand in hand with the death of a language and which could happen to thousands of people in the near future. A group of people usually identifies themselves (among other factors) via the shared language, which is part of their identity. Belonging to a group most often means speaking the same language, even though these clear-cut boundaries are increasingly hard to identify in a globalised world. (Kramsch 2000: 65-69) Furthermore, languages are very often not written down in grammar books or dictionaries, because they have developed in geographical areas where writing is simply not a necessity. Such instances increase the danger of not only losing languages but also the orally transmitted history of the people, their songs, stories and myths. Moreover, the indigenous population usually has first-hand knowledge of the area's flora and fauna and knows much about medicinal plants. When a language is lost, this also means that humanity and science lose important information.

Another question is, if native speakers of e.g. English are in a position of power over non-native speakers and if they have advantages. Will, for example, academic papers in languages other than English still be accepted? The only chance we have to avoid such a problem is to start teaching the global language early enough, so that the language proficiency of L2 speakers of English will be as high as possible. (Crystal 2003: 16-17) Maybe this also implies a growing number of bilingual speakers.

From a contemporary perspective, it seems almost impossible to stop English from becoming more widespread, but since it has been argued above that global languages are based on political, economical and military power, it must not be assumed that there will be a change in the immediate future. "English is now so widely established that it can no longer be thought of as 'owned' by any single nation." (Crystal 2003: 26)

2.3 *Historical reasons for the global spread of English*

With regard to the historical reasons for English being the international language today, a differentiation between two aspects is necessary: “one is geographical-historical; the other is socio-cultural. The geo-historical answer shows how English reached a position of pre-eminence,...the socio-cultural... explains why it remains so.” (Crystal 2003: 29)

When English was brought to England from the north of Europe around 500 A.C., it spread steadily over the island and after the Norman Conquest in 1066 also to Scotland. Eventually, Ireland was ruled by the English, which meant that English was spoken all over the British Isles. (Crystal 2003: 30) This remained stable over the next 300 years, until suddenly a new continent was discovered.

Jenkins names “...two dispersals, or diasporas, of English.” (Jenkins 2005: 5) The first describes the migration of English, Scottish and Irish people to America, Australia and New Zealand. In 1584, Walter Raleigh set off for the New World, but since the settlement near North Carolina disappeared (today also referred to as the ‘lost colony’), it is assumed that there was conflict with the indigenous population. The first permanent settlement was founded in Jamestown in 1607 and also by the Puritans and passengers on the Mayflower in Plymouth in 1620. Once these settlements had been established, more and more groups of migrants came to North America. (Jenkins 2005: 5-6) An estimated number of 378,000 people migrated from the British Isles to North America and the West Indies between 1630 and 1699. (Wrigley, Schofield 1981: 226) As a result of this and the beginning slave trade from West Africa in the seventeenth century, English spread among many people and was spoken in a growing number of places in the New World.

In the eighteenth century, a huge amount of Northern Irish migrants settled around Philadelphia and moved south and west. When the United States Declaration of Independence was ratified in 1776, many of those who had supported the British moved to Canada. (Jenkins 2005: 6)

Similar developments can be found in Australia and New Zealand. The former was encountered by James Cook in 1770, and during the next 100 years, the British and Irish transported 160,000 criminals to Australia. Afterwards, particularly people from London and the south-east of England moved there. New Zealand’s European

settlement began at the end of the 17th century and included migrants from Britain, Ireland and Australia.

The ‘second diaspora’ of English basically took place during the colonial period and does not affect America and Australia any longer to such an extent but Africa and Asia. As already mentioned before, there was a slave trade with countries in West Africa, but the British never founded settlements there, “... instead, English was employed as a *lingua franca* both among the indigenous population... and between these people and the British traders.” (Jenkins 2005: 7) English is now an official language in most of the countries in West Africa, such as Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, etc.

East Africa’s relationship with English followed a different path. The countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe were extensively settled by British colonists from the 1850s on, following the expeditions of a number of explorers... These six countries became British protectorates or colonies at various points between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with English playing an important role in the major institutions such as government, education and the law. (Jenkins 2005: 7)

Even though these countries have become independent from the 1960s onwards, English is still the official language in four of the above mentioned countries.

In Asia, particularly India and its neighbour countries, the British East India Company played an important role in the spread of English. “The company’s influence increased during the eighteenth century and culminated in a period of British sovereignty ... in India from 1765 to 1947.” (Jenkins 2005: 7) In 1835, an English school system with English as the language for education was established in India. During the 18th century, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong were also made centres of colonial Britain.

As the English speaking conquerors, settlers and traders were in contact with the native population in almost every territory they set foot on, it is not surprising that the language outcome was very heterogeneous. The varieties of English they brought to different parts of the world mingled with the local languages, resulting in numerous Englishes, pidgins and creoles. (Jenkins 2005: 8) New grammars were

developed, new vocabulary invented, accents and dialects evolved and the discourse strategies changed.

The present-day world status of English is primarily the result of two factors: the expansion of British colonial power, which peaked towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the twentieth century. It is the latter factor which continues to explain the world position of the English language today... The USA has nearly 70 per cent of all English mother-tongue speakers in the world. Such dominance, with its political / economical underpinnings, currently gives America a controlling interest in the way the language is likely to develop. (Crystal 2003: 59-60)

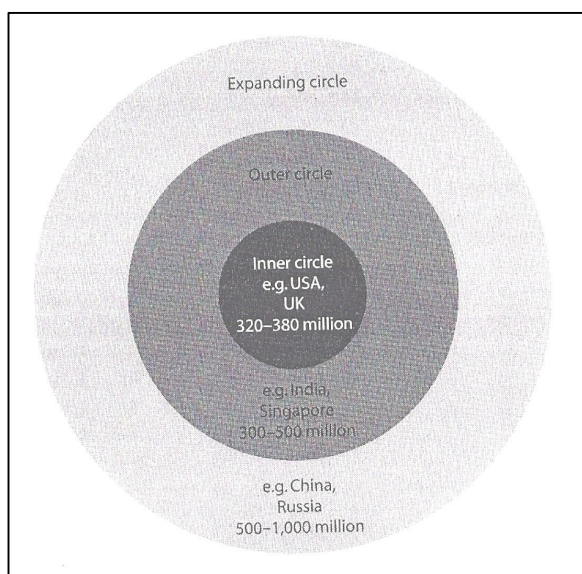


Figure 1: Kachru's three circles of English
(Crystal 2003: 61)

One of the best known models of the spread of English is by the linguist Braj Kachru, namely the three circles of English, presented in figure one. It is intended to represent the different ways of acquisition and usages in various countries in the world. The approximately 350 million speakers in the inner circle are the native speakers of English, in countries such as the United Kingdom, the USA, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, etc. Countries which have been influenced by the early spread of English and

which have adopted it as a second official language are to be found in the outer circle. All other countries which accept the international role of English and teach it as the first foreign language at school belong to the expanding circle. As its name already implies, it is expanding, as the use of English around the world increases. (Crystal 2003: 60)

In order to introduce more examples regarding the reasons and factors for learning English as a second or foreign language, the previous historical arguments need to be supported by more recent ones presented in the following section.

- **Politics:** In this case, the enormous power of the former British Empire must be pointed out: At its most powerful time, one third of the world and one fourth of

all the people living on the planet were under British rule. “The language [acted] as a guarantor, as well as a symbol, of political unity”. (Crystal 2003: 79) Although many of the colonial countries gained independence later on, they “...chose English as their official language to enable speakers of their indigenous communities to continue communicating with each other at a national level”. (Crystal 2003: 79) Furthermore, English was regarded as a neutral language and good solution for everybody, when different local languages started competing for the predominant position in a country. (Crystal 2003: 85)

- **Know-how:** A look at the population figures of England in the times of the Industrial Revolution shows that the inhabitants doubled between 1550 and 1650, roughly speaking; the average growth rate was 0.56 per cent a year. After some years of decrease, the growth rate went up again to an average of 0.90 per cent every year until 1820 and 1.26 per cent until 1871. (Wrigley, Schofield 1981: 207-215) The living conditions increased, since knowledge and materials for building houses developed over the decades and more and more people had access to fuel. This was likely to lead to lower mortality and higher fertility rates in the cold season. Moreover, “...improvements in agricultural productions, storage and distribution ... helped to lessen the impact of climatic variation on the food supply...” (Wrigley, Schofield 1981: 319)

Most of the innovations of the Industrial Revolution were of British origin: the harnessing of coal, water and steam to drive heavy machinery; a wide range of manufacturing industries; and the emergence of new means of transportation. By 1800, the chief growth areas, in textiles and mining, were producing a range of manufactured goods for export which led to Britain being called the ‘workshop of the world’. (Crystal 2003: 80)

This enormous and rapid development also left its traces on the linguistic level. Thousands of new words and terminology which emerged from the new technological inventions and scientific findings were added to the English language. Furthermore, the innovations spread from England over the whole world and everyone who wanted to benefit from the machines and industrial goods had to learn English. People throughout Europe migrated to England to work in the factories, whereas many Britons made a fortune by teaching the new inventions abroad.

Slowly but steadily, developments were also made in the USA, which started taking over the leading role in industrialisation from Britain. From a linguistic

point of view, this meant that about half of the scientific writing between 1750 and 1800 took place in English. "...45 per cent of the people from this period were working routinely in an English-language environment, and several more were collaborating with English-speaking schools." (Crystal 2003: 80)

In the 1850s, oil drilling started in the USA and 30 years later, the Standard Oil Company (under John D. Rockefeller) controlled 90 per cent of America's oil production. Until the end of the century, the number of big companies and organisations increased, e.g. William Randolph Hearst's newspapers and John Pierpont Morgan's banking house, to name just two. The latter also contributed to financing the Allies in the First World War.

The new organizations supported the fortunes of the developing industrial companies, handled government securities and facilitated the growth of world trade and investment. In particular, the less wealthy countries of Europe, as well as the new colonies further afield, urgently needed to attract foreign investment. Firms such as Rothschilds and Morgans grew in response to these needs, and London and New York became the investment capitals of the world. ... The resulting 'economic imperialism'.... brought a fresh dimension to the balance of linguistic power. If the metaphor 'money talks' has any meaning at all, those were the days when it was shouting loudly- and the language in which it was shouting was chiefly English. (Crystal 2003: 83)

- **International relations and diplomacy:** The first time, English was made an official language in any international union (together with French) was by the League of Nations after 1920, followed by the United Nations after the Second World War. The urgent need for a lingua franca was indicated in chapter 2.1; people were looking for a language in which it was possible to communicate with colleagues, friends and business partners from 190 other countries as well. Moreover, the UN itself consists of various sub-organisations, such as the UNESCO, the WHO etc., and they have their headquarters in different cities all over the world. Then there is the EU, unions such as the NAFTA, EFTA, NATO, ASEAN etc., and also sports organisations, e.g. FIFA, IOC and so on and so forth. Even though there may be internal communication in local languages, publications, statements and results of meetings are usually stated in English to make them globally accessible. (Crystal 2003: 86-90)

I should like to support my argumentation with a true story: After the German elections in September 2009, a BBC journalist asked Guido Westerwelle, the foreign secretary, a question in English and requested his answer in English- in a

really polite way. Westerwelle answered, in German, and added that as it was customary to speak English in Great Britain, it was customary to speak German here in Germany. The translator therefore had to translate the journalist's English questions into German and Westerwelle's German answers back into English. However, Westerwelle obviously recognised that his insistence on speaking German may cause problems. He addressed the man again and told him- just to clarify the situation- that he was happy to meet him for a tea outside of this press conference, "...and then we only speak English. But it's Germany here!"

As Westerwelle had assumed, the German journalists referred to this in the next press conference. One asked a question but did this in a very confusing way, using various sub-clauses and changing the question in the middle of his talk. Westerwelle answered that even though this had been German, he had not understood it. The journalist replied that he could also try to ask it in Ancient Greek, and Westerwelle added that he would then answer in Latin. The situation was rather funny, but then he said something particularly interesting for linguists. Westerwelle asked the German journalists, if they had asked a question in Paris or London and had requested a German answer.

On the one hand, this almost seems to be ridiculous, from our 21st century perspective, but on the other hand it shows very well, how far the present situation has already developed and Westerwelle's comment also epitomised the attitude of many people nowadays. We expect politicians of a certain position to communicate in English with international journalists and are almost shocked, or at least astonished, if someone refuses to do so. The really amazing thing is that we already find it strange if international questions are answered in the official language of the country in which they are asked. If, for instance, an Arabian or a Russian journalist had asked in Arabic and Russian, no one would have taken any notice of Westerwelle answering in German, even though they are both official languages of the United Nations. But since English is the global language, one is obviously supposed to be prepared.

- **The media:** There will only be space to touch upon some of the important issues of media and since the term is also too big to deal with it as a whole, it has to be differentiated between the following sub-categories:

Firstly, **advertising** became an increasing issue in the second half of the 19th century. Mass production of industrial goods, growing purchasing power of the people as well as new inventions in printing resulted in the appearance of advertisements in magazines and newspapers. Brands like “...Ford, Coca Cola, Kodak and Kellogg...” (Crystal 2003: 94) became popular among the consumers- not only in the USA and Britain but all over the world, introducing English slogans and posters everywhere. Today, we have a similar situation with McDonalds and Starbucks, for both can be found in various cities in Austria, bringing with them the cultural habits of the United States (e.g. fast food), which have been virtually unknown in this country until then.

Secondly, the invention of new technologies was the reason for a new big business which came into being in the 19th and grew rapidly at the beginning of the 20th century: the **movie industry** and the cinemas. Since the First World War took place in Europe, the major film productions moved to America, where Hollywood soon became the number one. Naturally, English also became the prevalent language of the movie industry. In 1933, only three per cent of all actors and actresses and six per cent of the directors produced movies in languages other than English. The invention of the Oscars supported this trend. Nowadays there is only one category for the best foreign movie, whereas the other categories are for English language films. And even though there is a lot of work going on outside the USA in the meantime, it must be admitted that the big blockbusters have always been those produced in Hollywood.

Another business which has been English-dominated is, thirdly, the **music** from the 20th century onwards. The big record labels like Columbia, Universal, EMI etc., are all American. Jazz emerged out of movements in the US and Elvis Presley, the Rolling Stones and the Beatles attracted a bigger audience than anyone else before. Very soon, singers and groups from non-English-speaking countries realised the big potential of singing in English, e.g. Bob Marley, ABBA, and so on. (Crystal 2003: 86-104) A more elaborated discussion of these points can be found in chapter 2.4 below.

2.4 The contemporary increase of the use and the presence of English

The historical background of English as a global language which has already been presented in chapter 2.3 shall now be supported with present-day developments and its consequences. There will be additional information on the media- with a particular focus on what it does to the youth- as well as on other aspects of the international life.

One of these aspects, surely, is travelling. It is important for business meetings, conferences, sports competitions, military and political purposes and not purely for tourism and holidays.

[T]he domains of transportation and accommodation are mediated through the use of English as an auxiliary language. Safety instructions on international flights and sailings, information about emergency procedures in hotels, and directions to major locations are now increasingly in English alongside local languages. Most notices which tell us to fasten our seatbelts, find the lifeboat stations, or check the location of the emergency stairs give us an option in English. (Crystal 2003: 105)

The same is true for restaurants in popular tourist areas. Next to the local language, the meals are typically given, or at least explained, in English.

But also the communication between flight aircraft control and pilots takes place in English, which is much safer, since everyone should be able to understand each other. A similar attempt to simplify the language, which has taken place in seafaring some time ago, has now also reached air traffic control. They communicate via terms like “Roger, ... maintaining 2500 feet, runway in sight...” (Crystal 2003: 109) and have their own phonetic alphabet for the codenames, like Alpha, Bravo, Charlie et cetera. And even though the Austrian Airlines Group ‘Austrian’ is based at the Vienna International Airport, their slogan is “We fly for your smile” (<http://www.aua.com/de/deu/austrian/glance/>), in local radio broadcasts as well as internationally.

Education is maybe the biggest contributor to the continuous spread of English. “...English is the medium of a great deal of the world’s knowledge, especially in such areas as science and technology. And access to knowledge is the business of education.” (Crystal 2003: 110) This is primarily due to the fact that governments

and people are convinced of gaining access to information, research and innovation by learning English. In most EU countries, "...English is required as one, if not the only, first compulsory language, or is the most frequently selected among language options." (Berns, de Bot, Hasebrink 2007: 24), which can be seen in figure two below. The trend to teach English has now even reached primary schools and an increasing number of other subjects are being taught in English instead of the learner's native language, which is shown in figure three on the next page. Furthermore, student exchange programmes and the internationalisation of higher education, i.e. at universities, contribute to offering lectures in English next to the country's language, enabling students from abroad to continue their studies. (Berns, de Bot, Hasebrink 2007: 25-27) The Bologna Declaration of European Space for Higher Education is the EU's attempt to ensure this development; adapting national curricula and dividing university studies into Bachelor, Master and PhD courses.

From figure two it can be seen that English was the first foreign language in 25 EU countries in 2005/06, being taught to more than 80 per cent of the pupils in 20 of these regions. In Austria as many as 98.8 % learned English as a first foreign language.

	1st	2d	3rd	4th		1st	2d	3rd	4th		1st	2d	3rd	4th
BE fr	HL 71.7	● 67.1	■ 4.0	◆ 3.8	FR	● 97.5	◆ 43.5	■ 17.1	▼ 4.9	PT	● 80.2	▲ 63.1	◆ 1.6	■ 0.9
BE de	: :	: :	: :	: :	IT	● 96.3	▲ 46.1	■ 7.2	◆ 6.9	RO	● 95.0	▲ 86.5	■ 10.9	○ 1.9
BE nl	▲ 96.8	● 70.7	■ 23.3	◆ 1.1	CY	● 93.9	▲ 67.6	▼ 14.3	◆ 3.7	SI	● 96.4	■ 47.8	▼ 5.3	▲ 5.1
BG	● 75.4	○ 28.0	■ 25.9	▲ 12.2	LV	● 96.5	○ 47.7	■ 22.4	▲ 1.9	SK	● 74.2	■ 42.6	SK 6.2	▲ 4.5
CZ	● 81.4	■ 34.5	▲ 6.2	◆ 2.0	LT	● 90.1	○ 55.4	■ 24.3	▲ 4.3	FI	● 99.3	SV 92.0	■ 22.0	▲ 11.6
DK	● 100.4	■ 84.0	▲ 15.3	◆ 8.6	LU	■ 99.2	▲ 99.2	● 64.0	◆ 1.9	SE	● 100.0	◆ 32.4	■ 25.6	▲ 17.6
DE	● 96.0	▲ 25.1	◆ 4.5	○ 1.8	HU	● 64.2	■ 44.4	▲ 3.2	▼ 1.7	UK	▲ :	■ :	◆ :	Other :
EE	● 92.9	○ 59.6	■ 30.0	EE 25.1	MT	● 93.9	▼ 57.6	▲ 37.1	■ 8.2	IS	● 87.3	DA 70.1	■ 17.9	◆ 10.5
IE	▲ 65.3	■ 20.9	◆ 8.3	▼ 1.0	NL	● 45.1	■ 38.9	▲ 31.6	: :	LI	: :	: :	: :	: :
EL	● 96.9	▲ 37.2	■ 23.1		AT	● 98.8	▲ 12.9	▼ 5.7	◆ 2.2	NO	● 100.0	■ 29.3	▲ 18.6	◆ 9.5
ES	● 97.5	▲ 35.6	■ 2.1	▼ 0.1	PL	● 80.3	■ 42.8	○ 7.3	▲ 5.0	TR	● 67.3	■ 6.5	▲ 0.7	▼ 0.0

● English
▲ French
■ German
◆ Spanish
▼ Italian
○ Russian

Incidence of rankings 1-4 for each of the six languages in the 31 countries/regions for which information is available (determined with reference to the percentage of pupils learning the language concerned)

Position/Ranking	English	French	German	Spanish	Italian	Russian
1st	25	2	1	0	0	0
2nd	1	9	9	2	1	4
3rd	1	6	13	3	3	1
4th	0	8	2	9	5	2

Figure 2: The most widely taught foreign languages and the percentage of pupils who learn them, general secondary education 2005/2006. (Eurydice Key Data on Teaching Languages in Schools in Europe 2008: 67)

Similar numbers can be found in figure three, which is concerned with primary education. 97.4 per cent of Austria's young learners were taught English in 2005/2006, which is the third highest percentage reached in the EU.

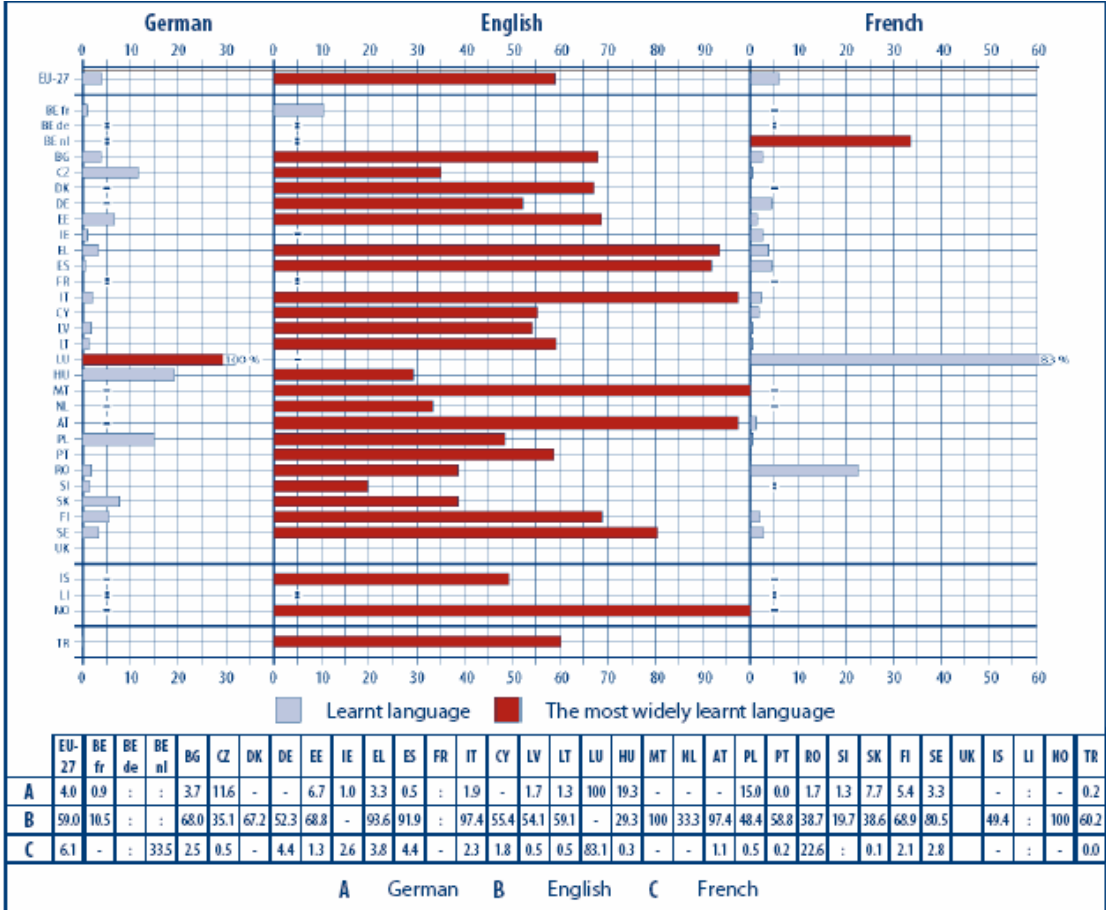


Figure 3: Percentage of all pupils in primary education who are learning English, German and/or French. Countries in which one of these languages is the most widely learnt 2005/2006. (Eurydice Key Data on Teaching Languages in Schools in Europe 2008: 62)

A further important issue which has not been mentioned so far is the communications infrastructure of today, in which computers and the Internet play an ever-increasing role. Even if companies have internal correspondence in a local language, their external emails and letters are still likely to be in English, because they want scientists or technicians from other companies to understand them.

As far as the Internet is concerned, we have to look back to its very beginnings in the 1960, namely the ARPANET (the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network), which was founded in the USA to enable a connection between the government and the academic world which would survive attacks in case of a war. There is no need to

mention that the language for this project was, obviously, English. When other countries became linked to the network, they had to deal with it in English as well. In the meantime, the general public has gained access to the Internet, in which English is still the predominant language. (Crystal 2003: 114-118) Michael Specter, a New York Times journalist, already noted ten years ago that if you want to be in the “World Wide Web” (which are three English words as he titles), “...there is only one way to do it: learn English, which has more than ever become America’s greatest and most effective export (carrying with it immense cultural power)”. (Specter 1996: NYT) However, it must not be forgotten that the spread of the Internet also poses a danger: In order to have access to it, a computer is necessary, which is the first hurdle for people with a low income. The effects on the next generation are even higher: If teenagers live in poor families in which the Internet is not necessary for their parents or their professions, it is unlikely that they will have the same research and communication possibilities than children from more privileged families. Consequently, the former will also be less confronted with English as the latter and may therefore have gained a disadvantage before they even start going to school.

Berns, de Bot and Hasebrink note in their book about media and European youth that

[t]he use of newer technologies... is integral in young people’s lives. Among the 15-25 year old age group... the percentage of those who regularly go online, use a computer, and play video games has more than doubled since 1997. Regular mobile phone users in this same age bracket number 80%. Another indicator of the relationship between youth and computer use is the fact that the rate of internet penetration depends upon the rate at which families of 15-year-olds acquire home computers. (Berns, de Bot, Hasebrink 2007: 3-4)

In my own study, I asked students about their accessibility of the Internet and found out that only five in 200 students do not have a connection to the Internet at home, but need to go to a friend or to school instead. It is interesting to note that, among their parents, only three out of ten passed their secondary school examinations and none of them has a university degree. The other parents hold lower-status jobs for which only an apprenticeship is required. The sample size is of course much too small to draw conclusions from it, but is a stimulating issue to consider further on.

2.5 *Summary*

This first chapter about the spread of the English language over the world, its historical reasons and effects on our contemporary lives was intended to outline the numerous long-term processes which made English the global language. What is particularly interesting for the topic of this paper, as well as for the study, is the notion that the youth is more than every other generation in society exposed to English. Since young people are most often the target group of advertisements, the music industry and the film business and use the computer and the Internet with the numerous games and the huge information network frequently, they are naturally in contact with English as soon as they listen to the radio, watch TV and surf the Internet. Hence, people who do not speak English are more and more disadvantaged and cannot access certain sectors of the economy. Nowadays, many professions require fluent written and spoken English skills and insufficient language knowledge is often reason enough to exclude people from jobs such as office worker and secretary. The remaining question, which is dealt with throughout the paper, is finally, if the growing importance of English as a lingua franca contributes to widening the social gap by becoming the language of the elite. The answer to this question is tried to be given in the analysis of the study, but before, we shall have a closer look at language attitudes, since they can indicate what pupils really think of English and how much they are in favour of it.

3. Language Attitudes

When it comes to language attitudes, not only non-linguists might generally be tempted to think of stereotypes, prejudices, and emotions people have towards other people and things. We all have concepts about various objects and issues in our minds, which are activated as soon as we have contact with a person from a certain culture or language background, for example.

This chapter is intended to clarify three things: First, why are there attitudes towards speakers and languages and why do they occur? Second, what are those attitudes and what do they consist of, and third, which is the best way of measuring attitudes in order to learn from the results and see the implications for fields other than linguistics.

3.1 *Defining the concept of language attitudes*

Most of us might have heard the complaint: “It’s not *what* you said but *how* you said it!” (Street, Hopper 1982: 175) This simple statement already indicates that our listeners do not only evaluate the contents, grammar or vocabulary of our speech but also the tone and sound of our voice, which brings us closer to the concept of language attitudes. As a starting point, it may be safe to describe an attitude as a “...very basic, continuously active human process of forming evaluative reactions to social experiences.” (Smit 1996: 24)

From this description it becomes clear that language attitudes are seen as a theoretical and abstract concept we have in our brains and which can hence not be measured and observed easily. Therefore, scholars have used several different approaches which enable us to study attitudes.

Traditionally, the various definitions are classified into behaviourist and mentalist ones. From the behaviourist point of view, attitudes are to be found in the response people have to social situations, while the mentalist approach sees attitudes as internal states aroused by some stimulus mediation. ... Since attitudes from a behaviourist point of view are thus located in a person’s responses, they are less comprehensive. ... [T]he scholars working in the mentalist tradition capture the complexity of the concept and, by defining attitude as an independent psychological constant, allow instance-independent interpretations. (Smit 1996: 24-25)

It is, however, too easy to stick to either one or the other approach, since there is on the one hand some truth in both but on the other hand the complexity of language attitudes must not be underestimated.

Another problem which has to be taken into consideration and which has already been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter is how to demarcate the concept of attitude from stereotypes, beliefs, opinions etc. Too often there is no clear distinction and the definitions get blurred. It shall now be tried to separate them by definition:

- **Stereotypes** "...are more rigid and fixed than attitudes and are rather formed in intergroup relationships." (Smit 1996: 28) They are used by group members to distinguish their group from another one.
- The differentiation between attitude and **belief** can only be made to a certain degree, for their interrelatedness is too close. Nevertheless, "...belief is either defined as the cognitive component of attitude... or as the cognitive factor influencing attitude." (Smit 1996: 29) This idea of perceiving belief as more cognitive than attitude implies that it is a more conscious concept and people are able to support their beliefs by considerations of positive and negative aspects.
- **Opinions** are sometimes treated similarly to beliefs, since they are as well seen as more conscious than attitudes. (Smit 1996: 29) We usually have opinions towards certain issues, are pretty aware of them and when we form them, a huge amount of thinking and the consideration of supporting and opposing arguments are involved; i.e. cognitive processes. Attitudes, on the other hand, are more spontaneous and sometimes we are not even aware of the fact that we have them in our minds.
- **Perceptions** are definitively easier to deal with, for they are more the results of impressions we perceive every day, and they also involve cognitive processes. (Smit 1996: 29)

This brief discussion of terms and definitions leads to the following assumptions about attitudes: they are, as we have seen, rather unconscious- in contrast to perceptions, opinions and beliefs; they are mental concepts we have in our brains and since they are influenced by experiences we make, they are quite stable but can still change over time. Hence, it is possible to conclude that "[a]ttitudes consist of three

components: the cognitive or belief, the emotive or feeling, and the conative or intention.” (Smit 1996: 30)

Having considered all these concepts and approaches, the final definition which seems to be most suitable and proper as a working basis for this paper is one which integrates the multiple layers of and influences on language attitudes:

[A]n attitude is an evaluative reaction- a judgement regarding one’s liking or disliking- of a person, event or other aspect of the environment [...it] is a non-neutral position [i.e. either positively or negatively inclined] about the attitude object [...and...] can range in its intensity. (Weber 1992: 117. In: Smit 1996: 25) Each individual holds attitudes towards each and every object in his/her environment, all of which amount to the world as experience by the attitude holder. Since attitudes are not directly observable but complex mental entities that influence and are influenced by an individual’s thinking, feeling and acting with regard to a referent, they are learned through experiences and thus, in correlation with the changes in experience, they can also change. Consequently, a specific attitude does not exist on its own but stands in relation to other attitudes and other influences in general, such as the situational setting, the temporal context, or the participants. (Smit 1996: 33-34)

3.2 *Origins, effects and consequences of language attitudes*

In order to understand the complexity of language attitudes, there seems to be a necessity of having a closer look at the historical developments on which our attitudes are based. Once again, political power and superiority over others will turn out to be very important in this context too.

