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FACULTY OF ART AND PHILOSOPHY

LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENT – ENGLISH STUDIES

Beliefs and attitudes towards English as a lingua franca: native and non-native pronunciation

a Flemish and Walloon perspective

Marieke De Meerleer

Promotor: Dr. Ellen Simon

Master dissertation

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As a student of English linguistics and literature, I find the overpowering emergence of English used merely as a tool for communication particularly interesting. Therefore, I am very pleased that with this dissertation I was able to explore the beliefs and attitudes of such speakers of English as a lingua franca. However, the writing of this master dissertation would not have been possible without the help of several people and therefore a number of helpers deserve to be mentioned here.

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Marieke De Meerleer

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1 Introduction

In recent years, the term 'English as a Lingua Franca' (ELF henceforth) has emerged to describe the use of English in communication between people with different mother tongues. Since today's native speakers of English are significantly outnumbered by non-native speakers, most ELF interaction takes place between non-native speakers of English. Moreover, as scholars are taking on board the idea that English is no longer exclusively owned by native-speakers, the newly arrived members have a right to be heard in matters concerning the language. From this evolution rises the need to investigate ELF more closely from the perspective of the non-native speakers. With this in mind, this paper will try to map the beliefs and attitudes of speakers of ELF.

One particular characteristic of ELF communication is that the message often prevails over the quality of the language. This especially causes pronunciation to be the component which is most under attack. Also, in international communication native models of pronunciation may not always be considered as necessary of even desirable goals by learners of English, to the point that ELF speakers have no uniform pronunciation standard to rely on. A study by Mollin (2006) revealed that non-native speakers frequently claim that a speaker's accent does not matter as long as the message is understandable. Therefore, this study sets out to investigate how non-native speakers evaluate native and non-native accents of English, both overtly as covertly.

Furthermore, this study aims to fill a gap in the research frame of beliefs and attitudes in a local context. Bearing on the assumption that different mother tongues can create a different set of beliefs and attitudes, Belgium is an exceptional terrain for investigating language attitudes because of its division into two clearly separate linguistic communities/areas: French-speaking Wallonia and Dutch-speaking Flanders. In spite of the growing number of studies investigating beliefs about and attitudes towards ELF, no study has yet explored the beliefs and attitudes of Flemings and Walloons towards this subject. Nonetheless, the linguistic division in Belgium causes ELF to be a very topic issue as English is even frequently used as a lingua franca between the Flemings and Walloons. In sum, this paper also aims to investigate whether Flemings and Walloons hold the same beliefs and attitudes, and especially, whether they evaluate the other community's foreign accent in the same manner, because they can differ according to sociocultural and political factors (Dewaele 2005).

Specifically, this study will attempt to gain insights in the beliefs and attitudes of ELF speakers in Belgium with the use of a questionnaire and a verbal guise technique. The quantitative experiment involved 56 speakers from 5 different Belgian cities, spread over the Flemish and Walloon communities, who frequently speak English in the context of international communication. Concerning the verbal guise test, one excerpt, pronounced by a British, an American, a Walloon and a Flemish speaker was used as a stimuli and these speakers were evaluated on accent-related as well as on person-related qualities. The second part of the experiment consisted of a questionnaire which investigated more general issues probing specific topics, such as (i) emotional beliefs towards English, (ii) functional beliefs towards English, (iii) attitudes towards English and (iv) English pronunciation, (v) beliefs about and attitudes towards the speaker's own competence, (vi) attitudes towards ELF and (vii) ELF communication, and finally (viii) the speaker's identity. Thus, the study presented in this paper tries to explore the following research questions:

1. What are the beliefs and attitudes of speakers of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the context of international communication?
2. What are their beliefs about and attitudes towards native and non-native accents of English?
3. Do Flemish speakers and Walloon speakers hold different beliefs about and attitudes towards ELF and native and non-native accents of English?

This study thus aims to gain some useful insights in the opinions of ELF speakers with regard to English pronunciation and in doing so, hopes to spot the beliefs and attitudes which may potentially hinder effective and optimal communication between ELF speakers.

This paper is structured as follows: first of all, after this introduction (chapter 1) a brief section on the context of English in Belgium will be presented in chapter 2. Then, a theoretical background on attitudes and beliefs will be given in chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Chapter 5 deals with beliefs and attitudes towards native and non-native accents of English. A discussion on English as a lingua franca (in chapter 6) precedes chapter 7, where the issue of the speaker's identity is put forward. Chapter 8 explains the methodology of the present study. The results are presented in chapter 9 and discussed in chapter 10. A final conclusion of this paper is provided in chapter 11.

2 English in Belgium

The linguistic situation in Belgium in general, and the role and status of English in Belgium in particular, are important topics to discuss before embarking on the present study. Since its foundation in 1830, Belgium is home to two major linguistic groups.[1] It is a federal state which consists of a Dutch-speaking (circa 60%) and French-speaking (circa 40%) population (De Keere & Elchardus 2011). As Goethals explains, "'Flanders' and 'Flemish' refer to the region and the people (the community), 'Dutch' to the language spoken in that area. The same holds for 'Wallonia' and 'Walloon' versus 'French'" (Goethals 1997: 105). Belgium consists of 3 regions: the Flemish region in the northern half, the Walloon region in the southern half and the Brussels capital region. Although the latter is officially declared bilingual, it is mostly French-speaking (Ginsburgh & Weber 1997). These communities' authorities include all individual matters regarding the inhabitants within those particular linguistic borders. Therefore, the linguistic communities have full executive power and autonomy concerning matters such as, amongst others, health policies, education and cultural policies. Both communities even have a separate public broadcasting system. In other words, not only the language divide between the two communities causes Flanders and Wallonia, even though they are part of the same country, to differ in many aspects. In addition, Bernat (2005) points out that social, political and economical forces make up important factors which can have a significant influence on beliefs.

In terms of language status, Flanders and Wallonia are monolingual Dutch and French, respectively (Goethals 1997). In both communities English can be considered a foreign language. The general attitude towards English is very positive among Flemings as well as among Walloons, due to contact with the media and advertising (Bern *et al.* 2007). Van Parijs (2007) remarks upon the explosion of knowledge of English in Belgium throughout the last decades, especially among youngsters. He predicts that English will ultimately approach the competence of Dutch and French as a second language. For this prediction he based himself on

[1] There is a third linguistic group, a small German-speaking community, which was annexed in 1920 from Germany. Because of the negligible number of inhabitants and because the community gradually becomes more and more French, it was decided to not to include it in this study. (De Wever 2010)

European data which suggested that only three provinces remain in which the knowledge of the second land language is higher than English: Flemish Brabant, Walloon Brabant and West Flanders. In the other provinces and in Brussels, the level of English competence is equal or higher than that of the second language of the country.

However, there is a significant difference in language competence between the two communities. Ginsburgh & Weber (2006) noted that Flemings were considerably more multilingual than Walloons. Their study, based on a large-scale questionnaire organized by the European Union, noted that 59% and 53% of the Flemings were able to speak French and English, respectively, whereas for the Walloons only 19% and 17% was able to speak Dutch or English, respectively. The researchers pointed to the Walloon educational policy as one of causes for the shortcoming of multilingualism in Wallonia. As mentioned above, the education programme from the two communities differs. In Wallonia, pupils receive foreign language teaching from the age of ten. However, schools are allowed to choose which language they want to instruct. This sometimes results in the withdrawal of either Dutch or English from the school programme. Only halfway secondary level education the students are able to study a second foreign language. Moreover, this option completely depends on the students' own choice if they want to expand their language knowledge. In Flanders, it is compulsory for pupils to take French as a second language at primary level. Usually, instruction in English is added to their school program in the second year of secondary education level for two or three hours a week.

Another difference between the language policies of Flemings and Walloons is their treatment of foreign language films. In Flanders, foreign films are shown in the original version with subtitles whereas French-speakers, in France but also in Wallonia, prefer their films in French, which causes that they are very often dubbed. Even radio interviews are frequently dubbed in French-speaking Belgium. Berns *et al.*(2007) suggest that this is caused by the countless and rich French media offerings coming from France and a large francophone market of films. Although the Walloon broadcasting system often transmits both the dubbed and the un-dubbed version simultaneously, generally only 10% watches the un-dubbed version. This considerably diminishes the contact of French speakers with foreign languages, and particularly English.

The history of Belgium is characterized by linguistic politics. A recent study by De Keere & Elchardus (2011) found that these linguistic tensions are still present in the minds of Walloons and Flemings. The researchers tried to analyse the language conflict in Belgium by

means of a storytelling forum, i.e. sessions in which members of both the linguistic groups are stimulated to express their feelings and opinions by means of telling stories on a topic given by the researcher. Ultimately, five common scenarios or storylines dealing with linguistic diversity amongst Flemings and Walloons were discovered. Firstly, the researchers noted that several Flemish participants experienced a certain disdain of the French-speaking Walloons for the Flemish language. Many Flemish storytellers expressed that they felt that the Walloons considered their own language as superior and that they still regarded French as the world's lingua franca. Secondly, the Flemings viewed the Walloons as culturally different, differing not only in language but also in their way of life and way of thinking. The Flemings were portrayed as hard-working, meticulous and active, as opposed to the somewhat lazy, sloppy and passive Walloons. Thirdly, a scenario on the refusal of the Flemish to speak French was also found. Moreover, the Walloons stressed that they do so in a brutal manner. Fourthly, the second negative French scenario points to the political atmosphere in Flanders as the real opponent, which creates the hostile atmosphere between the two communities. Fifthly, the last scenario showed that, ultimately, both Flemings and Walloons hoped for a solution of the language problems, as opposed to a split up of Belgium. This research by De Keere & Elchardus (2011) shows that the language divide forms only one issue of the complex linguistic situation in Belgium.

Finally, Dewaele (2005) points at the history of French in Flanders as a crucial factor in the construction of attitudes of Flemings. French has long been the language spoken by the members of higher social classes in Flanders. Because of this, there is some hostility of Flemings towards speaking French in Flanders. This can been seen as "a sign of ostentation and of disregard for Dutch" (Dewaele 2005: 119). Moreover, a study by Francard (2001, as found in Dewaele 2005) points out that Flemings and Walloons frequently prefer to communicate in English. De Wever (2010) goes even further: he sees an opportunity in English as the future common medium for communication in Belgium in well-defined fields such as federal politics. This indicates that the use ELF in Belgium is a very topical subject.

3 Attitudes

This chapter and the following will provide some theoretical background on attitudes towards language, and more specifically towards English, and speaker's beliefs, respectively (chapter 4). They seem to be closely related and sometimes they are even used interchangeably (Garrett 2010). Nevertheless it is necessary to differentiate among them. Therefore, a brief definition of both attitudes and beliefs will be given before elaborating on some existing research models and different research approaches within each domain.

3.1 Definition

The concept of 'attitude' has been variously defined. The diverse definitions often reflect the different focal points and backgrounds of researchers. The study of attitudes has long been a central concern of sociological and psychological science but has gained attention in the field of language learning since the 1960's (Goles & Powesland 1975, as found in Jenkins 2007). Within this psychological field, attitudes have been looked at as mostly having a negative or positive outcome on language learning. Later on, Gardner (1985) states in his socio-educational model that attitude forms the affective reaction of language learning. According to his theory, attitude (along with the desire to learn a language and the effort put into it) is a part of the tri-partite complex of motivation to learn another language. In other words, in accordance with this model, attitudes consist of the 'willingness' of the learner. Gardner goes on to describe the attitudinal component of language learning as bipartite. On the one hand he uses the label *integrativeness* to describe the fact that it "reflects an open or willing perspective with respect to other ethnic groups in general and the target language group specifically"(Gardner 1985: 8). On the other hand, he mentions the attitudes towards the learning situation, i.e. the classroom environment, evaluative reactions towards the language teacher, towards the language course, the materials, etc.

More recently, researchers have put emphasis on the more complex nature of attitudes, focussing on the different components of attitude itself. In the research field of language learning, it is generally believed that attitudes consist of three components: a cognitive component, an affective component and a behavioural component (Gardner 2010, Karahan 2007, Mantle-Bromley 1995). The first component can involve beliefs or perceptions

about the objects or situations related to the attitude. Cognition has to do with what a person 'knows' about the attitudinal object, although "*know* doesn't imply neither fact of thruth" (Mantle-Bromley 1995: 373). The second component of attitudes is 'affect', because they involve feelings about the attitudinal object. Gardner (2010) points out that this is mainly a barometer of the degree of like or dislike associated with the attitudinal object, usually augmented by an assessment of intensity. The third and last attitudinal component, behaviour, refers to intentions or actions which are related to the attitudinal object. These components are each equally important, because as Mantle-Bromley (1995: 373) states: "This nexus of attitude, cognition, and behaviour changes primarily when there is dissonance of disagreement within the components". However, Gardner (2010) asserts that cognition, affect and behaviour can instead be seen more in terms of causes and triggers of attitudes.

The importance of the study of attitudes is widely acknowledged in the field of linguistics. Garrett (2010) argues that studying language attitudes is especially important to the examine public attitudes and to increase the public awareness of linguists' scientific knowledge. In Dörnyei *et al*.'s (2006) large-scale survey in Hungary on attitudes and motivation in the context of language globalisation, attitudes proved to be very significant. Especially the attitudes towards the second language (henceforth L2) and its relationship with language choice and learning effort showed to be an important factor in L2 acquisition. Mantle-Bromley (1995) also points out the importance of understanding attitudes because of their influence on the efforts that students expend to learning another language. A study by Masgoret & Gardner (2003) on a large test group showed a significant correlation between attitudes and achievement in a second language. Furthermore, several studies have been carried out concerning the attitudes towards different languages and varieties of English (see chapter 5). Given that learners can hold strong views towards them, it is particularly important to take them into account.

Studies of language attitudes have been carried out focussing on various subgroups of participants. Garrett (2001: 627) points out that "there is not a single general public with a necessarily intransigent set of ideas about language". For that reason, several language attitude studies focus on a particular subgroup of learners based on e.g. gender, socioeconomic role, social status, ethnicity, language background. In that way, researchers can more precisely examine and map the set of attitudes owned by smaller subgroups.

Several factors can shape the attitudes of the language learner. Firstly, Garrett (2001) points at age as a vital factor. Because studies on language attitudes often focus on one

specific age group, as does this study, age is a factor which needs to be taken into account when eliciting and interpreting language attitudes. Furthermore, it so happens that some language attitudes, acquired at an early age, are likely to be far more resistant to change than attitudes towards other domains such as science. Secondly, a study by Oliver & Purdie (1998) showed that attitudes of bilingual children towards their languages were significantly dependent on the different contexts that they were used in. For instance, English was regarded more positively in the context of school. Moreover, it seems likely that the attitudes students have towards language are important motivational factors in language learning. Thirdly, it is suggested that also one's cultural heritage may be an important factor for the input of attitudes (Baker 1995). Cultural factors such as "ethnolinguistic vitality and processes of language standardisation" appear to be responsible for evaluations of standard and non-standard speech (Cargile & Giles 1998).

Attitudes are generally believed to be rather stable (Baker 1995). They are considered to be constant mental entities (Garrett 2010). Furthermore, Sears (1983, as found in Garrett 2010) claims that those attitudes which are acquired early in the lifespan tend to be more enduring. Given that many of our language attitudes are acquired at an early age, this suggests that at least some attitudes are quite likely to stay. Nevertheless, some fluctuation in attitudes is possible. It is believed that the teacher plays an important role in the change of attitudes. Mantle-Bromley's (1995) survey showed that classroom teachers can make a difference in their students' attitudes towards language and cultures. She even goes one step further by stating that without teacher's efforts, the attitudes of students may become less positive.

3.2 Research approaches to the study of language attitudes

Garrett (2010) points out that approaches to studying people's attitudes towards language generally are divided into three main branches: the direct approach, the indirect approach and the analysis of the social treatment of language varieties. All of these methods have their advantages and disadvantages, which will be considered.

3.2.1 The direct approach

As the name already gives away, this method of researching language attitudes addresses the people's attitudes head-on. The participants are asked rather simple questions about how they evaluate language and invited to articulate explicitly what their attitudes are to various language phenomena (Garrett 2010). In most cases the subjects are fully aware of what the researcher's objectives are. In conclusion, it is an approach which relies upon overt revelation of one's attitudes towards language. However, this approach has been neglected and turned down by researchers because of its simplicity. The downside of the direct method is that respondents cannot always be trusted when asked about their attitudes directly, as scholars argue that they may reflect mainly socially desirable responses (Garrett 2010).

3.2.2 The indirect approach

Against the backdrop of the method described above, the indirect approach was designed, which is also called 'the speaker evaluation paradigm' in the language attitudes literature (Garrett 2010). Within this approach, scholars believe that language attitudes are intrinsically implicit and therefore can never be directly observed. Thus, they must be inferred from other external manifestations. One such technique was developed by Lambert *et al*. in 1960 and is called the *matched guise technique*. They developed this technique to determine attitudes held by bilingual French Canadians towards languages in contact, i.e. French and English (Ball 1983). Classically, respondents in matched guise studies are invited to assess an audiotape recording of a single speaker. Those speakers are chosen who can pass as a native speaker in two or more varieties. The speaker reads the text a number of times, only varying in one respect. For instance, the text will be read in several different accents but other remaining features, such as speech rate and pauses, will be held as constant as possible (Garrett 2010). The subjects assess the speaker especially in terms of status, prestige and social preference. This provides an indirect measure of language attitudes using rather subtle techniques. The respondents are mostly misled as for the actual topic of the investigation. For instance, they are told that they hear different speakers.

This technique has been extended to be used in many other countries for a range of other languages and dialects. A variant of this technique is the *verbal guise technique* in which

the language varieties are recorded by different speakers. Using this technique has the advantage of working with authentic accents.

3.2.3 The social treatment of language varieties

As the direct approach, this study method uses a wide ranges of techniques and methods to investigate language attitudes. However, within this methodological approach the data for investigation are taken from real sources, instead of set up experiments. A pioneering study was conducted by Kramer (1974) on stereotypes of women's speech by looking at contemporary data in the form of cartoons in a large set of magazines. She found that generally the speech of women was viewed as gentle, talkative and emotional, whereas men's speech was considered aggressive, loud and blunt. Other sources have been used as input for this kind of studies, such as letters (Schmied 1991, as found in Garrett 2010), advertisement, news articles and other documentation of various kinds.

This type of methodological approach tends to be neglected in literature reviews. However, it is a useful way of looking into the social meanings and stereotypical treatment of language varieties. Schmied (as found in Garrett 2010) points to some methodologically restrictive factors such as a lack of reliable statistic data and the fact that some populations remain unused.

