

Attitudes Toward African–American Vernacular English: A US Export to Japan?

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To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to examine attitudes towards African–American vernacular English (AAVE) in a setting outside of the USA. Because foreign attitudes toward AAVE can serve as an indirect assessment of a society's racial prejudice, we decided to explore these attitudes in Japan: a country with an intriguing mix of ties that are both close (i.e. politically and economically) and distant (i.e. culturally) vis-à-vis the USA. Considering the ostensible similarities in racial beliefs widely held in both countries, we hypothesised that evaluations of AAVE in Japan would be comparable to those in the USA. We found that the evaluations expressed by a sample of Japanese college students were virtually indistinguishable from the overall pattern of AAVE evaluations made by US Americans and recommend additional research in order to better understand the nature of contemporary Japanese attitudes towards different varieties of English.

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Since its inception in the 1930s, language attitudes research has demonstrated that language is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information. For better or worse, hearers react to linguistic and paralinguistic variation in messages as though they indicate both personal and social characteristics of the speaker. For example, a stranger may be judged incompetent due simply to a slow rate of speech (Brown, 1980). Because such beliefs about language use can bias social interaction, language attitudes represent important communicative phenomena worth understanding.

As a field of study, language attitudes research is concerned with the social consequences of any number of different language behaviours (e.g. speech style, speech rate, gender-linked language or codeswitching). However, among

all language behaviours, the most studied and perhaps the most socially significant is accent. Over the years, scores of studies have compared reactions to varieties of accents found throughout the world, including the USA, and have found that accents matter greatly (see Bradac *et al.*, 2001). Those who speak with an accent deemed 'standard' within a particular community (i.e. the variety most often associated with institutional control and power, see Edwards, 1982) tend to be rated highly on traits related to competence, intelligence and social status, whereas 'non-standard' accented speakers are evaluated less favourably along these same dimensions, even by listeners who themselves speak with a non-standard accent (Ryan *et al.*, 1984). This patterned reaction is particularly robust in the case of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE).

Of all the varieties of non-mainstream US English, the most researched and perhaps most stigmatised variety is AAVE. With one exception (cf. Koch & Gross, 1997), AAVE speakers are always downgraded on status-related traits (i.e. 'education' or 'wealth') when compared to mainstream US English (MUSE) speakers. In five studies (Buck, 1968; Garner & Rubin, 1986; Irwin, 1977; Johnson & Buttny, 1982; Speicher & McMahan, 1992), this downgraded status effect is combined with favourable attractiveness-related evaluations (i.e. 'warm' or 'kind'). However, in five other studies (Bishop, 1979; Doss & Gross, 1992, 1994; Larimer *et al.*, 1988; White *et al.*, 1998), this downgraded status effect is combined with unfavourable attractiveness-related evaluations. Such a pattern of responses can be viewed as a form of language patronisation and undoubtedly stems from more generalised, longstanding stereotypes in the USA that often portray African-Americans as less intelligent but equally if not more friendly than whites (e.g. Bankart, 1972; Hudson & Hines-Hudson, 1999; Karlins *et al.*, 1988).

Although the stigmatisation of AAVE in the USA is quite clear, it is not known whether and to what extent listeners from other nations share these attitudes. On the one hand, exploring attitudes toward non-indigenous varieties of speech may appear misguided – if a particular way of talking is not part of the local community, what basis for evaluation would exist and why would such evaluations even matter? On the other hand, when the language in question is the world's lingua franca (i.e. English) and the variety comes from the remaining global super-power (i.e. the USA), we can imagine both a basis for evaluation and a reason why such evaluations would matter. Namely, foreign attitudes toward AAVE can serve as an indirect assessment of a society's racial prejudice (Larimer *et al.*, 1988) and its internalisation of hegemonic US American ideals.

While attitudes toward standard varieties of English (e.g. standard American, British or Australian English) have been measured in countries throughout the world (e.g. Ladegaard, 1998; McAndrew *et al.*, 2000), to the best of our knowledge, no study has examined attitudes toward AAVE in a setting outside of the USA. Thus, we selected one with an intriguing mix of ties that are both close (i.e. politically and economically) and distant (i.e. culturally) vis-à-vis the USA: Japan.