First of all, we have to be aware of the fact that a language spoken in a country is normally not one single unit but consists of numerous dialects. However, in most cases there is one official language variety of a country, used by the government, schools and the media. In the United Kingdom, this standard variety has turned out to be RP, Received Pronunciation, often referred to as ‘Queen’s English’ or ‘BBC English’. In Germany (and with a certain accent in Austria as well), this standard variety of the language is high German, a former lingua franca, which resulted from the numerous varieties of German spoken in all its regions, and became accepted as the official language of the country. (St Clair 1982: 165) The other dialects and accents have, nevertheless, never been given up but are still spoken all over Germany. In Austria, this diversity is so rich that roughly speaking every federal country has its

own dialect, falling into dozens if not hundreds of dialect and accent varieties again. Therefore, it is not enough to look only at the languages but also at the parallels and differences in culture, to gain a full understanding of how attitudes towards a language and a culture interrelate with the social setting.

Each nation has an obligation to imbue its citizenry with a respect for its civic culture. This use of political socialization channels social behaviour in line with the mainstream values of a nation. It teaches the populace to work within the system provided by the government, to respect its laws and to abide by its dictates. ... [L]anguage standardization is one of the more dominant instruments for inducing common social expectations among its citizenry. ... [T]he more conservative a nation becomes, the more it uses language as a constraint against social, political, religious and ethnic minorities in order to deny them full access to the mainstream culture. This process has been documented in language planning studies dealing with linguistic purification, and it relates to the needs and concerns of the power elite of a nation. (St Clair 1982: 165)

The enormous extent to which language and culture are intertwined can be seen in the table below, showing the structural parallels between the two.

	Language	Culture
Power	Power defines the official dialect of a nation	Power defines the official social reality of a nation
History	The legitimacy of diachrony is defined from the view of the establishment	When a new group achieves political control, it rewrites its national history to reflect its own heritage and to enhance its own self-image
Instrument	Language is an instrument of the power structure and is used in controlling the access of social mobility through literacy tests	Culture is used as a reference marker for social behaviour and control. It reflects the political needs of the power structure
Deviancy	Non-standard dialects are deemed deviant and those who adhere to these forms of speech are stigmatized	Sub-cultures are labelled as deviant and its advocates are chastized
Change	The focus of linguistic control is against change brought about by contact with other social and political influences	Culture is the focus of social change. Those who resist it are purists or conservatives. Those who want change really want their own system of values to be legitimated nationally
Accommodation	Language standardization is a form of accommodation by all dialect speakers in favour of the official language of power	The official culture provides the basis for public policy in which minority cultures are required to assimilate or mainstream

Figure 4: Structural parallels between language and culture. (St Clair 1982: 166)

Having all those connections in mind, it is not surprising that language attitudes have been discovered to

“...reflect power and social status between groups within a political framework. Power is used to legitimate the language and the culture of the ingroup and to separate them from those whom they define as their outsiders. (St Clair 1982: 168)

Thus, only those who use the officially legitimated language are likely to be regarded as powerful and superior, while those who speak another language variety are commonly allocated to a less prestigious group. If we now go a step further and relate those findings to the cultural aspect again, the obvious assumption must be that socially and culturally less privileged people, i.e. ethnic or religious minorities as well as people from the working class, who rarely have political and social power, are at a disadvantage. In the late 19th century, sociologist Herbert Spencer related this phenomenon to social Darwinism, arguing that of all societies in the world, those “...at the top of the ladder of progress... [are] the industrialized societies in which laissez-faire capitalism was the dominant ideology. In the ‘struggle for existence’, he argued, they represent the ‘survival of the fittest’.” (St Clair 1982: 170) However outdated this argumentation may seem, there can still be found evidence for the impact of the Industrialisation on the English language, in metaphors like “You are wasting my time” (St. Clair 1982: 171) for example or phrases in connection with money, “the budgeting of time, ... the rental of money on time, etc” (St Clair 1982: 171) They prove that social Darwinism left its traces in the language. In addition, this theory can as well be applied to the “...struggle between classes within a society and between nations and even between different races” (St Clair 1982: 171) which is still found basically everywhere in the world. Very often, particularly in American history, social Darwinism was used as legitimation of and justification for displacing and expulsing the indigenous population from their territories by European immigrants and settlers who encountered them after their arrival in the New World.

Th[e] leaders of industry and science were the moral entrepreneurs of their time. It was through their efforts that socioeconomic class, religion, race and other issues relating to a threat to their power elite became social issues requiring control and repression through formal legislation. ... It was through these beliefs and actions of their social enforcers that many minorities became the victims within the system. These powerless persons found themselves attacked for having different social and/or economic dialects. They became falsely accused. It was against them that many of the negative attitudes towards language were directed. In comparison, those who were a part of the power structure were not falsely accused and their speech was held up for others to emulate. (St Clair 1982: 173)

In short, we have seen the close connection between language attitudes and culture, which once again indicates the power of the elite over others. Very often, only speakers of officially legitimated speech varieties and elitist groups have access to influential positions in a country, whereas members of minority groups are excluded. This is reflected in the attitude towards them to a greater extent than we may notice.

3.3 *Class, ethnicity, gender and language variation*

In the previous sub-chapter, the concept of interrelatedness between attitudes and culture was introduced. This section is meant to point out the implications of what we have seen about language variation above, particularly on standard versus non-standard varieties, as well as on class and gender.

3.3.1 *Class and ethnicity*

As far as these two issues, namely class and ethnicity are concerned, one might assume that people generally tend to prefer or appreciate a language which is spoken in their surroundings, i.e. most often in the speech community they belong to. Language associated with people from the same 'class' or ethnic group may be judged positively, since one identifies with this kind of variety. Moreover, prejudices towards cultures, languages, ethnicities and other groups we regard as superior or inferior to our own, are likely to influence our attitudes.

Support for this theory can be found in various studies which have been carried out during the years. Rosenthal (1974) asked white children from the upper class and black children from a lower class to listen to recordings of people who spoke both standard and black English. The children "...associated higher socioeconomic status with SE... and lower socioeconomic status with BE... The upper class children expressed more of a preference for the SE speakers than did the black children." (Day 1982: 119) Another study was conducted by Bouchard-Ryan (1969) among white American children from the middle class, who listened to people who either spoke standard English, a variety used by people from a white lower class or black English, came up with these results:

The children rated the SE speakers significantly higher than the other two speakers, and the lower-class white speakers significantly higher than the speakers of BE. In addition, the subjects assigned the speakers to occupations consistent with the fifteen traits. For example, the SE speakers were ranked significantly more often as teachers or doctors than were the other dialect speakers. (Day 1982: 121-122)

From these examples, we can conclude that there are negative attitudes towards people from lower classes and that even children are already aware of differences between groups. Hence, it has to be assumed that underprivileged children are very sensitive to these negative feelings and that they absorb stereotypical reactions from people who belong to superior classes. (Day 1982: 125-127)

The aforementioned findings correlate with what Street and Hopper (1982) found out about attitudes towards people from the in- and outgroup.

“Perceivers have a strong inclination to favour ingroups, even if the ingroup-outgroup differences are minimal. Additionally, there is a tendency to overestimate the similarity of ingroup members and overestimate the degree of dissimilarity of outgroup persons.” (Street, Hopper 1982: 178)

Very important in this context are dialects and accents spoken or not spoken by members of the ingroup, to differentiate themselves from ‘the others’. It turned out to be a general rule in attitude testing that the stronger the accent the more negative the evaluation of the speaker. (Street, Hopper 1982: 178-180)

Another concept which is to be introduced here is the notion of ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ prestige. Since it has been pointed out that there is a certain amount of prestige associated with different speech groups, ethnicities and cultures, it has become clear that there must be a connection between the social status of a person and the listeners’ attitudes towards him or her. William Labov was the first one to use the term ‘speech marker’ for clarifying why there is this connection. “...[S]peech markers provide biological, social and psychological information about those who use them.” (Smit 1996: 41) In a further step Labov and Trudgill classified two types of prestige, namely overt and covert prestige. The former is associated with the economically and politically powerful elite, the most accepted and appreciated group in society with the highest status, (Smit 1996: 41) in contrast to the latter, which is linked with a non-standard variety, the working class and socially disadvantaged people. (Trudgill 1998: 27)

3.3.2 Gender

Research has shown that sometimes, speech differences between the genders can occur. There is noticeable divergence in pitch movement, women tend to ask more questions than men and sometimes it is claimed that women include more (unnecessary) describing adjectives or adverbs in their sentences. (Kramarae 1982: 85-91) However reasonable these distinctions may be, they shall not be the primary focus of this section, since the interest in attitudes and stereotypical assumptions with regard to women's speech are more central to the further discussion.

There have already been various tests conducted with the aim of finding out which characteristics are associated with men and women, and the general results showed that men are linked with adjectives and characteristics such as

“...demanding,... use of swear words, dominating, loud,... straight to the point, ...slang, authoritarian, forceful, aggressive.... The following traits were associate with female speakers: high pitch, ... gossip, concern for listener, gentle, fast, trivial topics,... friendly, talk a lot, emotional, many details, smooth, open,... good grammar, polite...” (Kramarae 1982: 91)

These traits show that women are connected with social values as well as correct use of language, i.e. competence, whereas men are still seen as being more aggressive and sometimes expected to speak a lower prestigious language variety than women.

In the 1930s, the first female announcer was employed by the BBC, but fired only some months later, since there were complaints about a female interviewer from the audience. (Kramarae 1982: 90) Therefore, one may now be surprised by the enormous increase of positive associations with female speakers, particularly as far as competence is concerned, but unfortunately, the before mentioned positive evaluation must not be overestimated, since other studies indicated that powerless and rather passive speech, which is stereotypically also often linked with women, was judged negatively.

[F]requent use of the so-called ‘women’s language’ was most characteristic of those people who held subordinate, lower-status jobs or were unemployed. Since most jobs are gender-segregated and ‘women’s jobs’ have relatively low status, autonomy and pay, we would expect that behaviour differences linked to status would coincide largely but not exclusively with gender differences. (Kramarae 1982: 93)

What has to be considered additionally is the age of people, because generally speaking, older people are faced with more negative attitudes than younger ones. This is a common phenomenon especially in western societies. "...[T]he speech of old women was viewed significantly more reserved, out-of-it, inflexible and passive than younger women. The speech of older men elicited perceptions of inflexibility." (Street, Hopper 1982: 181) Moreover, older speakers are considered less healthy and intelligent, as well as more dependent on other people. (Street, Hopper 1982: 181)

To summarise this brief digression to gender related language attitudes, it was shown that male and female voices are judge differently. While women tend to sound friendly and caring, men's speech is perceived authoritatively. "[T]he empirical studies of attitudes indicate that, when evaluating speech, listeners combine their knowledge of the stereotypes and perceptions of the situation." (Kramarae 1982: 95) Stereotypes seem to influence the attitudes; social group, status, ideology etc. play an important role when it comes to evaluating speakers, particularly when they are of different sex.

3.3.3 Language variation

Every person is part of at least one speech community, a group which shares the same speech characteristics, such as a variety, dialect or accent, depending on how many languages one speaks. In every society, there are numerous speech communities, as there are numerous speech varieties spoken by different people. Normally, the language of the most dominant group is regarded as the most prestigious one, whereas the others are either minority or inferior language varieties. Being a member of the former group, the elite, increases one's possibilities and chances in society, while being part of the latter, a lower prestigious language group, decreases people's prospect of success. (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 1)

Scholars have found some features of language varieties which determine the status in society: "[T]he two critical sociostructural determinants appear to be standardization and vitality." (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 3) A standardised

language is usually one with clear grammar rules and vocabulary, which can be found in dictionaries, grammar books and texts. It is the variety associated with the government, media, schools, the educated elite and other official institutions.

Vitality is determined by the extent of usage in interaction. The more people use it in different fields, the greater is the vitality of a language. “[T]he status of a language variety rises and falls according to the range and importance of the symbolic functions it serves.” (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 4)

Stable bilingualism (or bidialectalism) is most likely to occur within speech communities characterized by diglossia. ... In diglossic societies, one language variety (known as the high variety) serves the functions of outgroup and formal communications while another variant (known as the low variety) is used for ingroup, informal, intimate interactions. (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 4)

Giles (1973) states that “...the higher the status of an accent, the more favourable were the ratings of the quality of the argument presented via that accent.” (Edwards 1982: 24) Applying this to the terminology introduced before, it is possible to say that standard speakers are judged as competent and professional, whereas a language variety is likely to yield good results for personal integrity and interpersonal relations.(Edwards 1982: 24)

This is supported by findings presented by Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:8) who state that “...the socioeconomic status of the native speakers of each variant significantly influences perceptions of their relative prestige.” Rich, educated and successful people are associated with high variety speech and receive high ratings for adjectives which describe competence.

What is also interesting and important is the notion of “ingroup solidarity or language loyalty”. (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 9) The language variety spoken by one’s family or personal surrounding represents the ingroup and it is known that

...[o]ne’s native language typically elicits feelings of attraction, appreciation and belongingness. In situations where a group’s identity is threatened, the variety with which it is associated can become a key symbol of the group’s culture and identity.” (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 9)

Ryan, Giles and Sebastian also identify four “types of language preference patterns” (1982: 9-10) which describe how listeners of a certain status in society typically rate speakers of a certain status.

- “*Majority group preference*”: Both superior and inferior group members prefer the higher language variety, the latter especially because they might “...exhibit an inferiority complex by showing even stronger preferences ... for the ‘high’ variety than majority group members”. (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 9)
- “*Majority status, ingroup solidarity*”: In such a case, the speakers of a minority language regard the language of the majority higher as far as status is concerned, but rate the speakers of their own variety higher when it comes to personal integrity and social attractiveness.
- “*Ingroup preference*”: Here, every group prefers the speaker(s) of their own group, i.e. members of the upper class approve of their elitist status in society, and people in lower-status groups show language loyalty or ingroup solidarity.
- “*Majority group status, minority group solidarity*”: This phenomenon occurs when “...the widely recognized high-status variety does not elicit feelings of attraction from its speakers.” (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982: 10)

[L]anguage varieties which diverge from Standard English are liable to be viewed, even by speakers of those varieties themselves, less favourably than the Standard. This is especially so when evaluations are being made of traits relating to a speaker’s competence. Regional and class varieties may be seen to reflect more friendliness and warmth, however, and may serve a bonding of solidarity function. ... Unfavourable linguistic attitudes... represent social judgements, ones of taste, preference and convention. (Edwards 1982: 30)

3.4 *How language attitudes can be tested*

The method which has turned out to be the most useful and hence most widespread method in research linguistics is the ‘matched-guise technique’. Introduced by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardener and Fillenbaum in 1960, it is a method in which

[j]udges evaluate- on a number of dimensions- a tape-recorded speaker’s personality after hearing him or her read the same passage in each of two or more language varieties. That the speaker is, for all ‘guises’, the same person is not revealed to the evaluators and, typically, they do not guess this. Their judgements are then considered to represent stereotyped reactions to the given language varieties, since potentially confounding elements are constant across guises. ... [t]he matched-guise technique provides to the listener samples of speech which are thought to act as identifiers, allowing the expression of social stereotypes. (Edwards 1982: 22)

The advantage of this method is that the subjects are more likely to express their stereotypical attitudes towards a person who is speaking a certain language variety than towards the person him- or herself. Since each speaker is recorded at least two times, i.e. in two different accents, dialects or another speech variety but is still speaking with the same voice, it is rather safe to assume that the results of a matched-guise technique reveal the listeners' different attitudes towards the languages. In other words, the matched-guise technique allows direct comparison between the results for two speech samples, since they are spoken by the same person. Otherwise, it would be problematic to define if the attitude towards the voice, the person him- or herself, the speech variety etc. was the main reason for the yielded ratings.

The matched-guise technique is of course only one component of an attitude test; there also needs to be a questionnaire or a rating scale, on which the subjects can indicate their preferences for the speakers. It is very common in research to use the so called 'semantic differential' technique, in which opposing adjectives, *educated-uneducated* for example, have to be marked while listening to the speakers on the CD or tape. The choice of adjectives is of course crucial to the results of a study, for which reason it is now common to adapt the "three factor groups" (Preston 2004: 41) to one's own research. The three factors divide attributes into the categories "...*competence* (e.g. intelligence and industriousness), ... *personal integrity* (e.g. helpfulness and trustworthiness), and ... *social attractiveness* (e.g. friendliness and sense of humour)." (Edwards 1982: 23) For further information about the application of these categories in the questionnaire for the study in this paper, see chapter 4.1.1.

The described technique is of course only one way of conducting a study, but it has proved to be very useful and has provided scholars with good results. Even though there may also be problems, it seems suitable for the purpose of this research, for which reason it was decided to make use of it.

3.5 *Language attitudes and second language acquisition*

From what we have seen in the previous sub-chapters, it has become clear that everybody has attitudes towards language varieties, ethnicities, cultures, etc., and that they influence our behaviour. We have also seen to which extent attitudes are influenced by stereotypes, beliefs, opinions and perceptions and that even children and young teenagers are already aware of them. As far as second language acquisition is concerned, these impacts have to be taken into consideration.

Generally speaking, learners have different motivations for learning a language, of which the following two are the most common:

- *instrumental motivation*: a language is learned to achieve something, to get a certain mark or grade, to be paid more money, get a better job etc., but not because of interest in the culture, for example
- *integrative motivation*: students are fascinated by the sound of the new language, its structure and the culture(s) in the respective country or countries (Lightbown, Spada 1999: 56-57)

It is obvious that students with integrative motivation usually achieve better results and acquire a language and knowledge about it better and to a higher extent than learners with instrumental motivation. It is well-known and also confirmed by research that integratively motivated students are more likely to volunteer in class and make meaningful as well as grammatically and lexically correct contributions. (Gardner 1982: 134-137)

During the last three decades there has been a lot of research going on in foreign language learning, new theories have been postulated and we finally arrived at communicative language teaching, which has become the standard method in many countries in the world. Some scholars, however, also focused on the positive and negative affects attitudes can have on achievements in a foreign language.

[T]here has been considerable research demonstrating that attitudinal and motivational variables are related to achievement in a second language, and that this association is independent of language aptitude. Although some possibly 'negative' results may have been reported, the overwhelming evidence indicates that attitudinal variables are related to, and possibly influence (as opposed to determine), proficiency in the second language. (Gardner 1982: 136)

If we start looking for reasons for this connection between attitudes and language learning, we should remember the preceding chapters, in which we learned that a certain speech variety (i.e. standard or non-standard) is often associated with higher or lower status in society. The same is true for the speech of ethnic and cultural minorities, who are most often regarded as being inferior to the elite of a country. There is no doubt about the "...close association between language and ethnic identity." (Gardner 1982: 142) We can interpret this in two possible ways: on the one hand, people might regard the English language as potential threat to their own language and culture. It was shown in chapter two, that the spread of English over the world had also negative consequences, such as language death and loss of culture. It is therefore logical that some people might want to keep their distance. (Gardner 1982: 142) On the other hand, learning a foreign language does naturally imply listening to and speaking with native speakers of the target language, i.e. contact with people from another culture and with a different language; or in other words people from the 'outgroup'. In addition, the general proficiency of English in Austria is on the increase, for more and more companies, researchers, etc. need to communicate with colleagues in different countries. It may therefore be threatening for beginners to see the huge amount of work in front of them which is necessary to achieve similar proficiency. Again it might be reasonable to argue that learners with integrative motivation are more likely to overcome this threat by realising the enormous potential of knowing a second or third language. They may recognise that "...in learning the second language, the individual does not suffer any potential loss in his/her first language or its importance... [and] perceive second language acquisition as a positive achievement which broadens his or her horizon...". (Gardner 1982: 142-143)

To summarise, language learning is exposed to attitudes which are influenced by the general perception of the foreign language and its status in our native society as well as the learner's underlying kind of motivation. In a classroom, we find students from

various social and ethnic groups, each having its own prestige and stereotypes towards the others, which makes it difficult to anticipate the numerous different attitudes with which students start learning a second language. It is challenging for the teacher to prevent stereotypical attitudes from hindering language learning but help students to see the potential of speaking a foreign language, e.g. English, instead.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter about language attitudes we saw that we are not only judged for what we say but also for how we say something. It was tried to find a proper definition for various terms which are often confused and arrived at the notion that attitudes are unconscious concepts we have in our minds, which are based on previous experiences we have made. Thus, they are stable, but can also be influenced by new situations. Everybody holds attitudes towards other people and objects and since attitudes are also linked to other attitudes, i.e. consist of multiple layers, they are complex and their unconscious strength must not be underestimated.

In addition to the definition of the term, it turned out that language attitudes are closely intertwined with culture, religion, ethnicities as well as speech varieties. All these issues determine to which group we belong in society. Studies presented in this chapter proved that standard speech is associated with overt prestige, i.e. the upper middle class, successful and educated people. Standard speakers were ascribed occupations such as doctors and teachers, whereas covert prestige was linked with the working class. The officially legitimated groups are hence in a position of power over the others. Nevertheless, speakers of regional varieties sometimes yield better results for personal integrity and attractiveness traits, but are most often not regarded to be as competent or professional as standard speakers.

The differences between the genders were also dealt with, and it can be summarised that men are often perceived as demanding, authoritarian and rather straight to the point, while women show concern for the listener, are gentle, passive and likely to talk about trivial topics. In other words, listeners judge men as more competent and women as more socially aware.

These findings are also relevant for language teaching, because stereotypes and the pupils' prior knowledge influence their language attitudes, and as there are normally students from the whole social spectrum represented in one classroom, they will have encountered different situations and are likely to have experienced other problems and difficulties, depending on their social and cultural background. It shall therefore be interesting to see, if such patterns as the four language preference patterns introduced in chapter 3.3.3 can indeed be discovered during the analysis of the study.

4. The study

The previous chapters on the spread of English and language attitudes were intended to answer two major questions, since they provide us with the reason for the necessity of the study: On the one hand, it was important to clarify why English is such a major issue in a majority of fields and disciplines all over the world. The history of the development of English as the global language had to be presented in order to understand its relevance for a growing number of people and therefore also for students. English is one of the most important subjects in Austrian schools; some pupils are taught English from primary school onwards- another indicator for its high status within the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education. On the other hand, we needed to clarify what attitudes are and why and how they are tested.

This fourth chapter of the thesis is finally meant to present the study, on which the whole paper is based. It will outline the preliminary work necessary for the setup, the stage of my visits to different schools and the work with the collected data. Methods, terminology and techniques which were essential to obtaining results are described and explained as well as the outcome of the study, which can be found in chapters 4.3 and 4.4.

4.1 Preliminary work

4.1.1 From the first idea to the hypothesis and the questionnaire

When I started thinking about a possible topic for my diploma thesis, I immediately decided to write about an issue with some relevance for my future career as a teacher in an Austrian school. During my time at the university, I developed a greater interest in didactics and linguistics- in the former because it seems very important to me to offer a diversified and varied teaching as well as a multitude of methods and media. It is now widely accepted that English language teaching is more than grammar and vocabulary but has something to do with cultural knowledge and good written and spoken communication skills as well. Furthermore, it is challenging for the teacher to

motivate and engage as many students as possible and to show them the importance of English for their future.

My interest in the latter- linguistics- emerged from the fascinating history of the English language and its numerous fantastic structures which can be found in books and conversation.

Since I am a future teacher, it may be easy to argue my preference of practice over theory. There is no doubt that theoretical approaches are necessary for understanding and improvement, but putting the newly gained knowledge into practice is also a process which must not be underestimated. With regard to a topic for my thesis, it was important for me to write about something which can provide me with some insight into theory but also with implication for language teaching.

With this provisional concept in mind, I approached my supervisor and we started thinking about topics which could possibly fit into my scheme. Eventually, we decided on an attitude study with Austrian teenagers, more precisely teenagers who attend school. By focussing on this group, we could fulfil my wish for a relevance of the study on my future profession.

Our experiences with students and pupils, my own impressions from school as well as some theoretical background, led us to the assumption that students with different social and cultural backgrounds might have different attitudes towards English. The hypothesis was that students, whose parents have lower education and less money, have less positive attitudes towards English than pupils, whose parents have a better education or university degree and better financial circumstances. This idea was based on two different theories: The first is rather simple and straightforward but it may be possible to argue that children, whose parents do not need English in their professions, could be under the impression that English is not necessary for them too. It is often the case that parents support their children in subjects they regard as relevant for the child's future; and foreign languages are relatively unimportant if you work as a mechanic, shop assistant or plumber for example. In contrast, English is essential for managers of companies or university professors etc., who have to attend conferences, meetings and write papers in the 'global language'. Hence, they are likely to support their children to learn foreign languages and show them their importance for them.

The second theory is based on the history of Latin in Europe. When the Romans started conquering more and more regions and peoples in Europe, Latin also became the language of an increasing number of people. In 43 AD, the Roman Emperor Claudius invaded Britain and brought Latin into the country. During the following decades, "...Latin became the official language of public and government records... and eventually of Christianity..." (Singh 2005: 69)

By the late second-early third centuries AD, the Romans and the Brythonic-Celts seem to have settled into a largely peaceful co-existence, which even allowed for inter-marriage and the emergence of a hybrid Romano-Celtic culture in some areas. This cultural exchange also had linguistic consequences: by the third century, the sons of Celtic kings allied with Rome were growing up speaking and writing Latin. This home-grown elite consequently had access to high social positions in the governing of the province. It is difficult... to say exactly what role Latin played for this stratum of society... [but] what does seem certain is the fact that the majority of the Brythonic Celts continued to use their native language during the Roman occupation. There was never a general shift to Latin... (Singh 2005: 69)

Latin became the language of the upper class and those who had access to education and power. What is therefore interesting for the hypothesis of this paper is whether English will have to face this danger in the future as well. Is there a current trend that it is becoming the language of more educated people and those in power? Is English becoming a lingua franca which polarises society?

The research question which arose out of these assumptions and theoretical considerations was therefore, if the social and cultural background has such a strong influence on teenagers that students with different social status show significant divergence as far as the attitudes towards German and English are concerned.

After I had decided on the topic, I had to start thinking about how it would be possible to find out something about pupils' attitudes. At the beginning, there was the choice between quantitative and qualitative research to be made. Since the testing of the hypothesis demanded a large number of samples, it became clear that it had to be the quantitative research method, which "...results primarily in numerical data which is then analysed ... by statistical methods" (Dörnyei 2007: 24) The typical procedure in such a case is conducting a survey with a questionnaire. Quantitative research in applied linguistics has been very popular since the 1970s and in the meantime, approximately 85 per cent of all studies make use of this method. Nevertheless, there

are different issues to be taken into consideration when doing such a research in social and not natural sciences, because

...unlike atoms or molecules, people show variation over time and across social and cultural contexts. They also display within-individual variation and therefore even if they are placed under similar conditions, their reaction will vary widely, which is something natural scientists working with atoms and molecules do not have to worry about. Therefore, while quantitative methods in the social sciences by and large align with the general principles of the 'scientific method', they also show certain distinctive features." (Dörnyei 2007: 32)

Firstly, numbers are highly important, everything is centred around them. But as mentioned before, numbers describing people are something completely different than numbers describing mathematical research. It is thus essential to "...specify exactly the category that we use the specific number for, and also the different values within the variable." (Dörnyei 2007: 32) But if this prerequisite is guaranteed, numbers can be a very useful tool.

Secondly, one has to make sure that the subjects are fully aware of the meaning of each trait and that their concepts are identical with the researcher's. This necessitates a careful and exact preparation of the questions and pre-tests with respondents, which give an insight into possible problems with the formulation of the inquiries. This step can be rather time-consuming but is simply needed to ensure the most efficient output of the study.

Thirdly, we are more interested in the general habits of a group than in individual features. This is why variables are used to show these general habits "...which are quantified by counting, scaling, or by assigning values to categorical data.... [Q]uantitative methods are aimed at identifying the relationships between variables by measuring them." (Dörnyei 2007: 33)

Finally, the huge amount of numbers and variables require statistical analysis and interpretation. With 200 questionnaires, like in this study, it is no longer possible to count answers with a pocket calculator. A statistical programme, which can deal with dozens of variables, is needed instead. (Dörnyei 2007: 31-34)

When the quantitative method had eventually been chosen, it was necessary to find out how large the sample had to be and how to design the questionnaire. It was clear from the start that a survey among several hundred or even thousands of students was

impossible, but it is a general rule in research that the smallest possible sample is 100 participants. If there is

“... a sufficiently big sample size, the characteristics of the people in this group will approach a very special pattern termed ‘normal distribution’. This means that within the sample a few people will display very high values, a few other very low ones, with the bulk of the sample centred around the middle or average range.” (Dörnyei 2007: 27)

Normal distribution is of course desirable, and since the hypothesis in this paper requires three subgroups within the subjects, namely students who represent the working, middle and upper middle class, it became clear that 100 participants might not be enough. In theory, the smallest of these subgroups should have the size of the minimum sample and moreover, it had to be expected that some questionnaires could not be used, because of double answers or various other problems, for example. (Dörnyei 2007: 99-101)

After taking the theoretical background as well as the anticipated problems into consideration, it seemed to be reasonable to aim for 200 participants in the study- approximately 60 in each sub group- and circa 20 questionnaires which would have to be disqualified from the analysis.

The questionnaire itself consisted of three types of questions: First, the “factual questions which are used to find out certain facts about the respondents, such as demographic characteristics...” (Dörnyei 2007: 102) Examples for these characteristics are gender or age of a person, level of education and which languages he or she speaks. Second, the “behavioural questions [which find out] what the respondents are doing or have done in the past, focusing on habits and personal history.” (Dörnyei 2007: 102) And third, “attitudinal questions which are used to find out what people think, covering attitudes, opinions, beliefs, interests, and values” (Dörnyei 2007: 102)

It is of course well-known that the choice of words in questions can cause misunderstanding. “Minor differences in how a question is formulated and framed can often produce radically different levels of agreement or disagreement”. (Dörnyei 2007: 103) But since it has to be accepted that every person has on the one hand different attitudes towards different things and on the other hand interprets adjectives

such as *funny*, *hard-working* and *attractive* differently, it has to be thought of ways which minimise these differences and two of them are to be introduced here:

The Likert scales, for example, "...consist of a characteristic statement and respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which they 'agree' or 'disagree' with it by marking... one of the responses ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'". (Dörnyei 2007: 105)

Another method is the 'semantic differential scale', because here we have "...two bipolar adjectives at the extremes" (Dörnyei 2007: 105) and the subjects only have to mark one of the possibilities on the scale, if they think a person is friendly or unfriendly for example. What is important here is that all positive adjectives are printed on either the right or the left side and all negative ones (their polar opposites) on the other side. (Dörnyei 2007: 102-106) As far as the scale is concerned, there was another problem to be taken into consideration: "There is a tendency for participants to opt for the mid point of a 5-point ... scale. One option to overcome this is to use an even number scaling system, as there is no mid-point." (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 327)

Both, the Likert as well as the semantic differential scales are similar and seemed to be quite appropriate for the questionnaire in this study, but since I thought it would be easier for the students if they could decide between a positive and a negative adjective, I decided on the semantic differential scale. Additionally, the choice between two words was expected to minimise the different understanding of a word.