3.2.4 Approach of this study

The direct approach seems the most obvious way to get hold of people's attitudes by simply asking. However, because the respondents are aware of what they are examined about, they may change their true attitudes. Nevertheless, researchers as Santello (2010) argue that more traditional statement-agreement scales can constitute an appropriate tool to complement other methodological approaches. Therefore, this study has opted for both a direct approach and indirect approach to investigate the subjects' attitudes. In order not to influence the participants' judgements, the experiment started with the indirect test. By combining these two approaches, researchers can gain more interesting results. They are able to compare the overt attitudes with their covert attitudes, acquired by the direct approach an indirect approach, respectively.

4 Beliefs

4.1 Definition and function

The concept of beliefs was introduced rather late in linguistics although research about it already existed in other fields such as psychology and anthropology (Kalaja & Barcelos 2003, Garrett 2010). Still, no consensus has been reached on the significance and description of beliefs. As an umbrella term, Kajala & Barcelos (2003: 1) accurately define beliefs as "opinions and ideas that learners [...] have about the task of learning a second/foreign language". However, according to the researcher's perspective and background other definitions arise. This section will discuss the nature and function of beliefs before dealing with the different research approaches for investigating beliefs.

As mentioned in chapter 3 on attitude, beliefs are usually situated in the domain of cognition because they "refer to what a person knows about the attitudinal object" (Mantle-Bromley 1995: 373). Garrett's (2010) definition focuses on this aspect of beliefs. However, he also stresses the importance to make the necessary differentiation in terms of the cognitive component:

> "How uniquely cognitive they [beliefs] are is arguable, though. They might not have any affective content themselves, but they may trigger and be triggered by strong affective reactions [...] [I]t is rare for the cognitive component to evoke judgements that are devoid of affective content" (Garrett, 2010:31).

Additionally, other terms have been adopted to describe beliefs. Wenden (1986, as found in Barcelos 2003) names them "opinions which are based on experiences and the opinions of respected others, which influence the way [students] act". Sakui & Gaies characterize beliefs as "a central construct in every discipline which deals with human behaviour and learning" (1999: 474). Moreover, terms to describe beliefs also vary according to the research approach which is applied (see section 4.2).

Beliefs are a very crucial aspect for the study of a language. Cotterall (1999) notes that beliefs play a central role in learning experience and achievement. Mistaken or uninformed beliefs about language learning can lead to dependence on less effective strategies, classroom anxiety or a negative attitude towards language learning. Moreover, Horwitz (1987, as found in

Diab 2006) states that beliefs may be more susceptible to change than more cognitive style variables or affective variables such as attitudes and motivation. Alanen (2003) notes that believes can be both stable and unstable, depending on the social context and whether they are internalized and part of the individual's knowledge reservoir. Therefore, it is above all important to survey beliefs of learners and then to draw conclusion from them or even overcome them because certain beliefs can be an impediment to successful language learning. In short beliefs have the potential to either hinder of promote the learner's view of a language component or a particular language in general.

Several studies on beliefs have been published with native speakers of various different languages. One research tool is particularly worth mentioning because it is a pioneering tool for identification of beliefs and was also used for the design of the questionnaire of the present experiment: *Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory* (BALLI). The BALLI was developed by Elaine Horwitz (1985) to assess student beliefs in five major areas: (i) difficulty of language learning, (ii) foreign language aptitude, (iii) the nature of language learning, (iv) learning and communication strategies and (v) motivations and expectations. Horwitz (1985) put forward that a gap between teacher and learner beliefs may result in negative outcomes. This research tool has been used for many different studies on language learners in, amongst others, the United States (Mantle-Bromley 1995), Korea (Horwitz 1999), Australia (Bernat 2005), Lebanon (Diab 2006) and Japan (Riley 2006).

Furthermore, beliefs can have an impact on a wide range of areas: factors such as behaviour, motivation, strategy use, anxiety (see chapter 9), achievement, and ,importantly, attitudes (see chapter 3) can be influenced by beliefs. First, McDonough (1995, as found in Coterall 1999) points out that beliefs can have an significant influence on the learners' behaviour. For instance, they can be a an important stimulus for action. Secondly, certain beliefs about language and language learning might also influence learners' motivation to learn the target language (Dörnyei *et al*. 2006, Gardner 1985). In that respect, Cohen & Dörnyei (2002, as found in Diab 2006) point out that unrealistic beliefs towards learning a language can result in frustration. Thirdly, a study by Nae-Dong Yang (1999) suggests cyclical relationships between learners' beliefs and strategy use. Their preconceived beliefs about learning can affect the way learners use their learning strategies and learn a second language.

Many factors are said to have an influence on beliefs. Siebert (2003, as found in Bernat 2005) reported that national origin or ethnicity can have an effect on students' beliefs about language learning. Some of the most conspicuous findings were in the areas of ability, length

of time it takes to learn a language, and the difficulty of the English language. For instance, he found that Middle Eastern students were likely to underestimate the length of time it takes to learn a language whereas Japanese students believed the exact opposite. Siebert also noted a significant difference in belief according to gender. For example, male students tended to rate their language abilities more highly than female learners. Moreover, the impact of culture on beliefs has also been demonstrated (McCargar 1993, Horwitz 1999). McCargar (1993) found considerable differences between the beliefs of groups of students with a different cultural background. Another aspect that can influence beliefs is previous experience as language learners (Horwitz 1987, as found in Diab 2006).

4.2 Research approaches

Barcelos (2003) identifies three approaches to the study of beliefs: normative, metacognitive and contextual approaches. The study presented in this paper takes on the methodology of the normative approach.

4.2.1 The normative approach

Within this approach, beliefs are often used as synonyms for preconceived notions, myths or misconceptions (Horwitz 1988, as found in Barcelos, 2003). However, these terms are to be avoided because they implicate that students' options are mostly wrong. The normative method of working is to investigate beliefs through Likert-type questionnaires and the analysis is thus via descriptive statistics. One of the most widely used questionnaires is the above mentioned BALLI by Horwitz (1985). This method offers several advantages. Firstly, it is possible to investigate a large sample of participants. Secondly, they are less threatening than observations which allow the participants to be more at ease. Thirdly, they provide data which is easy to tabulate (Barcelos 2003). Nevertheless, this approach also involves some limitations. For instance, questionnaires cannot guarantee consistent interpretation by the participants. Moreover, the subject responses are limited to a pre-established range of answers. Researchers such as Kalaja (1995, as found in Cotterall 1999: 497) claim that questionnaires "only measure beliefs in theory and not on actual occasions of talk or writing." Despite these

disadvantages, this present study choose to apply this approach because quantitative data lends itself more for an objective and accurate statistical comparison of two groups (cf. 4.2.5).

4.2.2 The metacognitive approach

Within the metacognitive approach, beliefs are defined as metacognitive knowledge. Wenden (1998: 515) defines metacognitive knowledge as "the relatively stable information human thinkers have about their own cognitive processes and those of others". Learners of different ages and with different learning proficiencies will have acquired some knowledge about learning which are believed to influence their approach to learning and the expectations they hold about the outcome of their efforts. This approach gathers data through semi-structured interviews and self-reports. A few studies also used questionnaires but none of them have used BALLI (Barcelos 2003). These interviews and self-reports give the learners the opportunity to elaborate and reflect on their experience. However, this type of study also has its limitations, i.e. beliefs are only inferred from students' statements. Researchers also point out that in analysing the discourse produced in interviews, "the data are read selectively and analysed in broad categories" (Cotterall 1999:497).

4.2.3 The contextual approach

Finally, in this most recently developed approach, beliefs are viewed as embedded in students' contexts and are qualitative in nature. The different studies within this domain investigate beliefs by using a variety of methods, such as ethnographic classroom observations, ranking exercises, diaries and narratives, metaphor analysis - people's use of metaphors can show how they think by revealing how they connect abstract ideas - and discourse analysis (Barcelos 2003). The limitations of such studies are reflected by selectivity of the data and a degree of interpretive subjectivity and context-specificity. Nevertheless, this approach also offers researcher advantages because it takes into account the students' own words and the context of students' actions.

4.2.4 Summary of the different approaches to investigating beliefs

In sum, table 1 provides an overview of the different approaches to investigating beliefs according to methodology, definition, advantages and disadvantages.

TABLE 1: Summary of the different approaches to investigating beliefs (taken and modified from Barcelos 2003: 27)

	Normative	**Metacognitive**	**Contextual**
Methodology **a) Data collection**	a) Likert-scales questionnaires	a) Interviews and self-reports	a) Observations, interviews, diaries, case studies, life stories, metaphor analysis
b) Data analysis	b) Descriptive statistics	b) Content analysis	b) Interpretative analysis
Definition of beliefs about SLA	Preconceived notions, misconceptions and opinions.	Metacognitive knowledge: stable and sometimes fallible knowledge learners have about language learning.	Part of the culture of learning and representations of language learning in a given society.
Advantages	Allows investigating beliefs with larger samples, at different time slots, and in outside contexts.	Students use their own words, elaborate, and reflect upon their language learning experience.	Beliefs are investigated taking into account students' own words and the context of students' actions
Disadvantages	Restricts respondents' choices with a set of statements predetermined by the researcher.	Beliefs are inferred only from students' statements.	Suitable with small samples only, time-consuming

4.2.5 The approach of this study

As mentioned above, this study takes on a normative approach. It was preferred to investigate the respondent's beliefs with a questionnaires, using six-point Likert-scale items. A six-point scale was chosen in order to reduce bias. When data has been quantified, questionnaires using standard questionnaire items make it possible to compare and contrast other results of other research. This study included statements from the 'Attitude/Motivation Test Battery' (Gardner 2004), the BALLI (Horwitz 1988) and the questionnaire from the Euro-English project (Mollin 2006) (cf. 8.3.2).

Quantitative data also allows for easier analysis and comparison of the collected data, by means of statistics. Therefore, it can be measured more objectively than data from qualitative data. In addition, this is also preferable to analyse possible differences between two groups by means of statistical tests. This study choose to compare the Flemish and Walloon participants by means of Independent-samples T-tests.

5 Beliefs and attitudes towards accents of English

In this chapter, a number of previous studies on language attitudes towards accents of English conducted on various language groups will be discussed. Studies on attitudes towards accents are particularly useful because research by Cenoz & Lecumberri (1999) has shown that the difficulty of some English accents is related to learners' attitudes towards these accents. Their study suggested that learners tend to hold less favourable attitudes towards those accents that are perceived as more difficult. Moreover, as Fuentes *et al.* (2002) point out, accents are dominant interpersonal markers that influence evaluations of speakers. Also, the strength of a speaker's accent can influence a hearer's evaluation: the stronger the non-native accent, the more negative the attitudes towards them (Cargile & Giles 1998). Therefore, it is important to map the attitudes of people towards those accents.

In section 5.1, some studies on beliefs and attitudes towards native accents of English – more specifically standard American and British accents – that are relevant for the present study, will be considered. In section 5.2, the focus will be on foreign-accented English. This overview is not to be regarded as exhaustive, but will focus on the accents that are relevant for the present study, i.e. American, British, French-accented English and Dutch-accented English.

5.1 Native accents of English

Several studies in different countries have shown that generally, standard native accents are preferred over non-standard native accents and non-native accents (Ladegaard 1998, Zhang & Hu 2008). Standard varieties are usually rated high on *status* and *competence* but fairly low on *social attractiveness* and *personal integrity* (Ladegaard 1998). It also appears that the evaluation patterns are conforming to the same standards across cultures and countries. Fuentes *et al.* (2002) stress that even non-standard and non-native speakers give higher ratings to standard accents. However, they tend to give higher ratings on solidarity indices to speakers with an accent similar to their own.

Evaluations of non-native speakers about English accents have been carried out in many contexts. Dalton-Puffer *et al.* (2006)'s study in Austria showed the low status non-native accents have among their users and the overall preference for the native accents: Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA). A large-scale survey by Timmis (2002) on 400

students in 14 different countries revealed that learners are highly oriented towards native-speaker standards and that they would like to approximate that standard as closely as possible. Moreover, this was not only the case for students who wanted to use English primarily for communication with native speakers but also the respondents believed that the long-term outcome of language learning should be a native-like competence.

Furthermore, research on attitudes of native English speakers also pointed out that standard-accented speakers tend to be rated more favourably than speakers with foreign and non-standard, regional accents. A large-scale study by Coupland & Bishop (2007) showed that types of accents associated with standard speech score higher on prestige and attractiveness than non-standard ones. These authors also noted that younger informants attributed less prestige to standard accents. Moreover, they also reported that gender plays an important role in the assessing of speakers. The results also revealed that females regularly reproduce more positive evaluations.

However less clear-cut, is the relation between the two varieties which have gained most attention i.e. British and American, with the guise of RP and GA, respectively. Of course these two varieties involve more than a distinct pronunciation. Speech evaluations are equally sensitive to stereotypes. For instance, British RP accent is usually associated with 'tradition loving', 'conservative', 'reserved' and 'high class' (Cargile & Giles 1998: 342). American English is perceived either as 'cool' or 'dim and uneducated' (Sjöstedt & Vranic 2007). Moreover, Zhang & Hu (2008) suggest that L2 learners have more positive attitudes towards the varieties they have most been exposed to. Surprisingly their research also indicated that the participants' attitudes towards an accent was not related with the perceived intelligibility of the speaker.

A number of studies have demonstrated some preference for one standard native accent over the other. Ladegaard (1998) points out that RP appears to be the unsurpassed prestige variety in Denmark. This ran counter to the researcher's expectation that the pro-American culture, passed on via commercials, popular films and soap operas on television, would have a positive impact on the respondents' attitudes towards the American accents. Later research by Ladegaard & Shachdev (2008) on the same topic reconfirmed the Danish learners' preference for RP and revealed that they had no desire to adopt the American accent. His findings are perfectly summarized in a quote by one of the participants, i.e. "I like

the Americans and American history and culture seem more appealing and exciting but I certainly don't aim for an American accent"(Ladegaard & Shachdev, 2008: 102).

A 1995 study by Botterman (as found in Tavernier 2007) on Flemish students in their first year of higher education suggested that, overall, the RP accent was the preferred English accent. The RP speaker received positive responses, especially on personality traits underlying competence and social status. Secondly, the American accent was preferred, only scoring less than the RP accent on the prestige scale. Furthermore, she concluded that there was a correlation between competence and social status: speakers who were thought to be from the higher or middle class, were mostly viewed as being competent.

Another research in Flanders by Simon (2005) confirmed that the perception of RP as the pronunciation norm is still strong among university students of English. It was suggested that a native-like pronunciation of English persists to be the aim of students studying English at higher education. Additionally, the respondents seemed to prefer a RP accent over a GA accent. Simon stressed that these results may be influenced by covert prestige of the American accent. Therefore the students may have opted for the overt prestigious RP accent which is perceived to be the norm in their educational system.

Nonetheless, the preference of the GA accent over the RP accent has also been suggested in some studies. A recent study by De Barros (2009) puts forward that the Portuguese users of English consider the American accent easier to acquire and find American English more clear, more useful and more straightforward. Nevertheless, the respondents consider it as less beautiful and less correct. De Barros also stated that the respondents almost exclusively attributed their choice for American English or British English on the basis of accent. Surprisingly, a significant part of the respondents stated that they didn't want to choose between a British or American accent. This finding shows that the globalisation of English causes some speakers to reject the idea of standard varieties of languages.

By contrast, "[i]t would seem that the traditional insistence on RP as a model accent in schools does not fully respond to the positive momentum created by the students being exposed to popular media" (Mobärg 1998:260). For instance, a survey by Mobärg (1999, as found in Simon 2005, Tavernier 2007) showed the preference for GA among certain groups of Swedish school student. He found a correlation between media preferences and language attitudes, as students who were more favourable towards American television programmes and music artists expressed a preference for GA. More recent studies conducted in Sweden also confirm Mobärg's findings. A study by Sjöstedt & Vranic (2007) on upper-secondary level

teachers and students illustrated that even though British English is still held in academic esteem, American English has gained more and more popularity. The researchers stress that there is an active and passive component to choosing a variety, consciously and respectively unconsciously adopting a particular variety. In Sjöstedt & Vranic's study it turned out that the majority of the respondents chose passively for the American accent, by using more American vocabulary and spelling than they originally acknowledged. This demonstrates that the Americanisation process has its effect on the preference of speakers of English. Norrbom (2008) conducted a study on high school students which also corroborated the popularity of the American accent. A clear majority stated that they wanted to use an American accent, despite the fact that most of them were taught English with a British accent. In conclusion, these Swedish studies suggest that the Americanisation process via popular media raises doubt on the status of the RP accent.

5.2 Non-native accents of English

Foreign accented English has also attracted linguists' attention as a subject of research. Magen (1998) points out that listeners can detect a foreign accent after exposure to a relatively short sample of speech. This shows that even the smallest phonetic structure can trigger listener's evaluation of the speaker. Arslan & Hansen (1996: 354) define foreign accents as "the patterns of pronunciation features which characterize an individual's speech as belonging to a particular language group". This definition shows that an accent implies a certain alliance with the speaker's mother tongue. With this in mind, Giles & Sassoon's (1983, as found in Fuentes *et al.* 2002) investigation showed that individuals are more likely to agree with and to be persuaded by those who have accents similar to theirs. These authors assumed that this was the case because these speakers are perceived to have similar beliefs, values and backgrounds. This phenomenon was coined by Brennan & Brennan (1981) as "solidarity-ratings".

On the whole, researchers have paid little attention to the investigation of beliefs and attitudes towards non-native English. Nevertheless there are good reasons to study this phenomenon. For example, it can provide an insight in whether non-native speakers are negatively evaluated because of their accent and reveal to what extend these attitudes depreciate the treatment of the non-native speaker. Fuertes *et al.* (2002) also note the lack of scholarly activity on this topic. They stress the importance of investigating the topic of accent

variation given that speech accents are used by listeners for assessing the speaker's background and character. Lev-ari & Keysar (2010) investigated the influence of accent on the credibility of a speaker. Their research showed that non-native speakers are generally considered less believable. This reduction of credibility was attributed to the fact that non-native speech is more difficult to understand. In addition, they noted that this effect was not due to stereotyping or prejudices against foreigners. Moreover, research by Ryan & Sebastian (1980, as found in Fuertes *et al.* 2002) has pointed out that speech accents are even able to influence the listener's recall and comprehension of content, even though their speech was intelligible. This issue has a considerable impact on people who routinely communicate in a language which is not their native tongue. In addition, a study by Bresnahan *et al.* (2002) also suggests that greater intelligibility of foreign accent appears to be related to more positive attitudes. The more intelligible the foreign accents were, the more the respondents considered them attractive and dynamic.

