Attitudes towards French, English and code-switching in Manitoba

by

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**Abstract**

This thesis constitutes the first experimental study to investigate bilinguals' attitudes towards French and English in Manitoba, and it also the first of its kind in Canada to incorporate French-English code-switching as a linguistic variable. A total of 105 French-English bilinguals residing in Manitoba participated in a matched- and a verbal-guise test in which they evaluated the voices of several females using English, Manitoban French and code-switching, and also Manitoban, Quebec, European or Sub-Saharan African French on eight status and solidarity traits. Results from the matched-guise test show that participants hold positive attitudes towards the local French and English varieties, while mixed attitudes emerge towards code-switching. For instance, participants identifying as Franco-Manitobans find the English guise less *intelligent* and the code-switching guise more *intelligent* than those who do not identify as such, and older participants tend to perceive code-switching and English guises more *successful* and *intelligent* than younger participants. Contrary to previous attitudinal work in Manitoba (Hallion, 2011) and Quebec (Kircher, 2012) the verbal-guise test shows that not only participants hold more positive attitudes towards the endogenous French variety when it comes to solidarity traits, but also a preference for exogenous varieties only emerges for the *intelligent* trait. Overall, results suggest that recent political and social measures to promote the use of French in the province may be contributing to social attachment and prestige associated to local language varieties, whereas speakers of code-switching and other non-local French varieties are viewed more negatively compared to the former ones among bilinguals living in Manitoba.

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**Chapter 1: Introduction**

Studies exploring covert and overt attitudes towards varieties of French and English in Canada have been conducted in Quebec (D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2010; Lambert et al., 1960; Lehnert & Hörstermann, 2019) and New Brunswick (Brown & Cichocki, 1995). However, despite the socio-historical importance of its francophone community, only one study has explored attitudes towards French and English in Manitoba (Hallion, 2011), and has done so by employing a combination of qualitative methods. To my knowledge, the present work constitutes the first matched-/verbal-guise test (MGT/VGT) to investigate Francophones' attitudes in Manitoba. Moreover, this is the first MGT/VGT conducted in Canada to incorporate French-English code-switching. Research shows that language policy measures that do not account for the language attitudes of the population they target are destined to fail (Kircher, 2016). Thus, understanding bilinguals' covert and overt attitudes towards French, English and code-switching can help articulate effective initiatives related to the acquisition, teaching, and maintenance of French in the province.

The goal of my research is to examine the covert attitudes of bilinguals residing in Manitoba towards local and exogenous varieties of French, as well as English and code-switching. Specifically, this thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

- What status and solidarity traits are attached to speakers of Manitoban, Quebec, Sub-Saharan African and European French, Canadian English and code-switching?
- Do participants' *age*, *gender*, *mother tongue*, *origin* and *identity* help explain their attitudes towards the linguistic varieties examined?

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the socio-historical and sociolinguistic context of French and English in Manitoba. Chapter 3 addresses formal concepts related to the methodology (i.e. matched-guise test) and synthesizes the body of work on attitudes towards French and English in Canada and the U.S.- Canada border. Chapter 4 describes the steps taken to design the perceptual study for this research. Results from the MGT and the VGT experiments are described and discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, respectively. Finally, Chapter 7 offers some concluding remarks and outlines the limitations of this study.

**Chapter 2: Socio-historical and Sociolinguistic Context**

Historical events and political measures can directly or indirectly affect the languages of a community and the language attitudes and behaviours of its speakers (Hallion, 2007; Pieras-Guasp, 2012). Thus, this chapter outlines the major socio-historical events and the sociolinguistic context of French and English in Manitoba in order to contextualize the results of this study. First, this chapter discusses the earliest records of these non-autochthonous languages being used in the province (section 2.1), followed by a brief description of the settlers and immigration waves that took place during the 19th century and the entrance of Manitoba in the Canadian Confederation (section 2.2). Subsequent demographic shifts are discussed in section 2.3. Next, the political and social measures implemented in the 20th and 21st centuries are described (sections 2.4 and 2.5). Finally, the current status of French in Manitoba is described in section 2.6.

**2.1. Arrival of First European Explorers and Beginning of Fur Trading (1670-1870)**

The province of Manitoba was home to several Indigenous communities, including the Cree and Assiniboine (Friesen, 1984, p. 23; Hamilton, 1985), before English-speaking settlers and explorers from Europe arrived in the 17th century (Eames, 1966; Morton, 1967; Neatby, 1966).

After an expedition in 1659-60 to Lake Superior, francophone explorers Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson became aware of the economic potential of fur trading in the Hudson's Bay and brought the idea of establishing fur trading expeditions in this area to New France (Morton, 1967). After being turned down, they gained the support of England, and thus the Hudson's Bay company was established in 1670 (Morton, 1967). This gave the English complete control over fur trading in the bay (Morton, 1967, p. 11) until 1682, when France established the Compagnie du Nord to operate in the same area. These companies competed for the fur trading monopoly until the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, which granted the British control over fur trading in the Hudson Bay (Whitcomb, 1982). Almost twenty years later, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de La Vérendrye became the first explorer to establish French posts destined for fur trading in what is now Southern Manitoba (Zoltvany, 1974). From 1731 to 1743, he was also in charge to creating new post throughout the province, which helped the expansion of French (Father Antoine Champagne, 1969).

French continued to be used in what is now Manitoba thanks to the *voyageurs*, that is, French-Canadian workers employed by the North West Company established in Montreal in 1779 to

transport the furs from the prairies to Quebec mostly by river (Brown, 2017). Many *voyageurs* stayed in Southern Manitoba after their contracts expired (Morton, 1967), and some of them married women from Indigenous communities in the area. Their offspring came to be known as the *Métis* (Morton, 1967) and became the majority of the population in what is now Manitoba. In fact, by the time the province entered the Canadian Confederation (1870), most of its population were francophones and Métis (Friesen, 1984, p. 463; Hallion, 2007).

## 2.2. From Assiniboia to Manitoba

In 1811, the territory of Assiniboia (also known as the Red River Colony (Friesen, 1984, p. 72)), where the city of Winnipeg is now located, was established to create an agriculture-based community with an English-speaking European population (Kaye, 1996). Between 1812 and 1821, large waves of immigrants arrived to Assiniboia, including English-speaking settlers from the United States and Europe; immigrants from Switzerland, Germany, Poland, France and Italy; and English- and French-speaking Canadians and Métis from other parts of Canada (Kaye, 1996).

Despite the considerable influx of Caucasian immigrants and migrants to the colony, Métis still constituted the majority of the population in Assiniboia at that time (Friesen, 1996). English and French were the predominant languages in the colony, and so they were used as the languages of the administration and law in Assiniboia (Friesen, 1996).

During the mid-19th century, there were attempts by the Canadian government to annex the territories West of Ontario (Morton, 1967). This annexation could entail the potential loss of lands to the communities in the West, especially those owned by Métis (Morton, 1967). For this, during 1869-70, several revolts and resistance movements took place in the Red River Colony lead by Louis Riel (Morton, 1967, p. 123), who fought to ensure that the rights of the people in the colony were maintained once it became part of the confederation (Driedger, 1998). Louis Riel and the French and English-speaking assembly members in the Red River Colony drafted the conditions of the colony upon entering the confederation, which included a provincial status of the colony, control over education and special land rights for the Métis people, among others (Whitcomb, 1982, pp. 11, 12). In 1870 the Red River colony became the Canadian province of Manitoba, through the *Manitoba Act*, but some of the conditions established by Louis Riel were not met, for instance the size of the province was reduced to a small area surrounding the nowadays city of Winnipeg (Morton, 1967; Whitcomb, 1982).

**2.3. A Demographic Shift in the Province**

As consequence of large waves of immigration from North American and Europe after 1870, the population of the province became largely anglophone, protestant and white (Hallion, 2007). Consequently, the francophone Métis community that constituted the majority of the population before 1870, became a visible minority (Hallion, 2007).

A series of legislative measures followed this significant demographic shift. The Legislative Council, an organism that ensured French and other minority rights in the province, was abolished in 1876 (Friesen, 1996; Morton, 1967). Three years later, Premier John Norquay and other English-speaking Members of the Legislative Assembly threatened to revoke all francophone rights, including the existence of official documents in French, although these measures were not approved by the federal government (Friesen, 2010). Nonetheless, in 1890 the *Official Language Act* established English as the only official language in Manitoba, resulting in the eradication of French language from the public administration, provincial government, and legislation (Hallion, 2007). The use of French in education was prohibited in 1916 (Collins, 2018), although French instruction continued to exist underground (Collins, 2018).

To protest against these measures, the French community founded the *Association d'Éducation des Canadiens François du Manitoba* (1916) with the goal of protecting French education in francophone areas, replaced in 1968 by The Société Franco-Manitobaine (SFM) as political representative of French-speaking community (Collins, 2018) and established to cater for the needs and rights of the francophone population in the province (Société de la francophonie manitobaine, 2020). In 1955 French was allowed to be used in grades 4-6, but it did not regain full status as a language of instruction for all grades and schools until 1970 (Collins, 2018). These stringent acts and laws not only diminished the use of French in the province, but also gave rise to negative attitudes towards the public usage of the language among the francophone population itself during the last decades of the 20th century (Hallion, 2007).