The majority of the attributes to describe the speakers were taken over from Smit (1996). She classified the adjectives "...by splitting them into two groups: the first containing the qualities linked to professionalism and the second including the qualities of interpersonal relations." (Smit 1996: 130) The first group in this study then consisted of the adjectives *educated- uneducated*, *clever- stupid*, *rich- poor*, *hard-working- lazy* and the second group of *honest- dishonest*, *friendly- unfriendly*, *generous- selfish*, *funny- boring*, *attractive- ugly*, *humble- arrogant*, *self-confident- shy*. This categorisation is similar to that introduced in chapter 3.4, where we had competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. Since I approve of a clear distinction between either competence or social skills, I decided to adopt Smit's classification.

It can be noticed that these adjectives are common language, which is another important issue in a questionnaire, for the language has to be adapted to the language of the subjects and should generally be rather natural. Of course it would have been possible to include *stingy* instead of *selfish* or *outgoing/reserved* for *self-confident/shy* but it may have caused more problems with the exact definition of the words, because twelve to sixteen year old teenagers use the more straightforward words. These considerations resulted in the scale for the questionnaire presented below:



	very	rather	rather	very	
honest					dishonest
friendly					unfriendly
generous					selfish
funny					boring
attractive					ugly
rich					poor
humble					arrogant
educated					uneducated
self-confident					shy
clever					stupid
hard-working					lazy

This scale was followed by two more questions concerning the speaker, namely: Do you think this person is a good speaker for the homepage? Would you like to meet this speaker at a party? The underlying reason for these questions was to double-check the respondents' answers in the table, since the former question asks again for competence, whereas the latter asks for personal integrity- the same categories than before. (Smit 1996: 129)

The second part of the questionnaire was no longer on the students' attitudes towards the speakers but on themselves, i.e. on their social and cultural background. This is where the aforementioned factual and behavioural questions came in. It was of course impossible to ask direct questions about the parents' income, migration or

their individual attitude towards English, but it had to be done in a rather subtle way instead, which shall be explained next. Furthermore, the questions had to be short and simple; negative sentence constructions like “Isn’t it often the case that...” had to be avoided and the questions had to be precise enough to elicit the relevant information for the study. (Dörnyei 2007: 107-109)

Age and sex were simply asked for in order to find out if there are regular patterns according to age groups, if boys and girls do generally have different attitudes or if they depend on the speaker. By asking for sex, it was also possible to see who preferred the male and who the female speaker in which language. Do teenagers generally have more positive attitudes towards a male or a female speaker and is the assumption correct, that girls prefer the female voice in German and boys the male in German because these persons represent their ingroup?

The number of languages the students speak and the question for the level were meant to show whose mother tongue is German and who, i.e. whose parents come from a foreign country and might therefore have a different cultural background. This was very successful, because the subjects thought they would be regarded as more educated if they spoke more than two languages. Nobody seemed to have noticed this ploy.

“Where do you have access to the Internet?” was the only question in the second part of the questionnaire which turned out to be rather irrelevant for the analysis, since only five in the 200 students I asked do not have access to the Internet at home but need to go to a friend or to school instead. Hence, hardly any conclusions about the parents’ financial situation could be drawn.

The question if somebody had already been to an English speaking country was intended to research the different attitudes of those who had been and those who had not yet been to e.g. the United Kingdom, the USA, Australia, etc. Is the attitude towards the language more positive if one has been to a country in which it is the native language and if one has got an impression of the culture?

The aim of the next question, namely occupations of mother and father, was the most important question for getting insight into the financial circumstances of the pupils. It was decided not to ask for the highest degree of education, because on the one hand, pupils may not always be fully aware of that and on the other hand, there could be

the case of a doctor who is a taxi driver at the moment, for example, which changes the income dramatically. This is also why we asked in which foreign speaking country/countries the participants had been on holiday, because from answers like “the Dominican Republic, South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, Canada”, etc., it could be seen that a family must be relatively well-off to be able to afford such a journey. The question about what the students want to do after school was basically meant to give them the feeling that we are also interested in them and not only in their parents. In addition, it was not sure if I would be allowed to ask for the parents’ occupations in every school, for which reason I needed another indicator of the personal situation of each subject.

The final question, “Do you use English outside of school?” was to find out more about their attitudes towards English, because if somebody likes reading English books at home or watches movies in English, it can be assumed that he or she is either rather fond of the language itself or regards it as useful and necessary to understand and speak.

The setup of the questionnaire does of course follow the standards of research, giving a brief introduction to the topic on top, being not longer than four pages and taking not longer than 15 minutes to be filled in. The attitude test is also clearly separated from the personal questions, which were put on the last page. (Dörnyei 2007: 109-111) To see how the final questionnaire was set up, please find the complete English and German versions in the appendix of this paper.

4.1.2 Guise- the story for the participants

The matched guise technique on which we had decided is an indirect way of eliciting the required information from the subjects. It was therefore impossible to tell them the truth about the study before asking them to fill in the questionnaires. The story had to be good enough to prevent them from realising that they were listening to the same people in English and German, I wanted to motivate them by indicating their importance for the project and it was also necessary to think of a reason why they were chosen to participate and not anyone else. I finally arrived at the following story:

“We are planning to make a new homepage for students like you, on which you can inform yourselves about various subjects, particularly natural sciences and technology. It is possible to perform little experiments and communicate your ideas and thoughts about these topics via web logs and chats. The homepage is meant to provide you with additional information and exercises and gives you the chance to inform yourself about topics you are interested in.

We would also like to include videos and audio files for you to watch and listen to. And at the moment, we are still looking for a speaker for these files. Therefore, you are now going to hear five people, three in German and two in English, and I would ask you to fill in one scale for each speaker. In addition, we would also like to know if you regard this person as a good speaker for the homepage and if you would like to meet him or her at a party.

On the last page of the questionnaire, you can find some questions about you. Please give honest and correct answers, because this information is needed for the statistical analysis.”

Fortunately, the story was good enough; the students really believed that they were part of a highly important survey, some even asked which topics and subjects would be found on the homepage. No one recognised that there were not five different speakers but only three.

4.1.3 The texts

After the guise for the participants was set, it was now necessary to find a German and an English text which the speakers could read out. I tried to find one which had something to do with the field of natural sciences to make the impression that this is one of the texts the speaker could also read on the homepage. Moreover, both texts had to have the same contents- basically one would be the translation of the other. In order to guarantee a good translation as well as an interesting and relevant topic, I finally chose a text which I found via a link on the homepage of the European Union and which describes the advantages of CFL light bulbs.

Energy is the big story in Europe now - and you have a major role to play!

It's so easy - just by switching off lights and electrical equipment you can help fight climate change and save Europe's energy for the future. Right now, you're probably thinking, why should I bother? One small light won't change the world. Well, just think...

Switching off lights is a good start. But there are many other ways you can help save the planet's energy for the future. CFL light bulbs use one fifth of the energy of traditional bulbs, and last eight times as long. They cost more to buy, but actually save you money because they are so efficient.

(source: http://www.managenergy.net/kidscorner/en/o11/o11_es.html)

Energie ist heute DAS Thema in Europa – und du kannst einen wichtigen Beitrag dazu leisten!

Es ist ganz einfach – allein dadurch, dass du Lampen und Elektrogeräte ausschaltest, kannst du helfen, den Klimawandel zu bekämpfen und die künftige Energieversorgung Europas zu sichern. Du denkst jetzt vielleicht, warum soll mich das kümmern? Eine kleine Lampe wird die Welt nicht verändern! Na ja, überleg mal...

Lampen auszuschalten ist ein guter Anfang. Aber es gibt noch viele Möglichkeiten, die künftige Energieversorgung unseres Planeten zu sichern. Energiesparlampen halten achtmal so lang wie herkömmliche Glühbirnen und verbrauchen achtzig Prozent weniger Strom.

(source: http://www.managenergy.net/kidscorner/de/o11/o11_es.html)

4.1.4 Speakers and recordings

As far as the choice of speakers was concerned, there were two major issues to consider: First, we wanted to have a woman and a man to represent both sexes and second, native or native-like pronunciation skills in German and English were required, in order to give the participants of the study the impression of listening to native speakers on the one hand and four different persons on the other. The problem was that there were of course not dozens of bilingual speakers available, but fortunately I found one, namely one of our Professors at the Department of English, Dr. Lipold-Stevens, who volunteered to take over the role of the female speaker. The male part was read by Mag. Berger, another Professor, who has been teaching practical phonetics and oral communication skills at the University of Vienna for several semesters now and was thus highly qualified for this task.

In addition to these speakers, I made a recording of my supervisor, Professor Nikolaus Ritt, who read the German version of the text with a strong Viennese accent. This was on the one hand meant to distract the subjects and prevent them from recognising the two female and the other two male voices from belonging to the same speaker and on the other hand to allow a comparison of the attitudes towards the standard variety of German and a dialect version.

The order of the recordings was set the following way: We started with the male voice in German, to familiarise the participants with the text, for they all speak German either as their mother tongue or have good second language skills, whereas English is a foreign language to all of them. We wanted to avoid worse results for the English recordings just because the students did not understand the text. For this reason, it seemed plausible to introduce the contents of the texts in their mother tongue first.

The male German speaker was followed by the female English voice and the recording in the Viennese accent. As mentioned above, it was intended to confuse the subjects by playing a very surprising and completely unexpected kind of voice and accent to them, before returning to the woman in German and the man in English.

All the recordings were made in an mp3- format, to guarantee that the CD could be played on every standard CD-player in all the schools I was going to visit.

4.1.5 Contact establishment with the schools

This step of the study was probably one of the most problematic, since I had to face numerous unanticipated problems.

Firstly, the hypothesis broadened the range of schools I had to visit. It was impossible to contact any primary schools, because the pupils there were too young. It was also impossible to go to four academic secondary schools in Vienna, as the social background of these students might have been too similar to receive good results for the analysis. Consequently, I started looking for one general secondary school in Vienna but also one in the country, where the level of education and the

cultural background of the students are different to those the city. Then I tried to find an academic secondary school in the country as well as in Vienna, to reach students from the whole spectrum of society.

When I had decided on some schools, I secondly contacted their headmasters and headmistresses via Email, introduced myself and gave them a brief description of my study. I immediately received positive answers from both schools in the country. The headmaster of the general secondary school offered me to ask approximately 50 students in the fourth form and the headmistress of the academic secondary school allowed me to interview two of the classes in the fifth form.

The problems arose as soon as the first schools in Vienna refused my request to visit them. Since the last PISA-study, in which Austria had achieved a rather bad score, a new discussion about education standards has caused a feeling of uncertainty among many teachers, with the result that many of them now avoid any kind of general assessment of their students. Even though I guaranteed them that the study was anonymous and did not measure the English skills of the pupils, it was impossible to convince the head teachers.

Finally, it was due to contacts of our didactics Professors at the English department and my supervisor's involvement that I found a KMS and a private catholic school in Vienna who allowed me to interview some of their students. My supervisor had to write a description of the study and a polite request to the parents to allow their children to participate, and the form had to be signed and returned to school by the parents before I was allowed to go there. I had to promise to make everything anonymous and avoid any direct reference to the schools.

4.2 Putting the preparations into practice

The actual visits at the four schools were slightly different from how I had expected them to be. In the first school I encountered difficulties with one of the personal questions, namely what the pupils planned to do after school. This word choice made them write down what they were going to do this afternoon, after leaving school.

One student had already written down that he planned to take his guinea pig to the veterinarian, when his neighbour started laughing about his answer and we clarified the situation. This problem was unexpected, because the preceding questions were on the parents' professions- hence I expected the students to continue with their plans for the future. In addition, none of the persons who filled in the questionnaire in the pre-test had had problems with understanding this question correctly. As a result of this confusion, the other classes were informed about the real meaning of the question before they started filling in their answers.

What was rather funny in all four schools was the students' reactions to the speaker with the Viennese accent. The pupils (and the observing teachers) in the country basically roared with laughter and could hardly concentrate on the fill-in forms. The situation in the Viennese schools was not as extreme, but the students still started giggling and some asked where I had found this person and if he was a football player.

It was surprising that some subjects had problems with understanding the question about the languages they speak and those with a migration background were not always sure about how good they spoke German. Others misinterpreted my perception of knowing a language a little bit and claimed to speak the language of a country in which they had been on holiday a bit, even though it is quite safe to assume that the majority of them can only say "hello", "how are you" and "good bye" in the respective languages. But on the whole, this did not really matter, since the purpose of the question was to find out whether there were any migrants among the participants- an issue I wanted to take into consideration for the analysis.

As mentioned before, the target group of the study were teenagers; in fact they were between twelve and sixteen years old. I was therefore amazed to find countries like Germany or Austrian federal countries, Burgenland and Tyrol, for example, among the answers to the question "In which foreign speaking country have you been on holiday?"

The last question for the students was "Do you use English outside of school?" and again, the answers were unexpected in so far as I had thought that more English books would be read. Hardly anyone wrote this down and most of the participants did obviously not think of listening to music or surfing the Internet- two areas of leisure activities which are surely part of everybody's life.

The most positive notion of the visits in the four schools was that nobody noticed that they were listening to only three and not five different people. The third speaker with the Viennese accent was so much entertainment that they completely forgot about the man and the woman they had heard before.

Moreover, the teachers in the schools were so welcoming and interested in my study that they made me forget about the difficulties I had faced at the beginning of the project.

Finally, some students were quite excited about the idea of being part of such an important decision as that on the perfect speaker for a new homepage that they started asking questions about the topics and the subjects which would be on the platform once it would be finished. This showed that the guise had been rather convincing. There were of course other pupils who did not show the same enthusiasm but almost complained about the insufficient choice of speakers- fortunately they were the exceptions to the rule.

To summarise this phase of putting the study into practice, it can be concluded that there was a lot of organisation and travelling necessary, but in the end, I had collected 200 questionnaires from teenagers of all social classes and different backgrounds.

4.3 *Theoretical procedure of the analysis*

At the beginning of the analysis it was necessary to write a codebook for my questionnaire, to be able to type in the student's answers in the datasheet. This is the common procedure with a huge number of questionnaires, since most statistical programmes cannot handle too much text or long names for variables. It is therefore necessary to convert the answers into numbers.

Because the numbers are meaningless in themselves and are all too easy to mix up, a major element of the coding phase is to define each variable and then to compile coding specifications for every possible 'value' that the particular variable can take. (Dörnyei 2007: 199)

The application of this method to the questionnaire was done the following way: Every positive adjective for each of the five speakers was made one variable, i.e. the adjective *honest* for the male German voice was given the name ‘MG honest’, followed by ‘MG friendly’ etc. This coding resulted in no fewer than 55 variables only for the first part of the questionnaire. The four response options had to be coded as well, and since the positive adjectives were the basis of the analysis from this point onwards, the succeeding scheme was used: 1 = very honest / friendly etc., 2 = rather honest / friendly etc., 3 = rather dishonest / unfriendly etc., 4 = very dishonest / unfriendly etc., 9 = missing value.

The open questions were dealt with similarly, for example that which languages the subjects’ spoke: Every mentioned language became one variable, and the response options, how good the languages are spoken, were again assigned a number: 1= very good; 2 = learned at school, 3 = a little bit, 9 = missing value. For questions which could either be answered with *yes* or *no*, *yes* was coded 1, and *no* 2.

On the basis of this codebook, the data was filled into the datasheet in Microsoft Excel. It was then possible to read the complete version of this in, namely into the programme SPSS.

The decision to work with SPSS, the “Statistical Package for the Social Sciences” was due to various references to it in other papers. SPSS is “[...]the software package most commonly used in applied linguistics and educational research” (Dörnyei 2007: 198), is rather user friendly and therefore the probably most ideal choice for beginners. (Dörnyei 2007: 197-203) Based on personal experience, it is safe to say that it takes one ‘only’ several days to get used to the procedures, even though it seems quite impossible for people who work with this programme for the first time, to write a working syntax for the frequencies oneself. Help from an expert in the field is unfortunately inevitable. Additionally, it should be mentioned that “SPSS PASW Statistics 18”, the most recent version available, was used for the analysis of this study. It was therefore even more surprising and unexpected for me that there are still parts of the programme which seem to be rather insufficient, especially when it comes to start working with the variables. Another time consuming problem was that every variable had to be categorised into ordinal and numeral, before it was even possible to start working with it.

The problem with this questionnaire was that it almost entirely consisted of categorical variables, i.e. variables with response options like school grades. Hence, it was only possible to count the frequencies of the answers and then calculate the mean values. These mean values of the frequencies are the basis of the charts drawn in the following sub-chapters of the paper.

The section falls into five major parts: in the first four, the individual results for every school are presented and analysed- indicated by the different colours used for each school and in the fifth part, the charts with data from all schools and general relevance for the study are dealt with. A few abbreviations and terms used in the charts are explained in the scale on the next page.

The numerous different professions of the parents also had to be categorised, which was done the following way: professions which require an apprenticeship as highest education were categorised as ‘profession 1’. If it was safe to assume that parents had an A level exam, their occupations were grouped as ‘profession 2’. Every education above the A level exam, i.e. a university degree or any kind of other additional vocational training was called ‘profession 3’. The list of categorised occupations is given below.

- profession 1:
bricklayer, bus driver, butcher, caretaker, carpenter, cash transport driver, cleaner, cook, electrician, engineer, farmer, gardener, goldsmith, hairdresser, housewife, innkeeper, Kindergarten assistant, locksmith, mechanic, pastry cook, plumber, printer, roofer, secretary, security agent, shop assistant, smith, stonemason, taxi driver, technician, tiler, tram driver, truck driver, waitress, worker
- profession 2:
accountant, artist, Austro Control employee, bank employee, civil servant, energy commissioner, engineer, entrepreneur, estate agent, factory manager, insurance agent, Kindergarten teacher, nurse, office worker, person in charge, police officer, sales representative, self-employed, social worker, tax advisor, theatre employee
- profession 3:
archaeologist, architect, bank director, chemist, curator, doctor, editor, graphic designer, journalist, lawyer, manager, musician, teacher, translator, university assistant, university professor, veterinarian

In addition to the assumptions made about the level of education, parents in profession 1 were also expected to have considerable lower income than the others.

abbreviation / term	explanation
school 1	academic secondary school, country
school 2	general secondary school, country
school 3	general secondary school, Vienna
school 4	private catholic school, Vienna
MG	male voice 1 in German
ME	male voice 1 in English
MV	male voice 2 with Viennese accent
WG	female voice German
WE	female voice English
party MG	Is MG a good speaker for the homepage?
homepage MG	Would you like to meet MG at a party?
party ME	Is ME a good speaker for the homepage?
homepage ME	Would you like to meet ME at a party?
party MV	Is MV a good speaker for the homepage?
homepage MV	Would you like to meet MV at a party?
party WG	Is WG a good speaker for the homepage?
homepage WG	Would you like to meet WG at a party?
party WE	Is WE a good speaker for the homepage?
homepage WE	Would you like to meet WE at a party?
profession 1	profession requires apprenticeship
profession 2	profession requires A level exam
profession 3	profession requires higher education
3rd form	7th year of education in Austria
4th form	8th year of education in Austria
5th form	9th year of education in Austria

4.4 Individual analysis of the schools

4.4.1 School 1

The first school to be described is the academic secondary school in the country, which only offers upper secondary classes, i.e. from fifth to eighth form. Within this school, students can focus on either having more music, art or on natural sciences in their education. This possibility offers supplementary training in some subjects, in addition to the standard curriculum.

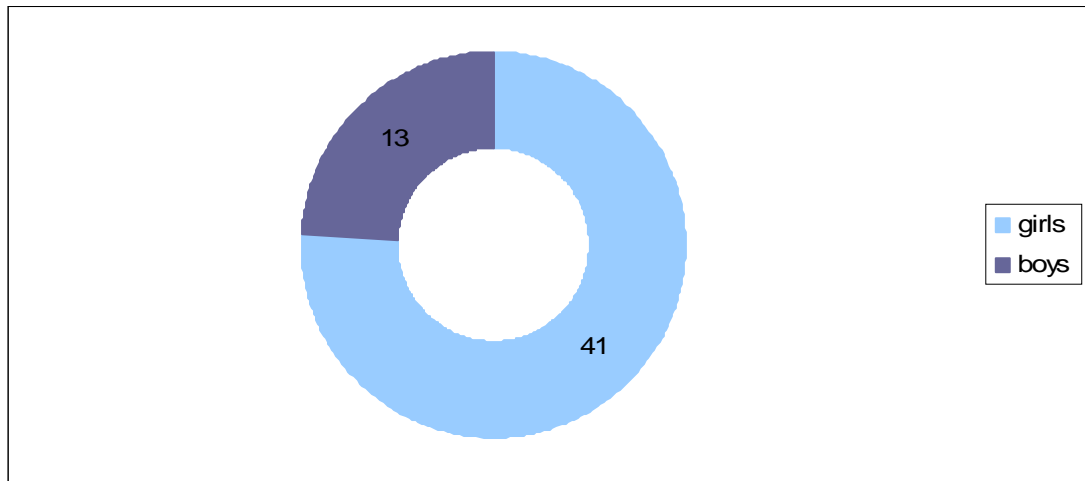


Chart 1: number of girls and boys in school one

The first two pie charts give an overview of the number and age of the students questioned in school number one. It is interesting to see that more than three times as many girls than boys attend this school and that the vast majority of them are either 14 or 15 years old, which indicates that hardly anybody repeated a class or changed the school, two typical phenomena in Austrian fifth forms. Since many students in the country attend a general secondary school, they need to change to an upper secondary school in order to be able to make an A level exam. In most areas, students can choose between an academic school and five or six different vocational schools. Hence, the first year in the new school often shows that the students decided on the wrong one and so they change after a year.

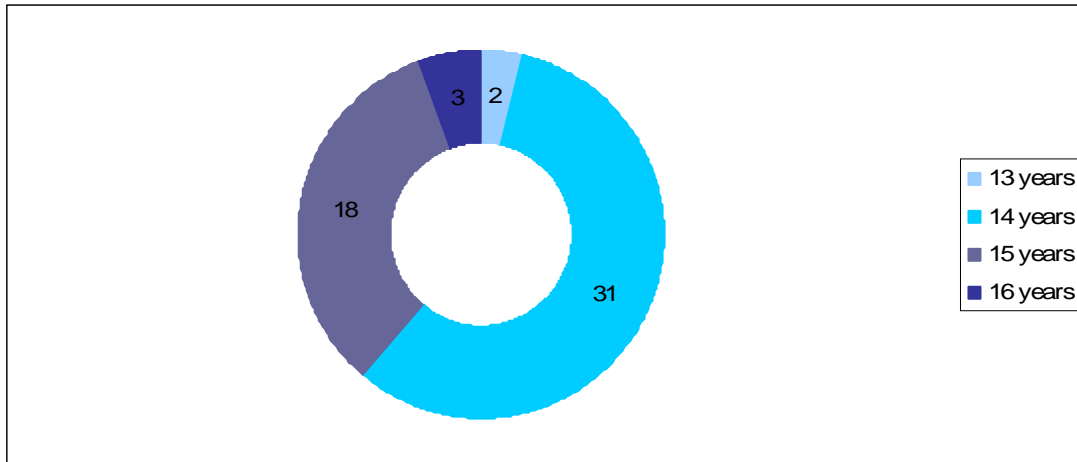


Chart 2: age of students in school one

The next chart shows the level of education necessary for the parents' occupations in school one. It may be necessary to repeat the categorisation to clarify the chart: In the questionnaire, the students were asked to fill in their parents' professions, from which it was possible to infer to their education and income. Profession one refers to jobs such as shop assistant, hairdresser, plumber etc, whereas architects, doctors, lawyers, university professors etc. are represented in profession three, the highest category. I would like to emphasise again that it is my personal concern not to offend or insult anybody by making these classifications, but it is simply necessary to have main categories as a working basis in data analysis.

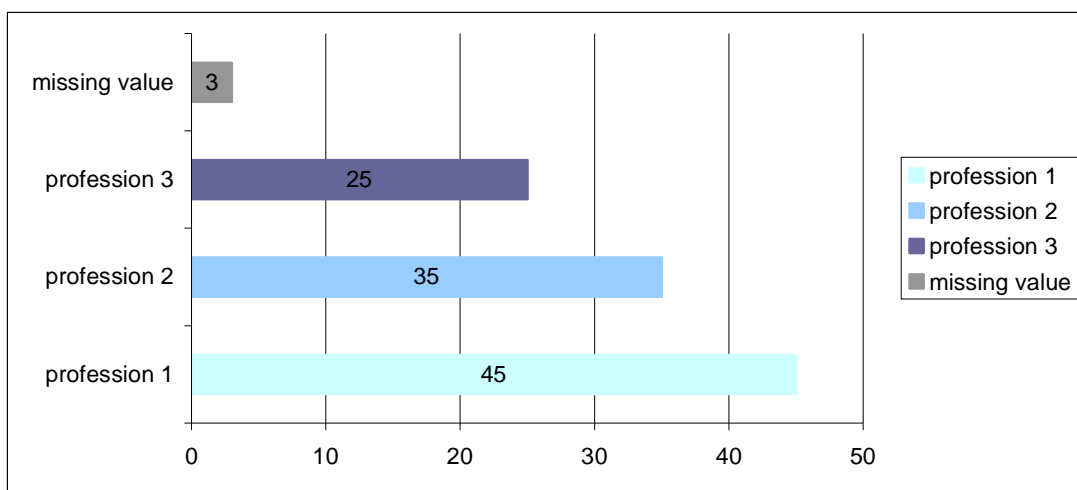


Chart 3: parents' professions, school one

Even though 45 parents have jobs which ‘only’ require an apprenticeship - referred to as ‘profession 1’-, 60 mothers and fathers seem to have A level exams or higher education and therefore also better income. According to the hypothesis, slightly more students should therefore prefer the English speakers, since it was assumed that the more educated the parents and the better the financial circumstances, the more positive the teenagers’ attitudes towards English.

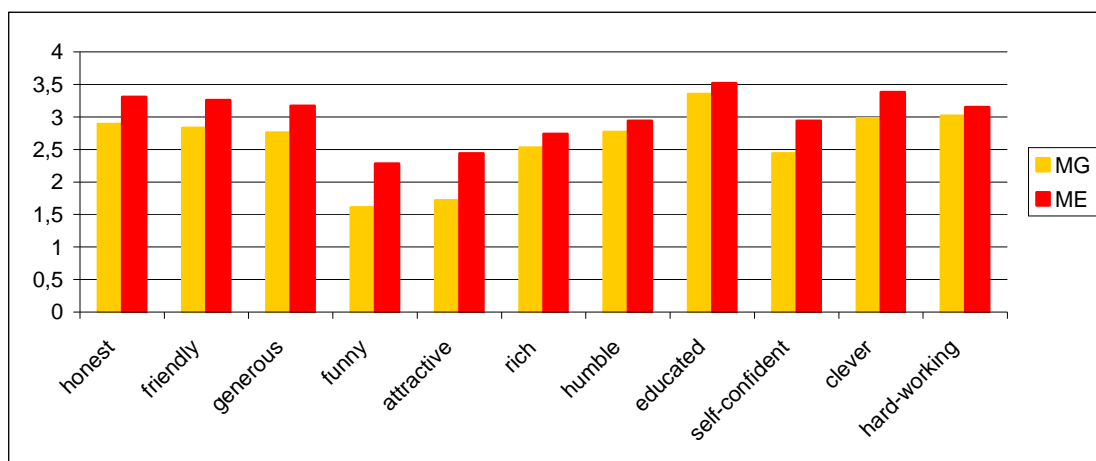


Chart 4: MG vs. ME, school one

The comparison of the male German and English voice in this school yielded clear results, namely much better ones for the English speaker. It is interesting to note that this is true for both categories of adjectives, those which describe professionalism and those about the speaker’s personality, even though the preference for the English voice is not as dramatic at the competence traits as at the personal ones. These findings shall be compared with chart number five below, which asked if the two male voices were suitable speakers for the homepage and if the students wanted to meet the men at a party. The question about the homepage speaker was asked in order to verify the ratings for the competence adjectives from the scale, or, in other words, we wanted to check if the students who regarded a speaker as educated, clever, rich and hard-working also thought of him or her as the better speaker for the homepage. In contrast to that, meeting a person at a party involves personal integrity, the second adjective category in the questionnaire. Hence, students who think of a speaker as honest, friendly, generous, funny, attractive, humble and self-confident may want to meet him or her at weekends.

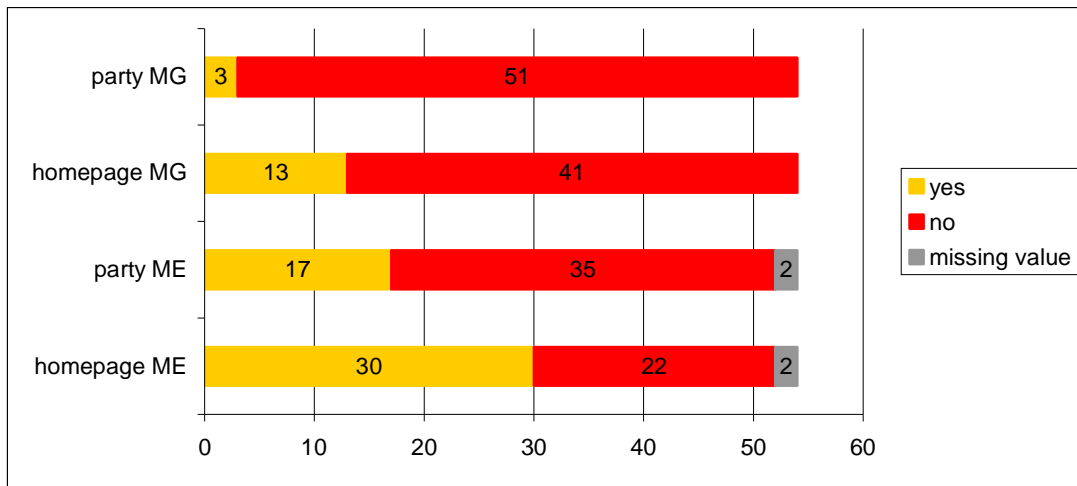


Chart 5: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. ME, school one

This result correlates with the findings above, for it becomes clear that the man speaking English is regarded as being the better speaker for the homepage, and in addition, about twice as many students would like to meet him at a party if he speaks English instead of German.