US influence in Japan

Although it has been said that perhaps no two countries are more different than the USA and Japan (Morrow, 1992), the fact that US influence has been greatly felt in Japan is undeniable. Beginning with Commodore Perry's famous 'opening' of Japan to Western trade in 1853 and escalating with the nation's defeat in WWII, American practices have indelibly marked Japan – sometimes literally, as in the case of the Japanese language. During postwar occupation, US authorities helped to institutionalise a dominant role for English in Japan: the Japanese constitution was written in English, English language instruction was emphasised and the Japanese language itself increased its adoption of English loan words. Today, such loan words (e.g. 'koohee'/coffee and 'intaaneto'/internet) are omnipresent in both commercial and non-commercial contexts (e.g. English loan words are used by government officials even when Japanese-native equivalents exist; Tsuda, 1990). Our point here is simply to describe examples of linguistic US influences in Japan. We are not making claims regarding the history of US influences in languages other than Japanese. In Japanese public schools, for example, English language instruction has continued to dominate the system: more than 99% of all junior high and high schools offer English classes (Hoshiyama, 1978), and now nearly 90% of public elementary schools use English-language activities (Nakamura, 2004). English is the *only* subject tested on all university entrance exams (Locastro, 1996), and Japan has become the largest commercial market for English-language instruction in the world—valued at 300 billion yen (approximately 2.7 billion US dollars) (Schreiber, 2004).

Given the widespread diffusion of English in Japan, it is not hard to imagine that Japanese society has also been greatly influenced by other aspects of US American culture. Although Japanese culture certainly remains distinct and feelings of ambivalence (or even antipathy) toward the USA exist (e.g. Thayer, 1988), Japan has nonetheless adopted many American cultural values as its own. As Fujitake writes, beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, many Japanese came to regard the USA as an extension of Japan and subsequently adopted many American practices without a clear awareness of their being American – 'the new generation of Japanese grew up in Japan but breathed American air' (cited in Nagoyo, 1989: 211). One such practice with very deep roots is a Western system of racial stratification (Koshiro, 1999; Nakamura, 1991).

It is widely known that contemporary ideas about race in the USA have their origin in European expansion and colonialism (e.g. Borstelmann, 2002; Horsman, 1981; West, 1993). White colonisers placed themselves at the apex and blacks at the bottom as opposing poles in a system of global racial hierarchy. As Vaughan (1982: 918) writes,

from the dawn of England's intellectual awakening to the African and American continents in the mid-sixteenth century, color perceptions were fundamental to Anglo-American assessments of peoples strikingly different from themselves... In the case of Africans, color prejudice

combined with cultural and religious prejudice to place blacks in a tragically inferior status.

Today this racial hierarchy remains little changed (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Conley, 1999; Freeman, 2005) as all other so-called races (including Asians) have been accommodated between the poles of black and white (e.g. Ancheta, 2003; Wu, 2002). As secondary categories, the meanings invested in these 'in-between' racial designations are often more fluid and subject to greater debate. As Harrison (1995: 59) writes, 'although whiteness and blackness have not had fixed meanings and boundaries, the opposition between them has provided the stabilizing backbone for the United States' racialized social body. The most visible instability has occurred between the poles'. Thus, within a Western system of racial stratification, the designation 'Asian' carries liminal status, and has therefore become dependent upon the marking of both white, and black Others.

Following this system in Japan, people have been presented with a racially contingent identity. As Dower (1986) describes, the Japanese certainly had their own indigenous racial paradigm in which their identity was not so predicated. Yet, as Japan came under Western influence, this indigenous paradigm was eventually supplanted by the US American one. As Russell (1991: 5) explains

the Japanese have been heavily influenced by Western values and racial paradigms, imported along with Dutch learning and Western science in their rush to catch up with the West... [Moreover], in the postwar period in particular... these perduring stereotypes of the black Other have been in large part reinforced by the centrality of American discourse on the nonwhite Other in Japan which... has resulted in Japan's uncritical acceptance and indigenization of the racial hierarchies they project.

Thus, although it has become fashionable to gaze up at white Others in contemporary Japan (e.g. many Japanese are said to have a 'gaijin [white foreigner] complex'; March, 1992: 6), it is just as necessary to gaze down at non-white Others in order to maintain one's place in the racialised hierarchy.