The decline in French usage among Manitobans was reflected in the 1921 Census of the population, in which only 6.5% of the population regard French as their mother tongue (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1921). The Census also shows that although 85.5% of French-origin Manitobans were fluent in English, only 3% of English speakers spoke French fluently, which demonstrates that it was fundamental for francophone Manitobans to be able to communicate

effectively in English, but it was not essential for anglophones to speak French. The situation in Manitoba is a reflection of the language competence in Canada for years to come (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963).

## 2.4. Restoring Bilingual Rights in Manitoba

In 1969, the *Official Languages Act* made both English and French the official languages of Canada, and since then all federal institutions and agencies are required to function and provide services in both languages (Rudnyckyj, 1973). In Manitoba, however, Premier Sterling Lyon (1977-1981) advocated against francophone rights, aggravating the deep-seated antagonism between the Manitoban francophone community and the provincial government (Stewart & Wesley, 2010). The situation escalated in 1976 after a Franco-Manitoban, Georges Forest, pressed legal charges for a parking ticket issued in English (Stewart & Wesley, 2010). Forest questioned the legality of Manitoba's *Official Language Act* of 1890, by which English was established as the only official language of Manitoba. The case was taken to the Supreme Court and Forest won the case, as it was declared that the 1890 Act violated section 23 of the *Manitoba Act* of 1870, which established that both French and English are the official languages of the province (Stewart & Wesley, 2010). French was consequently restored in Legislature and Courts in Manitoba, although there was resistance from Premier Lyon to accept and recognize bilingualism in the province (Stewart & Wesley, 2010, p. 323). This opposition against the linguistic rights of a large part of the population had escalated throughout the decade, leading to death treats and abuse towards representatives of the SFM, as well as the organization's offices being fire-bombed in 1983 (Collins, 2018; Ferguson, 2010; Stewart & Wesley, 2010).

The government under Lyon was compelled to modify all monolingual Legislature after the Forest case, however due to the resistance the Premier showed against language minorities, there was a delay in the process (Marchildon, 2010). As a consequence, another case arose in 1980, in which Roger Bilodeau challenged a parking ticket violation for being written in English only (Marchildon, 2010). To this allegation, subsequent Premier Howard Russell Pawley tried to settle the dispute with an act that would enable the government a 10-year period to translate all English legislation and improve government services in French, however this act was not well supported by the anti-French community, and thus, could not be implemented (Marchildon, 2010). The Supreme Court of Canada in 1985 declared that the Manitoban government had three years to

translate all English legislation into French and until 1990 to translate those that were no longer effective (Marchildon, 2010). The significant opposition to francophone rights shows that a meaningful percentage of Manitobans were strongly against a bilingual province still towards the end of the 20th century.

The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, implemented in 1982, established that all provinces in Canada must ensure bilingual language rights (Ferguson, 2010). As a result, in 1990 the provincial government of Manitoba established that instruction in French could be included within English schools (Ferguson, 2010). In 1994, the Franco-Manitoban School Division (Division Scolaire Franco-Manitobaine) was established to govern all French schools in the province (Ferguson, 2010).

## 2.5. Language Policies in 21st Century Manitoba

The 21st century has witnessed an effort by both federal and provincial governments to respect and promote the use of the official languages. This has been accomplished through the implementation of policies and acts such as the *Bilingual Service Centres Act* (2012), which ensures the efficiency and maintenance of the bilingual services centres opened since 2002 (Government of Manitoba, 2020a), the *Francophone Community Enhancement and Support Act* (2016), which supports and promotes the use of French, including its presence in government agencies (Government of Manitoba, 2020c, 2020b), and *The French-Language Services Policy* (1989), which provides governmental and judicial services in French in Manitoba (Francophone Affairs Secretariat, 2017). Provincial programs such as the *French Second Language Revitalization Program* and the *Program for the Enrichment of French Education* are also available to provide financial support to organizations promoting the use of French language in education (Bureau de l'éducation française, 2019a, 2019b).

Efforts to obtain more public representation and equal resources available to francophones in Manitoba continue to be put forward. For instance, in 2001 the Société Franco-Manitobaine vindicated the need for a bilingual logo in the City of Winnipeg and bilingual traffic signs in French areas of the city (Société de la francophonie manitobaine, 2020). To represent more faithfully the growing ethnographic and origin diversity of the French speaking population in the province, the SFM also changed its name in 2017 from "Société franco-manitobaine" to "Société de la francophonie manitobaine" (Collins, 2018).

### 2.6. Status of French Presently

Manitoba is currently home to over 40,000 residents (3.7% of the population in the province) whose mother tongue is French, making it the fourth language with the highest number of native speakers in the province (Statistics Canada, 2017b, 2017c). The number of French-English bilinguals in the province (8.6%) (Statistics Canada, 2017b) has been slowly increasing over the past fifty years (Lepage & Corbeil, 2013), which may be partially attributed to the steady growth in student registration in French Immersion programs (Government of Manitoba, 2017). The success of these programs has been influenced by the multiple policies put forward by the provincial and federal governments, as well as the efforts of a number of local associations to promote the use of French in the province (Bureau de l'éducation française, 2019b, 2019a; Collins, 2018; Francophone Affairs Secretariat, 2017; Government of Manitoba, 2020b, 2020c; Société de la francophonie manitobaine, 2020).

Despite the socio-historical importance of the Franco-Manitoban community, the growth of students in French Immersion programs and the efforts to maintain and promote French by government and different cultural associations in the province, linguistic studies about attitudes towards French, English and code-switching are scarce (Hallion, 2011). Thus, exploring linguistic attitudes towards these varieties will enrich our knowledge of the status of and social attachment to French and bilingualism in Manitoba. Additionally, understanding language attitudes is essential to design and implement successful language policies, as well as effective language programs.

**Chapter 3: Literature Review**

This chapter first describes the concept of language attitudes (section 3.1), and then discusses the main characteristics of the matched-guise test, as well as some of its advantages and shortcomings (section 3.2). A summary of findings from attitudinal studies towards French and English conducted in Canada is presented in section 3.3. Lastly, section 3.4 will summarize the results from the only attitudinal study to date carried out in Manitoba (Hallion, 2011).

**3.1. Language Attitudes**

Language attitudes are learned beliefs and/or feelings towards a certain linguistic variety and have three main components: cognition, affect and behaviour (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010, p. 23). The cognitive component refers to the understanding or knowledge about the linguistic variety (e.g. knowing that proficiency in a certain language is essential for upward mobility); the affective component refers to the emotions towards such variety (e.g. finding a certain language unpleasant to the ear); and the conative or behavioural component describes individuals' predisposition or intentions in response to such variety (e.g. deciding to live in a different country to learn the language) (Garrett, 2010, p. 23).

To examine language attitudes, there are three main approaches, namely: societal treatment of language varieties, direct measures, and indirect measures (Garrett, 2010, p. 37). Societal treatment studies analyse language attitudes without a direct interaction with the members of the language communities. These studies avoid explicitly asking participants about their opinions or language usage. Instead, they analyze documents (e.g. census, policies, media, etc.) or employ observational or ethnographic studies (Ryan et al., 1987, p. 1068). Direct methods elicit overt attitudes, because participants are encouraged to provide opinions that are directly related to language usage. Participants tend to answer according to what is most socially appropriate, instead of revealing their own true opinions. For this, results often contain social desirability bias (Ryan et al., 1987). Surveys and questionnaires are usually the tools employed in direct methods. Some researchers have employed solely direct methods to tap into the three components of language attitudes (e.g. Hundt et al., 2015) while others used sociolinguistic interviews and group discussion to elicit overt attitudes (e.g. Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes, 2016; Karatsareas, 2018). Indirect approaches are used to unearth covert attitudes that may not surface in methodologies that directly question participants. The matched-guise test (henceforth MGT), developed by Lambert et al.

(1960) to explore the attitudes towards French and English among bilingual speakers in Montreal, has become the most widely used indirect method to study covert attitudes, and it will be described next.

## 3.2. The Matched-Guise Test

### 3.2.1. Characteristics

In the traditional MGT, participants (judges) listen to the recordings of the same speaker reading the same text in different linguistics varieties (guises) and are asked to evaluate each guise on a list of traits using a Likert rating scale. Since participants are unaware that the recordings portray the same speaker in different varieties, and the language variety is the only difference between recordings, any differences in ratings will be interpreted as participants' attitudes towards the linguistic variety being investigated, rather than towards the speakers themselves.

The list of traits employed in MGT studies generally address two main evaluative dimensions of language attitudes, namely, status and solidarity (Ryan et al., 1987). Status refers to the socio-economic status attributed to the speakers of a linguistic variety and is represented by traits such as *intelligent* and *educated*. Solidarity refers to the attachment to the language spoken by a specific community, usually a minority language community, and is measured with traits such as *kind* and *likeable* (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2014a). While solidarity refers to in-group loyalty and covert prestige, status reflects the utilitarian value and overt prestige that a linguistic variety enjoys in a particular community (Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, forthcoming).