We shall now have a look at the charts presenting the ratings for the female speaker:

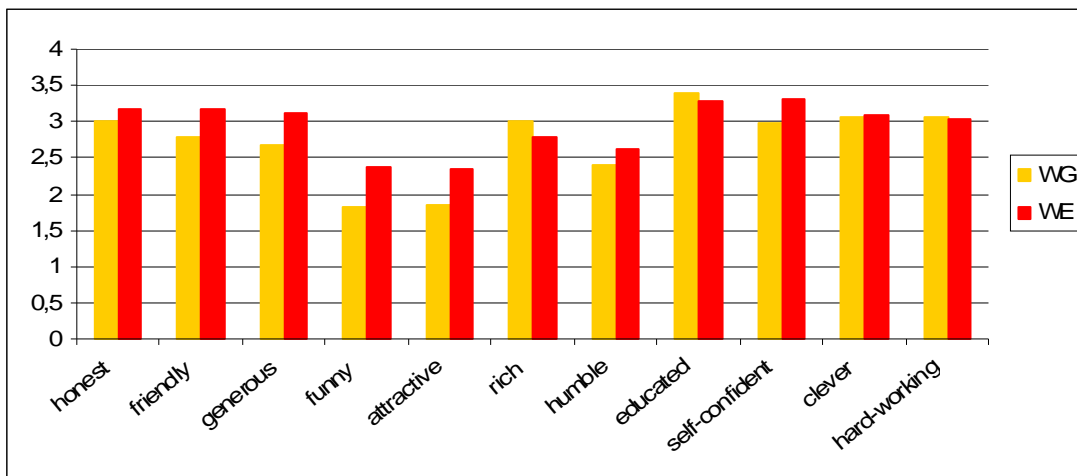


Chart 6: WG vs. WE, school one

Surprisingly enough, the votes for the female voices were partly different from those for the male speaker, especially as far as the competence related adjectives *rich*, *educated*, *clever* and *hard-working*, are concerned. They were the only four attributes which either showed better or the same results for the German voice. But with regard

to interpersonal relations, English was preferred, which shows that the female German voice sounds more competent but the English more socially-minded.

This is again confirmed by the chart below: The difference between the number of students who would like to meet the German and English speaking woman at a party- the question asked to back up the responses to the personal and social traits- is very high. Only two pupils chose her when she spoke German, whereas 15 preferred her in English. In contrast, the results for the homepage speaker show hardly any noteworthy difference between the two languages, even though we have now a slight preference for the English and not the German speaker any longer. But the numbers are too similar to draw conclusions from them.

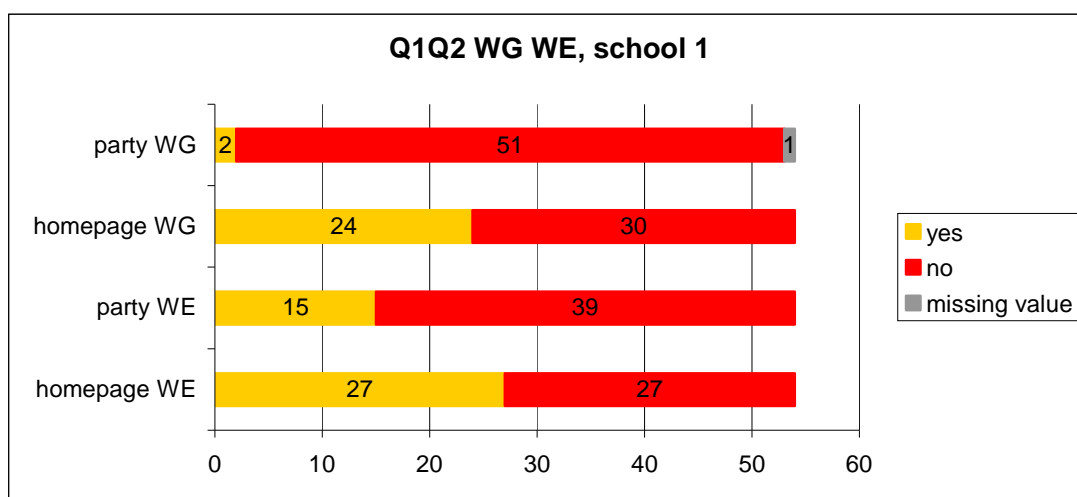


Chart 7: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet her at a party? WG vs. WE, school one

It was explained in chapter 4.1.4 that the students did not only listen to two standard speakers of German and English, but also to a German speaker with a Viennese accent, which was meant to allow a comparison between the popularity rating for the standard and non-standard speech variety. According to the findings in chapter three, speakers of the official language variety of a country which is used by the government, the media, in schools etc., are regarded as superior to speakers of a dialect or accent as far as competence and professionalism are concerned. The students in school one were, unconsciously, of the same opinion, as we can see in chart eight. The standard speaker yielded much better results for the four competence

traits *educated*, *clever*, *rich* and *hard-working*, whereas the accent speaker scored higher in interpersonal relations.

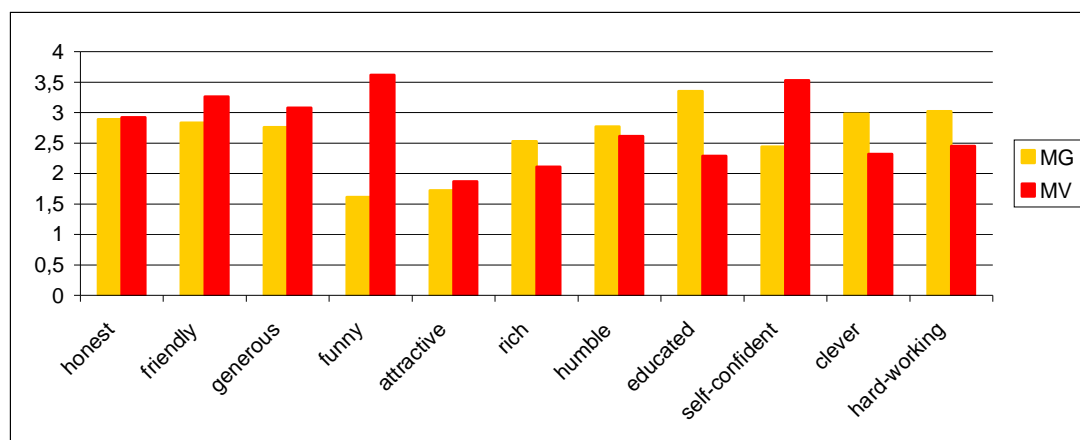


Chart 8: MG vs. MV, school one

When it comes to meeting one of the two German speakers at a party, the unsurprising result is that the accent speaker wins 31-3. The differences between the mean values for *funny* and *self-confident* were particularly significant, namely 2.01 and 1.09 respectively. What is, however, surprising is the high score of the Viennese man as a homepage speaker, since the competence of the standard speaker was judged much better than that of the Viennese voice in the chart above.

Keeping this unexpected result in mind, they shall be compared with those in the other three schools; maybe it turns out to be a regular pattern which can be explained.

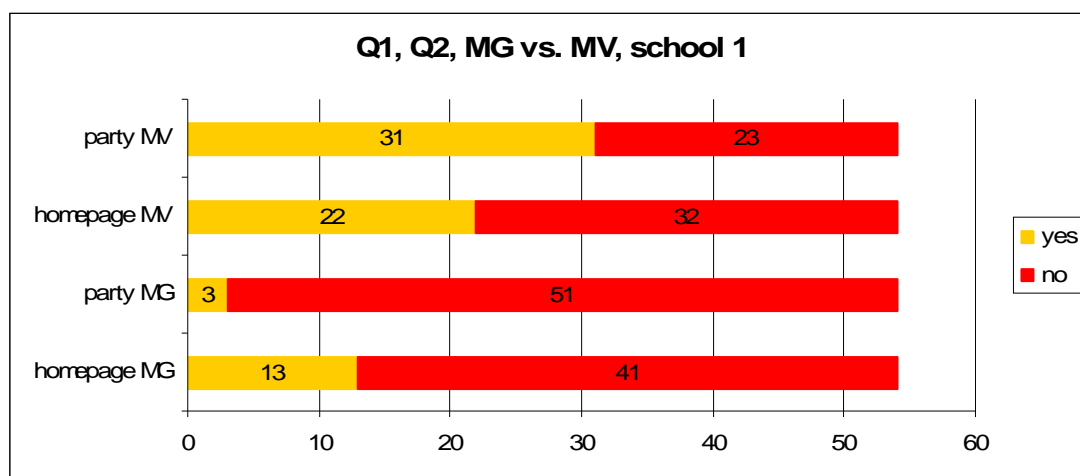


Chart 9: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. MV, school one

4.4.2 School 2

School two is a general secondary school in the country, in which two fourth forms with a total number of 39 pupils were asked. Even though there are still slightly more girls than boys, the number is much more balanced than in school one. There is also a difference in the age: the students in this school are approximately one year younger, for they only attend a fourth and not yet a fifth form. Three subjects in this school are only 12 years old, but the overwhelming majority is either 13 or 14 years.

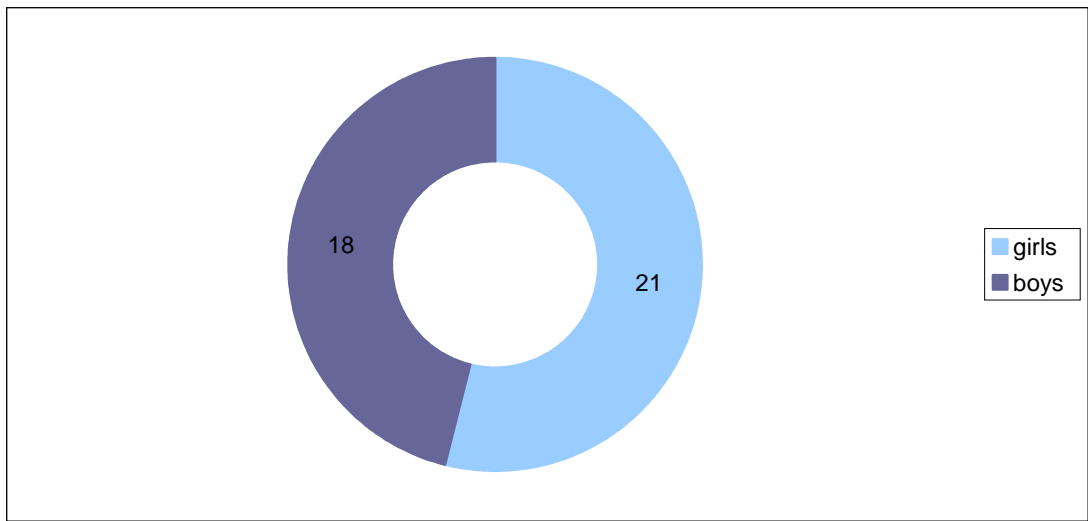


Chart 10: number of girls and boys in school two

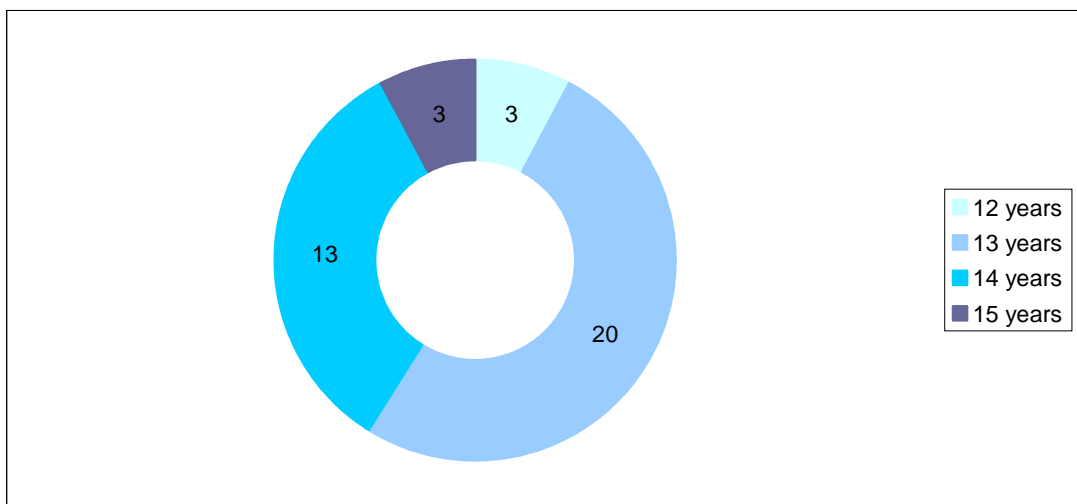


Chart 11: age of students in school two

Another noticeable difference between school one and two is the distribution of parents among the three categories concerning profession, because in this case we find 54 parents in the lowest income occupations and only 24 who have an A level exam or higher education. This is a typical phenomenon in Austrian general secondary schools and contributes to the increasing disapproval of these schools, since the more privileged families want their children to attend academic secondary schools. As a result of this development, students with better marks and with a middle class background are more and more found in academic schools, whereas underprivileged children as well as children from ethnic and cultural minorities end up in general schools. An additional problem is the knowledge of the German language, which immigrants do not always have to a sufficient extent. Hence, parents, whose children have good marks, do not want them to study together with children who do not even speak the language properly. The next years will show, if the governments' measures and reforms are far-reaching enough to solve this problem.

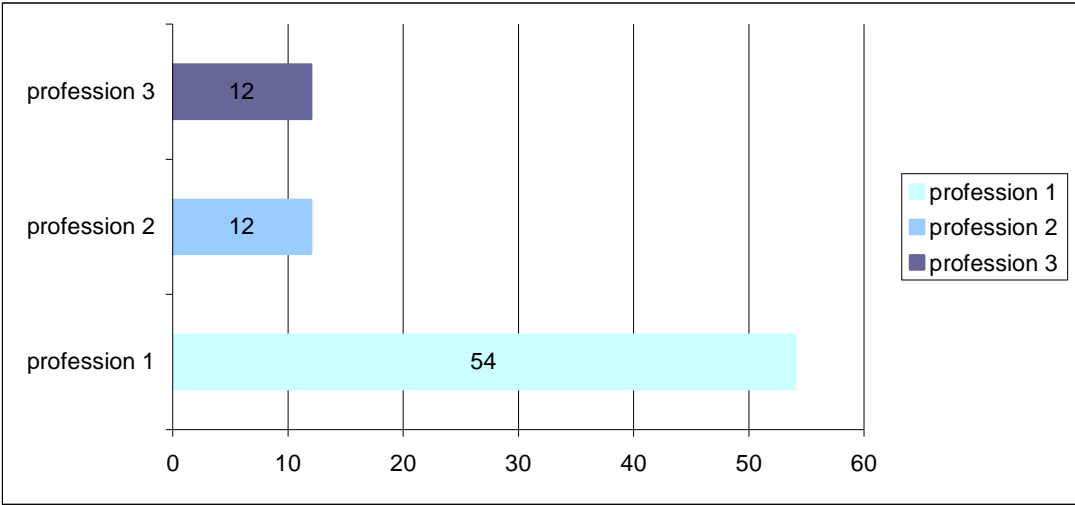


Chart 12: parents' professions, school two

In the hypothesis, it was expected that the higher the parents' education and the better their financial circumstances, the better the teenagers' attitudes towards English. Having bar chart 12 in mind, I would therefore assume that the German and English speakers received similar ratings, with a slight preference for the German voice in some cases.

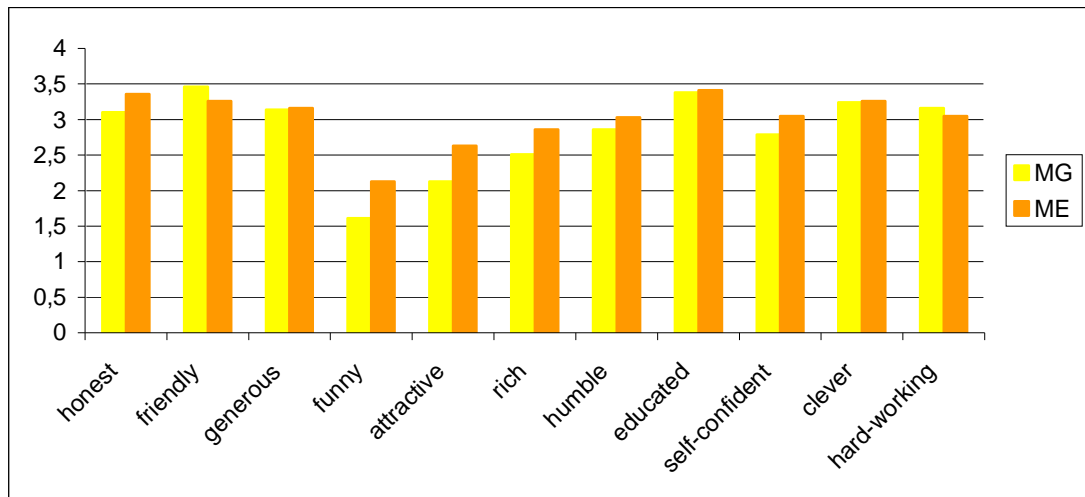


Chart 13: MG vs. ME, school two

As expected, chart 13 does not show the same behaviour pattern than that in the first school, but a different and still expected result: If we have a look at the four attributes describing skill and professionalism, we can see that only *rich* received noticeably higher scores for the English voice than the German, whereas *educated* and *clever* are balanced and the German speaker was thought to be more hard-working than the English.

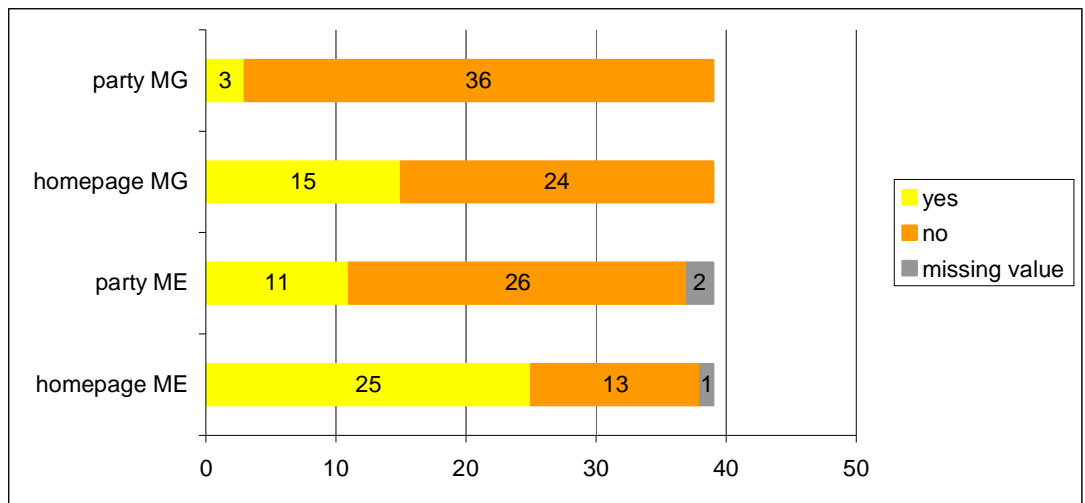


Chart 14: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. ME, school two

A slightly different trend can be found in the answers to the question if the person was a good speaker for the homepage- that to verify the answers to professionalism

in the scale. 25 students preferred the English speaker for the homepage and only 15 the German. (see chart 14)

Friendly was the only personality adjective for which the German voice yielded higher scores, followed by *generous*, with equal results. The remaining traits received higher ratings when the English speaking man was judged. In this case, the results for the man the students would like to meet at a party are confirmatory, since the English speaker was chosen by 25 students and the German only by 15.

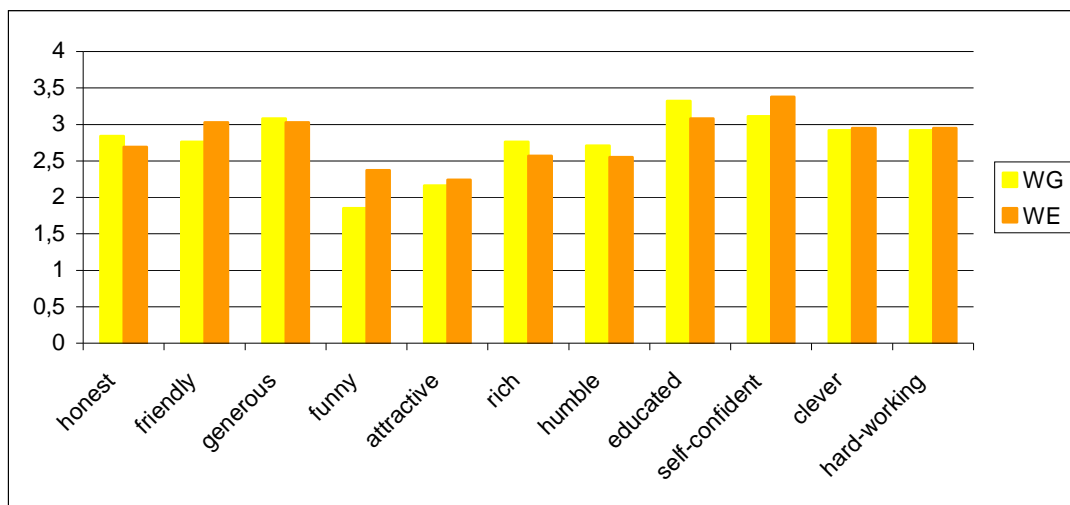


Chart 15: WG vs. WE, school two

Similar to school one, there is a general contrast between the attitudes towards the male and the female speaker. The competence adjectives are very interesting to compare in this case, for *rich* and *educated* got better results for the German voice and the scores for *clever* and *hard-working* are evenly distributed. Still, a noticeably higher number of participants in the study would like to meet the English speaking woman at a party.

A look at the ratings for the interpersonal relations shows that the German voice sounds more honest, generous and humble, while the English voice sounds friendlier, funnier, more attractive and self-confident. Having received 17 positive answers for both homepage speakers, one can note that the results presented in chart 16 support the findings from chart 15 above, where there was no clear preference for either of the woman.

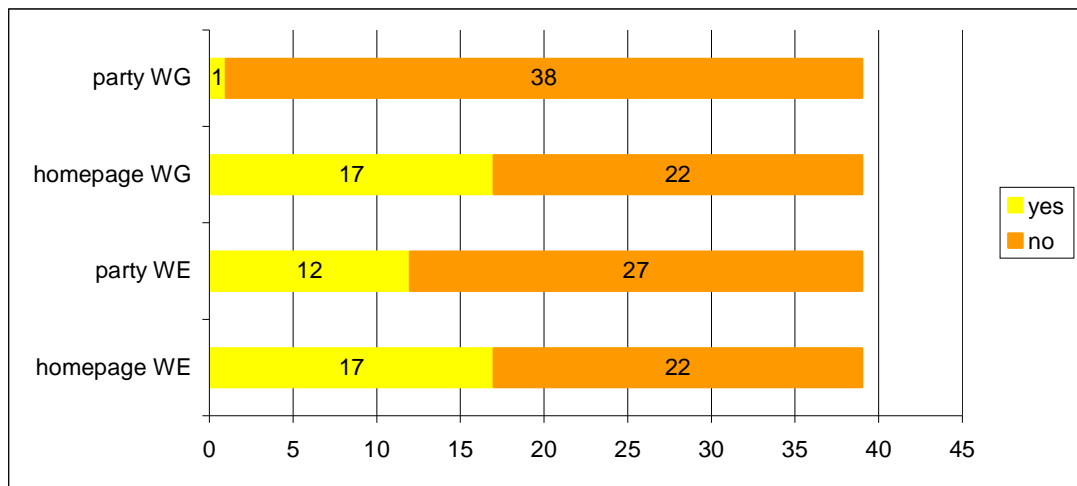


Chart 16: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet her at a party? WG vs. WE, school two

By contrasting the German standard and accent speaker, the attempt to find a certain pattern, which was started in school one, is to be continued. On the one hand we could assume that the less educated people are, the more they are in favour of a dialect speaker, who may represent their ingroup. On the other hand it must be said that the Viennese accent is neither the ingroup speech variety of the students in the country- they speak a completely different dialect and accent- nor do they have contact with Viennese speakers in their daily lives. In addition, they reacted to the speech sample with howls of laughter, which lets me assume that they found it rather entertaining and exciting and did not take it too serious.

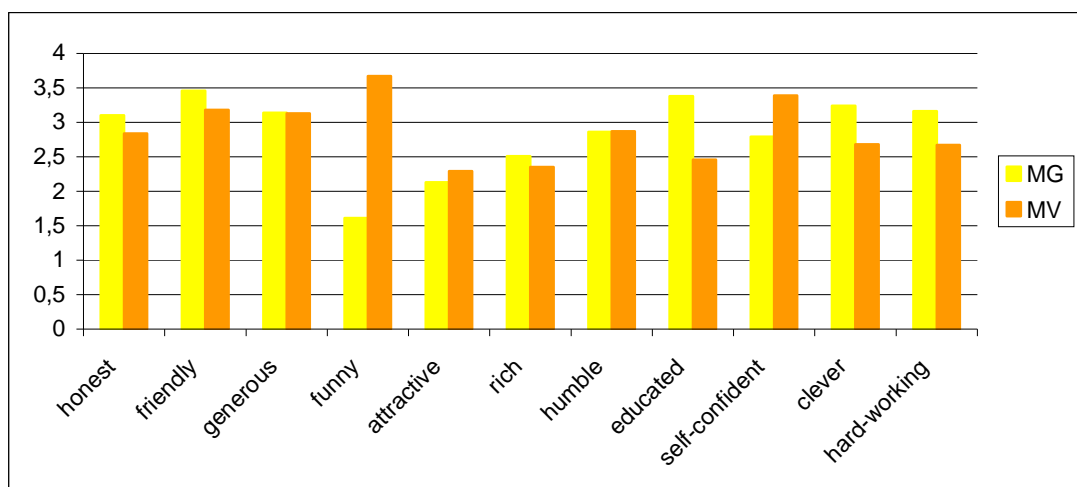


Chart 17: MG vs. MV, school two

What becomes clear from the chart is that the standard speaker is regarded as more competent; all four adjectives yielded better results. However, the Viennese man only made the impression of being funnier, more attractive and more self-confident, which is by far not the assumed preference for the accent speaker. We can neither recognise a specific pattern, nor draw any conclusions from the students' answers.

If one compares the previous chart with number 18 below, it can be easily recognised that a considerably greater amount of students would like to meet the Viennese speaker at a party than the standard speaker. When it comes to competence, i.e. the ratings for the homepage speaker, the result is relatively balanced, even though the German standard speaker lost against the English voice 25-15 (see chart 13). Similar to school one, the students were generally of the opinion that the standard speaker sounds more competent, but indicated to favour the Viennese man as a homepage speaker. It will be very interesting to continue the observation of this trend in the two remaining schools, which are located in Vienna and may therefore have a stronger relation to a Viennese accent speaker.

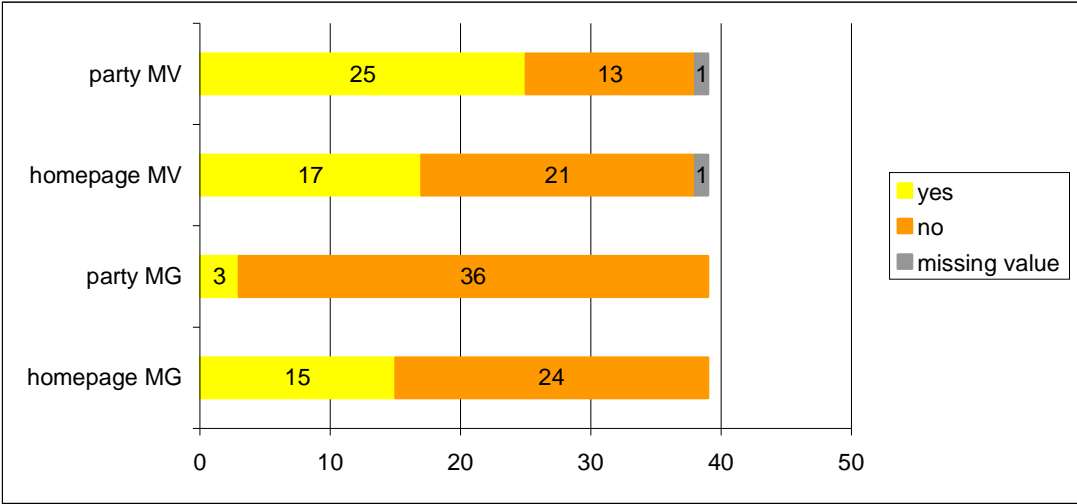


Chart 18: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. MV, school two

4.4.3 School 3

School three is a general secondary school, but officially run as a 'KMS'. The problematic reputation many secondary schools have to face has already been mentioned before. Giving the former general secondary schools in big cities like Vienna new names was the government's attempt to make these schools more attractive again, since until now, pupils who attended them, had hardly any chance for higher education. A KMS is a general secondary school which cooperates with an academic secondary school in so far as students in one class are not separated into three groups according to their performance but taught together in all subjects and teachers from academic schools also teach next to the general school teachers. This is on the one hand meant to rise pupils' chances to attend a higher secondary school after their four years in the KMS and on the other hand to increase the teachers' professional expertise. This model enables team-teaching and supports combined learning within two or three subjects. (<http://www.stadtschulrat.at/aktuell/detid68>) However carefully planned that may sound, practice shows that putting this model into action costs more money than the government is ready to spend, and having two teachers in one classroom would generally solve the problems in other schools as well.

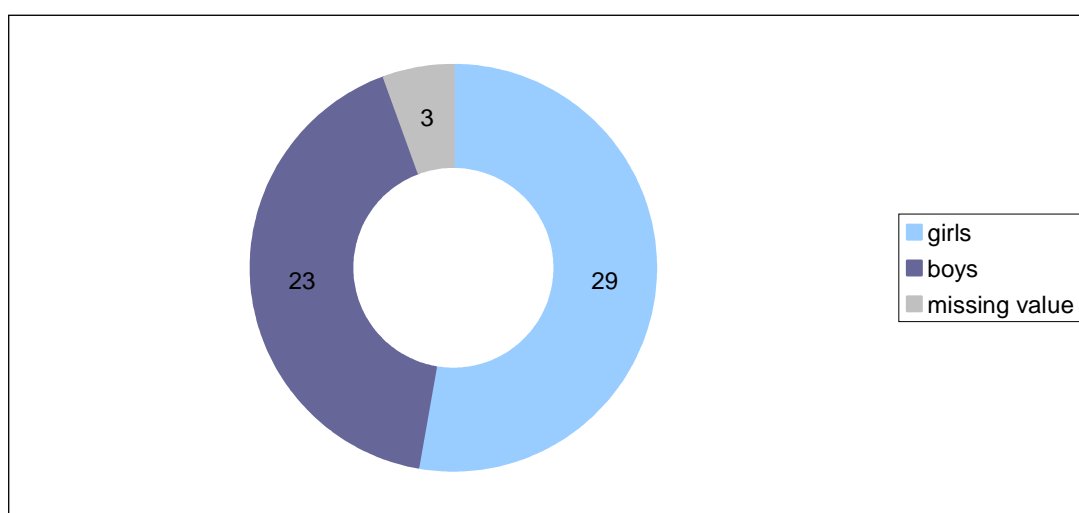


Chart 19: number of boys and girls in school three

Chart 19 presents the numbers of boys and girls who participated in the study in school three, namely 55 students in third and fourth forms, who are between twelve and sixteen years old. Three students refused to answer both questions about sex and age. Similar to the second school, there are only slightly more girls than boys; the difference is not as significant as in school one.