Realising that Japan has largely internalised the US racial hierarchy, it is unsurprising to observe that white Others are generally accorded high prestige, whereas non-white Others (e.g. blacks and Koreans) are often denigrated (Befu, 2001; Fujimoto, 2002; Haarmann, 1984; Hildebrandt & Giles, 1983). Because such social stereotypes serve as a foundation for language attitudes (see Cargile & Bradac, 2001), it is likely that this hierarchy also informs Japanese attitudes toward varieties of English. Several studies have found that Japanese listeners typically favour standard US or British English speakers over speakers of Japanese-English or other Asian varieties (e.g. Singaporean English) on traits related to both status and attractiveness (Baxter, 1980; Chiba *et al.*, 1995; Matsuura *et al.*, 1994). Despite this, no study has yet explored reactions of Japanese listeners to speakers of AAVE. Provided the ostensible similarities in racial beliefs widely held in the two countries, we

believe that evaluations of AAVE in Japan will be comparable to those long-studied in the USA. Specifically, we hypothesise that,

H1: AAVE speakers will be evaluated less favourably on status-related traits compared to speakers of MUSE.

H2: AAVE speakers will be evaluated comparably on attractiveness-related traits to speakers of MUSE.

In order to test these hypotheses, a verbal guise experiment was designed and conducted as described below.

Method

One hundred and thirteen undergraduates at two Japanese universities listened to tape-recordings, in English, of both male and female speakers of AAVE and MUSE, then completed questionnaire items, in Japanese, regarding their impressions of the speakers. Average age of the participants was 20.32 years old and the sample included 90 women and 22 men (1 did not state). In order to enhance the generalisability of the results, a 'verbal guise' design (Ball & Giles, 1982) was used here. Although other designs, such as the 'matched guise' technique (Lambert, 1967), minimise threats to internal validity more effectively, they typically use a single speaker (because confederates who speak multiple languages or dialects natively are not plentiful) and thus provide a poor foundation for claims about accents (see Jackson, 1992; Jackson & Jacobs, 1983). Consequently, we elected to record a wide variety of speakers speaking naturally and chose those with comparable voice qualities (i.e. volume, pitch and intonation) as well as rates of speech. For example, individuals who spoke with a southern 'drawl' or highly 'nasal twang' were not included in the stimulus recordings that participants heard in the study. As such, this selection process was representative of those widely employed in language attitude study (e.g. Ladegaard, 1998; Seggie, 1983; Rodríguez *et al.*, 2004).

In this instance, the process resulted in the careful selection of eight speakers: four African-Americans (two male and two female) provided the AAVE recordings and four Anglo-Americans (two male and two female) provided the MUSE recordings. Each of the eight speakers recorded a brief passage (51 words) from a children's story about a fisherman (see the Appendix). Although the speakers sounded representative of their self-identified social groups to the authors, a pre-test sample of 32 participants from a major Western urban university in the USA were asked to rate the speakers' accents. Participants were from a general education course in communication, and they participated in the study during a regular class period. There were 12 males, 20 females; 11 freshmen, 8 sophomores, 7 juniors, 5 seniors and 1 graduate student. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 42, with an average age of 19.07 years. There were 16 Anglos, 10 Asian-Americans, 4 Latinas/os and 2 African-Americans. Participation was voluntary and no incentive or reward was offered. On a Likert response scale where one represented 'very accented' speech and seven represented 'unaccented (native-like)' speech, both pairs of

male and female African-Americans were rated as having an 'accent' ($M = 3.30$, $sd = 1.40$; $M = 3.97$, $sd = 1.56$, respectively), whereas the Anglo-American males and females were perceived as having 'unaccented' speech ($M = 6.43$, $sd = 1.32$; $M = 6.24$, $sd = 1.58$, respectively). We interpreted this as evidence that the Anglo-Americans' speech was 'standard' or 'mainstream' because such dialects are perceived as non-accented among lay listeners (see Lippi-Green, 1997).

In addition to recording subjective impressions of the speakers' accents, the tapes were also submitted to linguistic analysis to ensure the presence of phonological features characteristic of AAVE.

African-American Female 1

This speaker's reading of the text was 14.9s long and included 14 phonological features of AAVE as identified by Bailey and Thomas (1998) and Rickford (1999). This includes *final cluster reduction* for the words 'and', 'fished' and 'last', *final consonant deletion* in the word 'fisherman', *final obstruent devoicing* in the word 'lived', *stopping of interdental fricatives* in the word 'with', *monophthongisation of /aI/* in the words 'shining' and 'line', *front stressing* in the phrase 'at last', *glottalisation of /t/* in the words 'sitting' and 'little', *devoicing of /v/* in the word 'lived' and *realisation of the final /ng/ as /n/* in the word 'sitting'.