When it is not possible to find speakers that sound authentic in all linguistic varieties examined, researchers opt for one speaker per guise, which is known as the verbal-guise test (e.g. Bayard et al., 2003; El Dash & Tucker, 1975; Gallois & Callan, 1981; Nelson et al., 2016). The MGT has been employed in multiple communities to investigate attitudes towards different languages (Gooskens et al., 2016; Kircher, 2014b; Pieras-Guasp, 2012; Woolard & Gahng, 1990), dialects (Giles & Sassoon, 1983; Kircher, 2012; Nelson et al., 2016), and accents (Bayard et al., 2003; Brown & Cichocki, 1995), amongst others.

### 3.2.2. Advantages and Shortcomings

The advantages and disadvantages of the MGT described by Garret (2010, pp. 57–59) will be summarized here. First, the main contribution of the MGT is that the attitudes elicited reveal

individuals' real and intimate attitudes (covert) rather than what they think is socially desirable (overt), as they are unaware that they are listening multiple recordings of the same speaker. Secondly, this technique has been extensively employed in diverse communities, allowing for comparability of results and for tracing directionality of changes in attitudes. Lastly, MGT studies have often employed a specific set of traits addressing status and solidarity, providing methodological tools for the study of language in different areas of linguistics, such as psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics.

Garrett criticizes the fact that MGT studies tend to employ scripted texts for speakers to record, as these may sound artificial (2010, p. 59). This drawback has led some authors to use extracts from naturally-occurring conversation or an interview as stimuli (Bourhis et al., 1975; Campbell-Kibler, 2007, 2008; D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973). While this guarantees that the recordings will sound spontaneous, it does not allow to control over the precise content of the excerpts, which in some studies has been shown to impact the evaluations of the participants (e.g. Campbell-Kibler, 2006). For this reason, most MGT studies continue to use written scripts for the guises (Bayard et al., 2003; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Giles & Sassoon, 1983; Gooskens et al., 2016; Kircher, 2010; Lambert et al., 1960; Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2013; Nelson et al., 2016; Rangel et al., 2015; Woolard & Gahng, 1990). Using written scripts allows for the inclusion of lexical items that may not arise in natural conversation, and also to control for false starts, repetitions and hesitation that could also give rise to negative attitudes. In the present study, stimuli consist of recordings of speakers reading a written script that contains lexical items that differ across French dialects, and these scripts were also pre-tested to select those that sounded most natural and fluent.

Participants may also respond differently to the content of the recording based on their previous experience, thus MGT studies often opt for a "neutral" passage. However, a text considered "neutral" may still evoke certain reactions in participants and thus taint their attitudes towards the language varieties (Garrett, 2010, p. 59). Instead of aiming at constructing a text that could be considered content-neutral, the present study employs passages that were created based on a list of lexical items that differ across French dialects (Bérubé et al., 2015). To ensure that they faithfully represented the varieties intended, these scripts were pre-tested before recordings took place.

Having the same speaker produce multiple linguistic varieties may also be problematic, since the speaker may not sound natural in all of them (Garrett, 2010, p. 58). Since the present study investigates multiple varieties of French, recordings were made with a speaker per variety (Manitoban, Quebec, European and Sub-Saharan African French) instead of several guises per speakers to avoid this shortcoming. This modification of the MGT is known as the verbal-guise test (Bayard et al., 2003; El Dash & Tucker, 1975; Gallois & Callan, 1981). In the present study, however, the same speaker was used to create the three guises in the MGT, as she grew up speaking both English and French and she also code-switches on a regular basis. In addition, all recordings were pre-tested for authenticity.

An important shortcoming of the MGT (Garrett, 2010, pp. 57–59), albeit one that can be easily overcome, refers to the possibility that participants may misidentify the linguistic varieties they are rating, and thus the results form the MGT would not reflect participants' attitudes towards the varieties examined. To avoid this, in the present study, participants were asked to identify each of the language varieties they were rating, as suggested in Preston (1989) and the responses of those who misidentified them were excluded from the analysis.

### 3.3. Attitudes Towards French and English in Quebec

Most attitudinal studies towards French and English have been conducted in Quebec, due to the high number of French speakers in the province (78%) (Statistics Canada, 2019) and the sociodemographic changes that have impacted the province's language policies (Kircher, 2016). While most of these studies have consisted of traditional MGTs (Bourhis et al., 1975; D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2010, 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Lambert et al., 1966; Rémillard et al., 1973) other studies have employed variations of this methodology (Bourhis et al., 2007; Lehnert & Hörstermann, 2019). This section will present these attitudinal studies chronologically, as well as two studies conducted in New Brunswick and at the US/Canada border.

### 3.3.1. Early MGT Studies (1960's-1990's)

In Lambert et al. (1960), English and French-speaking students from Montreal judged English and French guises on 14 status and solidarity traits. Additionally, they filled out five questionnaires in which they were asked to 1) rank all traits in terms of desirableness in friends; 2) complete a prejudice scale; 3) complete sentences that elicited attitudes towards English

speakers and French speakers (e.g. "English Canadians think…; Children of French Canadian parents…; 4) indicate their preference for Anglophones or Francophones as partners, political candidates, etc.; and 5) indicate their degree of bilingualism. Overall, participants from both language groups rated English more positively than French guises in both solidarity and status traits. Participants' mother tongue played an important role, with francophone speakers rating English-speaking guises more favourably than anglophone participants in the MGT. In the sentence completion questionnaire however, French-speaking participants regarded their own language group as more favourable than the English group. These results suggest that francophone speakers considered English to enjoy more utilitarian value and social importance than French in Montreal at that time.

Lambert et al.'s (1960) results have been mirrored in later studies conducted in Montreal. For instance, results from Lambert et al.'s (1966) study towards French and English indicated that participants from a higher socio-economic background rated English-speaking guises more positively, and this was especially true for older participants (from 12 years-of-age onwards) and French-English bilinguals. However, participants from a lower socio-economic group rated both French and English guises similarly across age groups.

About a decade later, Rémillard et al. (1973) tested attitudes towards written and oral use of Quebec and European French. They found that the latter received higher ratings for correctness and, although both varieties were rated suitable for informal situations, participants were reluctant to consider Quebec French appropriate for formal situations. In the same year D'Anglejan and Tucker's (1973) also found that covertly, participants showed preference towards European French, while overtly, they rated Quebec speakers more positively due to social-desirability bias.

In 1975, Bourhis et al. explored attitudes towards a female speaker who either converged to or diverged from the language (formal and informal Quebec and European French) used by an interviewer. Participants perceived the speaker as more intelligent and educated when she converged to European French and the opposite was true when she shifted from formal to informal Quebec French. In a study reporting results from a series of experiments conducted in 1977, 1979, 1991 and 1997, Bourhis et al. (2007) concluded that francophone Montrealers were more willing to converge to English than anglophones to French, although a growing preference to converge to French among anglophones was seen in the later studies. These results align with those from Genesee and Bourhis' (1982, 1988) studies in the 80s, where accommodation was perceived more

positively than failing to accommodate, especially when the speakers accommodated from English to French (for similar results in Belgium, see Bourhis et al. (1979)). Also, throughout the 1990s Bourhis et al. (2007) observe that although participants covertly show a preference for using French, it had become more socially acceptable to overtly express their preference towards English.

Along the same lines, Genesee and Holobow (1989) found that, in Montreal, European French and English guises were rated higher in status than Quebec French guises. For the solidarity dimension, however, anglophones rated English-speaking guises more positively, but francophones rated English and French-speaking guises similarly. Results showed that almost three decades since Lambert et al.'s (1960) study, the status of English remained unchanged among Montrealers, however, a change indicating a preference towards the endogenous French variety in solidarity emerged.

Although attitudinal studies towards French are scarce outside Quebec, two studies stand out, namely Lambert et al. (1975) in Maine (US/Canada border) and Brown and Cichoki's (1995) work in New Brunswick. Lambert et al. (1975) investigated attitudes towards European French, Canadian and Madawaskan French, Madawaskan English and "non-regional" English in St. John Valley, Maine (US/Canada border). Overall, Canadian French elicited the least positive attitudes, whereas European French and Madawaskan English and French elicited the most positive attitudes. Although Quebec and St. John Valley are different speech communities, it is interesting to note that European French received more positive ratings in Quebec than the local variety, whereas participants in Maine rated European and their local variety similarly. Brown and Cichocki (1995) examined attitudes towards four varieties of French (Acadian French, European French, Quebec French and anglophone French) in New Brunswick by means of a VGT. Overall, European French was rated higher for status, due to its status as the "standard" French variety (Brown & Cichocki, 1995, p. 48), and European and English-accented French were rated higher for solidarity even over participants' own variety (Acadian). These results contrast with those obtained in Quebec at a time when Quebec French was rated similarly to European French and English varieties in solidarity (Genesee & Holobow, 1989).