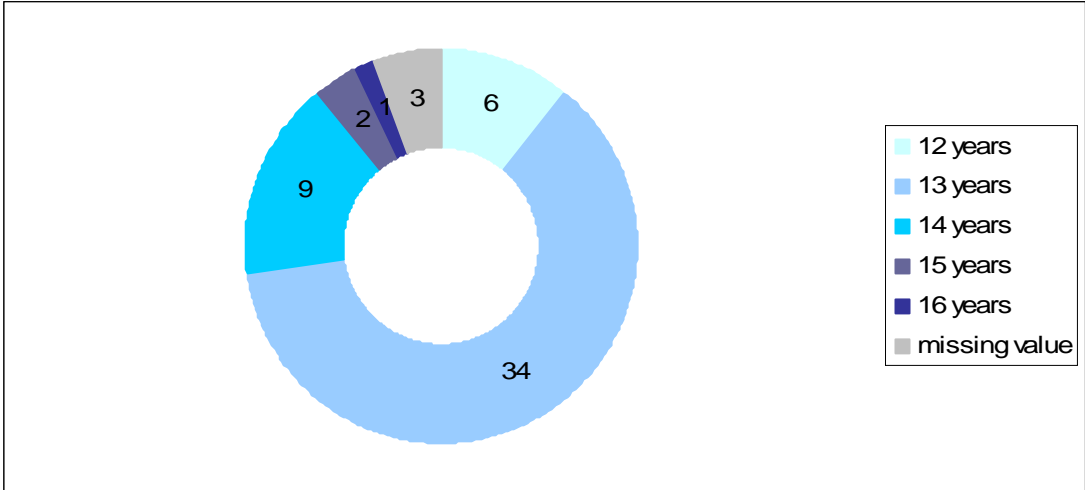


Chart 20: age of students in school three

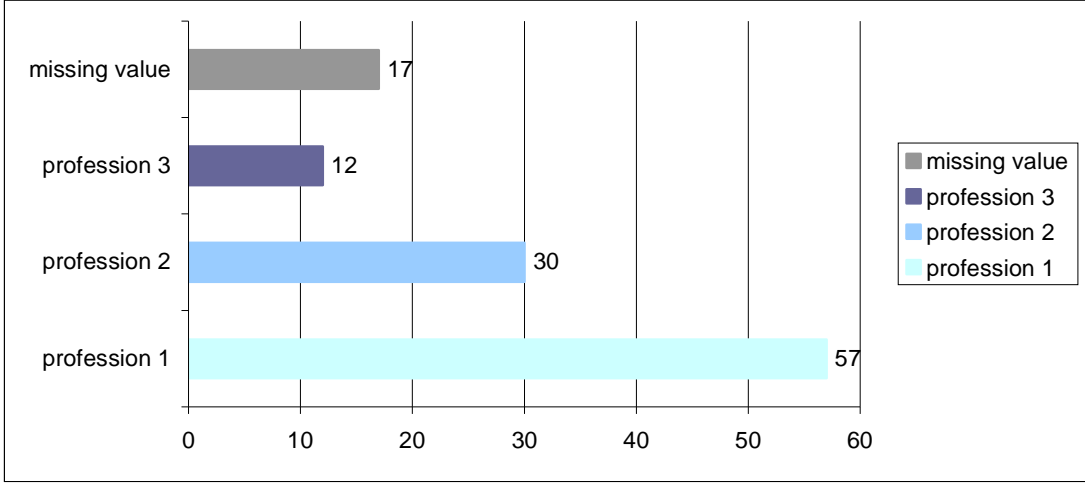


Chart 21: parents' professions, school three

The chart describing the parents' professions can be slightly misleading, for there are so many missing values, which necessitate clarification. It is definitely noteworthy to add that some students wrote down "unemployed" or indicated "having no occupation" by simply making an "x" on the line which asked for their parents' jobs. Hence, it seems reasonable to add the majority of the 17 missing answers to the

lowest income category, since those parents are likely to receive unemployment benefits, which is not too much money.

Having the hypothesis in mind, the German scores in this school should be similar to or higher than the English, for the vast majority of parents seem to have relatively low status and pay.

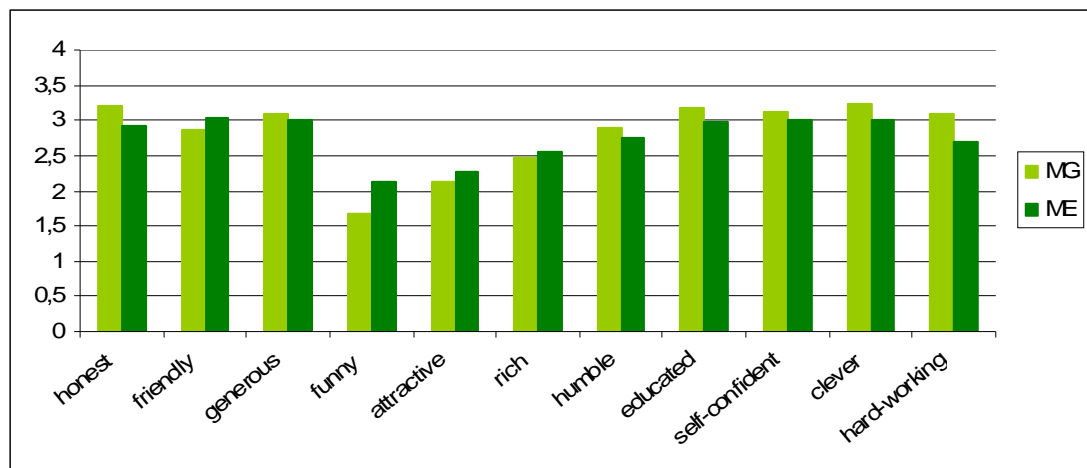


Chart 22: MG vs. ME, school three

Bar chart 22 illustrates very well that this is true to an even higher extent than expected. Not only was the German voice rated higher or equal to the English as far as competence is concerned, but also four out of the seven personality attributes scored predominantly higher. A significant preference for the English speaker can only be noticed with *funny* and *attractive*, being the two interpersonal relations which yielded very low English scores in all other schools as well.

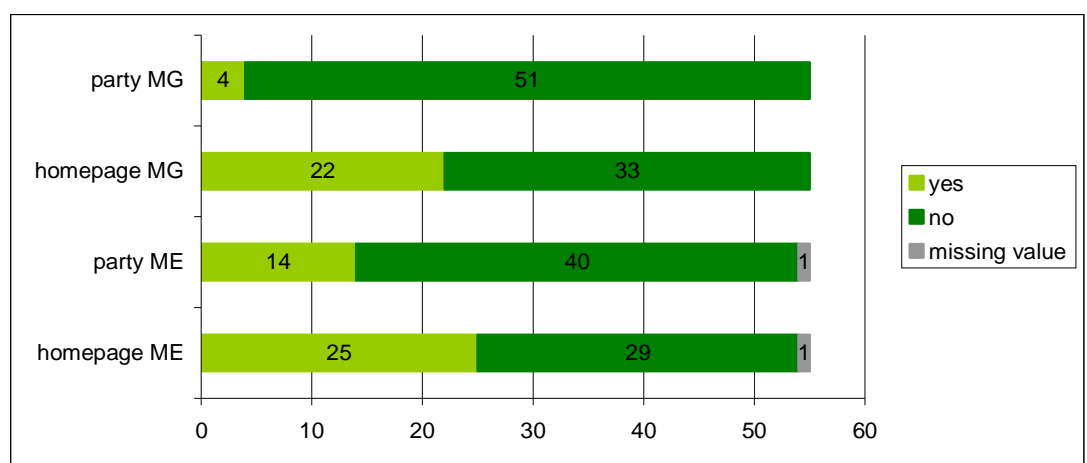


Chart 23: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. ME, school three

What is still surprising is that, despite the generally more positive attitude towards the German voice, the students regard the English speaker as more suitable for the homepage and also more subjects would like to meet him at a party, as chart 23 shows.

Next, it shall be interesting to find out if the trend, that the female voice generally receives higher ratings in German than the male voice, can be proved.

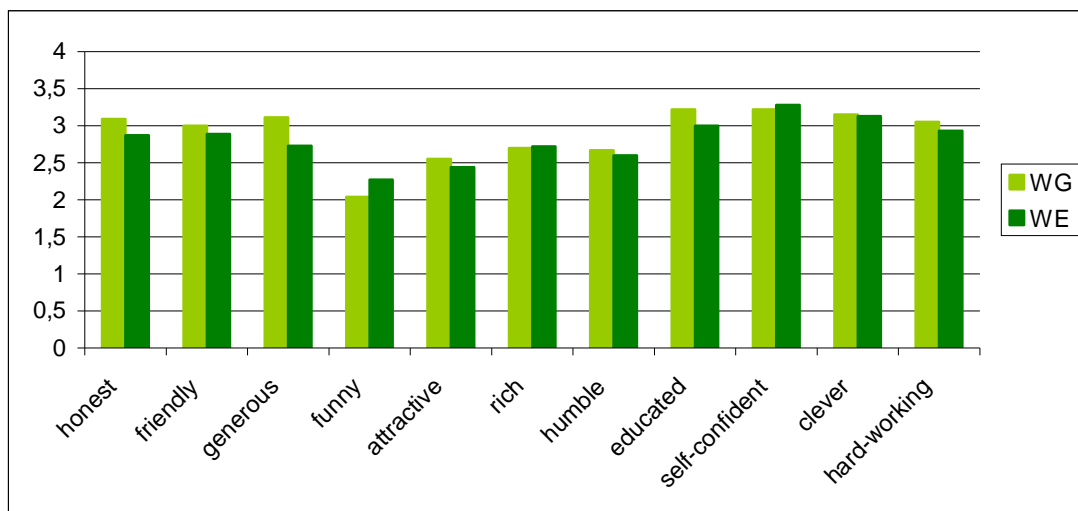


Chart 24: WG vs. WE, school three

What is undoubtedly true is that the woman sounds funnier and more self-confident for the students in English, while all the other attributes obtained either equal results or more positive ratings in German. The German voice scored better in 8 of 11 adjectives, independent of the two categories, competence and personal integrity. These results are reflected in the answers about the homepage speaker and the party on the next page: ten students would like to meet the English speaker at a party, eight the German, which is a very subtle difference. And for the first time, more pupils regard the German speaker as the better choice for the homepage.

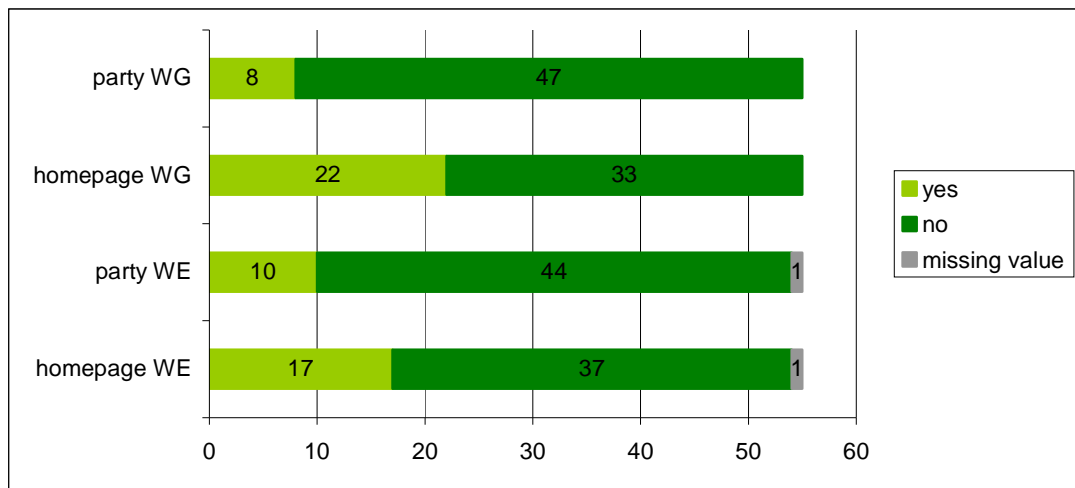


Chart 25: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet her at a party? WG vs. WE, school three

Comparing the scores for the standard and non-standard speaker in this school is particularly interesting, since the latter spoke in a Viennese accent. The former two schools are not located in Vienna, for which reason the students have a different dialect and accent than the speech sample, but in schools three and four, the non-standard speaker represents some students' ingroup. Hence, it is likely that one of language preference patterns introduced in chapter 3.3.3 is applicable to the outcome of this study.

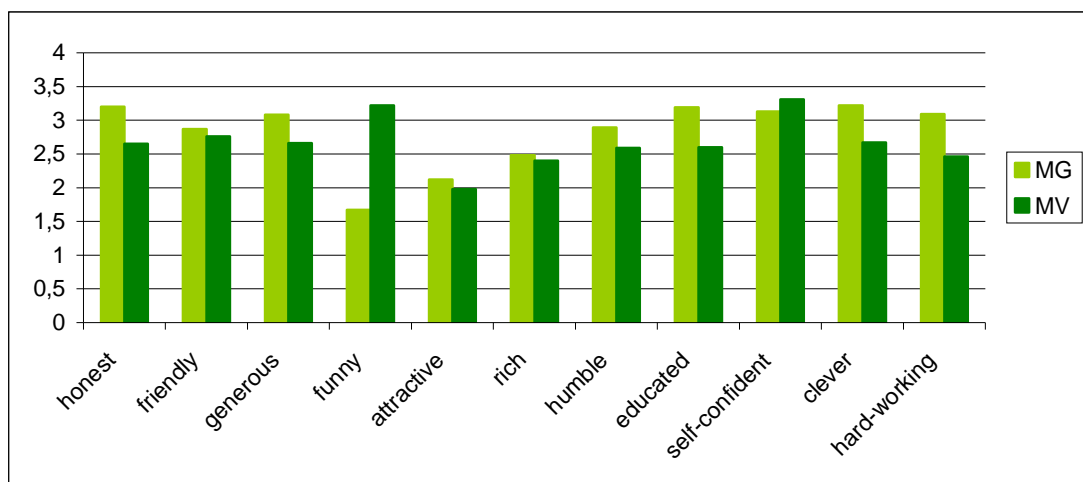


Chart 26: MG vs. MV, school three

The results chart 26 shows are surprising to a certain extent, since there is by far no preference for the ingroup speaker. On the contrary, the man speaking standard

German scored better in nine traits, whereas the Viennese speaker only sounded slightly more self-confident and clearly funnier- a phenomenon we observed in the other schools as well. What is unexpected is that the students did not even link the accent speaker to personal integrity, a very common result in language attitude testing. From these votes, it becomes clear that there is neither “ingroup preference” nor “majority status, ingroup solidarity”, for in the latter case the standard speaker would have been regarded as more competent and professional but less popular and socially-minded, which is definitely not true in this case. I would rather argue that the behaviour pattern visible in the bar chart above indicates “majority group preference”, where members of both, the higher and the lower classes, prefer the standard speaker. The most obvious reason for such a result is that the less privileged students are aware of their status in society and try to escape from prejudices and preconceived ideas others might have. In addition, some may feel ashamed of their parents holding subordinate, lower-status jobs, whereas other children grow up in wealth and attend better schools.

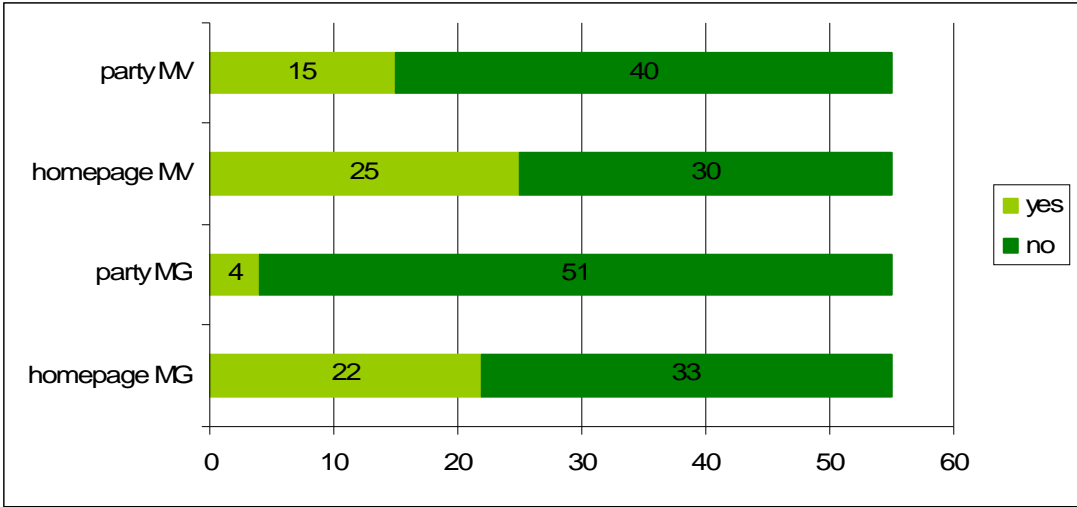


Chart 27: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. MV, school three

The results of this bar chart are somehow contrary to the answers in the previous chart, for the students prefer meeting the Viennese speaker at a party and they also think of him as the better speaker for the homepage. The only reason which seems likely to explain this, is that sounding funny seems to be highly relevant for the students in both cases- they neither want to meet a boring person when they are out,

nor do they want a generous, humble, educated and hard-working person if he does not sound funny and self-confident. This correlates with the choices of the students in the other schools as well, for which reason it may be plausible to assume it as a general rule. The analysis of the results in the last school will show, if there is indeed a regular pattern to be found.

4.4.4 School 4

School four is a private catholic school in one of the most expensive Viennese districts, with an upper middle class neighbourhood, which is a totally different setting than those in the schools analysed so far. Private schools are typically attended by the offspring of wealthy families as well as parents, who went to such a school themselves and are hence also rather well-educated.

Charts 28 and 29 show that two thirds of the 43 students, who participated in the fifth form, are girls. The majority of them are fourteen, the others are fifteen years old.

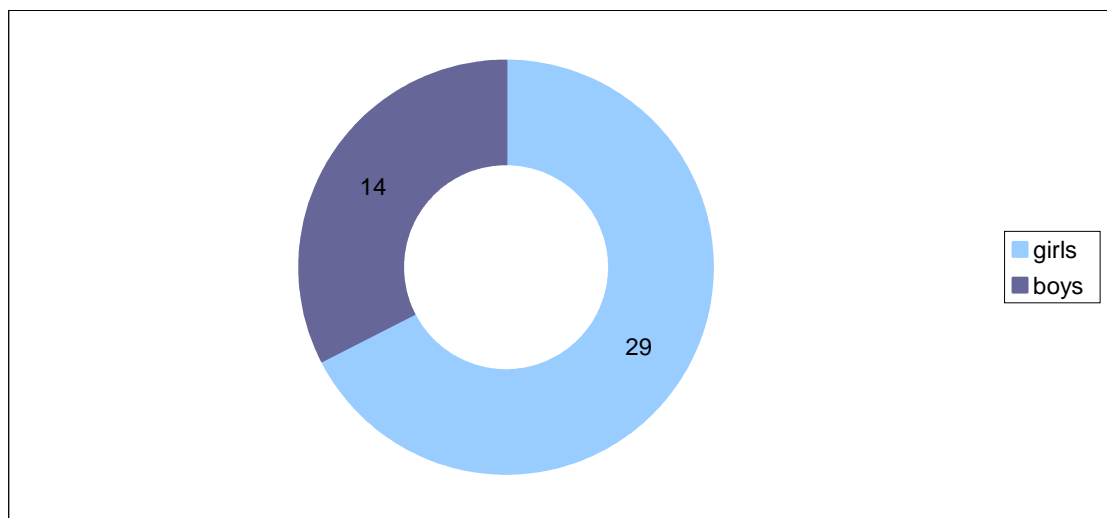


Chart 28: number of boys and girls in school four

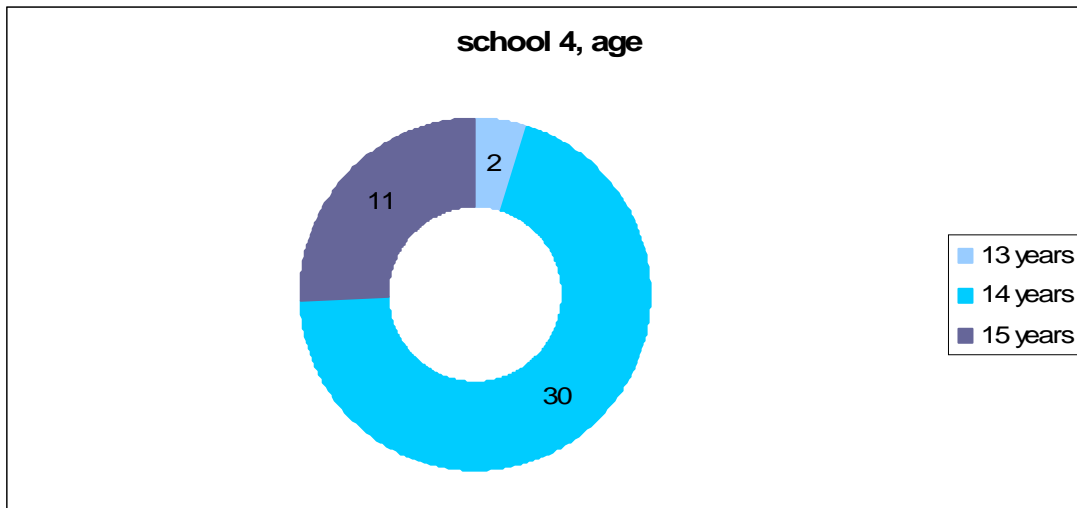


Chart 29: age of students in school four

The enormous difference between this and the other schools may be recognised if one has a closer look at the parents' occupations. 68 mothers and fathers have an A level exam or higher education and there are numerous parents who obviously have a university degree, since the students stated they were lawyers, doctors, university professors and so on and so forth. In the second and third school, the two general secondary schools, only twelve and thirteen parents respectively were employed in prestigious jobs, which is the exact opposite of the results here.

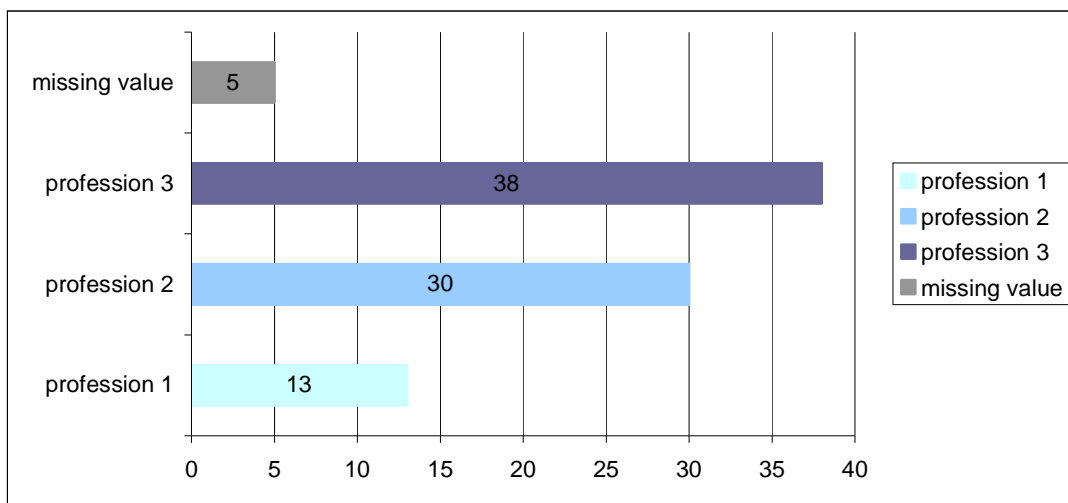


Chart 30: parents' professions, school four

Since the amount of well-educated parents, i.e. parents with high income is considerably larger than in all the other schools before, we must assume that the

general preference of the English speakers is more significant than in schools one to three.

Bar chart 31 illustrates the expected results. There is not a single attribute which was given higher ratings for German than for English. The difference between some of the adjectives about interpersonal relation show variation in the mean values up to one, which is quite a lot on a four-point scale. Compared to the first school (see chart 4), in which 60 mothers and fathers were employed in professions which necessitate an A level exam or further education, the differences are sometimes even greater in school four but do generally show that the students in those two schools had the most positive attitude towards the English speaking man.

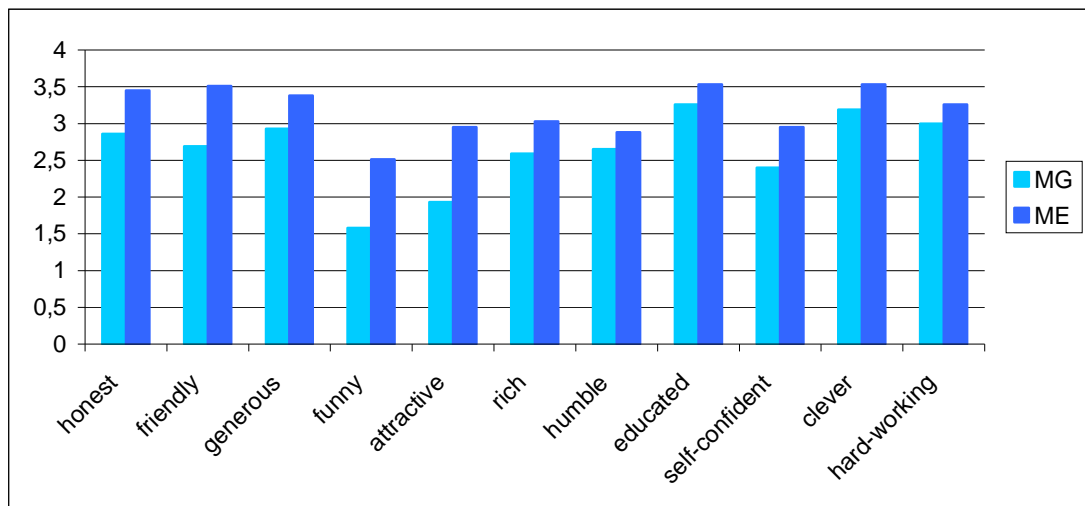


Chart 31: MG vs. ME, school four

These findings are supported by the overwhelming favour of the English speaker for the homepage in chart 32. No fewer than 34 students decided on him, whereas only seven chose the German male voice. Moreover, only three students would like to meet the German speaker at a party but 17 the English.

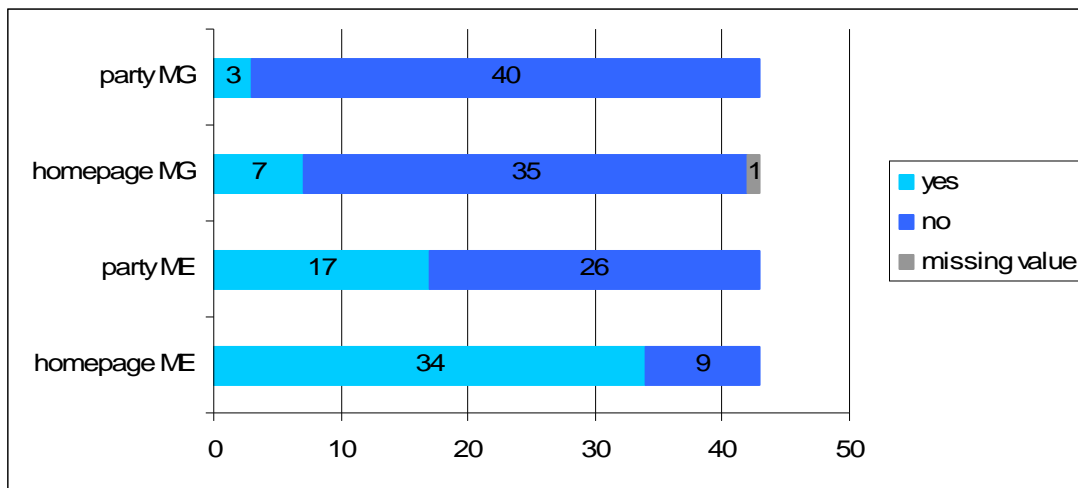


Chart 32: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. ME, school four

It will now be interesting to see, if the female voice also received worse English ratings than before, or if it is not the case in this school.