Moreover, foreign accents can evoke certain stereotypes about the speaker's geographical and social origin, which can influence the speaker's evaluation both in a positive or negative manner. When people know little about a person, they are likely to attribute various characteristics to that person that they associate with the group to which they assume that person belongs (Randall & Strother 1990). An main cue for this is pronunciation. Cargile & Giles (1998) point to a number of studies that suggest that Japanese accented speech calls upon terms such as "ambitious", "hard-working" and "intelligent" because these are the terms Americans most often associate with the Japanese. On the other hand, the Japanese accent may also trigger more negative stereotypes by Americans. For example, the Americans may feel threatened by the success of the Japanese or feel a certain hostility towards them. Bresnahan *et al.* (2002: 172) stress that "speaking with a foreign accent identifies the other as a member of an out-group and is likely to evoke negative stereotypes." This suggests that people prefer the variety of language which is associated with their most salient in-group. In addition, Lippman (1965, as found in Ladegaard 1998) argues that stereotyping should not immediately be avoided as it is necessary for our orientation in the world.

It has also been observed that there is a reverse correlation between the strength of the speaker's accent and the attitudes towards the speaker. Ryan *et al.* (1977, as found in Cargile & Giles 1998) found that even small increments in the strength of the accent had a negative effect on the evaluation of the speaker, resulting in less favourite ratings regarding the speaker's perceived status and attractiveness. Also, greater degrees of non-standard

speech will produce more negative ratings of speakers. Flege & Fletcher (1991) conducted a study on listener-and talker-related factors that may influence the degree of a foreign accent. Their research suggests that evaluation of foreign accent is not stable over the duration of the experiment because the respondents became familiar with the sentences produced by the non-native speakers.

The context in which the speaker is placed can also affect the attitudes and beliefs towards the speaker (Fuertes *et al.* 2002). With this in mind, the context of international communication and the use of English as a lingua franca is a fairly new and promising area for research on beliefs about and attitudes towards foreign-accented speech.

6 English as a Lingua Franca

About 80% of the English speakers in the world are non-native speakers (Crystal 2003, Jenkins 2007). Inevitably, they have a great impact on the English language which will continue to increase. The central countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, will no longer be able to function as norm-developing. Moreover, it is estimated that about 80% of the contexts in which English is used as a second or foreign language does not involve any native speakers (Haberland 2011). Of this 80% of non-native English speakers, the largest group are Expanding Circle English (cf. 7.4) speakers, who use English as a Lingua Franca. These speakers use English as a common tool to communicate with people with different mother tongues.[2] They are primarily users of the language whose main consideration is "not formal correctness but functional effectiveness" (Hülmbauer *et al.* 2008: 28). Especially in Europe, the need for international communication is high. More specifically, English is used in the domains of education, business, international relations and scientific research. Nevertheless, Breiteneder (2009) points out that ELF in Europe has, until recently, not been acknowledged as a serious object of linguistic inquiry worthy of investigation and description. It has often been seen as a defective form of English because scholars tend to view this phenomenon as a functional necessity rather than a topic for research.

6.1 Attitudes towards ELF

Several studies on the topic of ELF have been published since the rise of the phenomenon. Jenkins (2009) points out that especially negative responses to ELF are expressed, given that ELF is often taken for granted and therefore positive orientations are rarely verbalised. Especially in early articles on this linguistic phenomenon scholars tend to be rather negative, focussing on the dominance of English to the detriment of minority languages. This has prompted some scholars to use, even recently, the labels 'killer language' or 'tyrannosaurus rex' (Llurda 2004). Philipson (2008) employs the term 'lingua frankensteina' so as to counter the idea that ELF exclusively serves laudable purposes. He claims that ELF is based on biased

[2] It is important to note that ELF differs from English as a foreign language (EFL), which is the pedagogical subject, whereas EFL is learned at school with native-speaker norms as standard, the aim of ELF speakers is to communicate with other non-native speakers (Jenkins 2007, Hülmbauer *et al.* 2008)

presuppositions such as that it is a neutral language that promotes a common youth culture. He, on the other hand, sees it as the spread of an essentially American culture, promoting a Hollywood consumerist ideology at the expense of other lingua francas in Europe. Scholars who store Phillipson's (2007, 2008) view on ELF, such as Pennycook (1994, as found in Newfields (1995) and Canagarajah (1999), regard ELF as a form of imperialism, i.e. *linguistic imperialism,* implying subjugation and exploitation. They bring on arguments such as that economically and politically stronger powers have encouraged the spread of English to enhance their own position in the world. In addition, according to these researchers (Philipson 2008, Davies 1996) the emergence of ELF resulted in the death of minority languages and inequality among native and non-native speakers (Llurda 2004). Likewise, other negative studies focus on the lack of well-defined standards. It has been argued that such a vacancy leads to errors in relation to inner circle varieties (cf. 6.4) for a discussion on Kachru's model of the concentric circles). Jenkins (2009) counters this argument by indicating that those opponents fail to make the distinction between English learned for intercultural communication and English learned especially for communication with native speakers.

By contrast, other scholars argue against the above negative assumptions. House (2003) makes the difference between 'languages for communication' and 'languages for identification'. ELF can thus be regarded as a language for communication, whereas one's mother tongue can be seen as a language for identification. She argues that ELF is considered more as a tool for instrumental purposes and not apt for identification because there simply is not a definable group of ELF speakers. With this in mind, the use of English does not necessarily displace national or local languages.

Especially in the business world, ELF plays a key role. Bloch & Starks (1999) argue that attitudes towards different varieties in that context should be further examined, given that there are more non-native speakers doing business in English than ever before. They stress that:

> "[t]he blind assumption that if people can speak English and make themselves understood, business can then proceed effectively, is a long way from the reality where a multitude of distortions, misconceptions and misunderstandings can very easily ruin what otherwise could be smooth and effective translation or business relationship" (Bloch & Starks 1999: 87).

In other words, the business world should be made aware that native speakers' varieties are no longer considered as the only correct way of speaking English.

Findings from the Euro-English project, set up by Mollin (2007), support this view. Besides analyzing a European corpus, the project aimed at investigating cross-European attitudes on ELF by means of a large-scale survey of over 4000 people of all ages. Among others, three statements are of special interest for this study. The first showed that the majority of respondents agreed that they are not bothered by mistakes made by other non-native speakers of English, as long as they understand the message. The second statement "English doesn't belong to the native speakers anymore, but to anyone who uses it" was fully endorsed. This ties in with the third and last statement: "Schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it, but for efficient international communication". Nonetheless, a majority disagreed with this last statement, showing that most ELF speakers still put a high value on native models in language teaching. In conclusion, the respondents' answers showed the ambiguity between the power and status of native English for one thing, and rise of non-native speakers taking the language in hand, for another.

6.2 ELF pronunciation

The establishment of ELF in the field of linguistics raises the question whether ELF speakers should conform to native speakers' norms. House (2003) points out that ELF users often do not aspire to achieve native speaker competence. She proposes that the yardstick for measuring ELF speakers' performance should therefore be against an expert in ELF use, which she defines as "a stable multilingual speaker under comparable socio-cultural and historical conditions of language use, and with comparable goals for interaction" (House 2003: 573).

Especially in terms of pronunciation, it becomes harder to keep up the norm of the native speaker. Jenkins (2002) claims that it is important to take the intelligibility of the non-native speakers into account because they make different demands than native-speaker receivers. It happens to be the case that, for pronunciation, decisions as to what should be included in pronunciation syllabuses are based on intuitions of native speakers. With this in mind, non-native speakers are encouraged to adopt native speakers' assimilatory features of pronunciation such as elisions, contractions and weak forms, despite their negative effect on the intelligibility for non-native speakers as Jenkins (2003) claims. Nevertheless it is important

to keep up to a native model in English teaching so as to encourage non-native speakers to learn how native speakers pronounce English and not to disturb the communication between native and non-native speakers. However, besides native models, a pronunciation which focuses on international communication between non-natives should also be given a place in English teaching.

Moreover, according to Bourdieu (1977, as found in Jenkins 2003) a legitimate discourse requires legitimate phonology. This implies that for international communication, 'legitimate' means speaking with a non-native accent. It was stressed that this will involve making adjustments by native speakers as well as non-native speakers in order to achieve a commonly agreed international norm.

Nevertheless, a large-scale study by Jenkins (2007) showed that the majority of the non-native participants still believe that the native speakers' models from the inner circle remain the most appropriate and desirable varieties of English. This was observed in spite of the fact that the informants mainly wanted to communicate with other non-native speakers. The respondents from over twelve countries rated GA and RP consistently the highest in terms of 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' and, surprisingly, 'acceptable for international communication'. Furthermore, they showed quite negative attitudes towards established varieties of English from the outer circle, such as Indian English, Singapore English and Lankan English.

Likewise, a study by Timmis (2002) on 400 English students in 14 different countries revealed that learners are highly oriented towards a native-like pronunciation. The students look upon native English as a clear status symbol, while English with a recognizable accent was considered undesirable.

In her book *the phonology of English as an international language,* Jenkins (2000) insists on a non-native model for English as an international language. She urges that pronunciation training for non-natives should focus on communication with other non-natives rather than with natives. She especially deems the criteria of *intelligibility* and *learnability* based on non-native standards as most important. Therefore, she proposes a phonological intelligible core for communication, based on phonological features of ELF, which are characteristic for mutual intelligibility, which she dubbed "the lingua franca core". She points to certain features of pronunciation which are hard to acquire by non-native speakers (such as the dental fricatives) to produce evidence for the need of such a non-native directed pronunciation. Such a

simplified pronunciation core may prove to be useful as an alternative for non-natives who are unable to pronounce difficult English features. Moreover, this would contribute to the uniformity of ELF as non-natives with different mother tongues would have a common and more attainable goal for pronunciation.

6.3 ELF communication

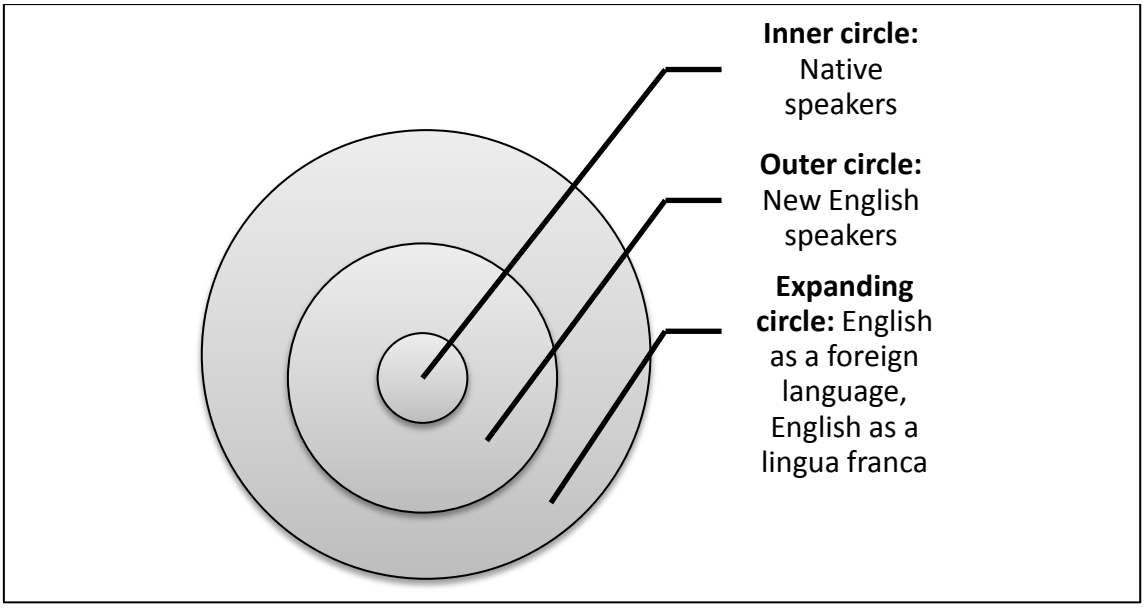
ELF communication is characterised by several features. Firstly, as Willemyns (2001) points out, English as a lingua franca is mostly used orally. Secondly, in ELF communication, intelligibility is key. In ELF communication, the message often prevails over the quality of the language (Breiteneder 2009). ELF speakers do not need to conform to prestige norms. This priority for intelligibility leads to simplification and regularisation of English, such as for example the loss of the third person singular –s ending (Breiteneder 2009). Firth (1996, as found in House 2003) points to a certain principle of "let it pass"; an attempt to look over trouble sources rather than explicitly correcting them as long as a certain level of understanding is achieved. Thirdly, as Haberland (2011) promotes, ELF communication asks for a certain tolerance since the ELF speaker frequently deviates from language norms. He notes that ELF even sometimes comes across as funny because listeners can recognize what was meant and can see the difference with what was said.

6.4 Ownership and maintenance issue

The rise of ELF also stirs up two important issues, i.e. an ownerships issue and a maintenance issue. The first issue concentrates on the question: who owns the English language? As Haberland (2011) points out, for most languages, there is no doubt that in some sense the language 'belongs' to its native speakers. This entails a certain emotional bound between first language speakers and their mother tongue. Yet, in the case of the English language this is less clear. According to Kachru's (1985, as found in Bloch & Starks 1999) model of the concentric circles to classify the varieties of English, ELF is located in the outer circle and is therefore norm-depending. The native speakers in the inner circle are norm-providing and the New English speakers in the outer circle are norm-developing (see figure 1). Hülmbauer *et al.* (2008)

suggest that Kachru's model needs to be reconsidered given that it is questionable whether the centrality of the native speakers is still justified. They claim that "such a view ignores the emergent nature of ELF, whereby its users appropriate the language and shape it to their needs" (Hülmbauer *et al.* 2008: 28). Put differently, the ELF speakers are capable of developing norms of their own, independent of the native speaker norms. Moreover, they stress that the effectiveness of ELF is substantially dependent on non-conformity with established norms.

FIGURE 1: Kachru (1985, taken and adapted from Crystal 2003: 107)



Basically, in terms of ownership, there are two main camps: the purists and the pragmatists (Haberland 2011). The former believe that the ownership of English belongs to the native speakers, i.e. the speakers of the inner circle. According to the purists, the newer varieties developed in the outer circles are therefore deviations from English. In contrast, the pragmatists believe that English is owned by anyone who uses the language.

The second issue is closely related with the first issue and concentrates on the question: who has the authority of codification for English? First of all, we need to consider the question whether it is necessary to interfere with a language. Again, we can distinguish between two groups: the descriptivists and the prescriptivists (Haberland 2011). The latter believe that it is the task of a privileged minority among the natives to take action to counter the skippering standards. The descriptivists, on the other hand, rather prefer to not interfere in the development of a language.

Further, if one should interfere with a language, whose task should it be? On the one hand, Haberland (2010: 940) points out that generally we can assume that "first language speakers [...] have most, and the most consistent, intuitions about what is standard usage in the language". On the other hand, many non-native speakers achieve a proficiency that is sometimes even higher and more according to the norm than some native speakers. In general, language maintenance tends to be carried out by language institutions or writers and scholars and is not the task of the majority of the English speaking population.

6.5 The future of ELF

In terms of the future of English as a global language, English seems to have a rather stable position as the world's lingua franca. However, it remains difficult to actually predict the future development of ELF. Some scholars (Seidlhofer & Berns 2009, Seidlhofer 2009) see the rise and establishment of World Englihses as a parallel case because, as Breiteneder (2009) points out, several processes and properties of ELF correspond with numerous varieties all over the world. For Lluda (2004) the future of English lies within the hands of its non-native speakers, he predicts that:

> "the day non-native speakers of English become aware of their status as speakers of EIL [English as an international language], native speakers' control of the language will disappear, and non-native speakers will feel entitled to the authoritative use of a variety of the language that belongs to them" (Llurda, 2004: 320).

Booij (2001) proposes to "further develop a global variety of English that is not linked to a particular English-speaking country and that can be used anywhere" (2001: 359). This would be a kind of English variety that would be less rich than native varieties but suffices as a means of international communication. In addition, Dewey (2007, as found in Breiteneder 2009) points out that an ELF setting causes language development to accelerate. He points to the sheer amount of ELF interaction all over the world and the fact that ELF speakers are less inclined to pay attention to social prestige markers, as one of the reasons for this acceleration. Especially in the areas of language teaching and testing many changes take place (Lluda 2004). The need to incorporate the voices of non-native speakers in these fields increases significantly.

In as far as phonology is concerned, some scholars point out that this field is most problematic because it has a greater potential to compromise in mutual international intelligibility than other linguistic levels (Cenoz & Lecumberri 1999). Trudgill (1998) predicts that:

> "while English lexis is likely to undergo a process of 'homogenization' by means of Americanization, English phonology will take the opposite route and undergo a process of disintegration" (Trugdill 1998, as found in Jenkins 2002: 86).

He suggests that this scenario might happen because so many non-native speakers continue to speak English. He fears that because of this the language will break up into series of unintelligible dialects or even languages. This reminds us of Latin, the lingua franca which throughout time developed into different Romance languages. In that way, the purpose of learning English as a tool for international communication would be threatened by further phonological variations.

7 Identity of the ELF speaker

Although it seems somewhat paradoxical, in today's times of globalisation and the use of English around the world, the first language (L1 henceforth) identity of an ELF speaker or listener appears to be an important factor in the making of attitudes and beliefs about English. As House points out:

> "[T]he very spread of ELF may stimulate members of minority languages to insist on their own local language for emotional binding to their culture, history and tradition and there is, indeed, a strong countercurrent to the spread of ELF in that local varieties and cultural practices are often strengthened" (House 2003: 561).

At first sight, ELF comes across as a utopian common and equal tool for communication among people with different mother tongues, disconnected from the native English speakers. However, especially in terms of pronunciation, there is no unity because often the speakers' mother tongue shows through. In the previously mentioned definition of foreign accents by Arslan & Hansen (1996: 354), "the patterns of pronunciation features which characterize an individual's speech as belonging to a particular language group", the issue of the speaker's identity is already suggested (cf. Chapter 5). The phonetic component of communication can provide information about the speaker's geographical and social background. (Cenoz & Lecumberri 1999). This suggests that the phonetic component in communication is also related with the speaker's L1 identity. Moreover, Jenkins (2003) argues that in an international community in which all participants have an equal claim to membership, the participants should have the right to express their first identity by means of their accent, as long as the accent does not obstruct international intelligibility.