### 3.3.2. Recent Attitudinal Studies (2010's)

The most recent experimental studies on language attitudes are those conducted by Kircher (2010, 2012, 2014b, 2014a) in Montreal. Kircher analyzed attitudes towards Canadian English, Quebec and European French among 164 adolescents using a MGT and an attitudinal questionnaire. The recordings used as stimuli were of male bilingual speakers and had been previously used in Genesee and Holobow's (1989) study. Kircher stratified her participants by mother tongue (francophones, anglophones, bilinguals, and allophones or those whose mother tongue was other than French and English) and immigration background (first-generation, second-generation and non-immigrants). Participants' attitudes towards different varieties of French were reported in her 2012 study, and towards French and English in her 2014 studies.

In Kircher (2012) European French was rated higher for status than Quebec French in both the questionnaire (especially among allophones) and the MGT, mirroring the results of previous studies (i.e. Lambert et al., 1960; D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Rémillard et al., 1973; Bourhis et al., 1975; Genesee & Holobow, 1989). However, Quebec French was rated higher for solidarity in both the questionnaire (especially among francophones) and MGT. Kircher's results suggest that attitudes in the solidarity dimension are shifting amongst Montrealers (confirming Genesee & Holobow's 1989 observations) to a preference for the endogenous variety (Kircher, 2012), which could be a consequence of the efforts from the Quebecois government to promote the use of French and create a francophone collective identity during the last decades of the 20th century (Bourhis et al., 2007; Kircher, 2016).

In Kircher's (2014a, 2014b) studies on attitudes towards French and English, English was rated more favourably in status in both the MGT and the questionnaire, while French received higher ratings for solidarity in the questionnaire overall, especially among non-immigrants (mostly francophones), who considered French an important part of their identity and "cultural heritage" (Kircher, 2014a, p. 69). In the MGT however, all participant groups rated English more positively than French. Kircher indicates that this could be attributed to participants' identity, because whether they identify as international youth or Montrealers, English is the language used by either group (Kircher, 2014b, p. 40). The mismatch between results from the questionnaire and the MGT in the solidarity dimension show the difference in elicited attitudes (overt and covert, respectively), the former revealing opinions that are considered socially acceptable and the latter more privately held or real attitudes (Kircher, 2014a).

Recently, Lehnert and Hörstermann (2019) employed a modified version of a VGT to examine attitudes towards language (French and English) and nationality (Quebecois and Canadian) in Quebec. They used a combination of explicit (rating four guises on several traits on a Likert scale) and implicit measures (participants' response time to "indicate the valence of adjectives that were presented to them shortly after a prime stimulus" (Lehnert & Hörstermann, 2019, p. 293)). Overall, participants showed an implicit bias towards their own language and nationality. Explicit attitudes showed no preference for either French or English guises among Quebecers but a preference for guises (especially Canadian) using French was found among participants.

In sum, attitudinal studies suggest that Quebecois' perception of English and European French as varieties of higher status when compared to Canadian French varieties has remained relatively unchanged in the last 60 years (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2014a; Lambert et al., 1960). However, Canadian French varieties have experienced a diachronic change in solidarity, ranking now higher than other varieties in this dimension (Kircher, 2012). MGT and VGT also seem more efficient when eliciting 'real' attitudes, as results from direct methodologies may reflect social-desirability biases (see Kircher, 2014b, 2014a).

### 3.4. Attitudes Towards French and English in Manitoba

To date, only Hallion (2011) has explored attitudes towards different varieties of French in Manitoba. Hallion employed a mixed methodology consisting on societal treatment studies and direct methods to examine Franco-Manitobans' attitudes towards Canadian French (which she also referred to as "Radio Canada" French), standard and vernacular Manitoban French, Quebec French, European French, an unspecified African French variety, Canadian English, and French-English code-switching. Her data came from three sources: 1) 33 interviews conducted between 1995-1997 with Franco-Manitobans who had post-secondary education (age not specified); 2) a Facebook forum discussion among 50 students of a Winnipeg high-school regarding their impressions on English and French in Manitoba; and 3) other written work, such as scientific articles and newspaper sections.

Hallion (2011) reports that Franco-Manitobans hold positive attitudes towards vernacular Manitoban French in terms of solidarity, but perceive Quebec French, followed by European French, as more statusful. Hallion indicates that Franco-Manitobans have a slight preference for Quebec French over the European varieties because the latter are perceived as containing more

English features, which is something that Franco-Manitobans disfavour. Hallion also points out that Franco-Manitobans hold more positive attitudes towards varieties that they find more intelligible, which explains why European French, which is not as well understood as Canadian French varieties, is sometimes perceived negatively in spite of its recognized status.

Although Hallion's participants claim to code-switch extensively, most hold contradictory attitudes towards this phenomenon, associating it with lack of education, rurality, and with "faiblesse, à une paresse intellectuelle ou à l'indifférence" ["weakness, intellectual laziness or indifference"] (Hallion, 2011, p. 11). Similar results have been reported in Morocco (Bentahila, 1983) and Tunisia (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000) towards Arabic-French code-switching.

Overall previous attitudinal studies suggest that in Canada, English and European French have been traditionally perceived as more statusful than local French varieties (Brown & Cichocki, 1995; Hallion, 2011; Kircher, 2010; Lambert et al., 1960) and that the attachment to local French varieties has evolved over the past decades (Kircher, 2012). By means of a MGT, my study will analyze Franco-Manitobans' attitudes towards Manitoban, Quebec, European and Sub-Saharan African French, Canadian English, and French-English code-switching, and will contrast these attitudes to those previously reported in Manitoba and other Canadian provinces.

**Chapter 4: Methodology**

This study combines a VGT and a MGT to explore language attitudes among francophones in Manitoba. The MGT was chosen for this study for being the most commonly used methodology to unearth covert attitudes (Garrett, 2010) and for having been extensively employed in Canada, which allows comparability of results (Brown & Cichocki, 1995; Kircher, 2012; Lambert et al., 1960).

The methodology was developed in four different stages. First, texts were created, adapted and translated into the varieties examined and pre-tested on naturality and representativeness among Manitoban francophones (section 4.1). In this stage of the methodology, participants also judged traits used in previous MGT studies and provided additional traits that are culturally relevant to Manitoba to be used in the perception study (section 4.4). Next, native speakers of the varieties examined recorded the texts selected in Pre-test 1 (section 4.2). Recordings were then pre-tested on naturality and representativeness (section 4.3). Lastly, the perception study comprised traits selected in Pre-test 1 and recordings selected in Pre-test 2 and was made available online (section 4.4). The statistical analysis used to analyze the results from the perception study is described in section 4.5.

## 4.1. Pre-Test 1: Selection of Texts for Stimulus Recordings and Traits

### 4.1.1. Text Design and Trait Selection

Four texts representing Manitoban, Quebec, European French, French with English insertions and Standard Canadian English were created based on Bérubé et al.'s (2015) list of French words to evaluate francophone children's pronunciation. Such list contains words with features that differ across French dialects. From this list, I randomly selected 35 words that are phonologically distinct across dialects and created four texts (see Appendix A). The English and code-switched versions of each text were created first and were later translated into French with the help from speakers of each of the target varieties (i.e. European French, Quebec French and Manitoban French).

The initial list of traits was based on previous MGT studies exploring attitudes towards French and English in Canada (Anisfeld & Lambert, 1964; Bourhis et al., 1975; Brown & Cichocki, 1995; D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Evans, 2002; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2010, 2012, 2014b, 2014a; Lambert et al., 1960, 1966, 1975; Rémillard et al., 1973). Other traits

used in a study on attitudes towards the variable (ING) in the United States (Campbell-Kibler, 2007) were also included.

### 4.1.2. Participant Recruitment and Procedure

A recruitment email was sent to Franco-Manitoban acquaintances who then forwarded it to other francophones. Ten French-English bilingual individuals (9F, 1M) participated in the pretest. They were all 18 years of age or older and had been born and raised in a francophone community in Manitoba. Each participant received a $25 gift card as compensation.

I met with each participant individually. Each interview session was conducted in English and divided into three parts. First, I asked participants questions regarding different varieties of French and English to elicit traits that could be used in the perception study (e.g. "Are you aware of any stereotypes attached to Quebecois French?"). Secondly, I asked participants to read the four texts in the five language varieties examined, for a total of 20 texts. They were asked to provide feedback on how natural these texts sounded and whether they thought represented the target linguistic varieties. Participants were encouraged to edit the texts to make them sound more natural and authentic. Finally, I asked participants to read the list of traits formatted on a table where the same trait would appear in English (on the left column) and French (on the right). Participants were asked questions such as "Would you or someone you know employ this trait to describe a speaker of Manitoban French?".

### 4.1.3. Pre-Test Results

Participants recognized the words extracted from Bérubé et al.'s study (2015) as belonging to each of the French varieties examined, demonstrating that the texts contain sufficient phonological and lexical differences for francophones to discriminate the target varieties. Texts were also modified to contain other lexical and phonological differences highlighted by the participants (e.g. from "peux-tu" to "tu peux-tu"). There was overall consistency with the changes across participants. The texts that were modified the most were those representing the code-switching variety. Two versions of Text 4 were created based on the results from this pre-test, one containing more French (Text 4a) and another more English insertions (Text 4b). Since the code-switched versions of texts 3 and 4 were deemed more natural than those from texts 1 and 2, only

recorded extracts of texts 3 and 4 were pretested in Pre-test 2 ([section 4.3](#)) and then used in the perception study ([section 4.4](#)) (see final scripts in [Appendix B](#)).