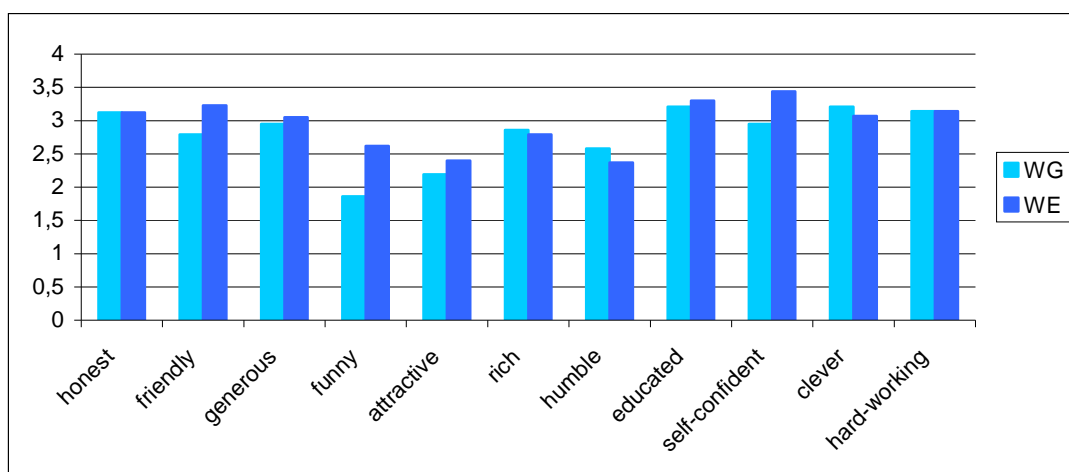
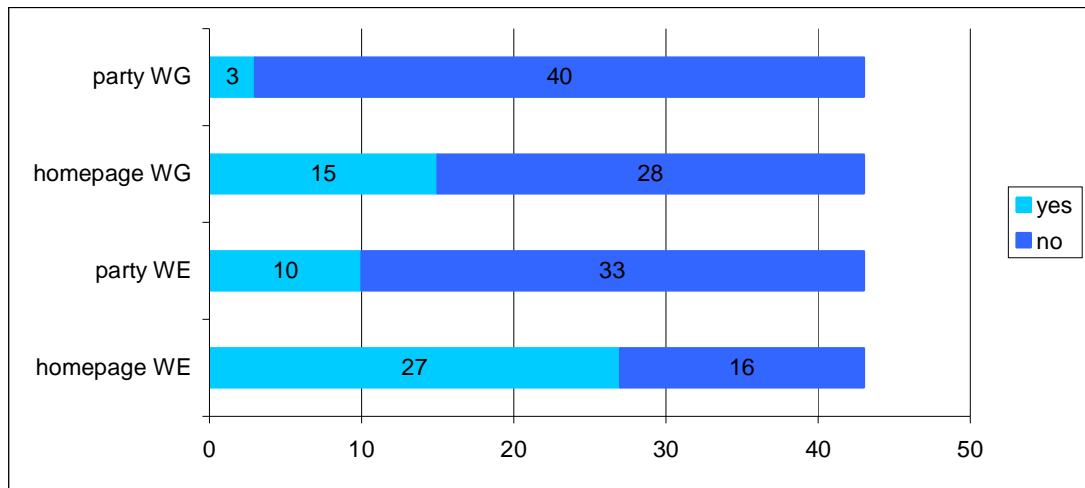


Chart 33: WG vs. WE, school four

Among the adjectives about competence, the English voice only scored better for *educated*. *Hard-working* gained the same result and *rich* and *clever* were better for the German speaking woman. Compared to the male speaker, which was regarded as being a good speaker for the homepage by 34 students in English and seven in German, the female English voice was preferred by 27 participants, the German by 15.

With regard to the personal relations, *humble* was the only attribute in seven where the German voice was favoured. All the others had more positive ratings in English.



**Chart 34: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet her at a party?
WG vs. WE, school four**

Even though the results for the female English speaker were not as good as those for the male speaker in school four, the answers from the other schools must be taken into consideration and show that the ratings in this case are still better than before.

Since school number four is also located in Vienna, it is possible to compare the standard German speaker with the non-standard voice. We have seen above that there was one language preference pattern which was applicable to the results of the general secondary school, and hence it is interesting, if the preference for a speaker is similar or different among children, whose parents are relatively well-off.

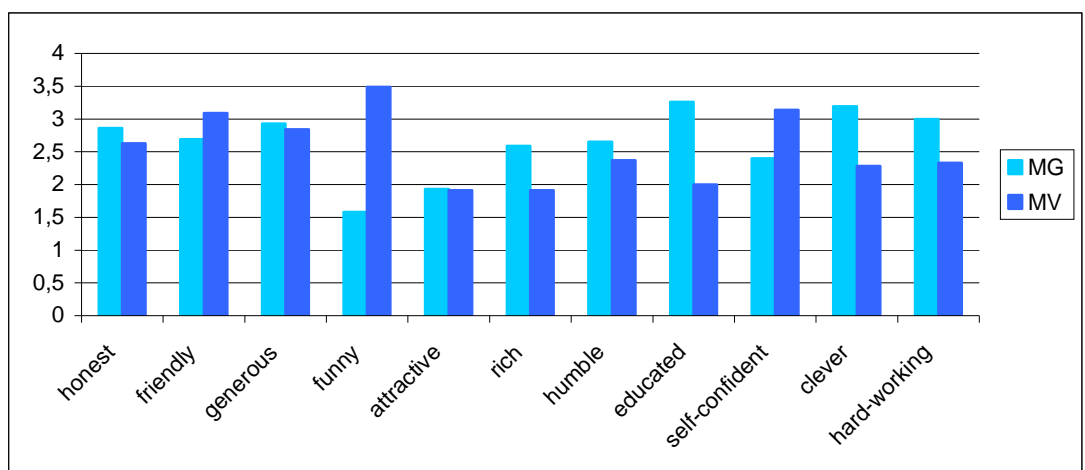


Chart 35: MG vs. MV, school four

Chart 35 presents clear results: the standard speaker scored much better in the competence traits, and also in the majority of personal characteristics. However, the non-standard voice sounded friendlier, funnier and more self-confident for these teenagers; a very similar result to the other Viennese school. One is therefore tempted to relate these findings to the so-called “ingroup preference”, or the “majority group preference” pattern again. The ingroup of teenagers in a catholic private school is more likely to be presented by the standard speaker than by a man with a strong Viennese accent, for which reason one could argue that they simply prefer their ingroup. On the other hand not all students come from middle or upper class families and can be expected to speak standard German at home but are nevertheless exposed to standard speech in school and also with their school mates. Therefore, they may have positive attitudes towards it.

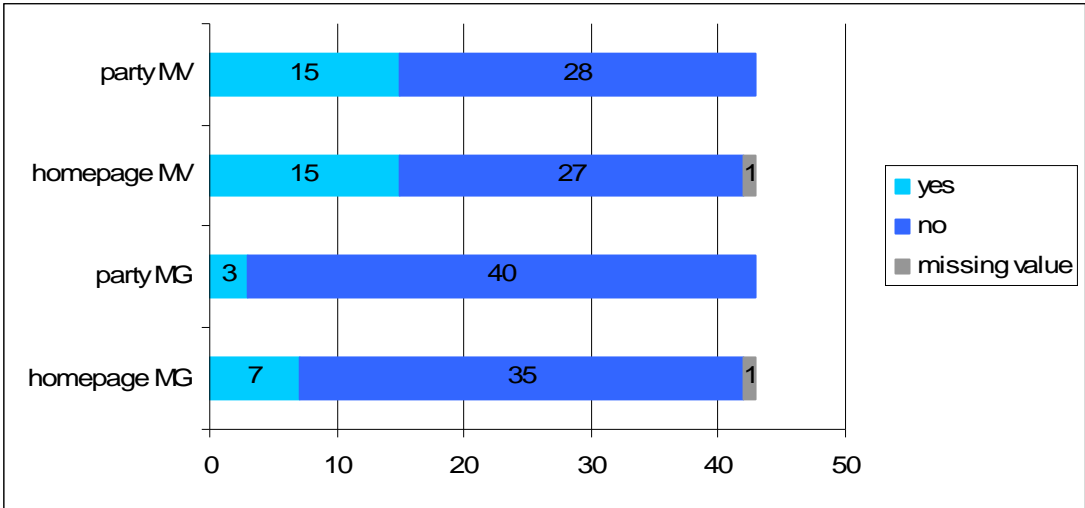


Chart 36: Is this person a good homepage speaker and would you like to meet him at a party? MG vs. MV, school four

When it comes to meeting the two men at a party or judging their qualities as a homepage speaker, the results are, however, inverted, because even students with a well-situated family background prefer meeting the Viennese speaker on parties, and, what is even more surprising, twice as many students want the accent speaker for the homepage. This is again contrary to the results bar chart 31 shows, because for the subjects, the standard speaker sounded by far more competent.

Again, the question arises, why the answers the students gave in the scale and the two additional questions differ to such a great extent. I stated above that even though

the participants agreed on the standard speaker's competence, he obviously sounded boring and was therefore not an option as a homepage speaker. This assumption is supported by the outcome of the study in school four, and leads to the conclusion that students from all social classes prefer funny and friendly people over educated ones when they go to a party as well as when the qualifications for being a good homepage speaker are concerned. While the former result is relatively plausible and was maybe even predictable, the latter was all the more surprising.

4.5 General analysis

In the previous part of the analysis, the responses of the students from each school were analysed individually. The charts which are presented in this chapter describe the general answers, i.e. using data from all schools to show overall tendencies.

The chapter consists of six sub-chapters in which the analysis focuses on different interesting aspects, such as the influence of the students' mother tongues on their attitudes towards English, or tries to find out if girls and boys judged the speakers differently, etc.

The first three charts which are presented are similar to the bar charts in the four schools, but now the answers of all children, whose parents are employed in either profession one, two or three are represented individually. This implies that the number of students in each chart differs considerably, for there are 55, 21 and 22 students in charts 37, 38 and 39 respectively. In other words, it is true for 55 students that both, mother and father, have jobs categorised as profession one and so on. If my hypothesis is true, subjects with parents in profession one are likely to prefer the German speaker, whereas teenagers, whose parents have A level exams or higher education, can be expected to approve of the English speaker. This would also support the trend we were able to notice before.

4.5.1 Parents' professions

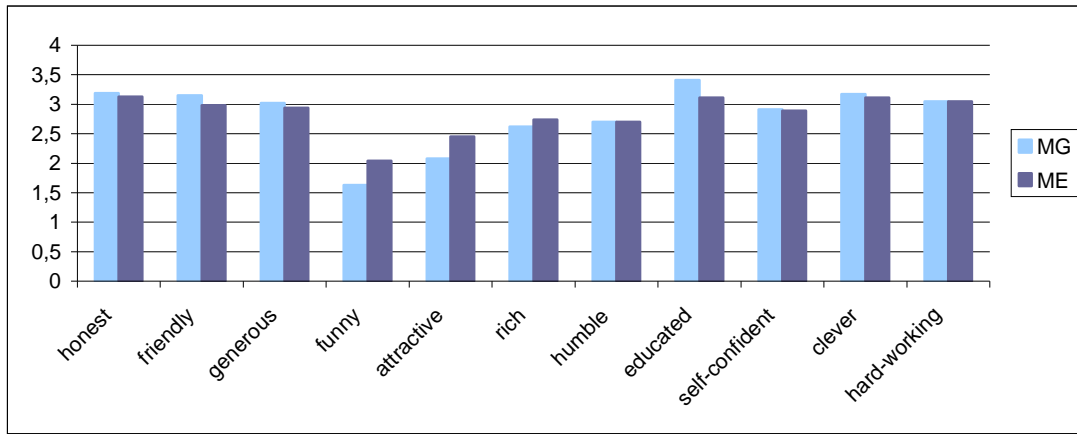


Chart 37: MG vs. ME if both parents are employed in profession one, n = 55

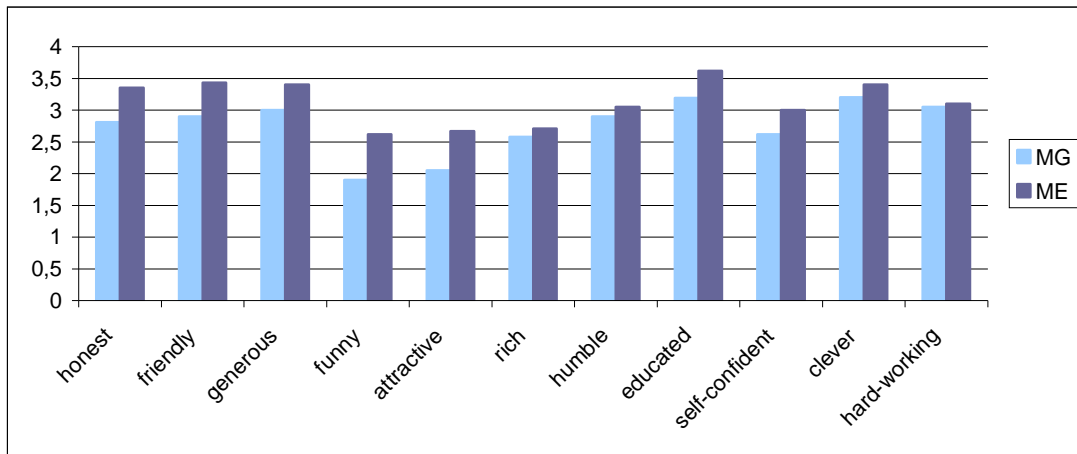


Chart 38: MG vs. ME if both parents are employed in profession two, n = 21

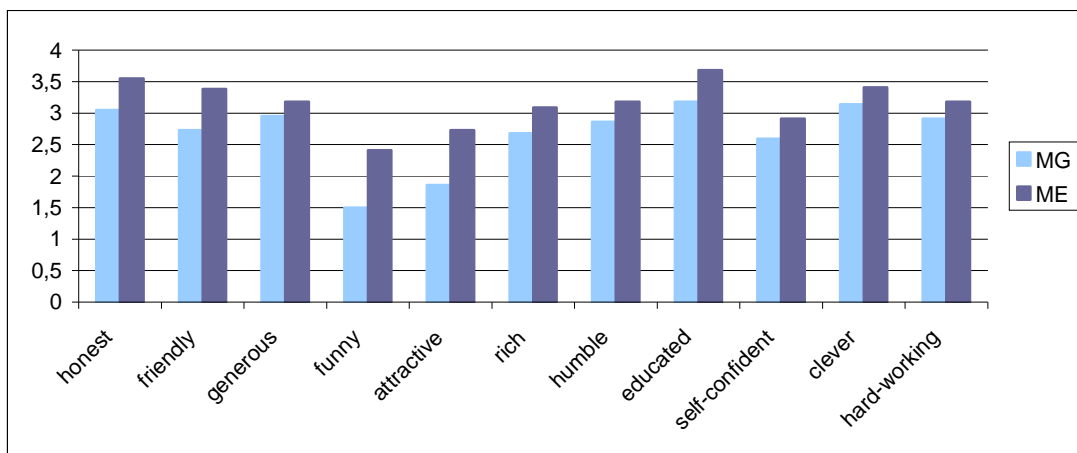


Chart 39: MG vs. ME if both parents are employed in profession three, n = 22

What we can see is that the results from above are absolutely confirmed by these charts. The general trend is, as assumed, that the lower the education teenagers experience in their family background, the lower their appreciation of the English speaker. Students, whose parents are better educated themselves, favour the English voice. The results for group two and three are rather similar.

If we go into detail a little bit and look at the ratings for the competence and personality traits, we see clear preferences for the English speaker in both categories in charts 38 and 39, while the German voice yielded better results in chart 37, in which he was only regarded as less funny, attractive and rich than the English speaker. Four traits, *honest*, *humble*, *self-confident* and *hard-working* received equal results, but there is still a general preference for the German speaker in both categories.

This comparison of the two male voices still lacks the incorporation of the results for the non-standard German speaker into the general analysis, which will help to answer the question if English is indeed becoming the language of the elite and if it is already regarded as an overt language. In the chapter about language attitudes, we learned that overt prestige is most often associated with standard speech, while covert prestige is linked with the working class. Chart 40 therefore compares the overall evaluations of the three male speakers, namely the standard German voice (MG), the Viennese accent speaker (MV) and the English voice (ME).

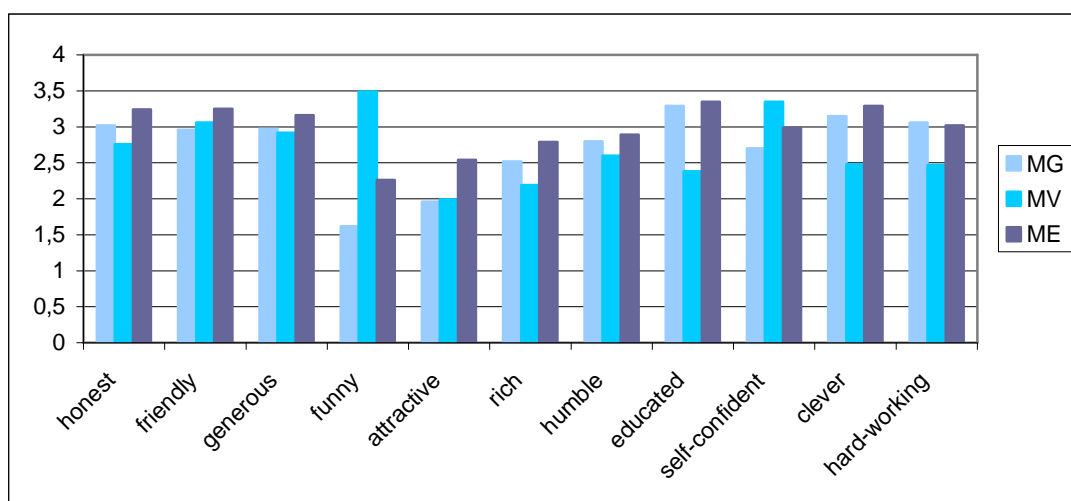


Chart 40: MG vs. MV vs. ME, all students

It becomes clear from the bars that the man speaking Viennese yielded particularly high results for *funny* and *self-confident*, two attributes clearly associated with personal integrity. He was also voted *friendly* and *generous*, for which traits all three voices received rather similar results. The Viennese speaker was regarded as more attractive than the German standard speaker and even though he is only in the third position as far as being honest and humble are concerned, the differences in the mean values are approximately only 0.2 in both cases. But if we have a look at the competence traits, we find the English speaker and the German standard voice enormously favoured by the participants, which indicates that the students regard the English voice more like the standard speaker of their mother tongue. Hence, it is relatively safe to conclude that the teenagers in this study think of English as an overt variant, at least as far as professionalism is concerned. In a further step, it would maybe also be possible to infer a far-reaching consequence from these results, namely that non-native speakers of English, who speak English very well and maybe also have a native-like accent are likely to be regarded as very educated, professional and competent. This means that people who do not speak English properly might not be given the same status in certain segments of society.

With regard to gender, we have seen before that the male and female voices were judged differently, in so far as the male voice yielded better English results than the female. This trend seems to continue, if the participants' answers are represented according to their parents' occupations. The ratings in chart 41 are similar to those for the male speaker, i.e. a general preference for the German voice can be noticed. Even though the subjects regard the English voice as funnier, slightly cleverer and more self-confident, one can easily recognise that the students think of the German speaking woman as more competent and more socially aware, which correlates with the results for the male voice.

If teenagers, whose parents have an A level exam, judged the voices, the English speaking woman received better ratings for all adjectives but *humble*. The comparison with the male voice shows again compatibility, namely a clear preference for the English speakers in both categories- competence and personal integrity.

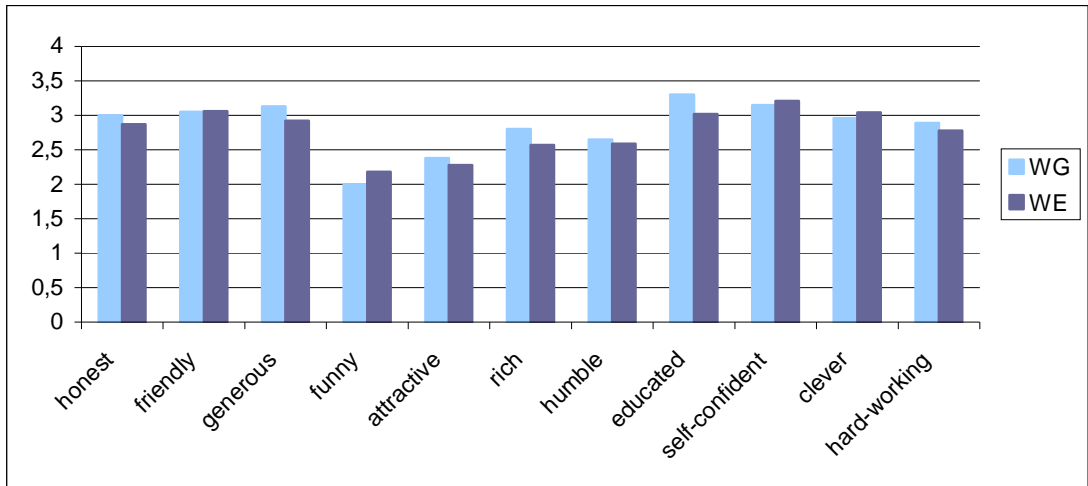


Chart 41: WG vs. WE if both parents are employed in profession one, n = 55

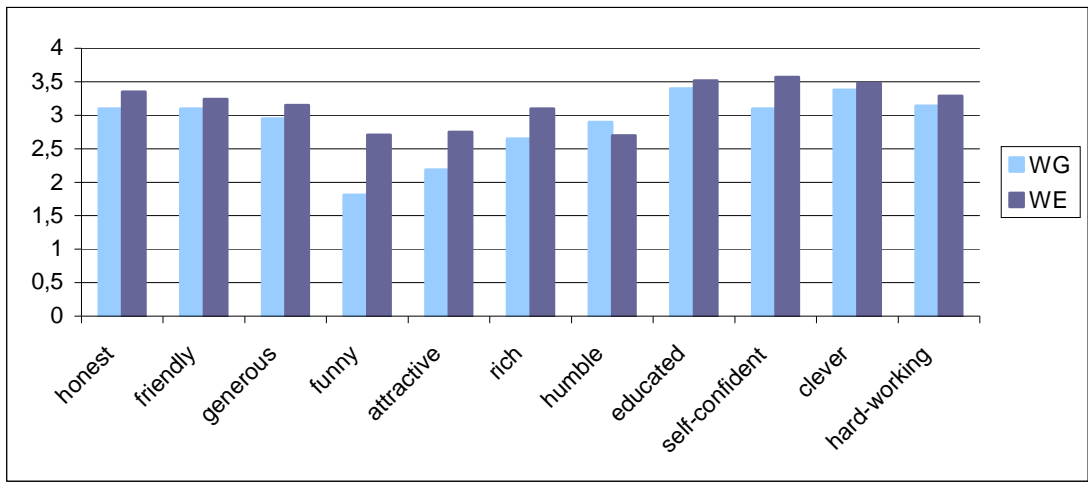


Chart 42: WG vs. WE if both parents are employed in profession two, n = 21

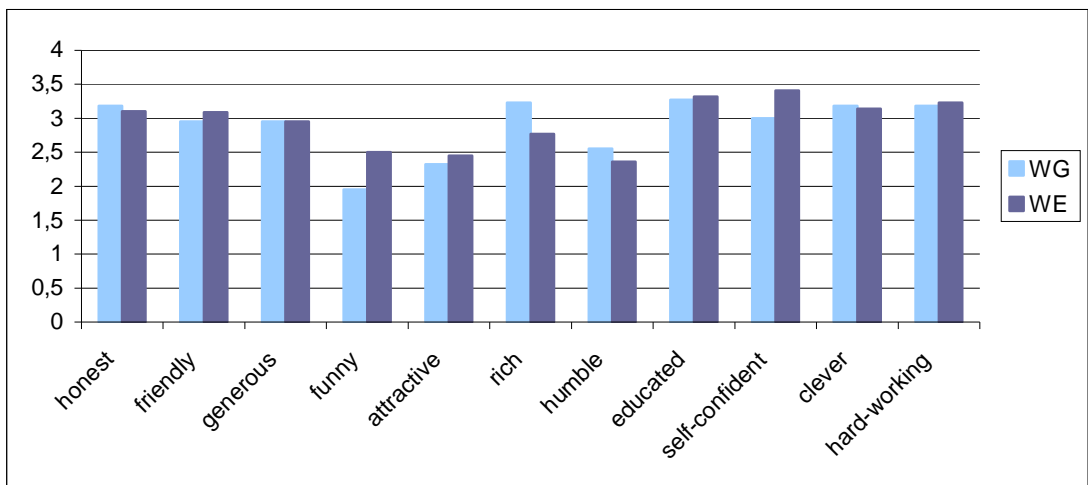


Chart 43: WG vs. WE if both parents are employed in profession three, n = 22

The results start differing from each other as soon as we have a look at the charts representing the more privileged students. The male English speaker was the clear winner in all attributes, whereas the English woman only won five out of eleven traits, namely *friendly*, *funny*, *attractive*, *self-confident* and *hard-working*. Two adjectives, *generous* and *educated*, received equal results and the German voice sounded more honest, humble and richer for those teenagers. If one has a look at charts 4, 6, 31 and 33 again, we see that the students in school one and four, the two academic secondary schools, preferred the female English voice in 8 and 6 traits respectively, while the male English voice yielded better results for all adjectives. The subjects in the general schools, however, did not indicate a clear preference for either the man or the woman, but had more similar and balanced results. (see charts 13, 15, 22 and 24)

The phenomenon of having received different results for the male and female speakers is running through the whole study. Since the data have not tested the reason for such a behaviour pattern, all I can do in the analysis of the study is to develop ideas about this particular case. Generally speaking, the students were more in favour of the male voice in both categories, but the female voices yielded better results for *funny* and *self-confident* in both languages. It could now of course be argued that this is a slight indicator of the preference for the female voice in interpersonal relation traits, but the small numbers of preferred adjectives, the little difference in the mean values as well as the too small sample size do not allow a general conclusion.

	MG	WG	ME	WE	MV
honest	3,02	3,02	3,24	2,97	2,76
friendly	2,96	2,85	3,25	3,07	3,06
generous	2,97	2,94	3,16	2,97	2,92
funny	1,62	1,9	2,26	2,39	3,49
attractive	1,96	2,19	2,54	2,36	1,99
rich	2,52	2,84	2,79	2,73	2,19
humble	2,8	2,58	2,89	2,55	2,6
educated	3,29	3,27	3,35	3,17	2,38
self-confident	2,7	3,07	2,99	3,34	3,35
clever	3,15	3,09	3,29	3,07	2,48
hard-working	3,06	3,05	3,02	3,01	2,47

Table 1: mean values, all students

Research has shown that there is a trend to judge men as more competent and women as more socially aware (see chapter 3.3.2), which turned out to be only subtly the case in this study and can be seen from the table above: The four competence traits are highlighted in blue, and even though the male voice was preferred seven out of eight times, the results are too similar to recognise a preference pattern, because sometimes the differences between the mean values for the male and the female voices are only 0.01 or 0.02, which is next to nothing and maybe only sheer coincidence. Hence, neither the male superiority in professionalism nor the female higher social attractiveness could be proved in this study.

4.5.2 Luxury holiday destination

This section is intended to support the assumptions made about the attitudes of students with different social but also financial background in the hypothesis. It was argued that the less educated the parents i.e. the lower the income, the higher the preference for the German speaker instead of the English. This has turned out to be true indeed, as we saw in the sub-chapter before, as well as in the analysis of the different schools. Nevertheless, the previous charts were made on the basis of the parents' occupations and not solely on their financial circumstances. In order to elicit information about this issue independent of the assumptions about the professions, the students were asked to write down countries in which they had been on holiday in the personal part of the questionnaire. Far away countries were then categorised as luxury holiday destinations, and the students who had or had not been on such a holiday were separated for the drawing of the charts.

The following countries were grouped as luxury destinations: the USA, Australia, the United Arab Emirates, the Maldives, Japan, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Singapore and Indonesia. Hence, students who were in one of these countries are expected to come from the upper middle class and be financially well-off. It must be added that this was only the case for 27 students, which is a relatively small part.

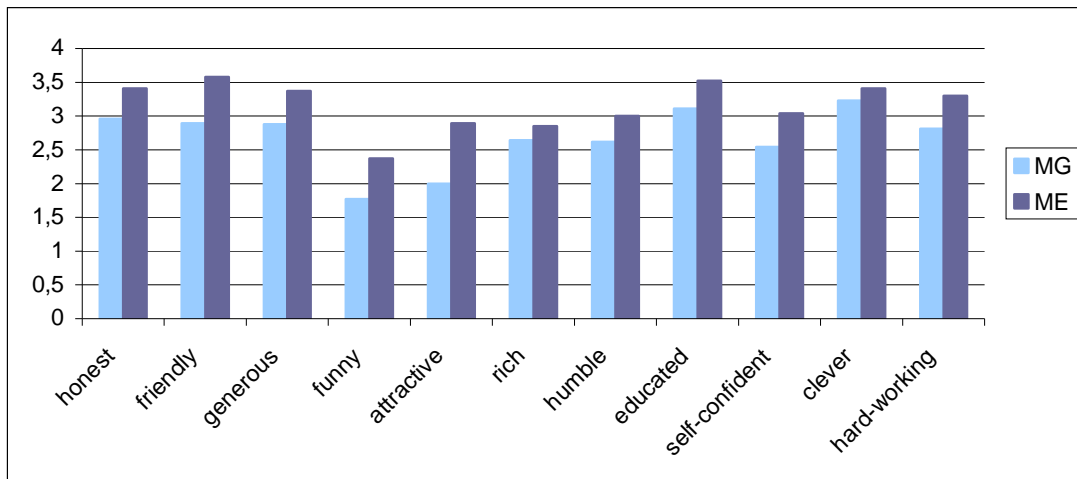


Chart 44: MG vs. ME if been to a luxury holiday destination, n = 27

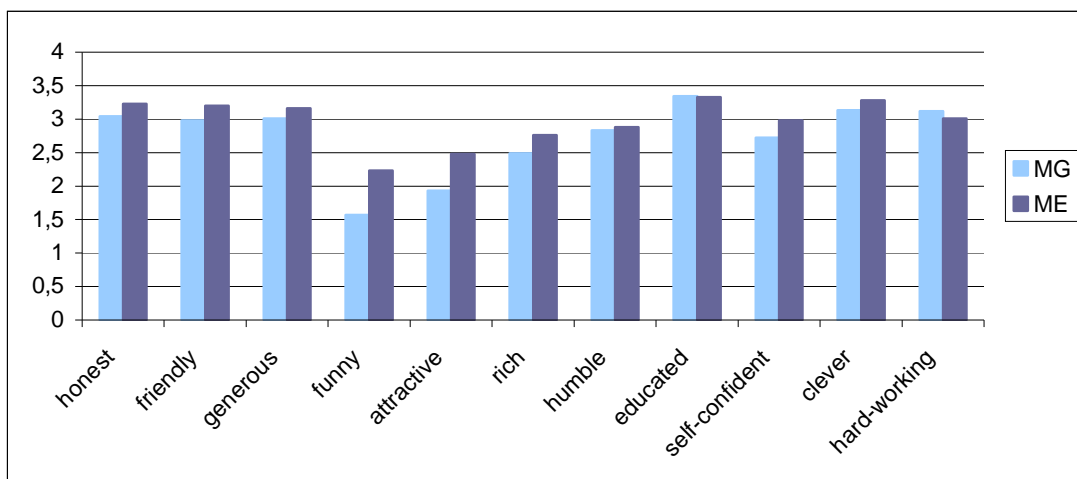


Chart 45: MG vs. ME if not been to a luxury holiday destination, n = 150

We can see from the charts that those participants, who were in one of the aforementioned countries, i.e. on rather expensive trips, have a very positive attitude towards the English speaker; the bars are noticeably higher for all attributes. Those students, who are expected to come from less privileged families, did not indicate the same clear preference for the English voice, even though the results are not as dramatic as expected, for the German speaker only won the *hard-working* trait. Nevertheless, it can be said that the difference between the German and the English speaker is smaller than in chart 44. Since *educated* and *hard-working*, the two adjectives with equal results or better ratings for the German voice respectively, are two indicators for competence, it could of course be argued that teenagers from less wealthy families regard the German speaker as more competent than richer children.