Some scholars suggest that ELF holds back the speaker's identity. Rubby & Saraceni (2006, as found in Jenkins 2009) argue that ELF is a monomodel in which "intercultural communication and cultural identity are to be made a necessary casualty" (Rubby & Saraceni 2006, as found in Jenkins 2009: 202). By contrast, Jenkins (2009) correctively points out that rather the inner circle models, such as RP and GA, are monomodels that cause the speaker's identity to fall prey to the native norms. For this argument, she draws on interviews with expanding circle speakers who expressed the loss of identity owing to inner circle models, such as British English and American English.

In a study by Timmis (2002) on the desirability of students and teachers to attain a native English pronunciation, the issue of identity is also put forward. Although the majority sill aimed for a native-like pronunciation, some students and teachers expressed that they would like to retain one's identity in their speech.

Today's powerful position of English as an international language and the enormous input of English in daily life may cause the ELF speakers to feel that their own mother tongue is under threat. Therefore some scholars were eager to label English as a 'killer language'. With regard to Dutch, English mainly affects Dutch at the lexical level, especially adopting borrowings. However, Booij (2001: 4) remarks that "there is in fact a very stable situation because Dutch grammar, including phonology, is not affected at all by English". Concerning the relationship between French and English, most speakers of French do not consider English a threat to their mother tongue, as De Bot *et al.* (2000, as found in Booij 2001) pointed out.

Nevertheless, as Philipson (2008) notes, "the French have been aware of the threat from cultural and linguistic imperialism for several decades" (Philipson 2008: 253). For example, the French and the Académie Française take strong reactions against the influence of English words, with only limited effects. However, the grammatical system of French is not affected by the use of English words as Booij (2001) notes. In addition, de Swaan (2001, as found in House 2003) points to a fierce rivalry between French and English, as French continues to lose its status as a lingua franca. In conclusion, the difference the between attitudes towards English in relation to Dutch is different from the official attitude towards English in relation to French. This is especially the case because Dutch is more open towards English, although it is not affected in the field of grammar, whereas French language policies are more reactionary.

Jenkins (2007) explored how beliefs about and attitudes towards ELF might have an impact on the identity of non-native English teachers by means of semi-structured interviews. She found that non-native speakers have mixed feelings about expressing their membership of an international ELF community or even expressing an L1 identity in their English. While some teachers desired a native-like English identity as signalized by native-like accents, other teachers expressed an attachment to their mother tongue and nationality, projected through their non-native accented English. Thus, it seems that there is a tendency to link the speakers' pronunciation goals and L1 identity.

8 Methodology

Chapter 9 will provide an overview of the method that was applied for the case study of this paper, focussing on: the aim of the study, the participants, the instruments, the procedure and incorporation of the data.

8.1 Aim of the study

This study was designed to address three research questions.

Firstly, it sets out to examine the beliefs about and attitudes towards the use of English as a lingua franca. Most studies on this topic have focussed on the impact of English as a global language and what the implications are for native speakers. However, House (2003) stresses that it is more useful to investigate ELF from the perspective of the non-native speaker. It is especially important to map the beliefs and attitudes of the non-native speakers, because they have largely outnumbered the native speakers of English (Crystal 2003). Moreover, since scholars are taking on board the idea that English is no longer exclusively owned by the native-speaking communities, the newly arrived members have a right to be heard in matters affecting the language. Therefore, this study will try to map the beliefs and attitudes of ELF speakers.

Secondly, beliefs about and attitudes towards native and non-native pronunciation are addressed. Within the context of ELF, pronunciation appears to be the linguistic component that is most under attack. Therefore this study aims, among other things, to investigate whether speakers of ELF still consider it important to achieve a native-like pronunciation. In order to reveal how they evaluate native and non-native speakers, a verbal guise technique was applied (cf. 9.3.1). Moreover, it is essential to investigate how ELF speakers' overt beliefs and attitudes compare to the speakers' covert beliefs and attitudes.

Thirdly, this study also aims to analyse whether ELF speakers with a different mother tongue hold different attitudes towards and beliefs about a common foreign language. In this case, a comparison is drawn between the speakers of the two main linguistic communities in Belgium, i.e. Walloons and Flemings. Because of the language divide in Belgium and the difference in language policies that the two communities pursue, the respondents can vary in attitudes towards and beliefs about language.

In sum, this study will try to provide insights in these three main research questions:

1. What are the beliefs and attitudes of speakers of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the context of international communication?
2. What are their attitudes towards and beliefs about native and non-native accents of English?
3. Do Flemish speakers and Walloon speakers hold different beliefs and attitudes towards ELF and native and non-native accents of English?

8.2 Participants

Questionnaires were presented to 31 Flemings and 28 Walloons, a total of 59 informants[3]. All participants were members of an international student group named *Board of European Students of Technology* (BEST). BEST is an international student organisation comprising 93 local groups spread over 32 cities around Europe. This organisation creates opportunities for the European students to come into contact with one another on an academic, as well as a non-academic level. Its main goal is to strive for the development of more intercultural relations and communication between European BEST students. Because the communication language that is used for all those encounters and events is English, the members of BEST were considered suitable respondents for the present study. In conclusion, they use English as a language for communication rather than a language for identification and are thus considered ELF speakers rather than EFL speakers (cf. 7.1).

BEST is present in six universities in Belgium of which five took part in this experiment. For the Flemish groups, the University of Ghent and the Catholic University of Louvain participated. For the Walloon group the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve, the Free University of Brussels and the University of Liège took part.[4] The respondents from the French-speaking university of Brussels regard themselves as Walloons because they did not live in Brussels, although they go to university in Brussels.

Moreover, because both the Walloon and Flemish groups are members of BEST, they are appropriate for comparison; they are from roughly the same age group (see table 2),

[3] Three participants were excluded: two because they did not have Dutch or French as a mother tongue and one because he did not spoke English at a regular basis (cf. 9.3.3).
[4] 17 participants from Ghent, 12 from Louvain, 9 from Louvain-la-Neuve, 11 from Liège and 7 from Brussels.

receive the same tertiary level education, participate in the same international BEST events and come in contact with ELF on a regular base via BEST. However, as can be seen in Table 2, they differ in terms of the number of women that participated in the experiment, as in the Walloon group there are significantly fewer women (11.1 %) than men whereas the gender distribution in the Flemish group is roughly equal. This may have influenced the results because; even though this is not always the case, there can be a difference in evaluation according to one's sex (Coupland & Bishop 2007).

TABLE 2: Group statistics

GROUP STATISTICS		
	Flemings	**Walloons**
Number of participants	29	27
Mean age	21,93*	21,89**
Women	44.8 %	11.1 %
Men	55.2 %	88.8 %

*(SD= 0.799) ** (SD= 1,311)

8.3 Design of the questionnaire

A questionnaire was presented to the respondents, which consisted of three major parts: a verbal guise test, a questionnaire on beliefs and attitudes and a background questionnaire. The questionnaire was translated into Dutch and French for the Flemings and Walloons, respectively, to better ensure consistent understanding of the terms used. It is believed that the quality of the data increases if the questionnaire is filled out in the respondent's own mother tongue (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010).

8.3.1 Design of the verbal guise test

The first part presented the verbal guise experiment. It was preferred to start with this indirect method to elicit language beliefs and attitudes in order to prevent the participants' assessment

to be influenced by the second part of the questionnaire (which applies a direct method for eliciting attitudes). Four audio fragments (see 9.4) representing four different accents were used as stimuli to gain the data to research this topic. The native accents were RP and Ga. The non-native accents were Flemish and French. After listening to each speech sample, the respondents were asked to fill out an 11 item-questionnaire per stimulus.

Firstly, the participants' attitudes towards the two native and the two non-native accents themselves were looked into. The first four items measured the listeners' attitudes towards the accents in terms of (i) aesthetic beauty, (ii) whether the respondent would like to speak English with this accent (iii) its intelligibility and (iv) whether he/she considered it an accent acceptable for international communication (Jenkins 2007). A six-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 6= strongly agree) was used as rating scale. An odd number-point Likert scale was chosen in order to make the participants take sides on the statement in question.

Secondly, the following six items investigated the attitudes towards the speaker's personality using a semantic-differential scaling. In this format, the participants are asked to choose their position between two bipolar adjective scales and had to indicate their response on a six-point scale. This technique is widely used for eliciting language attitudes. As Garrett (2010) notes, this technique stimulates the informants more than with Likert-scales and elicits snap judgments, which are more spontaneous. The personality traits which were used for the labels of the scales were chosen from a number of terms, which two judges who were considered comparable to the respondents found important in formal communication, in general, and in EFL communication in particular. Garrett (2010) suggests this as he stresses that such spontaneously given items by a preliminary group are likely to ensure that they are meaningful for the respondents that participate in the actual experiment. Afterwards the author subdivided these six characteristics into three categories according to labels that had been used in previous studies (Dailey *et al.* 2005, Tavernier 2007). The first dimension, *solidarity,* was measured through the paired positive and negative personality traits: 'polite/rude' and 'trustworthy/untrustworthy'. The second dimension, *status,* was evaluated through the adjectives 'well educated/poorly educated' and 'authoritative/not authoritative'. Lastly, the character traits such as 'self-assured/shy' and 'intelligent/stupid' were considered the paired characteristics of the *competence* dimension.

Finally, at the end of these 10 items, the respondents were asked whether they recognized the origin of the speaker in question through his accent. In case they answered 'yes' they had to write down which one they believed it was.

8.3.2 Design of the attitudes and beliefs questionnaire

The second part of the experiment included the direct method of eliciting ELF speakers' attitudes and beliefs. The questionnaire consisted of 37 items and used a six-point Likert scale as rating instrument (1= strongly disagree, 6= strongly agree). The items are taken from various sources. Items relating to general attitudes towards and beliefs about English, learning English and English pronunciation were based on existing questionnaires, such as the 'Attitude/Motivation Test Battery' (Gardner 2004) and the BALLI (Horwitz 1988). Specific statements designed for ELF context were drawn from the Euro-English project by Mollin (2006). Other items were formulated based on literary work or were the author's own design. The source of each item is provided within the appendix.

In the questionnaire, the following variables were considered (the numbers next to the variables correspond with the items' number in the questionnaire):

(i)	emotional beliefs about English	item 14
(ii)	functional beliefs about English	items 8, 24, 35
(iii)	attitudes towards English pronunciation	items 9, 13, 18, 28, 35
(iv)	attitudes towards learning English	items 5, 28
(v)	beliefs about the speaker's own competence	items 7, 15, 25
(vi)	attitude towards ELF	items 3, 9, 18, 22, 30, 32, 34
(vii)	attitudes towards ELF communication	items 1, 17, 23, 27, 31, 34
(viii)	the speaker's identity	items 4, 6, 11, 16, 20, 23, 33
(ix)	language anxiety	items 2, 12, 26

The items were placed in a random order.

Before the actual experiments were conducted, a pilot test with six respondents was carried out. The test was held in the BEST conference room in Ghent with BEST members who did not participate in the actual experiment. This piloting revealed some difficulties, including wrong wording, the use of words that were too difficult for the respondents and the clarity of the instructions. Furthermore, two statements were deleted because some test respondents did not consider them relevant for the investigation.

8.3.3 Design of the background questionnaire

The third part required personal information such as name, gender, age, language background and previous English experience. They were also asked on which occasions they spoke English in order to know if they were actually ELF speakers. If they were not exposed to ELF on a regular base, they were excluded from the study.[5] The respondents also had to mention whether they had taken any extra English instruction on tertiary level. Finally, they were asked to reveal preference for one out of four accents from the verbal guise test, if they had any. The background questionnaire was placed near the end because it is believed that respondents tend to find questions probing personal information off-putting (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010). Permission to use their responses for academic purposes of all the respondents was sought and gained.

8.4 Design of the stimuli

For the creation of the speech samples for the first part of the questionnaire, two native English and two non-native English speakers were recorded. The utterances were digitized using a Philips Voice Tracer 7655. The readings were based on an identical fragment of around 150 words (see appendix A) on a neutral subject. This fragment was chosen because of its topical subject – the economic crisis in Greece – and because it was written by an ELF speaker of English. Moreover, the use of vocabulary was not too difficult so that the respondents would understand the fragment but also not too easy, so that the non-native speakers would experience some pronunciation difficulties (and this way their mother tongues would be noticeable).

For this study, a matched-guise technique would not be suitable, because one person performing the two native and two non-native accents would not have been convincing. Therefore, a verbal-guise technique was opted for, also because it has the advantage of working with authentic native accents (Bresnahan *et al*. 2002). It was preferred to choose speakers of the same gender and roughly the same age as to further limit the variables. Because, as a study by Lambert (1967, as found in Cargiles & Giles 1998) showed, the sex of a speaker is a significant factor in the ratings given by informants, it was decided to record males

[5] Only one participant was excluded for this reason. Thus the analysis was based on a total of 56 respondents.

only. However, it needs to be noted that Alford & Strother (1990) point out that male voices are generally evaluated more negatively than female ones. This may have influenced the participants' judgements. In addition, a speaker's idiosyncratic features can never be fully be controlled and therefore may have had an influence on the formation of the beliefs and attitudes of the listener.

The native English speakers, who produced the British and American speech sample, have the British and American nationality; they originated from Kent and New York, respectively. Both speakers speak in near-standard varieties, have a similar social background and are roughly from the same age group (50-59). The fragment was recorded several times and ultimately two takes were selected. These were chosen so as to be matched for reading pace, reading style, clarity and pitch.

In order to find a Flemish and a Walloon speaker, whose English is comparable in terms of the degree of foreign accent, a total of seven Flemings and three Walloons were auditioned. One tool to help compare these readings was a short questionnaire (see appendix B), which the speakers were asked to fill out after reading the fragment several times. These questions probed the speakers' own competence and general background. In that manner, it was easier to find two similar foreign English speakers. These questions examined the speaker's age, education and own assessment of his accent when speaking English on a six-point Likert scale (1= very bad, 6= very good). Multiple tapes were made before selecting the final tapes to be used in the research. In the end, a Flemish and Walloon speaker were selected who not only conformed on speech qualities but also both evaluated their accent when speaking English as 'rather bad', did not take a language oriented programme either in secondary of tertiary education, were college graduates and claimed that they did not speak English on a regular basis. In selecting the speakers a careful comparison was done to ensure that each speaker appeared similar in terms of intonation, reading speed and voice quality because otherwise, as Magen (1998) points out, it is not clear whether changes in judgement reflect either speaker or accent. Moreover, the speakers were also regarded as similar to the characteristics of the two native fragments in terms of reading pace, reading style, clarity and pitch.

The four final speech samples are provided as an attachment to this paper.

8.5 Procedure

The experiment was carried out five times in five Belgian cities: Ghent, Louvain, Louvain-La Neuve, Liège and Brussels, near the end of March 2012. The data were collected before the start of the weekly meetings of the BEST board in their conference room in order to make the participant feel at ease. Prior to the verbal-guise experiment, the participants were told that they were going to hear four speakers speaking in English and they were requested to characterize them in response to the questionnaire, following their immediate intuition. They also were informed about the content of the fragment in order to avoid that they would focus on *what* the speaker was saying, rather than *how* the speaker was saying it. For the same reason, it was decided not to provide the participants with a written version of the audio fragment, even though Magen (1998) recommends this for the purpose of increasing intelligibility. The recordings were played only once to ensure that the responses were as spontaneous as possible. After completion, the participants were asked to fill out part two and three of the questionnaire. The participants completed the questionnaire individually. The procedure took about twenty minutes.

8.6 Incorporation of the data

The quantitative data that were gathered from this experiment were fed manually into a computer programme for statistic analysis, i.e. SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). With the help of this program, response frequencies, means and standard deviations for each item were recovered. Independent-samples T-tests were conducted to compare the two linguistic groups. The generated *p* values under .050 were considered significant. It was decided that a *p* value between .100 and .050 was also regarded as worth mentioning. Even though these values are no hard statistical evidence of a significant difference, as they have a chance between 5 and 10 percent of a false positive, they may still indicate a trend.

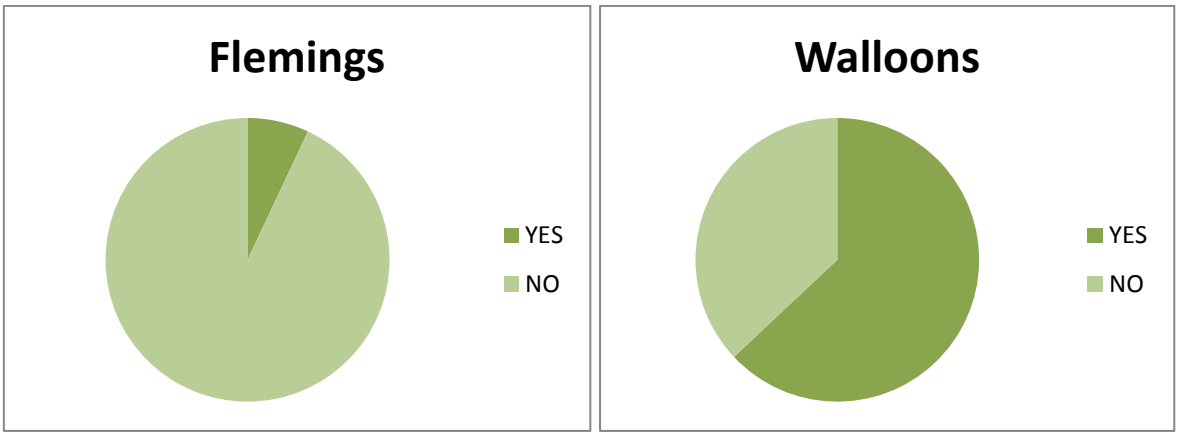
9 Results

In this chapter, the results of the background questionnaire will be presented, followed by the results of the verbal guise experiment and the general questionnaire on beliefs and attitudes.

9.1 Results of the background questionnaire

The background questionnaire included questions about the respondents' gender, age and first language, which are presented in section 9.2. The respondents were also asked to state whether they took any extra English instruction after secondary education. As visualised in Figure 2, only 7% of the Flemings took English lessons whereas the majority of the Walloons (63%) opted for additional English tuition.

FIGURE 2: Response rates on the statement "Did you take any extra English instruction after secondary level education?"



The background questionnaire also indicated that 79.3% of the Flemings and 70.4 % of the Walloons had visited an English-speaking country. Most respondents visited the UK and the USA and stayed for one week and a half on average.