Results from the pre-test also confirmed that most traits from previous attitudinal studies are culturally relevant in Manitoba. Those that were not (e.g. *suburbs*, *middle-class*) were discarded and additional traits mentioned by most participants to describe a given language variety (e.g. *snobby* for European French) were added to the list, as well as others chosen by the PI and supervisor.

Participants expressed other ideas and opinions that impacted the methodology of the present study. For instance, most of them mentioned that it was extremely challenging to distinguish between a Maghrebi and European French speaker. The original design of the perception study included a Moroccan-accented French speaker, but this choice was changed to Sub-Saharan French speaker based on participants' feedback. Participants were also vocal about the different demographic groups that comprised the Franco-Manitoban community (e.g. students in French Immersion programs and students in francophone schools), as well as about what it means to be Franco-Manitoban. These results confirmed the need to include francophone participants from different linguistic backgrounds as well as Manitobans who have attended French Immersion programs in the main test. Also, an additional research question addressing the relationship between identity and attitudes was incorporated.

## 4.2. Stimulus Recordings

### 4.2.1. Recruitment

Recruitment emails for speakers to record the stimuli used in the perception test were sent to acquaintances for them to forward to potential participants (snow-balling sampling method). I also visited several linguistics courses at the University of Manitoba and the Université de Saint-Boniface to orally recruit participants.

Recruitment was targeted at individuals born and raised in Saint-Boniface (Manitoba), Quebec, France or a Sub-Saharan French-speaking African country. As most recruitment efforts took place amongst university students, participants were required to be between 18 and 28 years of age. Additionally, speakers from the Manitoban French variety were also required to be fluent in English. The original goal was to recruit two male and two female speakers of each of the varieties targeted. However, due to the difficulties encountered when recruiting male participants,

only female voices were selected for the experiment. Although MGT/VGT studies often employ male voices only (e.g. D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2010; Lambert et al., 1960; Lehnert & Hörstermann, 2019), the exclusive use of females voices is not uncommon (e.g. Bourhis et al., 1975; Brown & Cichocki, 1995; Lambert et al., 1966; Woolard & Gahng, 1990). To prevent participants from noticing what language varieties the perception test focuses on, two speakers of additional language varieties were also recruited to be later used as distractors (Sub-Saharan African English and Spanish-accented French-English code-switching) and the requirements for these speakers were to be fluent in English and/or French.

### 4.2.2. Materials and Procedure

Three French-speaking participants from outside Manitoba (Quebec, France, Sub-Saharan Africa) and both distractors recorded all texts in their respective linguistic variety. Two speakers from Manitoba recorded the texts representing Canadian English, Manitoban French and French-English code-switching. Each speaker was encouraged to make more than one recording of the same text in order to later be able to select the best candidates for Pre-test 2. Most recording sessions took place in a recording booth at the University of Manitoba Experimental Linguistics Laboratory, except for one that took place in a small office at the Université de Saint-Boniface. An additional question in Pre-test 2 was included to ensure no differences emerged from recording location. The same recording equipment was used for all recording sessions and was comprised of a professional microphone, dual microphone preamplifier (Symetrix 302) and professional portable solid-state recorder (Marantz, PMD660). Recording sessions lasted between 30 to 60 minutes, depending on the number of guises that participants needed to record.

## 4.3. Pre-Test 2: Selection of Stimulus Recordings
### 4.3.1. Materials

Materials for the second pre-test included 23 recordings, previously selected by the PI and her supervisor, of 5-11 seconds in length representing texts 3, 4a and 4b (see texts in Appendix B) of speakers 1-5, and a questionnaire inquiring about the authenticity, representativeness, naturality, and level of formality of the language used in the recordings, the perceived age of each speaker, and quality of each recording (see questionnaire in Appendix C). Additionally, participants were asked to include the first word that came to mind after listening to each recording and were

encouraged to include any other comments they might have about them. Table 1 displays the distribution of recordings by speaker, language variety and text pre-test participants evaluated.

**Table 1**

*Distribution of recordings by speaker, language variety and text in Pre-test 2*

| Speakers | Text 3 | | | Text 4a | | | Text 4b |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Guise 1** | **Guise 2** | **Guise 3** | **Guise 1** | **Guise 2** | **Guise 3** | **Guise 1** |
| **Speaker 1** | Manitoban French | Canadian English | Code-switching | Manitoban French | Canadian English | Code-switching | Code-switching |
| **Speaker 2** | Manitoban French | Canadian English | Code-switching[a] | Manitoban French | Canadian English | Code-switching | Code-switching |
| **Speaker 3** | Quebec French | | | Quebec French | | | |
| **Speaker 4** | European French | | | European French | | | |
| **Speaker 5** | Sub-Saharan African French | European French | | Sub-Saharan African French | European French | | |
| **Distractor** | Sub-Saharan African-accented English | | | | | | |

*Note:* Participants did not listen to the recordings used as distractor.

[a]Two recordings of this speaker, variety and guise were used, as one of these was improvised by the speaker and could potentially be judged as more natural.

### 4.3.2. Participant Recruitment and Procedure

Three groups of potential participants were contacted via email for this pre-test, as follows: 1) Pre-test 1 participants who expressed their interest in participating in a similar experiment; 2) Individuals who had volunteered to record their voices but were turned away because voices of speakers with the same socio-demographic characteristics had already been recorded; and 3) Through francophone acquaintances and friends.

Seven French-English bilingual females born and raised in francophone communities in Manitoba and one participant who had attended a French Immersion program participated in this pre-test. All of them were over 18 years of age. Each participant received compensation in the form of a $25 gift card. Results from the participant who had attended the French Immersion program were, however, not included because she misidentified the origin of some of the voices.

I met with each participant individually for about an hour in either the University of Manitoba Experimental Linguistics Laboratory or the Université de Saint-Boniface. Although participants were informed about the goal of the pre-test (i.e. to select the recordings for the perception study), they were not explicitly told about the language varieties the recordings meant to represent or the fact that there was more than one recording from a single speaker. Participants were informed about this at the end of the pre-test.

Throughout the pre-test, participants' comments and clarifications were recorded through notetaking. When participants provided unusual or neutral responses, they were asked to elaborate further. At the end of the session, participants were also asked additional general questions, (i.e. "what message out of the ones you heard sounded more natural?").

### 4.3.3. Main Results

Table 2 shows the average results for each voice for questions 3 ("Does the way this person speaks suggest that they could be from any other place in the world?"), 4 ("How much does this person represent the language variety?"), 5 ("How natural does this person sound to you?"), 6 ("How casual does this person sound to you?") and 8 ("How clear does this recording sound to you?"). Participants rated the recordings on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very). The minimum value per questions was 7 (i.e. 7 participants x 1 point on the scale) and the maximum points per question was 35 (i.e. 7 participants x 5 points on the scale). Because the aim of the pre-test was to select the recordings that best represent the linguistic varieties examined, the optimal values for questions 3 and 6 would be 7/35, and 35/35 for questions 4, 5 and 8.

**Table 2**

*Average results of Pre-test 2 by speaker, language variety and text*

| Speakers | Guises | Text | Q 3: | Q 4: | Q 5: | Q 6: | Q 8: |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Speaker 1** | **Manitoban French** | 3 | 10 | 32 | 28 | 14 | 33 |
| | | 4 | 10 | 32 | 32 | 11 | 33 |
| | **Canadian English** | 3 | 14 | 27 | 26 | 17 | 34 |
| | | 4 | 13 | 28 | 31 | 13 | 34 |
| | **Code-switching** | 3 | 8 | 28 | 24 | 10 | 34 |
| | | 4a | 10 | 31 | 31 | 9 | 34 |
| | | 4b | 8 | 31 | 28 | 10 | 34 |
| **Speaker 2** | **Manitoban French** | 3 | 13 | 26 | 30 | 15 | 34 |
| | | 4 | 13 | 24 | 25 | 15 | 34 |
| | **Canadian English** | 3 | 9 | 30 | 31 | 14 | 34 |
| | | 4 | 12 | 26 | 31.5 | 12 | 34 |
| | **Code-switching**[a] | 3 | 17 | 22 | 28 | 9 | 34 |
| | | 3 | 8 | 24 | 23 | 11 | 34 |
| | | 4a | 10 | 34 | 35 | 8 | 34 |
| | | 4b | 10 | 25 | 23 | 11 | 34 |
| **Speaker 3** | **Quebec French** | 3 | 16 | 31 | 34 | 13 | 34 |
| | | 4 | 10 | 32 | 29 | 11 | 34 |
| **Speaker 4** | **European French** | 3 | 25 | 29 | 32 | 22 | 33 |
| | | 4 | 14 | 29 | 30 | 19 | 34 |
| **Speaker 5** | **Sub-Saharan African French** | 3 | 19 | 25 | 20 | 22 | 32 |
| | | 4 | 17 | 24 | 24 | 22 | 34 |
| | **European French** | 3 | 21 | 25 | 24 | 20 | 32 |
| | | 4 | 20 | 23 | 28 | 14 | 33 |

*Note 1*. The questions are those listed in Pre-test 2 questionnaire (Appendix D), and they address the following: Q3 (Does the way this person speaks suggest that they could be from any other place in the world?), Q4 (How much does

this person represent the language variety?), Q5 (How natural does this person sound to you?), Q6 (How casual does this person sound to you?) and Q8 (How clear does this recording sound to you?).