African-American Female 2

The speaker's reading of the text was 14.0s long and included 11 phonological features of AAVE. This includes *final cluster reduction* for the words 'and' and 'last', *monophthongisation of /aI/* in the words 'shining' and 'line', *stopping of interdental fricatives* in the word 'the', *glottalisation of /t/* in the words 'sitting' and 'little', *realisation of the final /ng/ as /n/* in the word 'sitting' and *medial unstressed syllable deletion* in the word 'fisherman'.

African-American Male 1

This speaker's reading of the text was 13.6s long and included 18 phonological features of AAVE. This includes *final cluster reduction* for the words 'and', 'fished' and 'last', *monophthongisation of /aI/* in the words 'shining' and 'line', *glottalisation of /t/* in the words 'sitting' and 'little', *realisation of the final /ng/ as /n/* in the words 'sitting' and 'something', *tensing of lax vowels* in the word 'lived', *stopping of interdental fricatives* in the word 'the', *medial unstressed syllable deletion* in the word 'fisherman', and *rising intonation* in the phrases 'little shack' and 'into the shining water'.

African-American Male 2

This speaker's reading of the text was 12.5s long and included 13 phonological features of AAVE. This includes *final cluster reduction* for the words 'and', 'fished' and 'last', *monophthongisation of /aI/* in the words 'shining' and 'line', *glottalisation of /t/* in the words 'sitting' and 'little', *realisation of the final /ng/ as /n/* in the word 'sitting', *stopping of interdental*

fricatives in the words 'with' and 'the', *devoicing of /v/* in the word 'lived', *final obstruent devoicing* in the word 'lived' and *front stressing* in the phrase 'at last'.

Anglo-American speakers

Because MUSE is defined more often by what it is not, than what it is (i.e. it is speech that does *not* stand out in mainstream contexts; see Lippi-Green, 1997), four native Californians were selected on the basis of speech that did not contain distinct features of any regional or cultural dialects. It should be noted that because phonological features of AAVE and MUSE are not mutually exclusive, some features of AAVE described above were also heard among these speakers (e.g. final cluster reduction of 'and'). Even so, these features were infrequent and judged by an expert linguist to be representative of MUSE and not AAVE speech (see Rickford, 1999: 9). The first female's reading of the text was 14.1s long; the second female's reading was 13.4s long; the first male's reading was 13.5s long; and the second male's reading was 12.4s long.

Once satisfied that the selected speakers represented both AAVE and MUSE speech, the eight recordings were randomly arranged in two different orders and each order subsequently recorded on cassette tape. One tape was played to the first sample of Japanese university students ($n = 69$) and the second tape to the second sample ($n = 44$). Participants then listened to each of the eight speakers and completed the accompanying speaker evaluation items.

Because this study targeted eight speakers in a within-subjects design, participants were required to make many different evaluations. In order to minimise fatigue, only eight items from the original 30-item Speech Evaluation Instrument were used here to measure both the status- and attractiveness-related evaluations. The four status ('intelligent-unintelligent', 'rich-poor', 'upper class-lower class', 'educated-uneducated') and four attractiveness ('kind-unkind', 'sweet-sour', 'likeable-unlikeable', 'friendly-unfriendly') items were selected on the basis of their consistently high factor loading scores (Cargile, 1997; Cargile & Giles, 1997; Zahn, 1990; Zahn & Hopper, 1990) and have been used reliably in other studies (Cargile, 2000, 2002; Rodríguez *et al.*, 2004). The scales – translated and reverse translated into Japanese – demonstrated good reliability (Cronbach's alpha equalled 0.91 and 0.89, respectively), thus item scores were averaged for each subscale and used as dependent measures for all analyses.

After completing evaluations of all the speakers, participants perceived competence in English was assessed using a 12-item scale, adapted from McCroskey *et al.* (1987) and translated into Japanese. The scale rated the average percentage of time (0–100) that participants felt competent using English to speak in 12 situations; the measure demonstrated excellent reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.98), thus a mean split ($M = 25.60$) was used to divide participants into two groups based on their self-reported English competence. Finally, two items assessed participant knowledge about the existence of AAVE and their familiarity with it: 35 (31.5%) respondents reported awareness of AAVE and 76 (68.5%) did not (two participants failed to complete these items). Of those who knew it existed, 22 indicated that they were 'not familiar', 11 indicated that they were 'somewhat familiar' and two

indicated that they were 'very familiar' with AAVE. Because most of these Japanese respondents were unaware of the existence of AAVE, we determined that an exploration of their subjective categorisations would not be fruitful. We discuss some of the implications of these issues as they pertain to AAVE or any 'non-standard' variety of English in our conclusion.