9.2 Results of the verbal guise experiment

As mentioned in section 9.7, the results of the verbal guise test were processed with the help of SPSS (Andy Field 2005). For the verbal guise test, the means and standard deviations of both the Flemish and Walloon groups were calculated per item. Moreover, in order to examine if there are significant differences between the two groups, independent-samples T-tests were carried out. The elaborate results of the verbal guise experiment are included in this paper within the appendix. Before dealing with the attitudes towards the person-related qualities, the accent-related qualities will be dealt with. Then, the recognition rates of the accents and respondents' preference for one out of four accents will be presented.

9.2.1 Results of the accent-related qualities

The mean scores and standard deviation of the attitudes towards accent-related qualities of the native English accents – American English (AmE) and British English (BrE) – are shown in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: Attitudes towards accent-related qualities (AmE and BrE): means, standard deviation and results T-tests (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

NATIVE ACCENTS	**American English**					**British English**				
	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed)**	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed**
	Mean	SD	**Mean**	SD		**Mean**	SD	**Mean**	SD	
1. This accent is beautiful.	**4.28**	1.032	**4.37**	1.214	.754	**4.79**	1.398	**4.48**	1.221	.380
2. I would like to speak with this accent.	**3.93**	1.307	**4.59**	1.338	**.067**	**4.76**	1.057	**4.26**	1.259	.113
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**5.00**	.756	**5.19**	.681	.341	**4.69**	1.072	**4.59**	.931	.720
4. This accent is acceptable for international communication.	**5.28**	.702	**5.63**	.629	**.052**	**5.31**	.806	**5.26**	1.163	.848

*p<.05

These figures clearly show that, overall, both respondent groups were highly positive towards native English accents. Flemings as well as Walloons considered these to be beautiful accents,

would like to speak with them, find them easy to understand and considered them acceptable for international communication. Nevertheless, there is a minor difference in rating among the two groups, as Walloons were somewhat more favourable towards AmE, whereas Flemings were somewhat more favourable towards BrE. This was found consistently on all four items. The T-tests yielded no significant differences between the two respondent groups in their rating of the native English accents.

In contrast, Table 4 shows that both linguistic groups evaluated the non-native accents – French-accented English (FrE) and Flemish-accented English (FlE) – rather negatively. Overall, the French-accented English was rated the poorest accent. Nevertheless, Walloons were slightly more favourable towards FrE than Flemings were.

TABLE 4: Attitudes towards accent-related qualities (FrE and FlE): means, standard deviation and results T-tests (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

NON-NATIVE ACCENTS	**French-accented English**					**Flemish-accented English**				
	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed)**	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed**
	Mean	SD	**Mean**	SD		**Mean**	SD	**Mean**	SD	
1. This accent is beautiful.	**1.52**	.634	**1.70**	.912	.375	**2.10**	.900	**2.04**	1.018	.797
2. I would like to speak with this accent.	**1.21**	.491	**1.26**	.526	.702	**1.52**	.949	**1.30**	.542	.294
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**1.90**	.673	**3.11**	1.013	**.000***	**3.24**	.912	**2.93**	1.107	.248
4. This accent is acceptable for international communication.	**2.34**	1.111	**2.52**	1.156	.569	**2.83**	1.071	**2.85**	1.433	.943

*p<.05

The independent-Samples T-tests (Table 4) merely showed a significant difference for intelligibility of the FrE accent (p = .000) as the Walloons found it more understandable than Flemings did. Also on the subject of the AmE accent, the p values .067 and .052 indicated that there is some tendency to differ statistically on items 2 ("*I would like to speak with this accent"*) and 4 ("*acceptable for international communication"),* respectively. Although both groups approach these items positively, the Walloons were much more favourable.

9.2.2 Results of the person-related qualities

The mean ratings for each person-related quality are presented in Table 5. The items are ordered per dimension (cf. 9.3.1): solidarity dimension (item 5 and 6), status dimension (item 7 and 9) and competence dimension (item 8 and 10).

For these person-related qualities, in general the participants rated the native English accents favourably, similarly to the attitudes towards accent-related qualities. Yet again, the Walloons were most positive about the American speaker, giving high scores especially in terms of intelligence, self-confidence and good education. By contrast, the Flemings' evaluation of the person-related qualities of the accents did not show a clear preference for one native accent over the other. They found the AmE and BrE speaker equally authoritative. Flemings rated the AmE speaker as more intelligent and self-assured whereas the BrE speaker was considered more polite, trustworthy and educated.

TABLE 5: Attitudes towards person-related qualities (AmE and BrE): means, standard deviation and results T-tests (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

THE SPEAKER SOUNDS:	**American English**					**British English**				
	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed)**	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed)**
	Mean	SD	**Mean**	SD		**Mean**	SD	**Mean**	SD	
5. Intelligent	**4.83**	.805	**5.30**	.724	**.026***	**4.62**	.862	**4.89**	1.050	.300
6. Self-assured	**4.83**	.966	**5.33**	.877	**.046***	**4.38**	.903	**4.96**	1.055	**.030***
7. Authoritative	**4.24**	.739	**4.37**	1.149	.617	**4.24**	.912	**3.67**	1.109	**.038***
9. Well educated	**4.41**	.983	**5.07**	.781	.252	**4.62**	1.083	**5.00**	.679	**.052**
8. Polite	**4.59**	1.018	**4.89**	.934	**.008***	**5.21**	.819	**4.70**	1.068	.125
10. Trustworthy	**4.62**	.942	**4.48**	1.014	.596	**4.79**	.978	**4.70**	.953	.731

*p<.05

In sum, as Table 6 illustrates, in both groups, BrE was rated lower in terms of competence than AmE. For Flemings, BrE shows more status, whereas Walloons prefer AmE. In terms of solidarity, Flemings give more positive scores to BrE, whereas Walloons considered the BrE and AmE speaker roughly the same. The Independent-Samples T-tests yielded significant differences for competence (p = .003) and status (p = .030) dimension of the AmE accent, as Walloons were considerably more positive than Flemings were. A trend was noted for 'competence' of the BrE accent (p = .054).

TABLE 6: Mean scores of the verbal test for the person-related qualities 'competence', 'status' and 'solidarity' (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

	Competence		**Status**		**Solidarity**	
	AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE
FL	4.83	4.50	4.33	4.43	4.62	5.00
WA	5.32	4.93	4.72	4.34	4.69	4.70
Sig. (2-tailed)	**.003***	**.054**	**.030***	.733	.264	.142

**p*<.05

Moving on to the evaluation of the non-native accents, Table 7 demonstrates that, overall, the person-related qualities of the Walloon and the Flemish speaker were evaluated rather unfavourably. With regard to FrE, both informant groups assessed the speakers particularly low in terms of the status dimension (authoritative - well educated). Conspicuously, the Flemings rated the FrE speaker even more negatively than the Walloons did, on all six personality items. With regard to the Flemish-accented English, the Walloons were less negative in judgement than the Flemings were, even though generally speaking the Flemish speaker was evaluated negatively.

TABLE 7: Attitudes towards person-related qualities (AmE and BrE): means, standard deviation and results T-tests (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

THE SPEAKER SOUNDS:	**French-accented English**					**Flemish-accented English**				
	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed)**	Flemings		Walloons		**Sig. (2-tailed)**
	Mean	SD	**Mean**	SD		**Mean**	SD	**Mean**	SD	
5. Intelligent	**3.00**	1.254	**3.81**	1.388	**.025***	**3.28**	1.334	**3.96**	1.399	**.068**
6. Self-assured	**2.31**	1.105	**2.67**	1.209	.254	**3.10**	1.205	**3.52**	.935	.158
7. Authoritative	**2.38**	1.147	**2.44**	1.155	.833	**2.90**	1.372	**3.41**	1.338	.164
9. Well educated	**2.45**	1.088	**3.04**	1.055	.765	**3.21**	1.264	**3.52**	.975	.507
8. Polite	**3.76**	1.272	**3.85**	1.027	**.045***	**3.62**	1.449	**3.85**	1.099	.309
10. Trustworthy	**2.62**	.862	**2.81**	1.241	.497	**3.21**	1.048	**3.33**	1.177	.672

**p*<.05

The independent-samples T-tests showed that statistically significant differences were found in the evaluation of all four accents, as Table 7 indicates. It was found that the Walloon participants thought that the AmE speaker was considerably more intelligent, self-assured and well educated than the Flemings. Conversely, the Flemings found the BrE speaker to be more self-assured and authoritative. Moreover, a similar trend was noted for the personality trait

'politeness'. Moving on to the non-native accents, statistical evidence for a different evaluation of the FrE accent was found, as the Walloons found the Walloon speaker more intelligent and well educated. A trend, but no actual statistical proof, was found for the FlE accent because the Walloons rated the speaker in question higher in terms of intelligence than that the Flemings did.

Table 8 provides the mean scores for the non-native speaker's personality traits according to each group. In sum, for each characteristic, the Flemish speaker received the highest scores from both Flemings and Walloons. Nevertheless, the results show that the Flemish group evaluated the Walloon speaker much more negatively than the Walloon group. The Independent-Samples T-tests yielded significant differences for de competence dimension of FrE (p = .042) and a trend for the FlE speaker (p = .064), as Walloons considered the French and Flemish speaker more competent than the Flemings.

TABLE 8: Mean scores of the verbal test for the person-related qualities 'competence', 'status' and 'solidarity' (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

	Competence		**Status**		**Solidarity**	
	FrE	FlE	FrE	FlE	FrE	FlE
FL	2.66	3.19	2.42	3.06	3.19	3.42
WA	3.24	3.74	2.74	3.47	3.33	3.59
Sig. (2-tailed)	**.042***	**.064**	.192	.317	.528	.511

*p<.05

9.2.3 Recognition of the accent

The participants were asked whether they recognized the origin of the speaker of each fragment. A full breakdown of the results of the recognition test is provided in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9: Identification of the speakers' place of origin

Origin of the speaker	Group	correct	Incorrect	'I don't know'
United States of America	**FL**	**65.5%**	3.4% (England)	31.0%
	WA	44.4%	14.8 (England)	40.7%
England	**FL**	39.3%	3.4% (Australia)	20.7%
	WA	48.1%	0.0%	51.9%

Wallonia	**FL**	38.3%	3.4% (Greece) 10.3% (Russia)	37.9%
	WA	**66.6%**	0.0%	33.3%
Flanders	**FL**	**89.7%**	0.0%	10.3%
	WA	18.5%	25.9% (Russia) 3.7% (Greece) 3.7% (India)	48.1%

Of the Flemish ELF speakers, 65.5% and 39.3% correctly identified the AmE speaker and BrE speaker, respectively. Other responses that were given were the UK and Australia. In terms of recognition of the non-native accents, 38.3% correctively identified the Walloon speaker. One respondent (3.4%) thought he originated from Greece and three more (10.3%) thought the speaker was Russian. Most Flemings (89.7%) recognized the Flemish speech fragment.

In the Walloon group, it is striking that the percentage of respondents who did not know the speakers' origin is considerably higher than in the Flemish group (except for the Walloon fragment). Nevertheless, 44.4% correctly identified the BrE speaker and 48.1 the AmE speaker. A majority (66.6%) recognized the speaker's accent that is similar to their own. Finally, only 18.5% of the Walloons recognized the Flemish speaker of the last fragment. Other origins, such as Russian (25.9%), Greek (3.7%) and Indian (3.7%), were guessed.

9.2.4 Preference

The respondents also had to indicate whether they had a clear preference for one of the four accents. Except for four Walloons and three Flemings, all respondents displayed a strong preference. It is noteworthy that none of the respondents chose a non-native accent. As Figure 3 shows, a majority of 65.4% of the Flemish respondents had a clear preference for the British accent, whereas a 60.9% of the Walloon respondents preferred the American accent. This difference between the groups was confirmed by an Independent-Samples T-test (p = .027).

FIGURE 3: Preference rate (in percentage)

9.3 Results of the questionnaire

In this chapter, the results of the general questionnaire on the attitudes and beliefs of the ELF speakers will be presented.

9.3.1 Emotional beliefs

In terms of emotional beliefs, most respondents found English a beautiful language, as only two people from each group disagreed with item 14. Furthermore, as table 11 indicates, there is a significant statistical difference between the emotional beliefs of Walloons and Flemings about English: the Walloons were considerably more positive than the Flemish participants were.

TABLE 10: Emotional beliefs: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
14. English is a beautiful language.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	3.4%	41.4%	37.9%	13.8%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	3.7%	11.1%	44.4%	37.0%

TABLE 11: Emotional beliefs: result T-test (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 14	**FL**	4,45	1,055	**0,027***
	WA	5,07	,997	

* $p < .05$

9.3.2 Functional beliefs

Moving on to functional beliefs (Table 12), all respondents agreed that good language skills will help them to a good job (item 8). Consequently, besides one participant of each group, a large majority also agreed with item 35 ("*Studying English is important because I will need it for my professional career*"). Furthermore, when asked whether learning English is a waste of time, all informants disagreed (item 24). In addition, an Independent-Samples T-test pointed out that

the Walloon informants judged in a more pronounced way (p = .002), as a 96.2% of the Walloons strongly disagreed.

TABLE 12: Functional beliefs: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Good language skills will land me on a good job.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	27.6%	69.0%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18.5%	37.0%	44.4%
24. Learning English is a waste of time.	**FL**	58.6%	27.6%	10.3%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	96.2%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
35. Studying English is important because I will need it for my professional career.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	24.1%	37.9%	34.5%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	40.7%	55.6%

TABLE 13: Functional beliefs: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 8	**FL**	5.48	.871	.389
	WA	5.30	.724	
Item 24	**FL**	1.59	.825	**.002***
	WA	1.04	.196	

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 35	**FL**	5.21	.940	.416
	WA	5.41	.888	

* $p < .05$

9.3.3 Attitudes towards learning English

Items 5 and 28 of the questionnaire were chosen to investigate the ELF speakers' attitudes towards learning English. For item 5 ("*English should be a compulsory subject at university*") the opinions of the Flemish group were sharply divided. On the whole, 56% agreed with this item (i.e. chose 4, 5 or 6). As for the Walloon respondents, although they did not all agree, a wide majority (89.5%) was in agreement. Consequently, turning to item 28, again the responses of both groups on the question whether they wished that they had spent more time learning English at secondary school level, reasonably diverged. Nevertheless, a majority of more than 50% agreed from both groups.

TABLE 14: Attitude towards learning English: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
5. English should be a compulsory subject at University.	**FL**	3.4%	24.1%	17.2%	24.1%	17.2%	13.8%
	WA	3.8%	3.8%	7.7%	3.8%	34.6%	46.1%

28. If I could start all over again, I would spend more time learning English at secondary school.	**FL**	13.8%	24.1%	24.1%	20.7%	6.9%	10.3%
	WA	3.7%	18.5%	18.5%	18.5%	25.9%	14.8%

An Independent-Samples T-test provided statistical proof of the difference between the attitudes towards learning English on item 5, as shown in table 15. The results for item 28 also suggest a trend in that more Walloons than Flemings would like to have spent more time learning English in secondary school (p = .065).

TABLE 15: Attitude towards learning English: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 5	**FL**	3.69	1.466	**.001***
	WA	5.00	1.356	

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 28	**FL**	3.14	1.505	.065
	WA	3.89	1.476	

* $p < .05$

9.3.4 Attitudes towards English pronunciation

In this section, results related to ELF speakers' attitudes towards English pronunciation will be presented, which are summarized in Table 16. It is noticeable that, in general, second language pronunciation is deemed more important by the Flemish than by the Walloon participants. For instance, the results indicate that "an excellent pronunciation" is more important for the Flemish (68.9%) than for the Walloon participants (39.7%). Likewise, large majority of Walloons (88.8%) agreed with item 13 ("I am happy with my English pronunciation as long as people can understand me"), whereas only half of the Flemings (54%) held the same opinion. Nevertheless, regarding item 28, neither the Flemings (66.6%) nor the Walloons (72.3%) consider it important to speak with a native accent. Similarly, both groups rejected the statement "*To me, a correct pronunciation is: speaking in an acknowledged English variety*". Only 33.3% and 30.9% of the Flemings and Walloons, respectively, endorsed item 18. Finally, all participants (strongly) disagreed with the statement "*You shouldn't say anything in English until you can speak English correctly*" (item 35).

TABLE 16: Attitudes towards English pronunciation: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
9. It is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation.	**FL**	3.4%	10.3%	17.2%	31.0%	34.5%	3.4%
	WA	3.7%	29.6%	25.9%	25.9%	7.4%	7.4%
13. I am happy with my English pronunciation as long as people can understand me.	**FL**	6.9%	6.9%	31.0%	31.0%	20.7%	3.4%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	37.0%	18.5%	33.3%
18. To me, a correct pronunciation is: speaking in a acknowledged English variety (British, American, Australian…)	**FL**	18.5%	22.2%	25.9%	18.5%	11.1%	3.7%
	WA	17.2%	31.0%	20.7%	24.1%	3.4%	3.4%
28. I do not think it is important to speak like a native speaker of English.	**FL**	0.0%	3.7%	29.6%	37.0%	25.9%	3.7%
	WA	0.0%	13.8%	13.8%	51.7%	17.2%	3.4%
35. You should not say anything in English until you can speak English correctly.	**FL**	51.7%	31.0%	13.8%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	59.3%	25.9%	11.1%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%

As Table 17 demonstrates, Flemings and Walloons differ significantly on items 9 and 13, providing *p* values .048 and .001, respectively. No statistical evidence indicating a difference was found, although it is noticeable that the Flemings persistently showed that they attach more importance to a good quality accent on the remaining items.

TABLE 17: Attitudes towards English pronunciation: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 9	**FL**	3.93	1.193	**.048***
	WA	3.26	1.289	
Item 13	**FL**	3.62	1.208	**.001***
	WA	4.74	1.059	
Item 18	**FL**	2.76	1.300	.565
	WA	296	1.344	
Item 28	**FL**	3.83	1.002	.364
	WA	4.08	1.017	
Item 35	**FL**	1.69	.850	.821
	WA	1.63	1.115	

* $p < .05$

9.3.5 Beliefs about their English competence

This study also probed the ELF speakers' beliefs about their own pronunciation competence. 62.1% of the Flemings and 55.5% of the Walloons are happy with their present English pronunciation (item 7). Furthermore, both groups held rather positive views about their pronunciation in the future, as more than 50% of the Flemings and the Walloons disagreed on item 15 ("*I will never be able to speak English with a correct pronunciation*"). Finally, the

Walloons (70.3%) agreed to a greater extent with statement 25, "*I find it easier to read English than to speak English*", than the Flemings (58.5%). This difference was not reflected in the Independent-Samples T-tests, as there was no statistic indication that the two groups varied in beliefs about their competence.