*Note 2*.  In the scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very), the maximum points per question was 35 (i.e. 7 participants x 5 points on the scale)

[a]Two recordings of this guise and text were Pre-tested, since one was improvised and could have been judged as more natural.

Results show more consistency among local varieties (Speakers 1 and 2) across participants and overall, recordings of text 4 were rated more authentic, representative, natural and more accurately identified than those of text 3, thus, only recordings of Text 4 were selected for the main perception study.

Regarding the  code-switching varieties, recordings of texts 3 and 4b  (English with French insertions) were judged as non-natural (Q5), whereas text 4a (French with English insertions), was consistently judged as natural (Q5: 31/35 and 35/35 ), authentic (Q3: 10/35) and representative (Q4: 31/35 and 34/35) of the Manitoban bilingual community. Most participants indicated Manitoba as the origin of speakers 1 and 2, although one of the recordings from Speaker 2 was described as the speech of someone who had learned French as L2 in a French Immersion program. Thus, recordings of Text 4 of Speaker 1 were chosen for the perception study as representative of the local language varieties, whereas recordings from Speaker 2 were used in the perception study as distractors only.

Regarding non-local French varieties, overall, recordings of Speakers 3 and 4 (Text 4), were only misidentified by one participant each, and were rated more authentic (Q3: 10 and 14/35), representative (Q:4: 32/35 and 29/35), and natural (Q5: 29/35 and 30/35) than their Text 3 counterparts. Recordings of Speaker 5 portraying the European French variety were misidentified by 6 participants, thus, these were not included in the perception study. The Sub-Saharan African French variety recordings of Speaker 5 were correctly identified by most participants, and received comparatively good ratings (Q3: 17/35, Q4: 24/35, Q5: 24/35).

Because some participants misidentified the origin of the speakers, and to ensure participants in the perception test correctly identify the origin of the speakers, and additional question asking participants to identify the origin of each voice was incorporated to the perception study.

**4.4. Perception Study: MGT and VGT**

*4.4.1. Participants Profile and Recruitment*

Three groups of participants were targeted: 1) French French-English bilinguals born and raised in a francophone community in Manitoba, 2) English speakers who attended French-immersion programs or who learned French by other means, and 3) French speakers who have moved to Manitoba from elsewhere. Participants needed to be at least 18, be able to understand French and English and currently live in Manitoba. Participants were given the option to be included in the draw of 20 CA$50 gift card as compensation.

Participants were recruited in various ways. Emails or text messages with a link to the survey were sent to acquaintances of the researcher, as well as to individual students, professors and student organizations at the Université de Saint-Boniface and the University of Manitoba. Individuals who had participated in previous stages of the study (sections 4.1 and 4.3) were also asked to share the recruitment email. Although the recruitment email was in English, it indicated that the survey was available in both French and English to not discourage francophone participants from taking part in the study. A poster in French was also shared by French language groups such as "Saint-Boniface, parle-moi", "Francommunauté Manitoba" and "Linguistics at the University of Manitoba" on social media platforms. Finally, the Radio-Canada Manitoba program "L'actuel" featured an interview with Dr. Nicole Rosen in which she discussed the study; a link to the experiment was posted on the program and social media webpages.

*4.4.2. Materials and Procedure*

Materials for the perception study were created using Qualtrics software and consisted of a socio-demographic questionnaire, the MGT/VGT with 11 recordings (Table 3) and an additional questionnaire.

Once participants accessed the survey link, they were first directed to the informed consent form and then the socio-demographic questionnaire (Appendix D). The questionnaire consisted of 10 socio-demographic questions based on the questionnaire in Kircher's (2010) and Hoffman and Walker's (2010) studies, as well as Birdsong et al.'s (2012) Bilingual Language Profile questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire was to ensure that participants met the participation criteria as described above and to gather socio-demographic and sociolinguistic information (i.e. *age*, *gender*, *origin*, *language background*, *proficiency* and *identity*) that has been

previously shown to play a role in language attitudes (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2014a; Lambert et al., 1960).

After completing the socio-demographic questionnaire, participants were directed to the perception test ([Appendix E](#)), where they were asked to evaluate each voice on 7 traits (*snobby, open-minded, successful, lazy, intelligent, outgoing* and *likeable*) and *correctness* ("Please indicate how correctly this person speaks") on a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 = "Not at all" to 7 = "Very much"). Participants were also asked to identify the origin of each speaker.

Participants first listened to a practice recording (a Spanish-accented French-English code-switching recording of Text 4b) and completed a questionnaire to familiarize themselves with the procedure. Then, they were instructed to listen to the voices of 10 women and to complete a questionnaire for each recording they heard. Participants were able to play the recordings more than once during a 30-second period, after which they were redirected to the questionnaire. Participants were not able to return to a previous recording or questionnaire once their answers were submitted.

The order of the voices (Table 3) was designed to ensure that two recordings of the same speaker or linguistic variety did not appear consecutively. A 0.5s silent segment before and after the recordings was included and the volume of some recordings was lowered for consistency, as suggested by a Pre-test 2 participant. On average, the recordings are 7.519s, and the average for the recordings of the main varieties is 7.877s.

**Table 3**

*Order and length of guises recordings in the perception study (excluding the silent segments)*

| Order | Study | Speakers | Language varieties | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Practice | | Practice voice | Spanish-Accented French-English code-switching | 6.450s |
| 1 | | Speaker 2 (distractor) | Canadian English | 5.201s |
| 2 | MGT/VGT | Speaker 1 | Manitoban French | 5.752s |
| 3 | VGT | Speaker 3 | Quebec French | 5.979s |
| 4 | | Speaker 2 (distractor) | Manitoban code-switching | 5.811s |
| 5 | VGT | Speaker 4 | European French | 6.597s |
| 6 | MGT | Speaker 1 | Manitoban code-switching | 6.334s |
| 7 | | Speaker 2 (distractor) | Manitoban French | 6.471s |
| 8 | VGT | Speaker 5 | Sub-Saharan African French | 10.584s |
| 9 | MGT | Speaker 1 | Canadian English | 6.013s |
| 10 | | Distractor 1 | Sub-Saharan African-accented English | 6.002s |

At the end of the experiment participants were asked to complete 5 questions (Appendix F) aimed at excluding those who had participated in previous stages of the project, recognized a speaker, realized what the experiment was about, noticed that there were several recordings from the same speaker or had not answered the survey honestly.

After these additional questions, participants were debriefed about the aim of the experiment and were requested not to share this information with anyone who might participate in the study.

### 4.4.3. Participants' Demographic Profiles

A total of 170 individuals accessed the online survey, but only 106 completed it in its entirety. Participants were stratified based on their *age*, *gender*, *origin*, *mother tongue(s)* and *identity*. Since the number of participants was not large enough to subdivide them into smaller subcategories, participants' self-reported proficiency and Manitobans' schooling background

(whether they attended French Immersion school (n=28) or not) were not taken into consideration for the analysis.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of participants by *gender*. 74.3% of participants self-identified as female (n=78) and 25.8% as male (n=27). There were not enough non-binary participants (n=1) to create a subgroup, so their responses were excluded from the analysis.

**Figure 1**

*Distribution of participants (n=106) by* gender
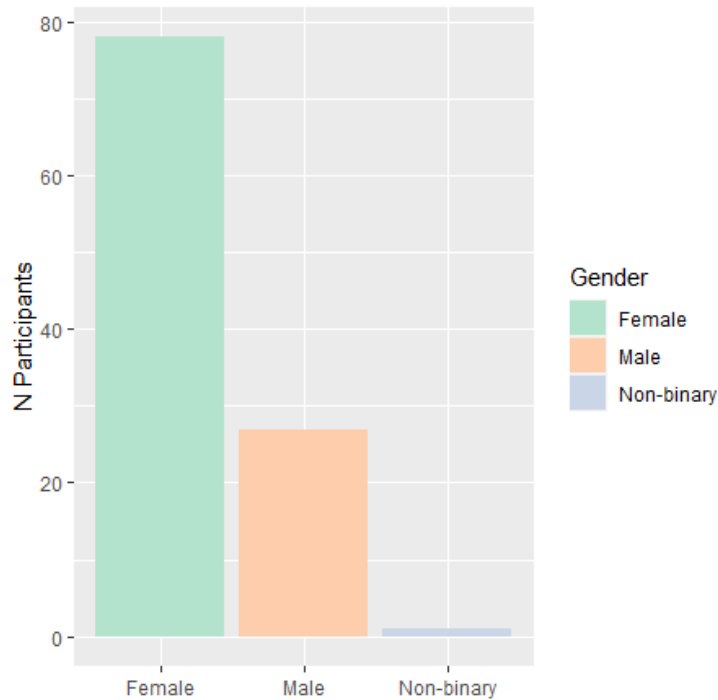


Participants' *age* ranged from 19 to 71 (median = 33, mean = 36.11) and were divided into four groups according to their generation (Dimock, 2019) as shown in Table 4. Most participants are Millennials (41%, n=43), followed by Generation Z (25.8%, n=27). Generation X and Baby Boomers represent around 33% of the total participants (16.2%, n=17 and 17.1%, n=18, respectively). The distribution of participants by age is shown in Figure 2.