But this is a rather vague assumption, not least because the sample sizes are neither balanced nor big enough to allow generalisations.

Compared with the charts representing the ratings for the male voice, those for the female speaker are slightly different again. The same students who were on a luxury journey and preferred the male English voice in every aspect, do now only regard the English speaking woman as more friendly, funnier, more self-confident and cleverer. *Generous* and *educated* yielded almost the same results, but there are still five remaining adjectives with better results for the German voice.

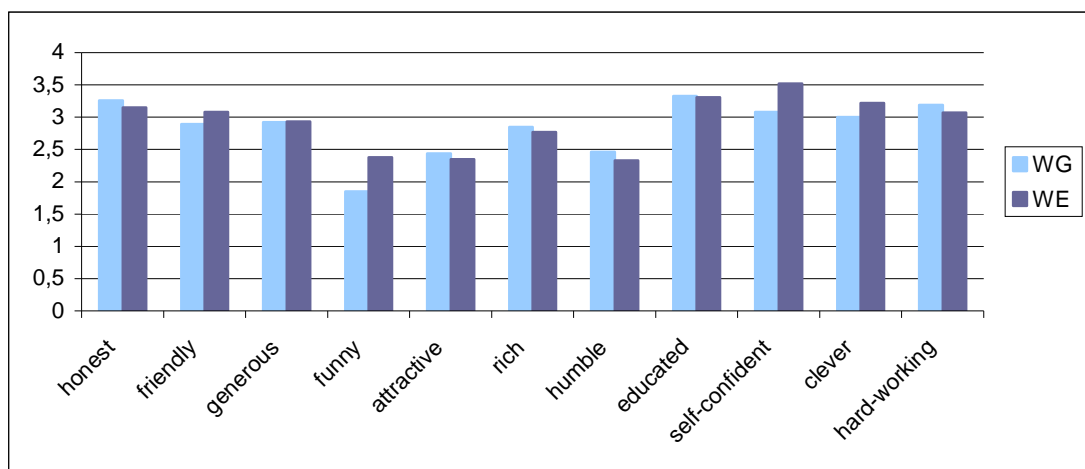


Chart 46: WG vs. WE if been to a luxury holiday destination, n = 27

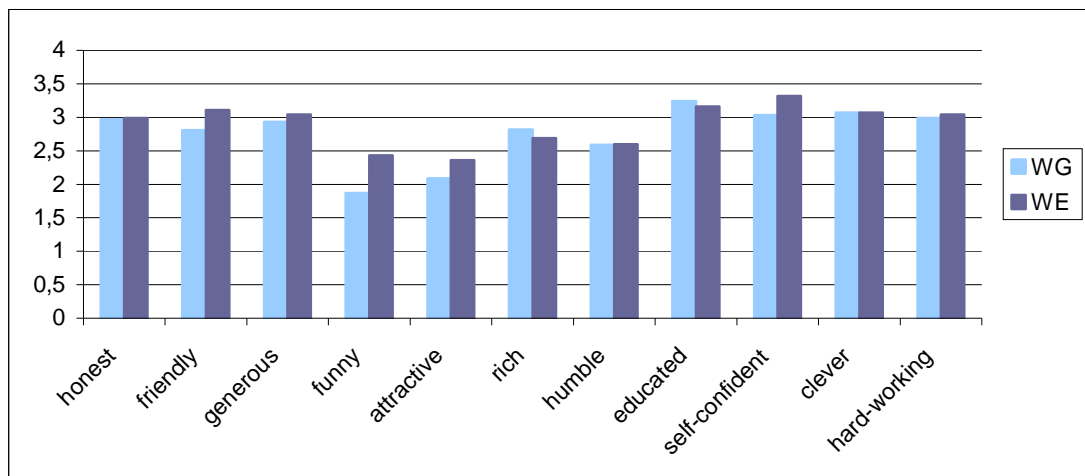


Chart 47: WG vs. WE if not been to a luxury holiday destination, n = 150

The second chart, representing participants who have never been to a journey to another continent, partly correlates with chart 45, for there is not the expected clear

preference for the German voice, but a rather balanced result instead: the English speaking woman was preferred five times, the German voice two times and four traits were more or less equal. Similar to the findings for the male voice, one could get the impression that the less privileged children thought of the German voice as more competent again. The difference is small, but the German speaking woman yielded better results for *educated* and *rich* and *clever*, as well as *hard working*, show almost the same ratings.

In order to summarise this subchapter, it is noteworthy to stress that the less privileged students showed a slight preference for the German speakers as far as competence and professionalism were concerned, which was not the case with the presumably richer teenagers, at least not to the same extent. If we compare the charts presented in this section with those from chapter 4.5.1, a certain amount of correlation can indeed be noticed, since children, whose parents are employed in less prestigious jobs, were much more in favour of the German speakers as well, whereas children of better educated parents showed a much clearer preference for the English speakers. Thus I regard my hypothesis as generally confirmed by the results of this study, since it has been proved that teenagers, whose parents have an A level exam or higher education, as well as those with a better financial security, have more positive attitudes towards English speakers than youths from working class families with less income. This section, with its focus on the financial possibilities of the participants' surroundings, supported the impression we got in the analyses of the schools and the findings of other studies presented in the paper, even though the parents' education seems to have more influence on the attitudes than money, because students from families, in which both parents made an apprenticeship, preferred the German speakers in more categories than in charts 45 and 47.

The final three subchapters are meant to examine if girls and boys have different attitudes and if visiting an English speaking country and using English out of school also lead to more positive attitudes towards English speakers or not. In addition, the results of students with German mother tongue shall be compared to those of subjects with another mother tongue.

4.5.3 Girls vs. boys

It was stated above that there were noticeable differences in the ratings for the male and female voices, for which reason it shall be interesting to have a look at the preferences of girls and boys. Do the girls favour the female and the boys the male German voice, since they represent the ingroup or do they prefer the voice of the opposite sex and if yes, in which language?

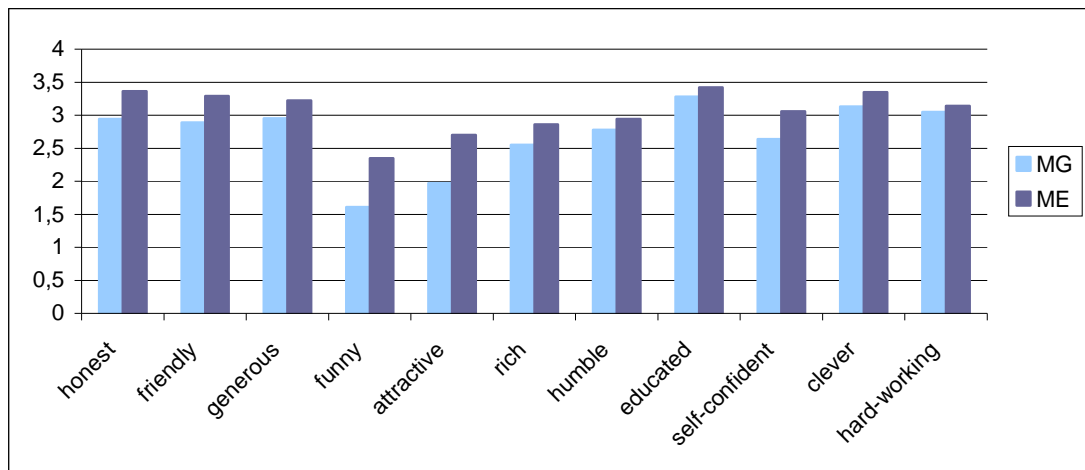


Chart 48: MG vs. ME if only judged by girls, n = 120

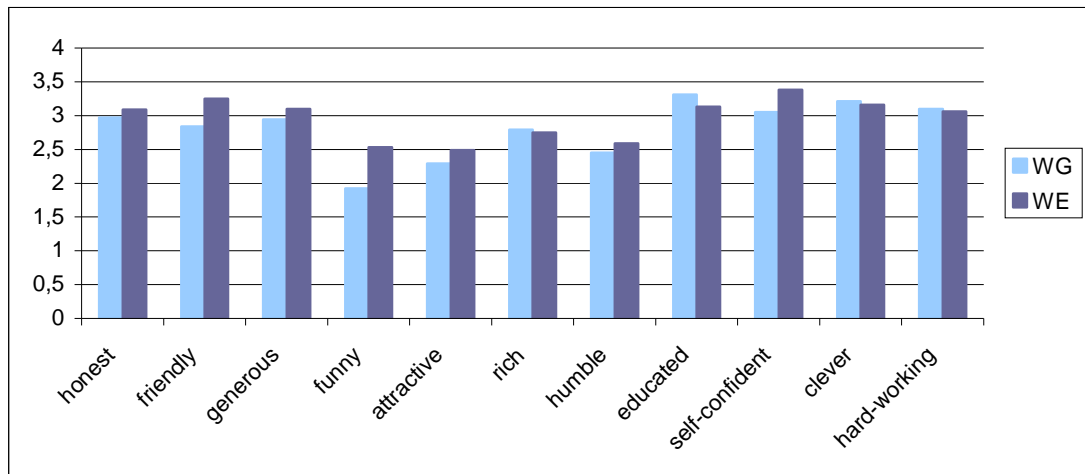


Chart 49: WG vs. WE if only judged by girls, n = 120

The two bar charts show the girls' preference for the male English speaker in both categories, whereas the female German voice yielded better results for *rich*, *educated*, *clever*, and *hard-working*, i.e. the four competence traits. On the other hand, the female participants did not regard the representative of their own language and sex as

more socially aware than a foreign speaking woman, in contrast to the boys' answers below. It must also be noted that the difference between both women are not very dramatic as far as the four competence adjectives are concerned, since the bars for *rich*, *clever* and *hard-working* are almost in balance and with regard to *educated*, the mean value for the German speaker is only 0.18 higher than that for the English voice, which is by far no clear preference.

We shall now have a look at how the male subjects judged the two speakers in both languages:

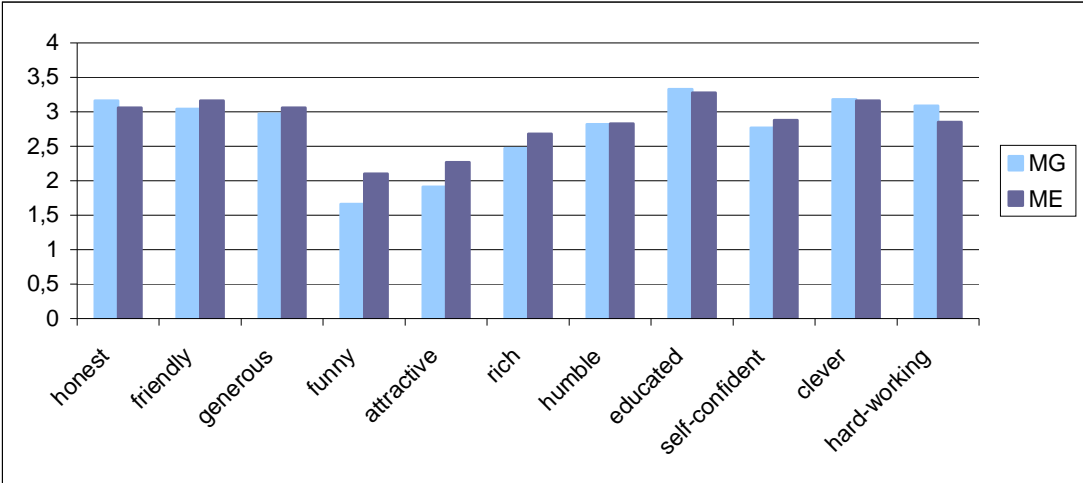


Chart 50: MG vs. ME if only judged by boys, n =68

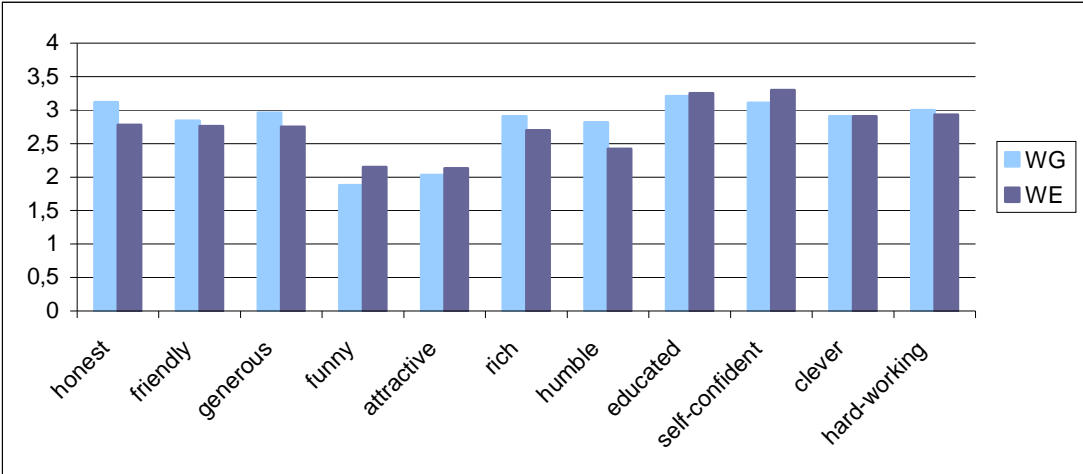


Chart 51: WG vs. WE if only judged by boys, n = 68

The boys' results do only partly mirror that of the girls, because even though they do not favour the female English voice, we can notice slightly better ratings for the male

German speaker and the competence traits. They are as subtle as those of the girls for the female voices, since *educated* and *clever* yielded very similar votes; the mean value for *hard-working* in German is only 0.24 higher than in English and the boys even thought the English speaker was richer than the German.

These results lead to the assumption that the students in this study regard the representatives of their ingroup as slightly more competent in contrast to the speakers of a foreign language. The girls were generally in favour of the male English speaker, whereas the boys' ratings are much more balanced, with a moderate preference for the woman in German, though.

4.5.4 Having visited an English speaking country

In this study, 101 students claimed to have visited an English speaking country and 89 participants said they had not yet been there. In contrast to one of the previous sub-chapters, in which luxury holiday destinations were meant to indicate a family's financial background, it is safe to assume here that not only privileged teenagers are represented in charts 52 and 54, for spending language weeks in English speaking countries is quite common in Austrian schools. Normally, third or fourth forms spend one week in the United Kingdom or Ireland and in the upper secondary, it is sometimes even possible to go to the United States or to the UK again, depending on school funds. Since it is usually obligatory for students to participate in school trips, the government supports financially weak families, so that their children are not disadvantaged. Hence, the following four charts in this section are not regarded as representing socially privileged or underprivileged students any longer, but showing if a journey to a country, in which the target language is the native language, influences the teenagers' attitudes.

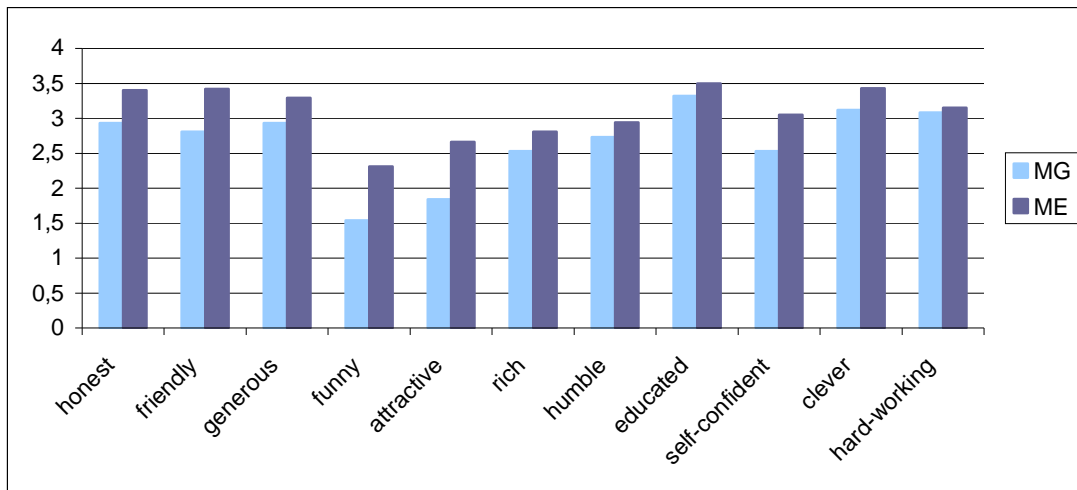


Chart 52: MG vs. ME if been to an English speaking country, n = 101

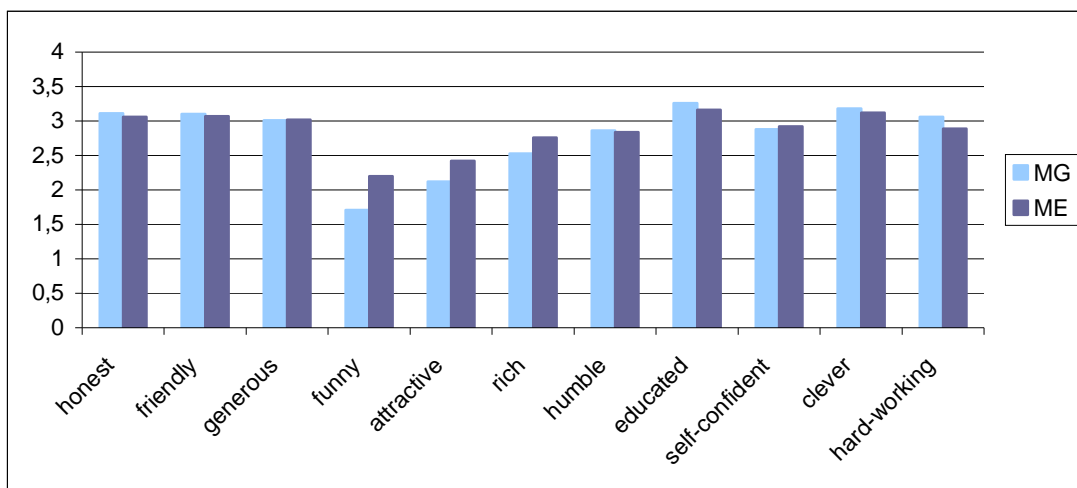


Chart 53: MG vs. ME if not been to an English speaking country, n = 89

It becomes clear from the two bar charts that there must be a connection between the attitude towards a language and visiting a country in which the language is spoken. Students who have already been in one of those countries, favour the English speaking man in both categories, professionalism and personal integrity, while students who have never been there, only think of the English speaker as being funnier, more attractive and richer, but prefer the German man in six of eleven adjectives, i.e. more than half of them. The differences within the two speakers in these six cases are not dramatic though, but compared with chart 52, we can see clear differences.

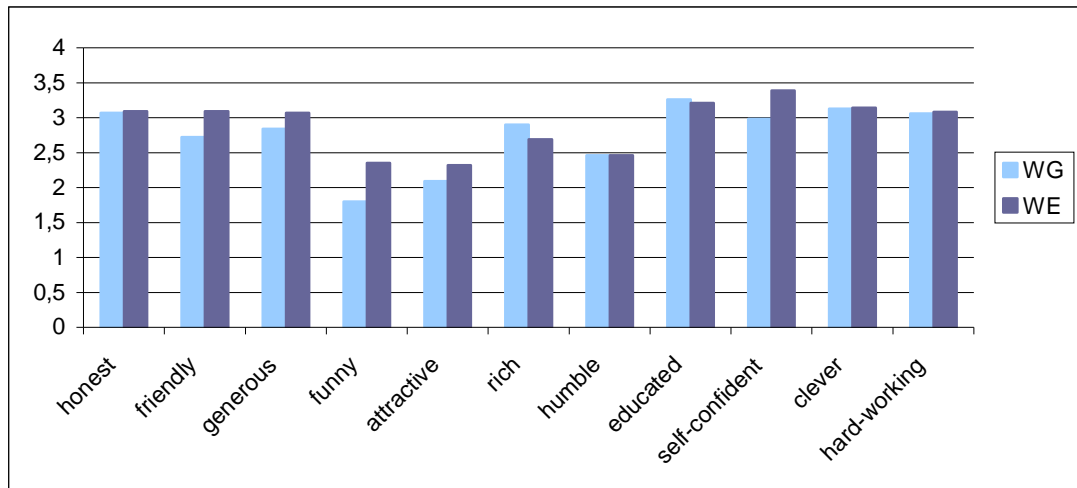


Chart 54: WG vs. WE if been to an English speaking country, n = 101

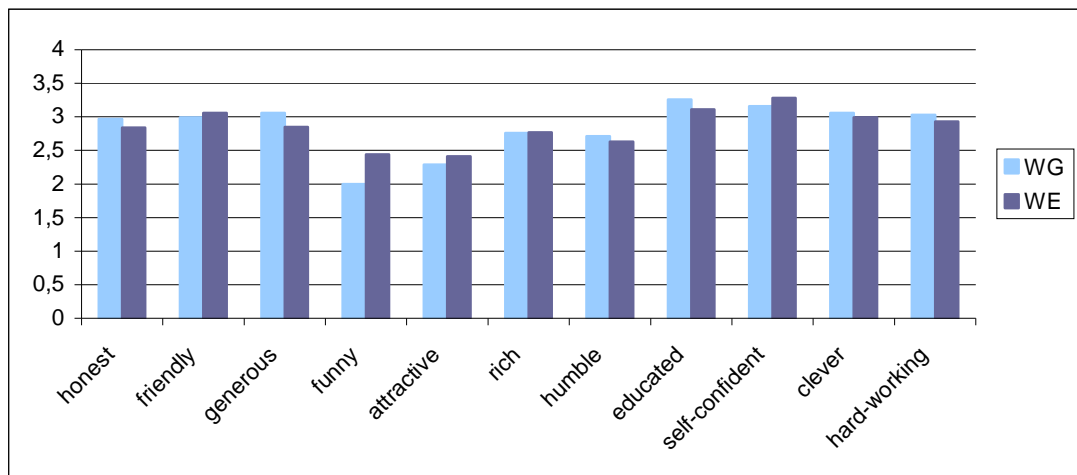


Chart 55: WG vs. WE if not been to an English speaking country, n = 89

The results for the female voice are again different, since the German speaking woman yielded better results than the German speaking man. But if we compare the two charts above, it can be seen that they nevertheless correlate with those for the male speaker, because even though the woman received worse ratings for English from students who have been in an English speaking country, they are still better than those from subjects who have never been there. In the former case, the English woman got higher results for five adjectives, and four times the votes were balanced, which leaves only two traits for the German speaking woman. In the latter case, the English woman was preferred four, but the German five times, with only one equal result. Even though the students who have visited an English speaking country

favoured the English speaking woman only slightly, the divide between the two groups can still be noticed.

If one tries to find a reason for these results, it may be possible to relate the positive attitude of students who have visited an English speaking country to the cultural experience. Usually, they only speak English in a foreign language setting, i.e. in school or when they are on holiday and use it as means of communication with tourists from other places. But when they go to one of the aforementioned countries, they will suddenly be able to communicate with native speakers and have the chance to apply the numerous words, phrases and grammar items they have learned in school. In addition, it has been explained in chapter three that language attitudes are influenced by former experiences and situations. Hence, students who have been in contact with the target language in guest families, schools or with local teenagers for example, have got impressions of the target culture other students do not have and if the guest families or the other people they met during such journeys were nice and friendly, it is likely that the teenagers' attitudes are more positive than before. Some students are also very interested in sightseeing attractions, are eager to learn more about local food, habits and traditions etc., which are things they have to experience and cannot learn from school books. Moreover, all those issues can contribute to integrative motivation, which was shown to increase students' chances to learn foreign languages.

4.5.5 Use of English out of school

In the questionnaire, the teenagers were also asked if they used English out of school and it was expected that there were some who read English books or watched movies in English, used it on the Internet or needed to speak it when travelling abroad. Surprisingly enough, there were only a few students who claimed to read books in English, some participants mentioned the Internet and computer games, and a bigger group stated to use English during holidays. Others also seem to speak English with their friends from time to time- just for fun, as they indicated on the questionnaires.

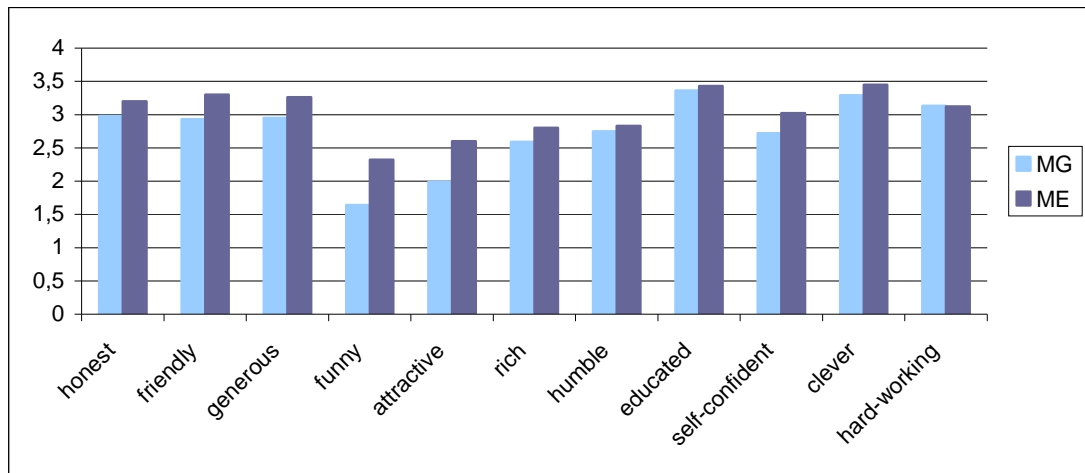


Chart 56: MG vs. ME if English is used out of school, n = 87

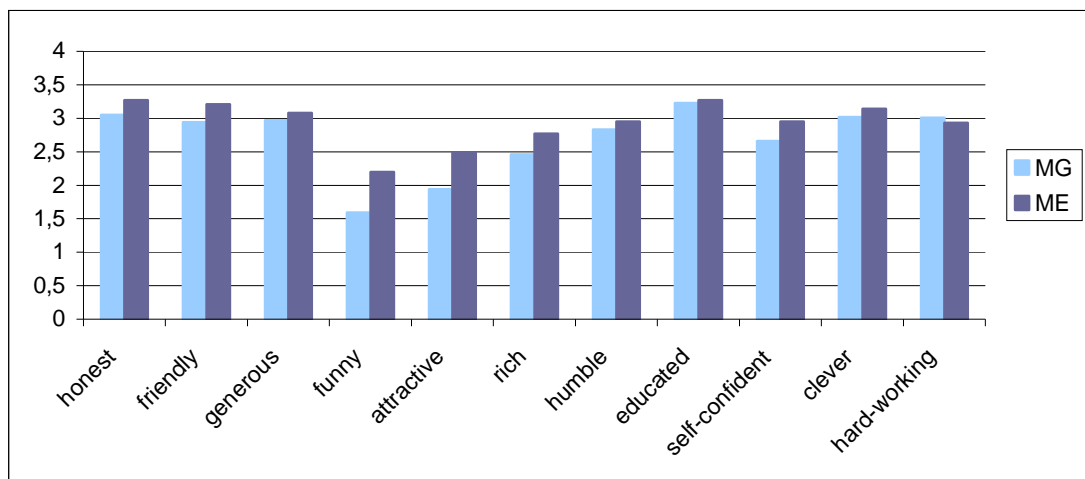


Chart 57: MG vs. ME if English is not used out of school, n = 103

For the first time in the analysis of the study, there is no clear contrast between the two compared groups, on the contrary, the results for the male and female speakers are similar if not equal, independent of students using English out of school or not. The male English speaker was preferred by both groups, and the female voice yielded slightly better results for the competence traits, but again, both groups judged her similarly, for which reason it is not possible to draw conclusions from that.

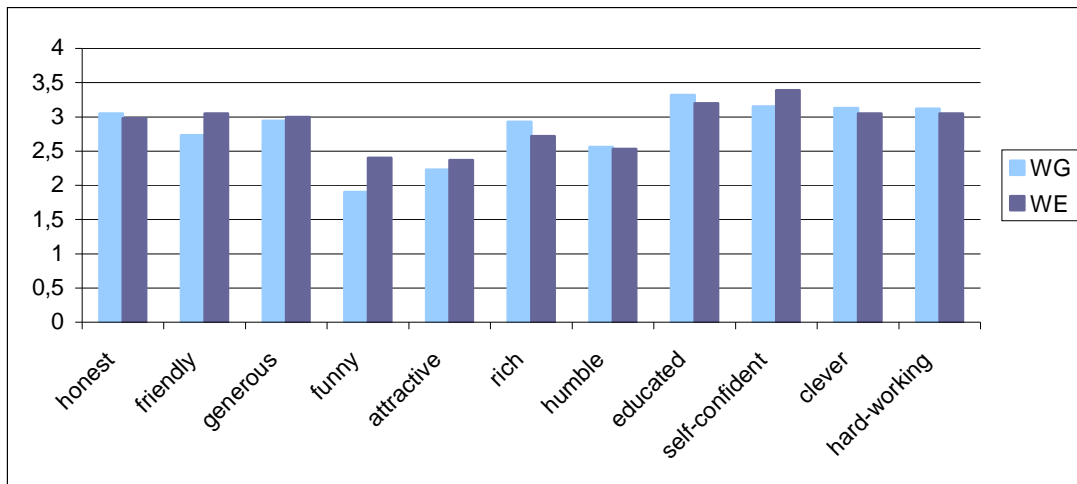


Chart 58: WG vs. WE if English is used out of school, n = 87

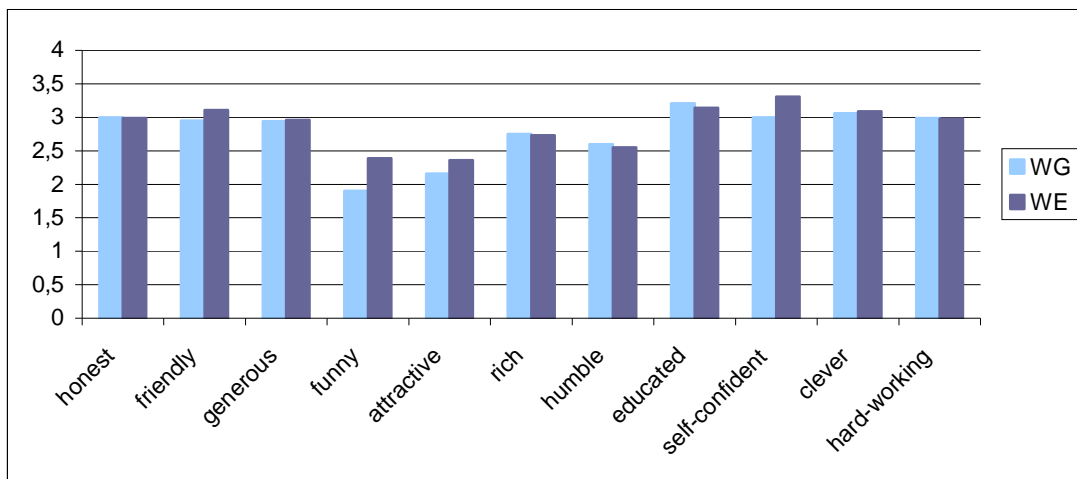


Chart 59: WG vs. WE if English is not used out of school, n = 103

One plausible explanation for this unique phenomenon in the study could be that some of the participants either misinterpreted the question or did simply not realise how much English they are exposed to in their daily lives. It is safe to assume that almost every subject listens to music on the radio, the iPod or MP3-player, and most songs will have English lyrics. Furthermore, they write Emails, i.e. surf the Internet, play computer games and so on. The Viennese students may also have met tourists, who asked for the way to a sightseeing attraction. Therefore, it may be argued that also those students, who said not to use English out of school, cannot avoid contact with it. As a result, there is no real difference between the two groups in this sub-chapter, which would explain the similar results.