TABLE 18: Beliefs about the speaker's own competence in English: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I am happy with my present English pronunciation.	**FL**	6.9%	13.8%	17.2%	41.4%	13.8%	6.9%
	WA	3.7%	14.8%	25.9%	29.6%	14.8%	11.1%
15. I will never be able to speak English with a correct pronunciation.	**FL**	17.2%	20.7%	17.2%	13.8%	13.8%	17.2%
	WA	11.1%	25.9%	18.5%	25.9%	14.8%	3.7%
25. I find it easier to read English than to speak English.	**FL**	3.4%	0.0%	37.9%	24.1%	24.1%	10.3%
	WA	3.7%	7.4%	18.5%	22.2%	14.8%	33.3%

TABLE 19: Beliefs about the speaker's own competence in English: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 8	**FL**	3.62	1.293	.813
	WA	3.70	1.325	
Item 24	**FL**	3.38	1.761	.338
	WA	2.96	1.427	

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 35	**FL**	4.03	1.210	.234
	WA	4.44	1.340	

9.3.6 ELF speaker's identity

Seven items were chosen to elicit how strong the informants' sense of identity is and how this feeling of identity is expressed. The informants, both the Flemings (68.9%) and the Walloons (74.0%) set great store by their native language identity, in agreeing with the statement "*I don't mind that people can hear English is not my first language. It is a part of who I am*". Similarly, the respondents (79.2% Flemings, 59.2% Walloons) expressed that they did not mind that people can hear they are not native speakers (item 33). They did not consider English more important than their mother tongue (item 6). Conspicuously, the Walloons (25.9%) disagreed to a greater extent than the Flemings (41.4%) did. This difference was not statistically significant (Table 21), but indicated a trend. With regard to item 16 ("*English forms a threat to my mother tongue")*, only 24.1% of the Flemings and 38.9% of the Walloons agreed. These results show that most informants do not hold negative attitudes towards English because of its global supremacy.

TABLE 20: ELF speaker's identity: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I do not mind that people can hear English is not my first language. It is a part of who I am.	**FL**	3.4%	13.8%	13.8%	27.6%	31.0%	10.3%
	WA	3.7%	0.0%	22.2%	14.8%	29.6%	29.6%
6. To me English is more important than my mother tongue (first language).	**FL**	6.9%	27.6%	24.1%	20.7%	13.8%	6.9%
	WA	29.6%	33.3%	11.1%	14.8%	7.4%	3.7%
11. Studying English is important because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate the English/American way of life.	**FL**	6.9%	44.8%	20.7%	24.1%	3.4%	0.0%
	WA	7.4%	25.9%	22.2%	25.9%	18.5%	0.0%
16. English forms a threat to my mother tongue.	**FL**	37.9%	27.6%	10.3%	17.2%	6.9%	0.0%
	WA	44.4%	29.6%	11.1%	11.1%	0.0%	3.7%
20. Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with native speakers of English.	**FL**	13.8%	27.6%	37.9%	17.2%	3.4%	0.0%
	WA	0.0%	14.8%	22.2%	33.3%	22.2%	7.4%
21. Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with speakers who do not speak my language.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.3%	41.4%	48.3%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%	7.4%	85.2%
33. I do not like it when people recognize in my accent that I am not a native English speaker.	**FL**	17.2%	37.9%	24.1%	13.8%	3.4%	3.4%
	WA	14.8%	22.2%	22.2%	33.3%	7.4%	0.0%

Items 11, 20 and 21 were designed to find out the main reason why the respondents feel it is important to be able to speak English. All respondents (strongly) agreed with statement 21 ("*Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with speakers who don't speak my language*"). In contrast, there was disagreement between the two groups with respect to items 11 and 21. Although the majority of both groups disagreed, the Walloon participants (44.4%) were more positive than the Flemish participants (25.9%) towards studying English for the reason that it will enable them to better understand and appreciate the English way of life. This division is even more visible in the results of item 20. In total, 62.9% of the Walloons expressed that they consider it important to be able to speak English in order to communicate with native English speakers, whereas poorly 20.6% of the Flemings shared this view. This division in opinions was reflected in the statistical analysis, as Table 21 indicated that the difference for items 11 and 20 is statistically significant.

TABLE 21: ELF speaker's identity: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 4	**FL**	4.10	1.291	.238
	WA	4.52	1.312	
Item 6	**FL**	3.21	1.398	.062
	WA	2.48	1.451	
Item 11	**FL**	2.72	1.032	**.008***
	WA	3.59	1.309	
Item 16	**FL**	2.21	1.343	.704
	WA	2.08	1.294	
Item 20	**FL**	2.69	1.039	**.000***
	WA	4.19	.879	
Item 21	**FL**	5.38	.677	.119
	WA	5.67	.679	
Item 33	**FL**	2.72	1.162	.202
	WA	3.15	1.292	

* $p < .05$

9.3.7 Speakers' anxiety

Items to investigate the speakers' anxiety when speaking English were also included in the questionnaire. A majority of more than 80% in each group stated that they feel very much at ease when they have to speak English (item 2). With regard to item 12 (*"Sometimes I feel insecure about my English pronunciation when I have to speak in a group/to a big audience"),* the majority of Walloons (66.6%) agreed, contrary to 41.3% of the Flemings. This finding is confirmed in item 26, as 20.6% of the Flemings and 40.7% of the Walloons sometimes avoid speaking English in group or in front of an audience because they feel insecure about their pronunciation. These results suggest that, in general, the participants of this study are fairly confident when speaking English. Nevertheless, they have some insecurities with regard to their English pronunciation. As Table 23 shows, no statistically significant differences were found. However, the T-test results on item 12 suggest a trend (p =.069).

TABLE 22: Speaker's anxiety: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. I feel very much at ease when I have to speak English.	**FL**	0.0%	6.9%	10.3%	10.3%	41.4%	31.0%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	14.8%	29.6%	37.0%	14.8%
12. Sometimes I feel insecure about my English pronunciation when I have to speak in a group/ to a big audience.	**FL**	13.8%	6.9%	37.9%	24.1%	10.3%	6.9%
	WA	3.7%	14.8%	14.8%	25.9%	25.9%	14.8%
26. Sometimes I avoid speaking English in a group/in front of an audience because I am insecure about my pronunciation.	**FL**	20.7%	34.5%	24.1%	10.3%	6.9%	3.4%
	WA	11.1%	22.2%	25.9%	14.8%	18.5%	7.4%

TABLE 23: Speaker's anxiety: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 2	**FL**	4.86	1.093	.221
	WA	4.52	.975	
Item 12	**FL**	3.31	1.365	.069
	WA	4.00	1.414	

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 26	**FL**	2.66	1.396	.363
	WA	3.00	1.414	

9.3.8 Attitudes towards ELF communication

This section will deal with the respondents' attitudes towards communication in an ELF setting, of which the results are summarised in Tables 24 and 25. The respondents unanimously agreed that English is a useful tool for communication (item 1). More than 70% of each group stated that they tolerate the mistakes that other non-native English speakers make, as long as they can make themselves understood (item 17). Likewise, this tolerance was also found in item 27 because only a minority of Flemings and Walloons, 34.4% and 44.4, respectively, stated that they sometimes get irritated when someone speaks English with a strong non-English accent. Moreover, all Walloon participants and a wide majority of the Flemings (86.2%) agreed with statement 23: "*Sometimes I find it funny when people speak English with a strong non-English accent".*

TABLE 24: Attitudes towards ELF communication: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1. English is a useful tool for communication.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	20.7%	75.9%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	88.9%
17. I am not bothered about mistakes that other learners of English make as long as I understand what they want to say.	**FL**	3.4%	0.0%	24.1%	27.6%	41.4%	3.4%
	WA	0.0%	11.1%	14.8%	29.6%	25.9%	18.5%
23. Sometimes I find it funny when people speak English with a strong non-English accent.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	10.3%	27.6%	34.5%	24.1%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	22.2%	59.3%	18.5%
27. Sometimes I get irritated when someone speaks English with a strong non-English accent. It makes it harder to understand him/her.	**FL**	6.9%	24.1%	34.5%	24.1%	3.4%	6.9%
	WA	11.1%	29.6%	14.8%	25.9%	14.8%	3.7%
31. Sometimes I find it difficult to understand people who speak English with a strong non-English accent.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	24.1%	48.3%	20.7%	3.4%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	18.5%	40.7%	33.3%	3.7%
34. A strong non-English accent complicates communication between people.	**FL**	3.4%	27.6%	34.5%	27.6%	3.4%	3.4%
	WA	3.7%	3.7%	25.9%	37.0%	25.9%	3.7%

Items 31 and 34 explore ELF speakers' opinion about whether they have trouble understanding strong non-English accents. With respect to item 31, more than 70% of participants in both groups expressed that they sometimes find it hard to understand strong non-native English accents. More generally, item 34 claimed that of "*a strong non-English accent complicates communication between people*". Only 34.4% of the Flemings identified a strong non-native pronunciation of English as a factor that complicates communication, whereas a majority of 66.6% of the Walloons acknowledged that a strong accent can be an obstacle to intelligibility. As Table 25 below shows, the latter item was the only one which yielded statistically significant differences (p =.005).

TABLE 25: Attitudes towards ELF communication: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 1	**FL**	5.72	.528	.167
	WA	5.89	.320	
Item 17	**FL**	4.14	1.060	.882
	WA	4.19	1.302	
Item 23	**FL**	4.43	1.317	.107
	WA	4.89	.641	
Item 27	**FL**	3.14	1.246	.687
	WA	3.00	1.301	
Item 31	**FL**	3.83	.848	.395
	WA	4.04	.980	
Item 34	**FL**	3.03	1.052	**.005***
	WA	3.88	1.107	

* $p < .05$

9.3.9 Attitudes towards ELF

The final section of the result chapter covers attitudes towards ELF communication in general. The respondents unanimously agreed that is useful that so many people are able to speak English (item 32). Moreover, the respondents also preferred English as the world's global language because none of the Flemings and even only 29.6% of the Walloons would prefer it if the international language of communication were French. The difference between the two groups on this item (item 18) was statistically significant (p = .017), which is indicated in Table 27. Although the majority still disagrees, the respondents were less opposed to the enhancement of linguistic diversity on international conferences. 24.1% of the Flemings and 40.7% of the Walloons would like it if, besides English, languages such as French and German were spoken on international meetings. Nevertheless, more than 80% of both linguistic groups agreed that everyone in Europe should be able to speak English since this would facilitate communication (item 22).

TABLE 26: Attitudes towards ELF: response frequencies (1-6 scale, 6 is most positive)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it, but for efficient international communication.	**FL**	6.9%	13.8%	17.2%	24.1%	27.6%	10.3%
	WA	0.0%	11.1%	11.1%	40.7%	18.5%	18.5%
9. English does not belong to the native speakers anymore, but to anybody who uses it.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	13.8%	24.1%	27.6%	31.0%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	7.4%	33.3%	29.6%	22.2%
18. I would prefer it if the international language of communication were not English but French.	**FL**	58.6%	31.0%	10.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	33.3%	29.6%	7.4%	14.8%	7.4%	7.4%
22. Everybody in Europe should speak English since this would facilitate communication.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%	27.6%	13.8%	44.8%
	WA	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	14.8%	29.6%	44.4%
30. It would be better if people on international congresses would not only speak English, but other languages as well, such as French or German.	**FL**	20.7%	34.5%	20.7%	24.1%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	18.5%	25.9%	14.8%	18.5%	14.8%	7.4%
32. It is useful so many people speak English because this allows for easier communication among people.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.3%	51.7%	37.9%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%	51.9%	40.7%
37. We need to develop a global variety of English that is not linked to a particular English speaking country and that can be used everywhere.	**FL**	17.2%	34.5%	13.8%	13.8%	17.2%	3.4%
	WA	18.5%	29.6%	3.7%	33.3%	11.1%	3.7%

A clear majority of both the Flemings (82.7%) and the Walloons (85/1%) agreed with item 9 ("*English does not belong to the native speakers anymore, but to anybody who uses it").* Likewise, the informants' tendency of viewing English dissociated from its native speakers is reflected in their responses to statement 3 ("*Schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it, but for efficient international communication*"). 62% of the Flemings and 77.7% of the Walloons agreed with this item. Nevertheless, only a minority of 34.4% and 48.1% of the Flemings and Walloons, respectively, considered it necessary to develop a global variety of English that is not linked to a particular English speaking country. Except for item 18 (p = .017), no statistically significant differences were found (Table 27).

TABLE 27: Attitudes towards ELF: results T-tests

		Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Item 3	**FL**	3.86	1.457	.317
	WA	4.22	1.188	
Item 9	**FL**	4.64	1.193	.631
	WA	4.48	1.282	
Item 18	**FL**	1.66	.814	**.017***
	WA	2.41	1.421	
Item 12	**FL**	4.90	1.145	.839
	WA	4.96	1.285	
Item 30	**FL**	2.59	1.181	.429
	WA	2.88	1.583	
Item 32	**FL**	5.24	.739	.618
	WA	5.33	.620	
Item 37	**FL**	2.83	1.513	.670
	WA	3.00	1.494	

*p<.05

10 Discussion

Notwithstanding the limitations imposed on this study by the small sample size, there are several interesting results. This discussion chapter is divided into six parts. The first part focuses on the ELF speakers' evaluation of native and non-native speakers. Then, beliefs and attitudes towards English (11.2) and English pronunciation (11.3) will be dealt with. The fourth section will concentrate on the participants' attitude towards ELF in general, and towards ELF communication in particular. Subsequently, the fifth section is dedicated to the issue of speakers' identity. The sixth and final section will concentrate on the differences between the Flemish participants' beliefs and attitudes and those of the Walloon participants.

10.1 Evaluation of native and non-native speakers

The results of the verbal guise test clearly show that both participant groups evaluate native English speakers considerably more positively than non-native speakers. Regarding the native accents, this study found positive attitudinal responses for both the AmE and the BrE accent on accent-related as well as on person-related qualities. This corroborates the findings of studies that also showed that native English speakers are evaluated most positive, by Bresnahan *et al.* (2002), Tavernier (2007), Jenkins (2007) and Lev-ari & Keysar (2010). On the one hand, the Flemings stated that they have a clear preference for the BrE accent and this was reflected in their positive evaluation of both accent-related and person-related qualities. These findings correspond to the results of studies on Flemish participants (Botterman 1995, Simon 2005) and on informants from other nationalities (Ladegaard 1998, Ladegaard & Shachdev 2008). In Flanders, the notion of 'Standard English' and correct language usage has traditionally been very strong. Even though pupils are exposed to American English in secondary level, British English is still very dominant in the educational system. Ladegaard (1998) points out that this may cause students to consider correct English as the equivalent of some form of British English. Moreover, Zhang & Hu's (2008) study suggests that learners have a more positive attitude towards the varieties of English they have been most exposed to. On the other hand, the majority of the Walloons preferred the American accent, which is more in line with findings by De Barros (2009), Sjöstedt & Vranic (2007) and Möbarg (1999, as found in Simon 2005). Their favourability on all traits shows that GA can also be presented as the preferable model for

pronunciation. The Walloons' preference for the American English accent may also be accounted for through Zhang & Hu's (2008) argument mentioned above. Although this was not investigated in the questionnaire, the Walloons may have received a more American English oriented English instruction at school or may have come more into contact with the American culture than the British culture.

The influence of American culture on the results is also visible in both groups, for instance in the more positive responses to AmE by both groups for personality traits which underlie competence. This finding can be explained through a correlation with intelligibility. Research by Bresnahan *et al.* (2002) suggests that there is a link between intelligibility of an accent and the speaker's competence. Likewise, in this study, when intelligibility is high, the respondents perceive the speaker as competent and vice versa. With regard to the solidarity dimension, it is the other way around, because Walloons and Flemings gave highest scores to BrE. In terms of status, the Flemings perceive BrE highest, whereas the Walloons prefer AmE. This finding suggests that speakers' choice for an accent depends greatly on the status with which the accent is related, as the respondents' preference for an accent corresponds to the accent they rate highest in terms of social status. This ties in with research by Giles & Coupland (1991), who propose that

> "evaluations of language varieties do not reflect intrinsic linguistic or aesthetic qualities so much as the levels of status and prestige that they are *conventionally* [the authors' emphasis] associated with in particular speech communities" (Giles and Coupland 1991, as found in Ladegaard 1998: 253).

Furthermore, as Cargile & Giles (1998) argue, social status is the most important characteristic of a standard variety. As the respondents of this study speak English on a formal basis and on academic occasions, social status is an important factor for them to consider.

Moving on to the evaluation of the non-native accents, both FrE and FlE received negative judgements. Conspicuously, the Walloons were more favourable towards their own native accent, whereas the Flemings were highly unfavourable towards the FrE accent. One possible interpretation may be found in Brennan & Brennan (1981) and Giles & Sassoon (1983, as found in Fuentes *et al.* 2002). They point to solidarity ratings to explain why people tend to be more favourable towards their own native accent. According to this pattern, individuals are more likely to agree with those who have accents similar to theirs. With this in mind, the French

accent of the speaker would have evoked sympathetic feelings towards the speaker. This may indeed be the case, as a wide majority of the Walloons recognised the origin of the speaker.

Concerning the negative evaluation of the Walloon speaker by the Flemish, a variety of explanations may account for this finding. One possible explanation may be the intonation of the Walloon speaker. Cenoz & Lecumberri (1999) point out that errors of intonation may be more serious than others because they can produce misunderstandings. French, in contrast to Dutch or English, is a Romance language and hence has a prosody which is quite different from that of English. This may have intensified the evaluation of the Flemings. Moreover, the negative evaluation of the Wallloon speaker may also be accounted for through perceptions of social group. Cargile & Giles (1998) point to the possibility that listeners evaluate a stereotype that is evoked through a certain accent. With this in mind, the negative social stereotypes which were described in a recent study by De Keere (2010) could have influenced the evaluation by the Flemings. Although this is certainly not the case for all Flemings, De Keere points to a stereotype that some Flemings have of Walloons, portraying them as somewhat lazy, sloppy and passive. Similarly, Bresnahan *et al.* (2002) also point out that speaking with a foreign accent identifies the other as member of an out-group and is likely to evoke negative stereotypes. This can also account for the negative evaluation of accent-related as well as person-related qualities of the Walloon speaker by Flemings.

Likewise, this stereotype judging and solidarity rating can also be applied to the evaluation of the Flemish accent. Surprisingly, the Walloon participants rated the Flemish accent more positively than their own. One possible explanation could be that because Dutch is a Germanic language, a Flemish pronunciation naturally leans more towards an English pronunciation and therefore sounds more native-like.