**Table 4**

*Age range by generation of participants according to Dimock* (2019)

| Generation | Age range |
|---|---|
| Generation Z | 19 -23 years of age |
| Millennials | 24-39 years of age |
| Generation X | 40-55 years of age |
| Baby Boomers | 56-71 years of age |

**Figure 2**

*Distribution of participants (n=105) by* age
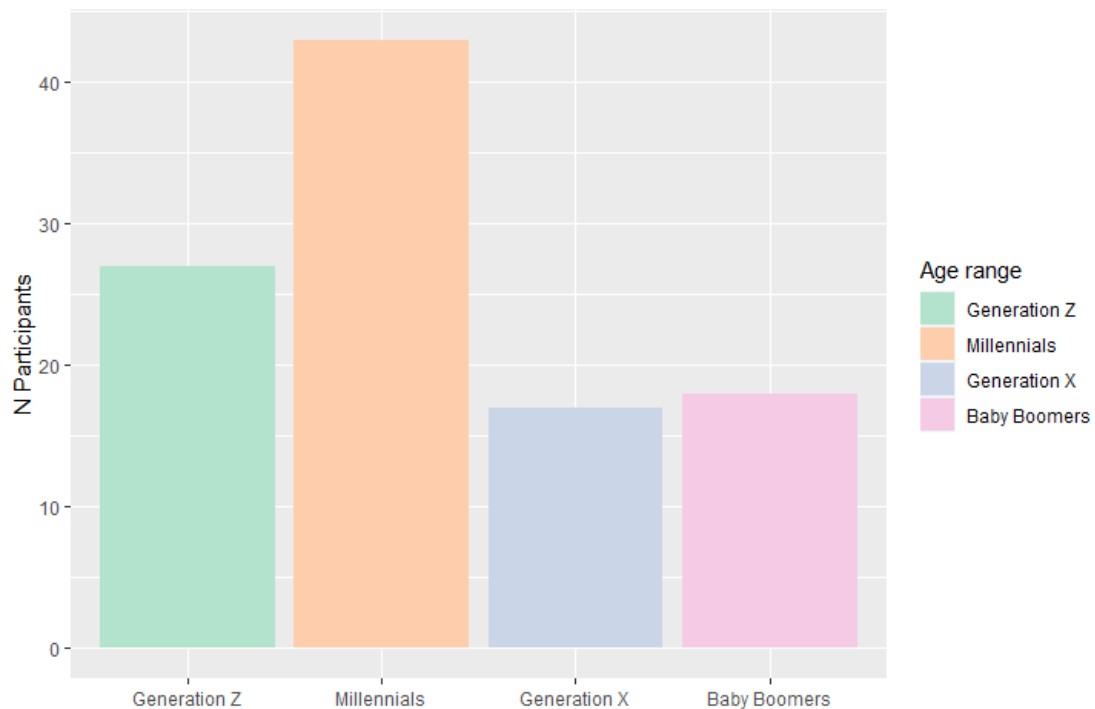


As shown in Figure 3, most participants grew up in Manitoba (59%, n=62). The remaining participants (n=43) grew up in a difference province (16.2%, n=17) (mostly Quebec, 53%, n=9) or outside Canada (24.8%, n=26). Some participants (n=9) indicated Manitoba as their origin while also stating that they had recently moved to the province, thus they were categorized as either Canadian or Other based on their answer to the *identity* question.

**Figure 3**

*Distribution of participants (n=105) by* origin
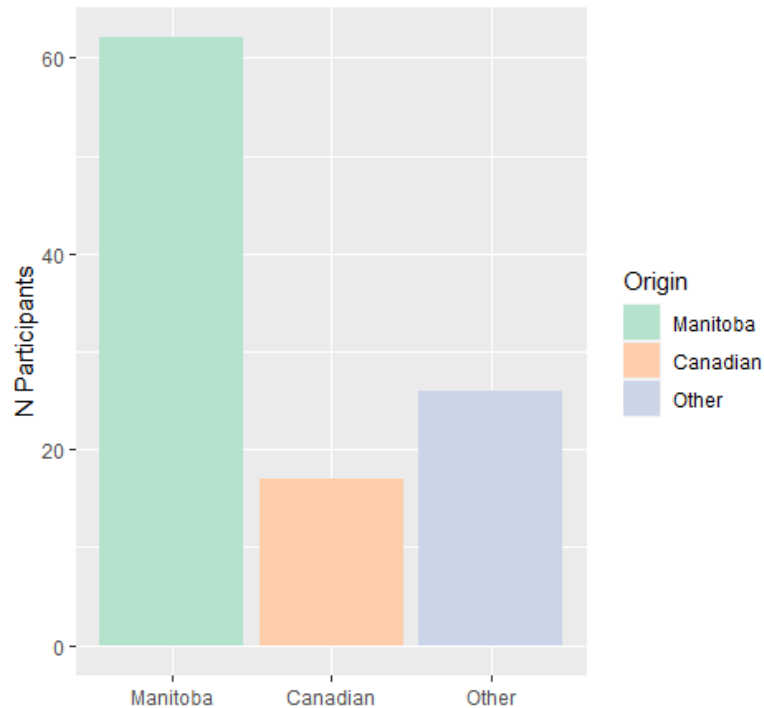


Participants were divided into four groups based on their *mother tongue*(s), as shown in Figure 4. Most participants (42%, n=44) reported French as their mother tongue, followed by English (27.6% n=29). Participants who indicated both French and English (13.3%, n=14), English and other (4.8%, n=5), and French and other (<2% n=2) as their mother tongue were grouped under the 'Bilingual' category (20%, n=21) for statistical purposes. Lastly, 10.5% reported 'Other' (n=11) as their *mother tongue*.

**Figure 4**

*Distribution of participants (n=105) by* mother tongue
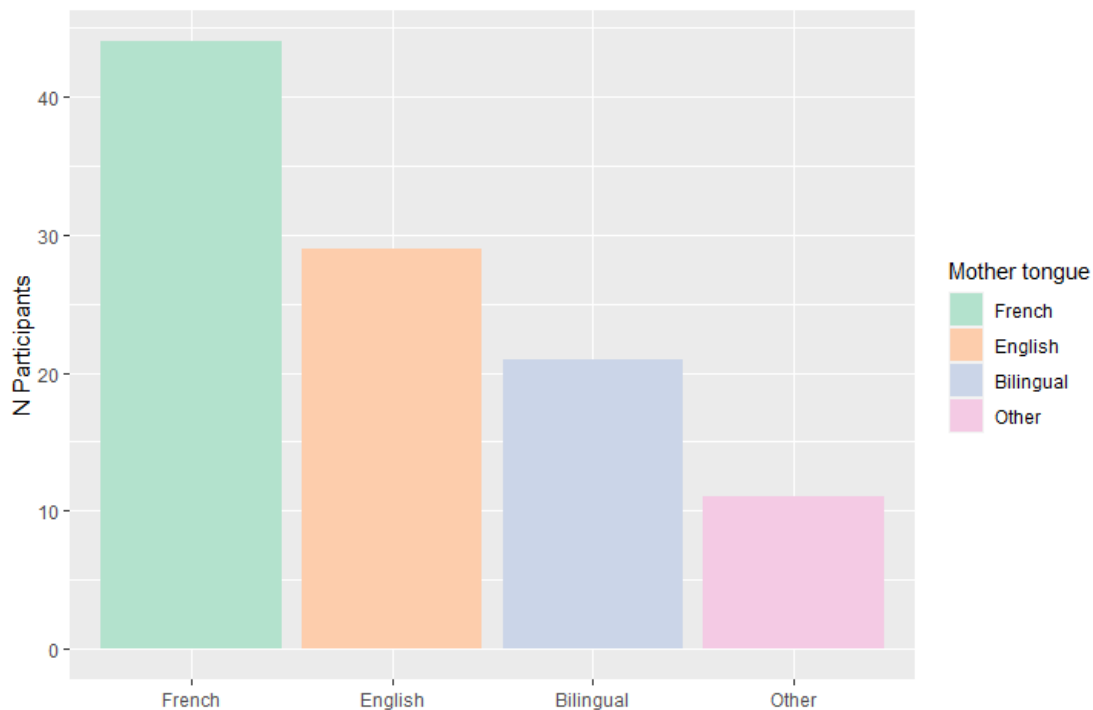


Participants *identified* themselves as either Canadian, Franco-Canadian, Franco-Manitoban, other, or a combination of these. The 13 possible identities originally identified were grouped into 2 general categories for statistical purposes. As seen in Figure 5, 44% of participants identified as Franco-Manitobans (n=46) and 56.2% as Other (n=59). The participants in the Franco-Manitoban category had either indicated Franco-Manitoban as their only identity (n=20) or identified as Franco-Manitoban and a combination of other including Franco-Manitoban and Canadian, Franco-Manitoban and Franco-Canadian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Canadian and Canadian (n=26). Participants categorized as 'Other' had identified as Canadian, and Canadian and other (n=24), Franco-Canadian and Franco-Canadian, Canadian and other (n=13) and Other (n=22), (i.e. francophone, French, Québécoise, Citoyen du monde).