4.5.6 German mother tongue

The final four charts in this paper represent two very interesting groups, namely pupils with either German or a different mother tongue. This is particularly interesting, since there are children of immigrants, most often from Turkey or eastern European countries, to be found in almost every Austrian classroom. Hence, it is interesting for me as a student teacher to see if the attitudes of German native speakers deviate from those of migrants, with regard to English as a foreign language. Do students, with a mother tongue other than German, who have foreign language experiences every day when they go to school or visit friends, have a more positive attitude towards another language, i.e. English, since they are used to being educated in their L2? Does this maybe contribute to a higher level of tolerance of the 'outgroup' or do they even regard the German speakers as representatives of the 'ingroup'? The bar charts will show if any of these assumptions are true for the 31 non-native German speaking teenagers in the study.

The results for the male speakers in charts 60 and 61 show rather similar ratings for the German and the English voice. Students with German mother tongue preferred the English speaker for all adjectives but *hard-working*, and the participants with another mother tongue regarded the German speaker as humbler. *Honest* yielded equal ratings and for all other traits, the English man was favoured. What is interesting to note is that not only the English results of both groups of students are similar but also those for the German voice, which shows that non-native speakers of German do not have a different attitude towards Austrians. It is definitely not the case that the German voices yielded worse results among students with a different mother tongue, which could lead to the conclusion that they do indeed regard the German speakers as representatives of their ingroup.

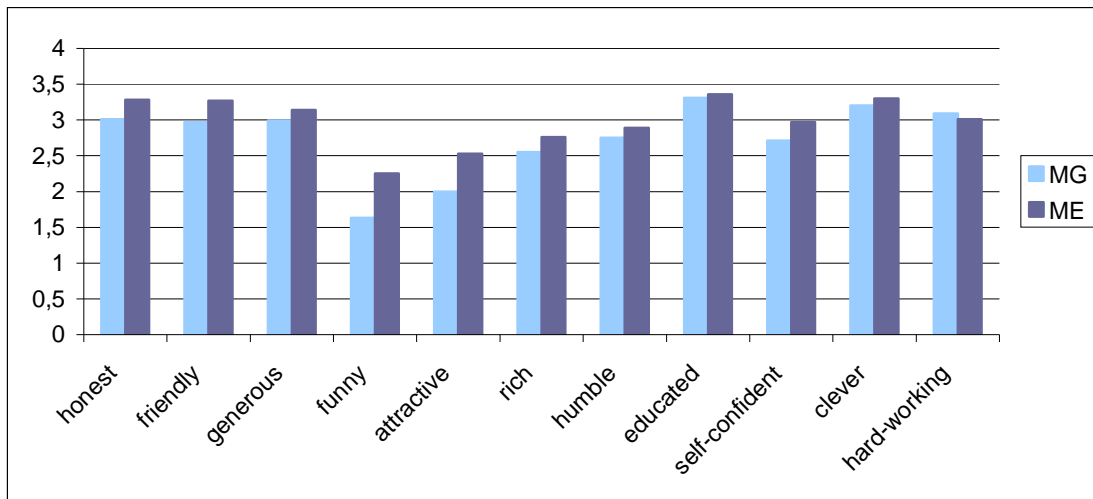


Chart 60: MG vs. ME if German is the mother tongue, n = 159

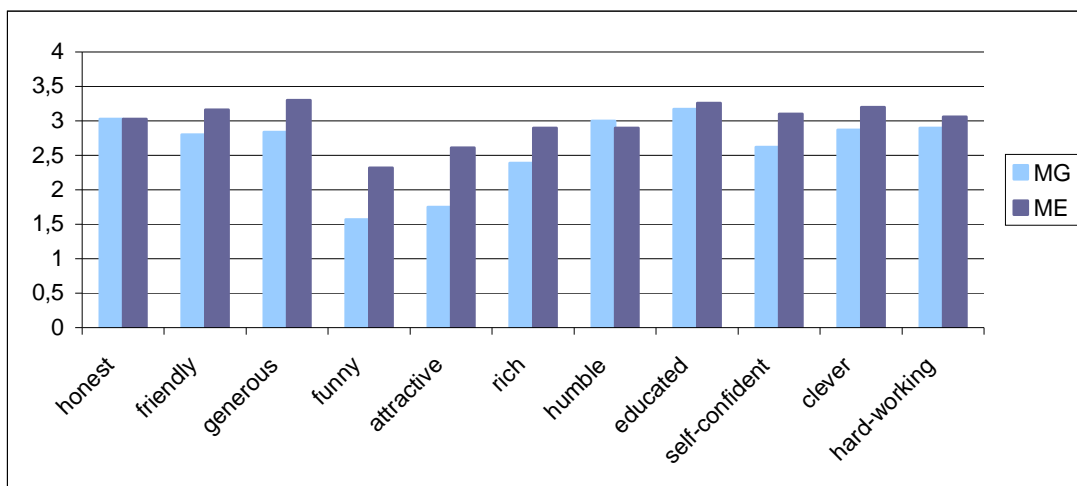


Chart 61: MG vs. ME if German is not the mother tongue, n = 31

On charts 62 and 63, we can on the one hand find the already typical phenomenon of generally better German results for the female speaker, and on the other hand rather equal results between the German and the English voice again. German mother tongue students preferred the English voice four times and rated the two voices equally in five cases, while the teenagers in chart 63 judged the two voices rather equally seven times. The German speaking woman yielded noticeably better results three times.

Compared with the findings about the general differences between the perception of and attitude towards the male and the female voice in this study, it is still quite safe to summarise the ratings of both groups of students as rather balanced. It has turned

out that non-native speakers of German accepted the German voices in this study as representatives of the ingroup, which could be a sign of good integration in the social surrounding and society. The similar results shown in this sub-section are a very positive notion, since children of migrants do not seem to be disadvantaged with regard to the starting point of foreign language acquisition.

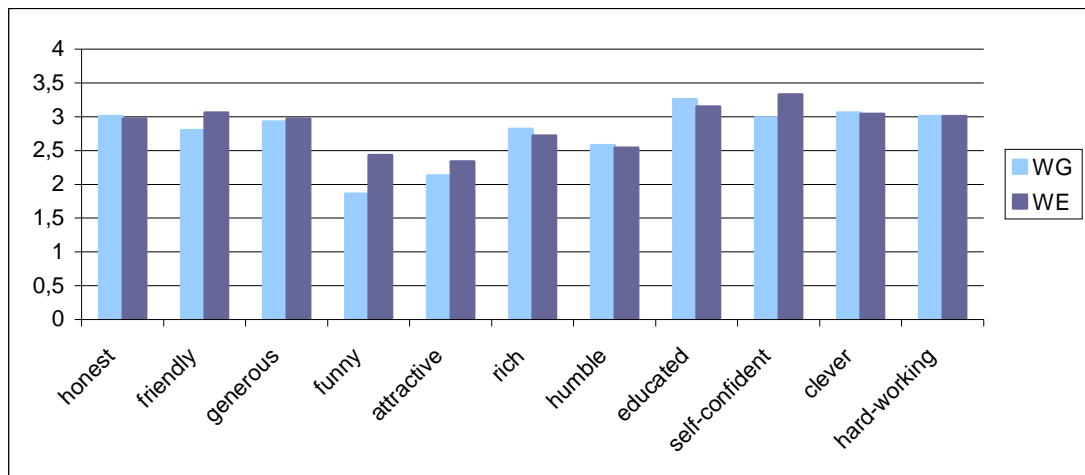


Chart 62: WG vs. WE if German is the mother tongue, n = 159

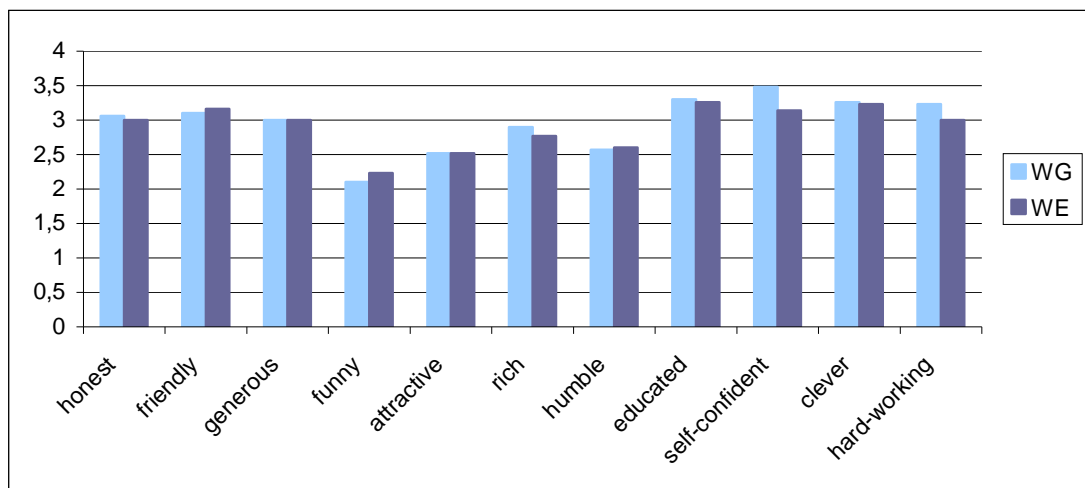


Chart 63: WG vs. WE if German is not the mother tongue, n = 31

4.6 *Summary*

The analysis of the study provided us with an insight into the participants' attitudes towards English. The results of the individual schools already indicated the confirmation of the hypothesis, since the students in the two academic secondary schools had a much better attitude towards the English speakers than their colleagues in the general secondary schools. These findings were then supported by the results of the general analysis, where it was proved that teenagers, whose parents have higher education, also preferred the English voices, whereas subjects from working class families were much more in favour of the German speakers. The same trend was shown to be true for income and in addition, having visited an English speaking country also seemed to influence the students' attitudes positively.

Apart from these rather clear scores, it must be pointed out that the comparison of the German standard and accent speaker brought a more unexpected result: First, it turned out that even though the standard speaker got higher votes for competence, more students preferred the Viennese man as a homepage speaker. This was particularly noticeable in school four, where most parents have prestigious professions and are financially well-off. The teenagers regarded the standard speaker as clearly more competent than the accent speaker, but nevertheless voted for the latter as homepage speaker. The most plausible reason for that can be found if one has a look at the ratings for the two speakers again. The Viennese voice sounded much funnier and more self-confident for the students, and obviously, they do not want a competent speaker if he sounds boring.

Second, the participants in the general secondary school in Vienna disapproved of the accent speaker, but indicated their preference for the standard voice instead, which was slightly surprising. The explanation for this can be found in one of the language preference patterns introduced in chapter 3.3.3, called "majority group preference". In such a case, people from the working class or minority group members prefer the speech of the majority, since they either want to belong to the majority or want to avoid being connected with a lower class. Children from families attending general secondary schools in cities typically regard themselves or are regarded as socially less prestigious than the pupils of corresponding schools in the

country or academic secondary schools- an assumption based on my own impressionistic assessment and attitudes shared by many people I have talked to. Those students obviously want to belong to the middle class or do not want to be regarded as less educated, for which reason they start preferring the standard speaker, i.e. the representative of a group they wish to belong to.

One of the most positive results of the study is that the participants, whose mother tongue is not German, do not have different attitudes towards both languages, German and English, which shows that they are not disadvantaged when they start learning a foreign language. If one tries to find reasons for this result, it seems on the one hand possible that being brought up in a foreign language environment and being educated in a second language contributes to the understanding of the enormous potential of a foreign language. On the other hand, it may also be reasonable to assume that those students represented in the study were already born in Austria and do not even regard German as a foreign language, but are bilingual speakers. Both reasons appear to be plausible explanations for the results obtained from the study.

5. Conclusion

This paper fell into two main parts, namely the theoretical background about the history of the global spread of English and a chapter about language attitudes, and the analysis and presentation of the study in the second part. A summarising paragraph of each chapter shall now preface the final concluding statement.

In the first chapter, we saw that the colonial power of Great Britain as well as the political and economic dominance of the United States of America during the last two hundred years primarily contributed to the fact that English has become the 'global language', supported by the movie and music industry, advertisements and of course the Internet. The latter have a particularly high influence on teenagers and young adults, for either their professions or leisure activities are closely linked with computers, online networks, the radio and television. Youths are in contact via emails and platforms such as *Facebook*, and more and more schools offer additional online courses to their students. I would even say that it is important for children to be familiar with computer programmes and the Internet as soon as they start attending school. This is no real problem, as long as the child has access to a computer and the Internet, i.e. as long as the parents have enough income to pay for that or need it for their occupations themselves. But there are numerous professions, for which one does not need a computer and many people can simply not afford it. As a consequence, their children are at a disadvantage, since they may lack the necessary skills in school or are excluded from social activities by their classmates, because they are not online. This fate will primarily occur to children from working class families with less money than others.

The second chapter dealt with language attitudes and showed some interesting language preference patterns: standard speakers are typically perceived to be educated and superior, whereas accents and dialects are ascribed to minorities or socially less prestigious groups. Men are considered more dominant and powerful, whereas women are said to be more socially-minded. It is important to keep in mind that language attitudes are unconscious concepts which are influenced by experiences we make; hence we are not aware of them.

As far as the study is concerned, it was assumed in the hypothesis that the higher the parents' education and income, the more positive the teenagers' attitudes towards English. In order to test this hypothesis, four schools with very different social settings were chosen for the study. The analysis confirmed the expected results, since there were noticeable differences between the two general secondary schools, in which the overwhelming majority of parents are employed in professions which only require an apprenticeship, and the academic secondary schools, with numerous parents in professions which necessitate higher education. The former students showed a preference for the German speakers, while the latter were much more in favour of the English voices, which yielded clearly better results. In addition to the degree of education, it was tried to elicit information about the financial circumstances in the questionnaire by asking in which countries the students had already been on holiday. Rather expensive and luxury holiday destinations were then defined and the students categorised according to the countries they had visited. The bar charts indicated a similar recognisable difference between the two groups of teenagers than before.

What was very interesting to note were the votes for the non-standard German speaker. It was expected that particularly Viennese students from working class families would be in favour of the accent speaker, since he might represent their ingroup. But the results of the analysis show that the students in the general secondary school also preferred the standard speaker, especially as far as competence was concerned ("majority preference pattern"), which lets us assume that they are aware of their rather underprivileged status in society and therefore try to look for company in the middle class.

The comparison between the German standard and accent speaker with the English voice was furthermore intended to clarify, if English is indeed becoming a rather elitist speech variety. It turned out that most students gave similar ratings to the German standard and the English speaker, whereas the non-standard voice was only regarded as funnier and more self-confident. Thus, it might be concluded that English does not have the status of a local variety for most of the teenagers in the study, but is indeed associated with overt prestige. Particularly the four competence traits *educated*, *clever*, *rich* and *hard-working* showed this trend, whereas some of the adjectives describing interpersonal relation, such as *friendly* and *generous*, showed more positive results for the accent speaker. These language preference

patterns support exactly the other findings of the study, since it turned out that English is more preferred by students from the middle class and that the Viennese accent speaker was connected with less professionalism than standard speech, but was also perceived as being funnier and quite friendly.

On the basis of all the information, as well as the theoretical background and the study presented above, I regard the hypothesis as confirmed, since the results were almost exactly as they had been expected to be and the recognised trends are additionally supported by the outcomes of other studies carried out by scholars during the last decades. It must of course be said that one is forced to accept the students' answers about their personal situation, since we have not possibility to find out where they go on holiday or which languages they speak, for example. The matched guise technique is also only one possibility for conducting a language attitude study and the sample size is too small to apply it to the whole situation in Austria, but the general results are too convincing to doubt their truthfulness.

The study is also very interesting from a teacher's point of view, since students from different social and cultural backgrounds obviously also have different starting situations in second language acquisition. We have seen in chapter three that attitude and motivation are closely related and are two decisive factors for the eagerness to learn and also for the final success. If a child is 'only' instrumentally motivated to acquire a language and moreover does not recognise the importance of English for his or her future career, it is likely to struggle more than teenagers with intrinsic motivation and a family background, in which parents need English in their jobs. This social polarisation is difficult to overcome, but nevertheless, teachers and parents must be aware of the situation and thus cooperate in order to prevent the social gap from hindering less privileged students from performing well.

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APPENDIX

questionnaire number: _____

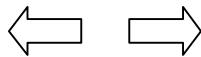
level: _____

My name is Katharina Wöckinger and by filling in this questionnaire, you can help me with the work for the project on which I am working at the moment.

We want to create a new homepage for students, which offers information about natural sciences and enables you to carry out experiments. We are now looking for a speaker for the homepage, who reads out explanations or texts and comments videos you can watch.

You are going to hear five people (two women and three men) reading a short text about CFL light bulbs. Please fill in one scale for each person. There are no true or false answers but I am only interested in your own opinion.

Speaker 1:



	very	rather	rather	very	
honest					dishonest
friendly					unfriendly
generous					selfish
funny					boring
attractive					ugly
rich					poor
humble					arrogant
educated					uneducated
self-confident					shy
clever					stupid
hard-working					lazy

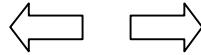
Is this person a good speaker for the homepage?

- yes no

Would you like to meet this speaker at a party?

- yes no

Speaker 2:



	very	rather	rather	very	
honest					dishonest
friendly					unfriendly
generous					selfish
funny					boring
attractive					ugly
rich					poor
humble					arrogant
educated					uneducated
self-confident					shy
clever					stupid
hard-working					lazy

Is this person a good speaker for the homepage?

- yes no

Would you like to meet this speaker at a party?

- yes no

Speaker 3:



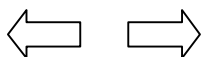
	very	rather	rather	very	
honest					dishonest
friendly					unfriendly
generous					selfish
funny					boring
attractive					ugly
rich					poor
humble					arrogant
educated					uneducated
self-confident					shy
clever					stupid
hard-working					lazy

Is this person a good speaker for the homepage?

- yes no

Would you like to meet this speaker at a party?

- yes no

Speaker 4:

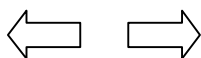
	very	rather	rather	very	
honest					dishonest
friendly					unfriendly
generous					selfish
funny					boring
attractive					ugly
rich					poor
humble					arrogant
educated					uneducated
self-confident					shy
clever					stupid
hard-working					lazy

Is this person a good speaker for the homepage?

- yes no

Would you like to meet this speaker at a party?

- yes no

Speaker 5:

	very	rather	rather	very	
honest					dishonest
friendly					unfriendly
generous					selfish
funny					boring
attractive					ugly
rich					poor
humble					arrogant
educated					uneducated
self-confident					shy
clever					stupid
hard-working					lazy

Is this person a good speaker for the homepage?

- yes no

Would you like to meet this speaker at a party?

- yes no

We would like to ask for some personal information, in order to carry out a statistical analysis:

age: _____

sex: _____

Which language(s) do you speak at which level?

1. _____
 very good learned in school a little bit
2. _____
 very good learned in school a little bit
3. _____
 very good learned in school a little bit
4. _____
 very good learned in school a little bit
5. _____
 very good learned in school a little bit

Where do you have access to the Internet?

- at home
- in an Internet café
- at a friend's place
- in school
- nowhere

Have you been to an English speaking country, and if yes, how often?

- never
- on a school trip; _____ times
- on holiday; _____ times

Which occupation(s) do your parents have?

mother: _____

father: _____

What do you want to do after school? _____

In which foreign speaking country/countries have you been on holiday?

Do you use English outside of school?

- no
- yes

If yes: when and where? _____

Fragebogennummer: _____

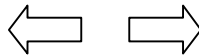
Schulstufe: _____

Mein Name ist Katharina Wöckinger und durch das Ausfüllen dieses Fragebogens kannst du mir bei einem Projekt helfen, an dem ich derzeit arbeite.

Für eine neue Homepage, auf der sich jugendliche SchülerInnen über naturwissenschaftliche Fragen informieren und kleine Experimente machen können, suchen wir einen Sprecher oder eine Sprecherin. Er oder sie soll Texte vorlesen und Videos erklären, die man sich ansehen kann.

Du hörst fünf Personen (zwei Frauen und drei Männer), die einen kurzen Text über Energiesparlampen vorlesen. Fülle bitte einen Raster pro Person aus- es gibt keine richtige oder falsche Antwort sondern nur deine eigene Meinung. Überlege nicht zu lange sondern kreuze die Felder einfach deinem ersten Eindruck nach an.

Sprecher 1:



	sehr	eher	eher	sehr	
ehrlich					unehrlich
freundlich					unfreundlich
hilfsbereit					egoistisch
lustig					fad
schön					hässlich
reich					arm
bescheiden					arrogant
gebildet					ungebildet
selbstbewusst					schüchtern
klug					dumm
fleißig					faul

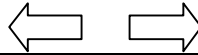
Ist diese Person ein guter Sprecher für die Homepage?

- ja nein

Würdest du diesen Sprecher gerne auf einer Party treffen?

- ja nein

Sprecherin 2:



	sehr	eher	eher	sehr	
ehrlich					unehrlich
freundlich					unfreundlich
hilfsbereit					egoistisch
lustig					fad
schön					hässlich
reich					arm
bescheiden					arrogant
gebildet					ungebildet
selbstbewusst					schüchtern
klug					dumm
fleißig					faul

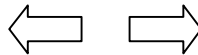
Ist diese Person eine gute Sprecherin für die Homepage?

- ja nein

Würdest du diese Sprecherin gerne auf einer Party treffen?

- ja nein

Sprecher 3:



	sehr	eher	eher	sehr	
ehrlich					unehrlich
freundlich					unfreundlich
hilfsbereit					egoistisch
lustig					fad
schön					hässlich
reich					arm
bescheiden					arrogant
gebildet					ungebildet
selbstbewusst					schüchtern
klug					dumm
fleißig					faul

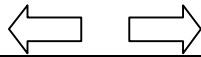
Ist diese Person ein guter Sprecher für die Homepage?

- ja nein

Würdest du diesen Sprecher gerne auf einer Party treffen?

- ja nein

Sprecherin 4:



	sehr	eher	eher	sehr	
ehrlich					unehrlich
freundlich					unfreundlich
hilfsbereit					egoistisch
lustig					fad
schön					hässlich
reich					arm
bescheiden					arrogant
gebildet					ungebildet
selbstbewusst					schüchtern
klug					dumm
fleißig					faul

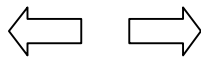
Ist diese Person eine gute Sprecherin für die Homepage?

- ja nein

Würdest du diese Sprecherin gerne auf einer Party treffen?

- ja nein

Sprecher 5:



	sehr	eher	eher	sehr	
ehrlich					unehrlich
freundlich					unfreundlich
hilfsbereit					egoistisch
lustig					fad
schön					hässlich
reich					arm
bescheiden					arrogant
gebildet					ungebildet
selbstbewusst					schüchtern
klug					dumm
fleißig					faul

Ist diese Person ein guter Sprecher für die Homepage?

- ja nein

Würdest du diesen Sprecher gerne auf einer Party treffen?

- ja nein

Für die statistische Auswertung des Fragebogens möchten wir noch folgendes wissen:

Alter: _____

Geschlecht: _____

Welche Sprache(n) sprichst du wie gut:

1. _____

sehr gut Schulkenntnisse ein bisschen

2. _____

sehr gut Schulkenntnisse ein bisschen

3. _____

sehr gut Schulkenntnisse ein bisschen

4. _____

sehr gut Schulkenntnisse ein bisschen

5. _____

sehr gut Schulkenntnisse ein bisschen

Einen PC mit Internetanschluss hast du ...

- ... zu Hause
- ... im Internetcafé
- ... bei einem Freund / einer Freundin
- ... in der Schule
- ... nirgends

Warst du schon im englischsprachigen Ausland und wenn ja wie oft?

- nie
- im Rahmen einer Schulveranstaltung; _____ Mal
- in den Ferien; _____ Mal

Welche(n) Beruf(e) haben deine Eltern:

Mutter: _____

Vater: _____

Was hast du vor nach der Schule zu machen? _____

In welchem fremdsprachigen Land / welchen fremdsprachigen Ländern hast du schon einmal Urlaub gemacht? _____

Benutzt du Englisch außerhalb der Schule?

- nein
- ja

Wenn ja: wann und wo? _____

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit ist in zwei wesentliche Bereiche, nämlich einen einführenden Theorieteil, sowie die Studie über die Einstellung österreichischer Schülerinnen und Schüler zur Englischen Sprache, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung deren sozialen und kulturellen Hintergrundes, unterteilt.

Das erste Kapitel versucht die Frage zu beantworten, warum Englisch heute die ‚globale Sprache‘ ist und folglich einen so hohen Stellenwert in Schulen hat. Es stellte sich heraus, dass neben der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Dominanz, welche die Kolonialmacht Großbritannien sowie die USA in den letzten beiden Jahrhunderten inne hatte, vor allem auch das zunehmende Reiseaufkommen, die Globalisierung, und nicht zuletzt Medien und Unterhaltungselektronik, mit der primär englischsprachigen Musik, dem Internet und der Filmindustrie, einen enormen Einfluss auf nicht-anglophone Länder haben. Besonders Jugendliche sind daher immer häufiger in Kontakt mit Englisch.

Das zweite Kapitel befasst sich mit ‚language attitudes‘, also Einstellungen zu Sprachen und ihren Variationen. Es erfolgt eine Begriffsdefinition, auf Basis derer die Analyse der Studie in Kapitel vier erfolgt. Die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse in diesem Abschnitt der Arbeit sind zweifellos, dass ‚language attitudes‘ unbewusste Konzepte sind die jeder von uns hat und welche durch Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse beeinflusst werden. Hinzu kommt die Einbindung anderer Studien, welche folgende Tendenzen erkennen lassen:

- Im Vergleich von Standard-Sprechern und Dialekt bzw. Akzent-Sprechern werden erstere als kompetenter, letztere hingegen oftmals als sozialer und gesellschaftlicher erachtet.
- Frauen vermitteln generell den Eindruck einer besseren Sozialkompetenz, wohingegen Männer als bestimmender und durchschlagskräftiger wahrgenommen werden.
- Standard-Sprechern ordnen die TeilnehmerInnen solcher Studien häufig prestigeträchtige Berufe, wie etwa Arzt, Rechtsanwalt, etc. zu; sie gelten als erfolgreicher und gut situiert. Akzente und Dialekte, die auf kulturelle oder religiöse Minderheiten, sowie Vertreter gesellschaftlich weniger angesehener Gruppen vermuten lassen, werden oft mit Arbeitern und Menschen mit Pflichtschulabschluss in Verbindung gebracht.

Die Studie selbst wurde mit Hilfe der ‚Matched-guise technique‘ durchgeführt, bei der eine Person einen Text in zwei verschiedenen Sprachen vorliest, in diesem Fall also Deutsch und Englisch bzw. Standard Deutsch und mit Wiener Akzent. Wenn die TeilnehmerInnen der Studie, welche in dem Glauben gelassen werden, es mit mehreren SprecherInnen zu tun zu haben, nun unterschiedliche Wertungen für jemanden in Deutsch und Englisch abgeben, kann man somit Rückschlüsse auf ihre Einstellung zur jeweiligen Sprache ziehen.

Für die Studie wurden 200 SchülerInnen in vier Schulen, einer Hauptschule und einem BORG am Land, sowie einer KMS und einer katholischen Privatschule in Wien befragt, um ein möglichst großes Spektrum der Gesellschaftsgruppen zu inkludieren. Die Hypothese war, dass Jugendliche mit unterschiedlichem sozialen und kulturellen Hintergrund, verschiedene Einstellungen zu Englisch haben. Es wurde angenommen, dass SchülerInnen, deren Eltern Matura oder sogar einen Hochschulabschluss und somit auch ein besseres Einkommen haben, der Englischen Sprache positiver gegenüberstehen würden als SchülerInnen mit Eltern, die lediglich eine Lehre gemacht haben. Ziel war es herauszufinden, ob diese Hypothese zutrifft und Englisch somit zur Vergrößerung der sozialen Kluft beiträgt, indem der ‚Weltsprache‘ ein immer größerer Stellenwert zugeschrieben wird und Menschen die kaum Englisch sprechen bzw. in einer Familie aufwachsen, in der Englisch weder für den Beruf der Eltern noch in sonstigen Situationen eine Rolle spielt, einen Nachteil erleiden.

In der Analyse der Ergebnisse stellte sich heraus, dass die vermuteten Unterschiede gegeben sind. Ein Vergleich zwischen den beiden Hauptschulen und den Allgemein bildenden höheren Schulen, brachte teilweise eklatante Differenzen, da SchülerInnen in ersteren Schulen großteils die deutschsprachigen Personen favorisierten, während letztere SchülerInnen die Englisch-Sprecher bevorzugten. Die Ergebnisse für den deutschen Standard- und Akzent-Sprecher lassen weiters darauf schließen, dass die befragten Jugendlichen im Bereich Kompetenz den Englisch-Sprecher mit dem deutschen Standard-Sprecher gleichsetzten, was darauf hindeutet, dass Englisch durchaus als elitäre Sprachvariante angesehen wird.

Curriculum vitae

Personal data:

Name: Katharina Wöckinger

Date of birth: July 6th, 1987

Nationality: Austrian

Email address: kathi.woeckinger@hotmail.com

University Education:

2005 - 2010: University of Vienna, teacher training in English (UF Englisch) and History (UF Geschichte, Sozialkunde und Politische Bildung)

additional education: English for Specific Purposes, skiing instructor for skiing courses with students in school

School Education:

2001 - 2005: academic secondary school- upper level BORG Perg with a particular focus on music

June 2005: A level exam

1997 - 2001: general secondary school HS Ried in der Riedmark

1993 -1997: primary school VS Ried in der Riedmark

Languages:

German: mother tongue

English: excellent written and spoken skills

French: good written and spoken skills

Latin: fundamental translation skills

Musical qualification:

classical singing (first achievement test in music school)

flute (3rd place 'Prima la musica' 2000, first achievement test in music school)

piano (four years)

guitar (six years)

recorder and alto recorder (one year)