Results

In order to gauge participants' attitudes toward AAVE, as well as account for potential variability in their attitudes, a 2 (speaker accent) \times 2 (speaker sex) \times 2 (order) \times 2 (listener sex) \times 2 (AAVE familiarity) \times 2 (English competence) repeated measures MANOVA was undertaken. Significant main effects were found for speaker accent, $\lambda = 0.64$, $F(2, 203) = 57.18$, $p < 0.001$, and speaker sex, $\lambda = 0.78$, $F(2, 203) = 28.51$, $p < 0.001$, but not for order, $\lambda = 1.00$, $F(2, 203) = 0.03$, $p = 0.97$, listener sex, $\lambda = 1.00$, $F(2, 203) = 0.04$, $p = 0.96$, AAVE familiarity, $\lambda = 0.99$, $F(2, 203) = 0.59$, $p = 0.56$, or English competence, $\lambda = 0.99$, $F(2, 203) = 0.42$, $p = 0.66$.

For ease of interpretation, factors with non-significant main effects were dropped from the model and the MANOVA was re-run in order to test for interactions and subsequent univariate effects. As this additional analysis indicated, the interaction between speaker accent and speaker sex was multivariately significant, $\lambda = 0.69$, $F(2, 218) = 50.00$, $p < 0.001$. Univariate main effects were also found for speaker accent [status ratings: $F(1, 219) = 233.19$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.52$] and speaker sex [attractiveness ratings: $F(1, 219) = 63.62$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.23$; status ratings: $F(1, 219) = 100.94$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.32$], and their interaction was observed to influence ratings of both speaker attractiveness, $F(1, 219) = 13.52$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.06$, and speaker status, $F(1, 219) = 99.67$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.31$.

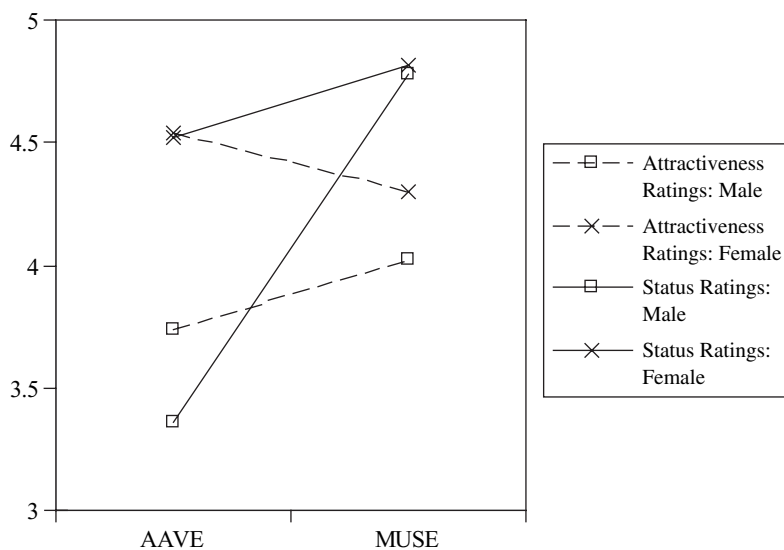


Figure 1 Mean speaker ratings

Table 1 Matrix of mean differences: Attractiveness ratings

	<i>AAVE male</i>	<i>AAVE female</i>	<i>MUSE male</i>	<i>MUSE female</i>
AAVE male	x	-0.82***	-0.30*	-0.59***
AAVE female	0.82***	x	0.52***	0.23
MUSE male	0.30*	-0.52***	x	-0.29*
MUSE female	0.59***	-0.23	0.29*	x

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level; **0.01 level; ***0.001 level, Tukey HSD.

Table 2 Matrix of mean differences: Status ratings

	<i>AAVE male</i>	<i>AAVE female</i>	<i>MUSE male</i>	<i>MUSE female</i>
AAVE male	x	-1.17***	-1.42***	-1.47***
AAVE female	1.17***	x	-0.25*	-0.30**
MUSE male	1.42***	0.25*	x	-0.05
MUSE female	1.47***	0.30**	0.05	x

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level; **0.01 level; ***0.001 level, Tukey HSD.