Finally, both non-native accents were not considered acceptable for international communication and evaluated highly unfavourably on all traits. These covert beliefs are at odds with their overt believes which they expressed in the second part of the questionnaire. This finding seems to contradict Breiteneder's (2009) claim that:

> "when speakers who belong to different linguacultures enter into these intercultural communication situations, it seems that their focus often shifts to communicative effectiveness and economy instead of markers of prestige and social status" (Breiteneder 2009: 362).

This contradiction will be elaborated on in section 11.4 below.

10.2 Beliefs and attitudes towards English

Generally, we can say that the informants of this study seem to hold positive views about English. For instance, all participants find English a beautiful language. This emotional belief is essential because scholars such as Gardner (1985) and Arnold (2009) stress that affect and emotions are highly important in the formation of language attitudes. Moreover, the informants realise and acknowledge the importance of being able to speak English for the benefit of their future careers. This is probably an important motivational factor which explains why a majority of the participants wished they had spent more time learning English in secondary level education. Bloch & Starks (1999) point out that business people in the English-speaking world tend to underrate the significance of language skills. With this in mind, this finding suggests that students might realize too late just how important English is to help them to a good job. Moreover, Tardy (2003) notes that often there is an inverse relationship between the self-assessment of non-native speakers and importance of English in the respondents' field. She noticed that, although the speakers rate the importance of English high in their field of study, they self-assess their own competence rather low. This notion may account for the choice some of the respondents (mostly Walloons) made to take extra English instruction in tertiary level education. In sum, the respondents acknowledge the high instrumental value of English in their field of study, therefore some students, especially Walloons expressed they wish to improve their English competence.

10.3 Beliefs and attitudes towards English pronunciation

The results suggest that the majority of the participants involved in this study do not consider native models of pronunciation as necessary or desirable goals by claiming that they do not consider it important to speak an acknowledged variety of English. This corroborates Jenkins (2000), who claims that a native-like accent is not considered essential for speakers who use English for international communication. Moreover, most of the respondents assert that they are happy with their pronunciation as long as people can understand them. Again, this indicates that they do not set great store by native pronunciation and that intelligibility takes priority. By contrast, these same participants also state that they find it important to speak with an excellent pronunciation. This apparent contradiction is interesting. The duality between a

tolerance for non-standard accents and a concern for accents that are associated with a excellent pronunciation, shows that non-native speakers are not yet fully comfortable with being completely independent from native models. Of course, one can also wonder what 'an excellent pronunciation' represents for these respondents. For ELF speakers, this could simply mean a clear and understandable accent because in ELF context intelligibility is key. Furthermore, Block & Starck (1999) point out that ELF speakers tend to agree that native varieties of English are better than their own non-native English accent. With this in mind, it may be possible that the respondents acknowledge they prefer native varieties but realize that for ELF speakers this is not a realistic goal and therefore are satisfied with their pronunciation when they can make themselves understood.

The informants strongly disagreed with the notion that one should not say anything in English until one can say it grammatically correctly, confirming Horwitz (1988, 1999). As Bernat (2005) suggests, this means that speakers feel confident speaking English before they can speak it correctly because in an ELF setting "the focus is on meaning making and intelligibility over immediate grammatical correctness" (Bernat 2005:217). Moreover, she sees a link between this and the earlier mentioned finding that the informants consider it important to speak with an excellent pronunciation. Diab (2006) and Bernat (2005) found similar results and the latter suggests that these findings show that the informants consider it more important to speak with an excellent pronunciation than with grammatical correctness.

Most respondents expressed that they were pleased with their present English pronunciation. This ties in with the participants' responses that they felt at ease when speaking English. This finding is promising as MacIntyre *et al.* (1998, as found in Arnold 2009) point out that the 'Willingness to Communicate' (WTC) should be the main goal of learning programmes because students often do not develop communicative competence because of language anxiety. The participants of this study, however, claim they are willing to use English. Despite these findings, some respondents state that they sometimes feel insecure about their English pronunciation and a minority even stated that for that reason they sometimes avoid speaking English in group or in front of a big audience. This may be because they are aware that listeners can pass judgement on their pronunciation.

Furthermore, the respondents seem to hold fairly positive views about their future as a proficient speaker of English. Most of them claimed that they believe they will someday achieve a correct pronunciation. This finding can be taken two ways. On the one hand, respondents could have interpreted this as gaining a native English pronunciation. Although the informants'

actual pronunciation of English was not studied, this is highly unlikely. Since, because of lack of correspondence between sound and spelling, English pronunciation is one of the most difficult areas in the acquisition of English (Cenoz & Lecumberri 1999). Moreover, because the informants mostly come into contact with other non-native speakers they will probably not be able to achieve a native-like accent. This indicates that respondents might not be fully aware of the difficulty of English pronunciation. On the other hand, one can question the meaning of a 'correct pronunciation'. Yet again, an ELF speaker may have interpreted this as an pronunciation that is intelligible and clear, rather than related to a native English variety. With regard to this interpretation of 'correct', they may indeed achieve this goal.

10.4 Beliefs and attitudes towards ELF and ELF communication

Some of the above results, such as giving the message priority over the quality of the language and tolerance for deviation from native norms, already give away that the respondents show characteristic features of an ELF speaker. This section aims to gain more in-depth knowledge on these ELF speakers' attitudes towards and beliefs about ELF and ELF communication.

To start with, it is noticeable that for the respondents communication with native speakers is no longer the primary motivation for learning English. On the one hand, several studies (Horwitz 1988, Gardner 1985, Horwitz 1999, Bernat 2005, Riley 2006) showed that a majority of English learners felt that it is necessary to know the foreign culture in order to speak the language. On the other hand, the results of this experiment suggest the opposite: most respondents of this study, especially the Flemings, did not find the role of cultural contact important. As Jenkins (1998) claims, the concern for the native culture of a language is typical for English as a Second Language (ESL) and EFL learners of English, whereas ELF speakers primarily want to communicate with other non-native speakers. This is confirmed by Dörnyei (1999, as found in Bernat 2005) who notes that in EFL contexts, students are more instrumentally than integratively motivated. With this in mind, the respondents characterize themselves as ELF speakers.

Scholars acknowledge that English no longer 'belongs' to native English-speaking countries (Bloch & Starks 1999, Booij 2001). The findings of this paper suggest that the respondents are also very conscious of this notion. English is considered an international language used by a variety of speakers. However, this finding appears to contradict Mollin (2006). Her large-scale survey across Europe revealed that only 48.24% agreed with this

statement ("*English doesn't belong to the native speakers anymore, but to anybody who uses it*"). Because in this study a clear majority of 80% from both linguistic groups agreed with this notion, this seems to contradict Mollin's argument that the idea that a language belongs to its own nation is very strong in Europe. Nevertheless, because Mollin's research included over 4000 people of all ages, her sample is much more representative. With this in mind, the respondents of this study are supporters of the pragmatist view, as explained in chapter 7 (Haberland 2011).

A clear majority of the respondents expressed that everybody in Europe should be able to speak English, since this would facilitate communication, similarly to Mollin's (2006) results. This finding reflects the elevated status of ELF as a tool for intra-European communication, as Breiteneder (2009) points out that English has become an indispensable mean of intra-European communication. Furthermore, the respondents also stated that they would not prefer French to be the international language of communication. Nevertheless, they agree with the proposition that other languages, such as French and German, should also be allowed on international congresses. This shows that the respondents do not want to replace English as the language for intra-European communication but nevertheless would like to increase the linguistic diversity on international meetings.

Most of the respondents also expressed that they think that schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it, but for efficient international communication. This seems to contradict the results of Mollin (2006) because only 48.24% of the European respondents agreed. This suggests that the participants' tendency of viewing English dissociated from its native speakers expresses itself even in the desire for pedagogical changes.

Roughly one third of the participants agreed that we need to develop a global variety of English that is not linked to a particular English speaking country and that can be used everywhere. Although a majority did not agree, this finding is nevertheless significant. It also confirms that these respondents want to use English independently of the native English-speaking countries. This process would create a sort of simplified version of English. Nonetheless, we should be careful in promoting this because such a simplified English probably would not result in an uniform language since non-native English speakers with various native languages experience other difficulties when learning English.

In terms of ELF communication, all respondents strongly agreed that English is a useful tool for communication. This shows that respondents are highly aware of the instrumental value of

English. Moreover, they stated that they are not bothered with mistakes other learners of English make as long as they understand what they want to say. This confirms Breiteneder's (2009) claim that in ELF communication, the message is more critical than the quality of the language used. These findings corroborated with the results Mollin (2006) found on these two statements. This indicates that beliefs about and attitudes towards ELF communication are similar all over Europe.

However, these findings described above (their overt beliefs) are very much at odds with the negative evaluation of the non-native speakers in the verbal guise experiment (their covert beliefs). This finding suggests that these ELF speakers do not completely accept and tolerate the non-native speakers and their accents, therefore they do not consider non-native and native speakers of the same value. By contrast, it looks like the respondents still hold prestige and social status high when evaluating people. Seidlhofer formulates this duality as follows:

> "English is being shaped at least as much by its non-native [sic] speakers as by its native speakers. This has led to a somewhat paradoxical situation: on the one hand, for the majority of its users, English is a foreign language, and the vast majority of verbal exchanges in English do not involve any native speakers of the language at all. On the other hand, there is still a tendency for native speakers to be regarded as custodians over what is acceptable usage'' (Seidlhofer 2005, as found in Haberland 2011:943).

In addition, as Bloch & Starks (1999) note, native speakers frequently receive a more positive evaluation than non-native speakers even to the extent that, for this reason, they are sometimes even considered 'better'. Therefore, non-native speakers should be made aware of this discrepancy between their overt and covert beliefs in order to enhance the linguistic tolerance communication between non-natives.

Furthermore, a majority of the respondents claimed that they have experienced some difficulties in understanding speakers with a strong non-English accent and acknowledge (especially the Walloon participants) that such an accent can complicate communication. Moreover, again a wide majority also stated that they sometimes find a strong non-English accents funny. This shows that a non-native speaker's accent can be a disadvantage. Therefore, in line with what Alford & Strother (1990) argue: "the key to attitudinal changes lies in developing respect for diverse varieties of English" (Alford & Strother 1990:492), we can also expand this to non-native varieties. Knowing how other

non-native speakers react to language is therefore all the more important. This study may provide a tool in making non-native speakers and ELF speakers in general, aware of attitudes and beliefs they hold towards other groups.

10.5 Identity

Most respondents claimed that they do not mind that people can hear that English is not their first language, because it is a part of who they are. These responses seem to suggest that the informants consider their non-native accent as part of their identity. This indicates a link between a speaker's identity and their mother t ongue accent. As Booij (2001) points out: "just like English gives access to international culture and the world at large, [one's mother tongue] gives access to a person's own culture and history" (Booij 2001:4). Moreover, they also state that they consider their mother tongue more important than English. This finding endorses House's (2003) argument against the assumption that ELF is a serious threat to national languages and multilingualism. She makes the distinction between languages for communication and languages for identification (cf. 7.1). The respondents view their mother tongue as a language for identification, whereas English is a language for communication.

In addition, the majority of the respondents also explicitly denied the idea of ELF as a threat to national languages as most respondents claimed they do not consider English a threat to their mother tongue. Remarkably, the results of the Walloon participants (38.9%) link up to Mollin's (2006) findings more than those of the Flemish participants (24.1%), as she found that 42.82% of the European respondents agreed with the statement that English forms a treat to a speaker's mother tongue. This shows that the Flemish respondents of this study feel less threatened by English than the Walloon respondents. This is highly remarkable as Dutch, unlike French, is a minority language. The higher sense of threat by English felt by the Walloons may be explained through the fact that French continues to lose its dominant language position in the world.

As already mentioned above (cf. 11.4), the respondents (especially the Flemings) are not primarily concerned with native English culture and communication with natives. With this in mind, as respondents do not attach great importance to integrativeness, their identity is not at stake. Continuing along the same line, Gardner's argument that "the acquisition of another

language can be a treat to one's feelings of self" (Gardner 1985:15) is less applicable when students do not focus on the foreign culture.

Finally, the notion of a speaker's identity is important to consider because it can have implications for a speaker's choice of pronunciation. As Cargile & Giles (1997) assert: "someone who strongly identifies with group X will be more likely to register this social identity in interactions than someone who does not identify strongly with the group" (Cargile & Giles 1997: 198). In other words, speakers who strongly identify with their mother tongue are likely to let their first language shine through in their English pronunciation. Moreover, Taylor *et al.* (1977, as found in Gardner 1985) have shown that a sense of threat to a speaker's identity negatively correlated with achievement in a foreign language.

In sum, as these respondents showed they set great store by their identity, this factor must not be left unconsidered when studying ELF speakers' attitudes and beliefs because native language identity can evoke or intensify them and account for a speaker's choice of pronunciation.

10.6 Differences between Walloons and Flemings

This study revealed many similarities between Flemings and Walloons, exposing common beliefs and attitudes of ELF speakers with different mother tongues. Nevertheless, statistical analysis exposed some differences between the two groups. Besides the conclusion that the Walloon participants are more inclined to prefer an AmE accent and Flemings a BrE accent and the more negative evaluation of the FrE speaker by Flemings (cf. 11.1), most of these differences arise within three areas: significance attached to pronunciation, interest in native English-speaking culture and education.

Firstly, Flemings seem to set greater store by pronunciation than Walloons do. This is noticeable in two statements. Especially Flemish participants find it important to speak with an excellent pronunciation. More Walloons than Flemings claimed that they are happy with their English pronunciation as long as people can understand what they are saying. An aspect that may account for this finding is what Goethals (1997: 107) calls the "normality of languages in Flanders". He claims that in Flanders, "the relative little importance of Dutch worldwide and the presence of other languages reinforce the general feeling of a need for several different foreign language" (Goethals 1997: 107). This mentality among Flemings may account for the fact that they set great store to pronunciation.

Secondly, they differed in the extent to which they desired to get to know the native English speaker and culture better. Considerably more Walloons than Flemings expressed that they are interested in English-speaking culture and speakers. For instance, Walloons expressed that they wanted to learn English to be able to communicate with native speakers and to better understand and appreciate the American or British way of life. This may be linked to the discovered statistical trend that more Walloons than Flemings consider English more important than their mother tongue. Moreover, Walloons firmly agreed with the statement that English is a beautiful langue. All this considered, it appears that the Walloon participants share some characteristics with EFL learners, whose aim is to communicate with native-speakers too. This appears to be a promising finding according to Ginsburgh & Weber's (2006) proposition to enhance multilingualism among Walloons. They believe that a change in mentality of the Walloons is necessary to make Walloons aware of the importance and necessity of foreign language knowledge. The Walloon participants of this present study appeared to be interested in learning English for communication with both natives and non-natives and they expressed their interest in the British and American culture. This may suggest that Walloon youngsters show this change in mentality that Ginsburg & Weber (2006) advocated.

Thirdly, the results of this study also suggest that more Walloons than Flemings show that they are not satisfied with the English instruction they received. This assumption was deduced from four items. For instance, Walloons unanimously strongly disagreed that learning English is a waste of time. Moreover, they firmly agreed that English should be a compulsory subject at university. The Walloons also expressed that they wished they had spent more time learning English in secondary level education. This is probably the reason why, as it was noticeable from the results of the background questionnaire, considerably more Walloons than Flemings took extra English lessons after secondary level education. This can be related to the fact that Walloons claimed (more than Flemings) to be insecure about their pronunciation. One factor which can account for some of these findings is the fact that Walloons on average come considerably less into contact with English than Flemings. For instance, in Flanders foreign films are shown in the original version with subtitles whereas speakers of French prefer their films in French, which causes that they are very often dubbed. Even interviews on the radio are frequently dubbed in French-speaking Belgium (Berns *et al.* 2007). This considerably diminishes the contact with English in Wallonia. As the acquisition of a second language depends to a great extent on learners' exposure of English in daily life, this certainly may account for this

difference. It may also explain the considerably low recognition rates of the Walloons for the native accents.

11 Conclusion

This paper had set out to gain insights in the Flemings' and the Walloons' beliefs about and attitudes towards ELF and ELF communication, on the one hand, and native and non-native English pronunciation, on the other hand. For this purpose, 29 Flemings and 27 Walloons, all members of an international student organisation spread over five different Belgian cities, participated on a constructed experiment. The data for this study was obtained with a quantitative approach, more specific through a verbal guise experiment and a questionnaire.

The results of the experiment revealed that ELF speakers are considerably more positive towards native English speakers than towards non-native English speakers. This observation points to a inconsistency between the respondents' overt and covert beliefs, which shows that they do not consider non-native and native speakers of the same value. This indicates that ELF speakers still hold prestige and social status high when evaluating people. Moreover, a correlation between high status and preference for an accent was found among the respondents as the respondent groups preferred the native accents which they rate highest in terms of social status.

Likewise, a fluctuation in the respondents' beliefs and attitudes was found between a tolerance for non-native accents and a concern for correct pronunciation, indicating that the respondents are still depending on native norms. Although it should be stressed that the emergence of ELF may have causes the respondents to consider a correct pronunciation as mainly being clear and understandable. Generally, the respondents were fairly pleased with their present pronunciation but nevertheless, some were not at ease speaking English because of insecurity about their pronunciation and expressed that they have experienced some difficulties in ELF communication because of strong non-native accents.

In terms of beliefs about and attitudes towards ELF, the findings of this study suggest that both groups are highly favourable towards English as the global language for communication. Most respondents even claimed a certain feeling of ownership of English as speakers of ELF. Some of them even went further in stressing the need for pedagogical changes in order to improve ELF communication. The respondents firmly acknowledged the high instrumental value of English, which was also reflected in the fact that they were more instrumentally than integratively motivated towards learning English. This pragmatic use of English as a means for communication was also demonstrated in that both respondent groups showed that they give the message priority over the quality of the language and tolerance

deviation from the standard norms. This study also suggests that the respondents firmly view their L1 accent as a part of their identity and nor the Flemings nor the Walloons feel that this identity or their mother tongue is under threat by English.

Furthermore, some differences between the beliefs and attitudes of the Walloons and Flemings were also suggested. Firstly, Walloons expressed a preference for the American accent whereas Flemings preferred the British accent. Secondly, Flemings seemed to set greater store by correct pronunciation than Walloons did. Thirdly, they differed in the extent to which they desire to get to know the native English speaker better, as the Walloons showed considerably more interest in the Anglo-American culture than the Flemings. Finally, their responses also suggested that more Walloons than Flemings are not satisfied with the English instruction they received. These findings can be accounted for in, on the one hand, the different educational policies that the two language communities hold and, on the other hand, in that considerably fewer Walloons than Flemings are exposed to English and native English culture on an every day base.

Nonetheless, caution should be exercised in generalizing this study's findings beyond this sample for a number of reasons. For instance, the sample under investigation was relatively small. Another limitation of this study is the imbalance of gender among respondents as considerably more males than females participated. It should also be noted that data was obtained from ELF speakers of roughly the same age; and thus it is possible that different outcomes may be produced by different population samples. Finally, it is important to remember that, while a quantitative approach is widely used for eliciting attitudes and beliefs, these cognitive and affective constructs remain difficult to capture by means of responses to a questionnaire and verbal guise test.

Notwithstanding this study's small-scale approach, it has tried to provide some valuable insights in the beliefs and attitudes of ELF speakers with different mother tongues. Moreover, this study has hoped to show that there are still some covert beliefs and attitudes that may impede an effective and optimal ELF communication. Accordingly, further research on this topic is needed to make ELF speakers aware of their own preconceived ideas about English pronunciation and foreign accents. Because ELF is a global phenomenon, further research could investigate the same topic on ELF speakers from different nationalities, to confirm the findings of the present study. Moreover, it may be worthwhile to investigate this topic from an qualitative approach. There is also a void in the literature on the congruence of ELF speakers' L1 identity and their ELF attitudes and beliefs.

12 Appendices

APPENDIX A: Reading fragment used as stimulus for the verbal guise test

And as fear and insecurity spread, many Greeks are packing their bags again and leaving their country. They want a new political system. Dissatisfaction crosses party lines, as people are no longer willing to play by the old rules of empty pre-election promises. They want to see results.

Even the smallest amount of progress, will require politicians to roll up their sleeves and propose viable reforms that can and will be implemented. What we need is radical structural reforms that will help us to rebuild the country's wobbly foundations of productivity. We need reforms that will generate new ideas.

We need a new set of rules that will allow for the smooth transition from the informal to the formal economy. This would increase the investment possibilities in Greece not only for foreign investors, but also for local ones.

It's not too late for the crisis to serve as an opportunity. It might, however, be Greece's best chance to make all the necessary changes and put the country back on the path of prosperity.

An excerpt from 'Promote Greek entrepreneurship to turn this crisis into an opportunity' by Elena Panaritis. Found on the guardian online on Wednesday 22 February 2012.

APPENDIX B: Inquiry form for the speakers of the audio fragments, which were used as stimuli for the verbal guise test (translated in English)

Thank you very much for assisting with my research. This questionnaire is designed to self-asses your language competence in English. Your audio recordings will be kept confidential and used for analysis purposes only.

Thanks,
Marieke De Meerleer
Master English – Ghent University

- What is your age? (circle as appropriate)

  20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59

- How would you rate you own accent when speaking English?

Very bad	Rather bad	Slightly bad	Slightly good	Rather good	Very good

- Did you receive a secondary level education that focussed on language studies?

  YES - NO

- Did you choose a secondary level education that focussed on language studies?

  YES - NO

- Do you speak English at a regular basis?

  YES - NO

I, the undersigned, certify that my audio recordings may be used for academic purposes.

Name and signature: Date:

APPENDIX C: Questionnaire (translated in English)

Thank you very much for answering this questionnaire. This questionnaire is designed to seek your opinions on the usage of English as an international language and the different accents of English. Your responses will be kept confidential and used for analysis purposes only. Thanks, Marieke De Meerleer

PART 1: Now follow four audio fragments. Please pay close attention to the pronunciation of the speakers.

1: Strongly disagree, 2: mostly disagree, 3: somewhat disagree, 4: somewhat agree, 5: mostly agree, 6: strongly agree

FRAGMENT 1 **-** **+**

1. The accent of this fragment is beautiful.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. I would like to learn English with this accent.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
4. I find this accent acceptable for international communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

The speaker of this fragment sounds:

5. Intelligent	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Unintelligent**
6. Self-assured	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Shy**
7. Authoritative	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Not authoritative**
8. Polite	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Rude**
9. Well educated	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Poorly educated**
10. Trustworthy	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Untrustworthy**

I think I know the land of origin of the speaker: NO - YES, from……..

FRAGMENT 2 **-** **+**

1. The accent of this fragment is beautiful.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. I would like to learn English with this accent.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
4. I find this accent acceptable for international communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

The speaker of this fragment sounds:

5. Intelligent	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Unintelligen**
6. Self-assured	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Shy**
7. Authoritative	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Not authoritative**
8. Polite	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Rude**
9. Well educated	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Poorly educated**
10. Trustworthy	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Untrustworthy**

I think I know the land of origin of the speaker: NO - YES, from……..

FRAGMENT 3 **-** **+**

1. The accent of this fragment is beautiful.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. I would like to learn English with this accent.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
4. I find this accent acceptable for international communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

The speaker of this fragment sounds:

5. Intelligent	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Unintelligent**
6. Self-assured	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Shy**
7. Authoritative	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Not authoritative**
8. Polite	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Rude**
9. Well educated	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Poorly educated**
10. Trustworthy	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Untrustworthy**

I think I know the land of origin of the speaker: NO - YES,
from…….....

FRAGMENT 4 **-** **+**

1. The accent of this fragment is beautiful.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. I would like to learn English with this accent.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
4. I find this accent acceptable for international communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

The speaker of this fragment sounds:

5. Intelligent	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Unintelligent**
6. Self-assured	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Shy**
7. Authoritative	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Not authoritative**
8. Polite	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Rude**
9. Well educated	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Poorly educated**
10. Trustworthy	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Untrustworthy**

I think I know the land of origin of the speaker: NO - YES,
from…….....

PART 2: GENERAL QUESTIONS

Please read the statements given below very carefully and indicate one out of six possibilities.

1: Strongly disagree, 2: mostly disagree, 3: somewhat disagree, 4: somewhat agree, 5: mostly agree, 6: strongly agree **-** **+**

1. English is a useful tool for communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. I feel very much at ease when I have to speak English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
3. Schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it, but for efficient international communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
4. I do not mind that people can hear English is not my first language. It is a part of who I am.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
5. English should be a obligatory subject at University.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
6. To me English is more important than my mother tongue (first language).	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
7. I am happy with my present English pronunciation.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
8. Good language skills will land me on a good job.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
9. English does not belong to the native speakers anymore, but to anybody who uses it.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
10. It is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
11. Studying English is important because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate the English way of life.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
12. Sometimes I feel insecure about my English pronunciation when I have to speak in a group/ to a big audience.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
13. English is a beautiful language.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
14. I am happy with my English pronunciation as long as people can understand me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
15. I will never be able to speak English with a correct pronunciation.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
16. English forms a threat to my mother tongue.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
17. I am not bothered about mistakes that other learners of English make as long as I understand what they want to say.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
18. I would prefer it if the international language of communication were not English but French.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
19. To me, a correct pronunciation is: speaking in a acknowledged English variety (British, American, Australian…).	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

	-					+
20. Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with native speakers of English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
21. Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with speakers who do not speak my language.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
22. Everybody in Europe should speak English since this would facilitate communication.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
23. Sometimes I find it funny when people speak English with a strong non-English accent.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
24. Learning English is a waste of time.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
25. I find it easier to read English than to speak English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
26. Sometimes I avoid speaking English in a group/in front of an audience because I am insecure about my pronunciation.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
27. Sometimes I get irritated when someone speaks English with a strong non-English accent. It makes it harder to understand him/her.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
28. If I could start all over again, I would spend more time learning English at secondary school.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
29. I do not think it is important to speak like a native speaker of English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
30. It would be better if people on international congresses would not only speak English, but other languages as well, such as French or German.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
31. Sometimes I find it difficult to understand people who speak English with a strong non-English accent.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
32. It is useful so many people speak English because this allows for easier communication among people.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
33. I do not like it when people recognize in my accent that I am not a native English speaker.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
34. A strong non-English accent complicates communication between people.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
35. Studying English is important because I will need it for my career.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
36. You should not say anything in English until you can speak English correctly.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
37. We need to develop a global variety of English that is not linked to a particular English speaking country and that can be used everywhere.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

PART 3. PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Name:…… M / W
- Year of birth:……..
- First Language:……
- Do you speak any other languages fluently? NO – YES:……..
- Have you been in a country before where English is spoken? NO – YES
  If yes: where?.....
  For how long (approximately)?.....
- Did you follow any English classes after finishing secondary school? NO –YES
- Do you speak English in a regular basis? NO – YES
- On which occasions do you communicate in English?
  .....
- Do you have a clear preference for one out of four fragments/accents?
  NO – YES, fragment number……..

I, the undersigned, certify that the data in this questionnaire may be used for academic purposes.
Name and signature: Date:

APPENDIX D: Source of the questionnaire items

1. "English is a useful tool for communication." **(Mollin 2006: 177)**

2. "I feel very much at ease when I have to speak English." **(Gardner 2004: 4)**

3. "Schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it, but for efficient international communication." **(Mollin 2006: 177)**

4. I do not mind that people can hear English is not my first language. It is a part of who I am. (**author's design)**

5. "English should be a obligatory subject at University". **(Yang 2003)**

6. "To me English is more important than my mother tongue [first language]". **(Mollin 2006:177)**

7. I am happy with my present English pronunciation. **(author's design)**

8. "Good language skills will […] [help me to] a good job." **(Yang 2003: 120)**

9. "English doesn't belong to the native speakers anymore, but to anybody who uses it". **(Mollin 2006: 177)**

10. "It is important to speak […] [English] with an excellent pronunciation." **(Horwitz 1988: 289)**

11. "Studying English is important because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate the English way of life." **(Gardner 2004: 5)**

12. Sometimes I feel insecure about my English pronunciation when I have to speak in a group/ to a big audience. **(author's design)**

13. English is a beautiful language. **(Karahan 2007)**

14. I am happy with my English pronunciation as long as people can understand me. **(author's design)**

15. I will never be able to speak English with a correct pronunciation. **(Horwitz 1988)**

16. English forms a threat to my mother tongue. **(author's design)**

17. "I am not bothered about mistakes that other learners of English make as long as I understand what they want to say". **(Mollin 2006: 177)**

18. I would prefer it if the international language of communication were not English but French. **(author's design)**

19. To me, a correct pronunciation is: speaking in a acknowledged English variety (British, American, Australian…). **(author's design)**

20. Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with native speakers of English. **(Gardner 2004: 8)**

21. Being able to speak English is mainly important because I want to be able to interact more easily with speakers who don't speak my language. **(author's design)**

22. "Everybody in Europe should speak English since this would facilitate communication." **(Mollin 2006: 177)**

23. Sometimes I find it funny when people speak English with a strong non-English accent. **(author's design)**

24. "Learning English is a waste of time." **(Gardner 2004: 7)**

25. "I find it easier to read English than to speak English." **(Horwitz 1988: 285)**

26. Sometimes I avoid speaking English in a group/in front of an audience because I am insecure about my pronunciation. **(author's design)**

27. Sometimes I get irritated when someone speaks English with a strong non-English accent. It makes it harder to understand him/her. **(author's design)**

28. "If I could start all over again, I would spend more time learning English at secondary school". **(Yang 2003: 120)**

29. I do not think it is important to speak like a native speaker of English. **(author's design)**

30. It would be better if people on international congresses wouldn't only speak English, but other languages as well, such as French or German. **(author's design)**

31. Sometimes I find it difficult to understand people who speak English with a strong non-English accent. **(author's design)**

32. "It is useful so many people speak English because this allows for easier communication among people." **(Mollin 2006: 177)**

33. I do not like it when people recognize in my accent that I am not a native English speaker. **(author's design)**

34. A strong non-English accent complicates communication between people. **(Seidlhofer & Berns 2009)**

35. "Studying English is important because I will need it for my career." **(Gardner 2004: 3)**

36. "You shouldn't say anything in English until you can speak it [English] correctly." **(Horwitz 1988: 289)**

37. We need to develop a global variety of English that is not linked to a particular English speaking country and that can be used everywhere. **(Booij 2001)**

APPENDIX E: Full breakdown of the results of the verbal guise test

AMERICAN ENGLISH							
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1. This accent is beautiful.	**FL**	0.0%	10.3%	13.8%	31.0%	41.4%	3.4%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	18.5%	29.6%	22.2%	22.2%
2. I would like to speak with this accent.	**FL**	3.4%	20.7%	10.3%	37.9%	17.2%	10.3%
	WA	3.7%	7.4%	3.7%	22.2%	37.0%	25.6%
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.1%	44.8%	31.0%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%%	3.7%	63.0%	29.6%
4. This accent is acceptable for international communication.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%	41.4%	44.8%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%	22.2%	70.4%
5. This speaker sounds intelligent.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	10.3%	17.2%	55.2%	17.2%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	14.8%	37.0%	44.4%
6. This speaker sounds self- assured.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	10.3%	13.8%	55.2%	17.2%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	14.8%	25.9%	55.6%
7. This speaker sounds authoritative.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	6.9%	48.3%	41.4%	0.0%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	22.2%	14.8%	40.7%	14.8%
8. This speaker sounds polite.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	17.2%	37.9%	24.1%	20.7%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%	25.9%	37.0%	29.6%
9. This speaker sounds well educated.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	6.9%	44.8%	31.0%	13.8%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	14.8%	51.9%	29.6%
10. This speaker sounds trustworthy.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	10.3%	24.1%	51.7%	10.3%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	3.7%	33.3%	44.4%	11.1%

BRITISH ENGLISH							
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1. This accent is beautiful.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.1%	41.4%	34.5%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	0.0%	33.3%	22.2%	37.0%
2. I would like to speak with this accent.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%	17.2%	41.4%	27.6%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	22.2%	14.8%	33.3%	29.6%
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	27.6%	48.3%	20.7%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	18.5%	18.5%	48.1%	14.8%
4. This accent is acceptable for international communication.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	10.3%	41.4%	44.8%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	3.7%	33.3%	59.3%
5. This speaker sounds intelligent.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	6.9%	31.0%	27.6%	31.0%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	11.1%	11.1%	44.4%	29.6%
6. This speaker sounds self- assured.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	24.1%	24.1%	34.5%	17.2%
	WA	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	11.1%	55.6%	29.6%
7. This speaker sounds authoritative.	**FL**	0.0%	6.9%	13.8%	37.9%	13.8%	13.8%
	WA	7.4%	7.4%	18.5%	48.1%	14.8%	3.7%
8. This speaker sounds polite.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%	58.6%	27.6%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	22.2%	51.9%	22.2%
9. This speaker sounds well educated.	**FL**	0.0%	3.4%	13.8%	27.6%	34.5%	17.2%
	WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	22.2%	55.6%	22.2%
10. This speaker sounds trustworthy.	**FL**	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%	13.8%	48.3%	34.5%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	7.4%	18.5%	51.9%	14.8%

FRENCH-ACCENTED ENGLISH

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1. This accent is beautiful.	**FL**	55.2%	44.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	59.3%	18.5%	22.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
2. I would like to speak with this accent.	**FL**	79.3%	17.2%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	77.8%	18.5%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**FL**	31.0%	58.6%	10.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	3.7%	22.2%	44.4%	18.5%	11.1%	0.0%
4. This accent is acceptable for international communication.	**FL**	34.5%	27.6%	24.1%	10.3%	3.4%	0.0%
	WA	22.2%	29.6%	18.5%	29.6%	0.0%	0.0%
5. This speaker sounds intelligent.	**FL**	6.9%	31.0%	31.0%	6.9%	20.7%	3.4%
	WA	3.7%	18.5%	11.1%	33.3%	22.2%	11.1%
6. This speaker sounds self- assured.	**FL**	24.1%	41.4%	20.7%	10.3%	3.4%	0.0%
	WA	14.8%	44.4%	25.9%	7.4%	7.4%	0.0%
7. This speaker sounds authoritative.	**FL**	24.1%	43.5%	31.0%	3.4%	3.4%	3.4%
	WA	22.2%	29.6%	33.3%	7.4%	7.4%	0.0%
8. This speaker sounds polite.	**FL**	3.4%	6.9%	27.6%	31.0%	20.7%	10.3%
	WA	0.0%	7.4%	22.2%	44.4%	22.2%	3.7%
9. This speaker sounds well educated.	**FL**	13.8%	41.4%	31.0%	6.9%	6.9%	0.0%
	WA	3.7%	29.6%	25.9%	33.3%	7.4%	0.0%
10. This speaker sounds trustworthy.	**FL**	6.9%	31.0%	48.3%	13.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	14.8%	33.3%	25.9%	22.2%	3.7%	0.0%

FLEMISH-ACCENTED ENGLISH

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1. This accent is beautiful.	**FL**	27.6%	51.7%	13.8%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	37.0%	40.7%	7.4%	14.8%	0.0%	0.0%
2. I would like to speak with this accent.	**FL**	65.5%	20.7%	13.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	WA	74.1%	22.2%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
3. This accent is easy to understand.	**FL**	3.4%	27.6%	41.4%	24.1%	3.4%	0.0%
	WA	11.1%	25.9%	25.9%	37.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4. This accent is acceptable for international communication.	**FL**	6.9%	34.5%	48.3%	3.4%	6.9%	0.0%
	WA	25.9%	14.8%	22.2%	22.2%	14.8%	0.0%
5. This speaker sounds intelligent.	**FL**	3.4%	27.6%	34.5%	17.2%	3.4%	13.8%
	WA	7.4%	7.4%	14.8%	22.2%	40.7%	7.4%
6. This speaker sounds self- assured.	**FL**	6.9%	37.9%	27.6%	17.2%	10.3%	0.0%
	WA	3.7%	14.8%	18.5%	51.9%	11.1%	0.0%
7. This speaker sounds authoritative.	**FL**	6.9%	41.1%	41.1%	0.0%	3.4%	6.9%
	WA	11.1%	25.9%	33.3%	18.5%	7.4%	3.7%
8. This speaker sounds polite.	**FL**	3.4%	10.3%	27.6%	24.1%	20.7%	13.8%
	WA	0.0%	11.1%	18.5%	37.0%	29.6%	3.7%
9. This speaker sounds well educated.	**FL**	10.3%	27.6%	44.8%	10.3%	3.4%	3.4%
	WA	3.7%	7.4%	22.2%	51.9%	14.8%	0.0%
10. This speaker sounds trustworthy.	**FL**	3.4%	20.7%	24.1%	34.5%	10.3%	6.9%
	WA	7.4%	7.4%	25.9%	48.1%	11.1%	0.0%

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