Because the interaction effect between speaker accent and speaker sex was significant for both types of evaluations, all of the mean speaker ratings have been plotted in Figure 1 and all of the mean differences have been listed in Tables 1 and 2. As indicated here, the AAVE male speakers were rated as significantly less attractive than all other speakers, whereas the AAVE female speakers were rated as attractive as the MUSE female speakers and even more attractive than the MUSE male speakers. Likewise, the AAVE male speakers were rated as significantly less status-possessing than all other speakers, and the AAVE female speakers as significantly less status-possessing than both male and female MUSE speakers (see Figure 1 as well as Tables 1 and 2).

Discussion

Overall, the results of this study support both hypotheses and suggest that attitudes held by Japanese nationals toward AAVE may be identical to those circulating in the USA. Specifically, the first hypothesis received robust support as all AAVE speakers were rated significantly less favourably on status-related traits than speakers of MUSE. Similarly, the second hypothesis was also well supported. It was hypothesised that AAVE speakers would be evaluated comparable to MUSE speakers on attractiveness-related traits; indeed no significant differences were found between these language conditions for female speakers. However, male speakers of AAVE were downgraded compared to their MUSE counterparts. Even so, the degree of this evaluative downgrading was small (i.e. mean difference: -0.30) compared to the downgrading they received for status-related traits (i.e. mean difference: -1.42). Thus,

in this relative sense, even male speakers of AAVE were evaluated comparable to male speakers of MUSE on attractiveness-related traits.

As this last point highlights, important gender differences were found here. Because AAVE is the most studied non-standard accent in the USA, we might expect to compare the present findings with a robust record of gender-based evaluations. In spite of this expectation, most speaker evaluation studies of AAVE have used male speakers only; few studies have used female speakers and fewer still have compared reactions to both AAVE males and females. Of these few studies that have explored gender differences, the results have been mixed – one found no significant effect for speaker sex (Larimer *et al.*, 1988), one found that decisions regarding access to housing favoured AAVE males (Massey & Lundy, 2001), and one found that evaluations of status and attractiveness-related traits favoured AAVE females (Cargile, 2002).

Provided the above-described inconsistencies, what significance, if any, should be placed on gender differences in the present findings? We believe that they are of some significance and may be generalisable for several reasons. To begin, gender is often clearly marked in language (see Aries, 1996) and thus has been a staple for other language attitude investigations. Over the years, gender differences have consistently been found – female speakers are often rated more highly on traits related to aesthetic quality (e.g. nice, sweet, beautiful), whereas male speaker are often rated more highly on traits related to dynamism (e.g. active, strong, loud) (see Mulac *et al.*, 2001). Relatedly, there are also clear gender differences in the stereotypes of African-Americans; the ostensible source of the present language attitudes. African-American males are often stereotyped negatively in a fairly consistent manner (e.g. 'angry' or 'criminal', Hall, 2001; Lombardo, 1978; Majors & Billson, 1992), whereas African-American females are stereotyped both positively and negatively in a more varied manner. For example, Collins (1990) argues that the image of the matriarch surrounds African-American women and carries with it both positive (caretaking) and negative (neglectful) associations. When these gender differences regarding both stereotypes and language evaluation are tapped in a cultural context that is already highly sensitive to gender (see Henshall, 1999), it is likely that the difference between evaluations of male and female AAVE speakers within Japan is very real and not an artefact of the particular conditions of (or participants in) this study.

Gender differences aside, the present results were found to be indistinguishable from the overall pattern of AAVE evaluations made by US Americans. This suggests that alongside racial beliefs, attitudes toward AAVE have also been exported to Japan. Despite the fact that this may be true, it should not be concluded on the basis of these data alone because important questions remain. For example, beyond concerns about generalisability germane to any study's conclusions, we do not know if these generally negative evaluations are specific to AAVE or if they represent attitudes toward non-standard English in general. Matsuda (2003) reports that even though Japanese high school students lack awareness about different varieties of English, they often express preference for standard American and British varieties over others (e.g. Singapore or Indian English). Thus, it may be the case that Japanese listeners object in equal measure to all non-standard

varieties. Regardless, it should be noted that even this explanation is not independent from importing a Western racial hierarchy; what is treated as standard English within Japan and elsewhere (e.g. British, American or Australian English) is confounded entirely with ideas about race. In the end, more research is necessary to better understand the nature of contemporary Japanese attitudes toward different varieties of English.

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Appendix: Speaker Text

There was once a fisherman who lived with his wife in a miserable little shack close to the sea. He went to fish everyday and he fished and fished and at last one day, as he was sitting looking deep down into the shining water, he felt something on his line.