**Figure 5**

*Distribution of participants (n=105) by* identity
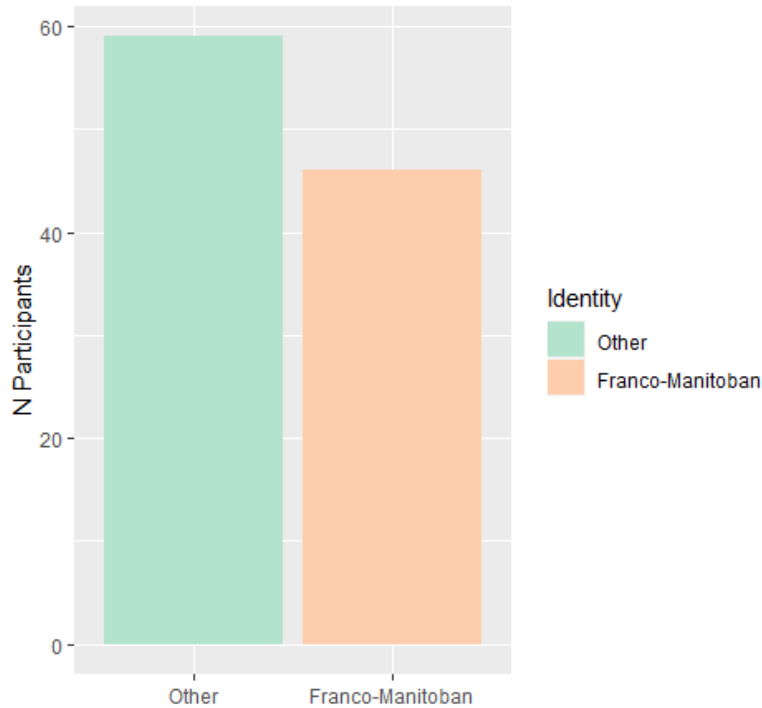


### 4.4.4. Exclusion Criteria

Overall, 197 out of 630 responses (31.3%) were excluded from the analysis due to having recognized a francophone speaker or having realized they had heard the same speaker more than once. However, the ratings for Speaker 1's first guise (Manitoban French) were kept. Responses of participants who failed to recognize the origin of a speaker were also removed from the analysis (Preston, 1989). Often, participants did not identify the exact origin of the speakers, but their responses were still included for the following reasons: the origins in the table for Speaker 1 guises were included because some participants in Pre-test 2 (section 4.3) mentioned Manitoban French varieties and these origins interchangeably. The origin of speakers 3, 4 and 5, was expanded to include generally the country of origin (or continent outside of Canada), because participants in Pre-test 1 and 2 were less familiar with these varieties. Lastly, 2 participants (<4%) indicated either Caribbean or a South American French country as Speaker 5's origin. These responses were included to avoid having too few responses for this guise, which would compromise the reliability of the statistical analysis, but also because these origins were geographically different from the other guises examined. Table 5 shows the total number of responses per speaker and guise

excluded from and included in the analysis, as well as the types of responses found acceptable for the question of origin.

**Table 5**

*Total number of responses excluded from and included in the analysis by speaker and guise*

| Speaker | Guise | Total responses excluded | Total responses included | Reported origins of guises included |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker 1 | Manitoban French | 28 | 77 | Manitoba, the Prairies, unspecified location in Canada or Western Canada |
| Speaker 1 | Code-switching | 36 | 69 | Manitoba, the Prairies and general or anglophone Canada |
| Speaker 1 | Canadian English | 19 | 86 | North America |
| Speaker 3 | Quebec French | 33 | 72 | Quebec or Canada |
| Speaker 4 | European French | 29 | 76 | France or Europe |
| Speaker 5 | Sub-Saharan African French | 52 | 53 | Africa, the Caribbean or other francophone South American country |

## 4.5. Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis was performed using the cumulative link mixed-effects models (Christensen & Brockhoff, 2013) in R statistical computation software (R Core Team, 2020) with the package ordinal (Christensen, 2015). Different statistical models have been employed in the past to analyze results from MGT studies, such as ANOVA-based methods (Giles & Sassoon, 1983; Kircher, 2014a; Nelson et al., 2016), factor analysis and principal components analysis-based methods (Gooskens et al., 2016; Woolard & Gahng, 1990), and mixed models both linear (Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2013) and cumulative (Guzzardo Tamargo et al., 2019).

The cumulative link mixed-effects models was employed in the present study for several reasons as outlined in Guzzardo Tamargo et al. (2019) and Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar (forthcoming). Firstly, this model allows to analyze ratings of different guises given by each participant as dependent measures since each participant provides ratings for each trait and for multiple guises, and these cannot be considered completely independent due to each participant's rating bias. Secondly, participants' responses are captured using a Likert scale, thus these cannot be analyzed as continuous data but rather as ordinal, and these models are ideal to analyze ordinal data. Lastly, they "allow incorporating demographic and linguistic characteristics of participants and/or speakers using fixed effects while accounting for potential dependence among the multiple ratings from each participant using random effects" (Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, forthcoming).

To facilitate the comparability of results, two different analyses are performed: one comprising the MGT guises (Chapter 5), and another comprising the VGT varieties (Chapter 6). Both analyses are performed using the cumulative link mixed-effects model for each trait (*successful, lazy, intelligent, correct, snobby, open-minded, outgoing* and *likeable*). Participants are analyzed as random effects, and guises and participants' demographic traits (*age, gender, origin, mother tongue and identity*) as fixed effects. Firstly, a model with only the main effects is performed. All reported effects for guises are compared to the Manitoban French variety, for *age* to Generation Z, for *origin* to Manitoba and for *mother tongue* to French. A second model is performed to test the interactions between guises and participants' demographic traits. Significance is measured in this model for effects whose *p*-value was less than or equal to .05. These results represent general beliefs and attitudes held by the participants in the study and should not be extrapolated to all francophones residing in Manitoba.

# Chapter 5: MGT Results and Discussion

This chapter describes and discusses the results from the MGT. In results from the traits are clustered into two dimensions, namely, status () and solidarity (). Lastly, discusses the implication of the results from this study by dimension (status: , solidarity: ).

## 5.1. MGT Results

Table 6 displays the results for speaker main effects and interaction between effects, and speaker by trait. Significant results from the main effects model by speaker are found in status traits *successful*, *intelligent* and *correct*, and solidarity traits *snobby*, *outgoing* and *likeable*. The interactions between participants' *age* and *gender* and guise yield significant results in most status traits, whereas the interaction between participants' *origin*, *mother tongue* and *identity* and guise only result in significant results in solidarity traits *snobby* and *likeable* and status trait *intelligent*, respectively.

**Table 6**

*MGT results for speaker main effects, and interactions between speaker and effects by trait*

| Traits | Effects | | Interactions with Speaker | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Speaker | Age | Gender | Origin | Mother tongue | Identity |
| Successful | ** | * | *** | | | |
| Lazy | . | | * | | | |
| Intelligent | ** | *** | *** | | | *** |
| Correct | *** | * | | . | | |
| Snobby | * | | | * | | |
| Openminded | . | | | | | |
| Outgoing | * | | | . | | |
| Likeable | * | | | | * | |

Significance codes: '***' 0.001, '**' 0.01, '*' 0.05, '.' 0.1

### 5.1.1. Status Traits

Figures 6-9 show the mean distribution of participants' ratings for each of the status traits in the MGT. The number that appears above the guise (n=69, n=86 and n=77) represent the number of responses included in the analysis as outlined in section 4.4.4. Overall results show that participants do not associate Speaker 1 with the trait *lazy* (Figure 7), but they mostly do with the trait *correct* (Figure 9). Ratings for traits *successful* (Figure 6) and *intelligent* (Figure 8) are neutral. The following subsections will only outline the results that reached significance ($p \leq .05$).

**Successful.** Overall ratings are neutral on this trait (Figure 6), however, the Main Effects model (AIC = 719.55) shows that Speaker 1 is perceived significantly less *successful* in her code-switching guise than when she spoke French (z = -2.58, $p$ =.01). Results from the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 734.26) indicate that males find her less *successful* in her code-switching (z = -3.39, $p < .001$) and English (z = -3.40, $p <.001$) guises than females. Generation X participants rate the speaker more *successful* when using code-switching (z = 2.07, $p$ =.04) and English (z = 2.24, $p$ =.03) versus Generation Z participants.

**Figure 6**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* successful *in the MGT*
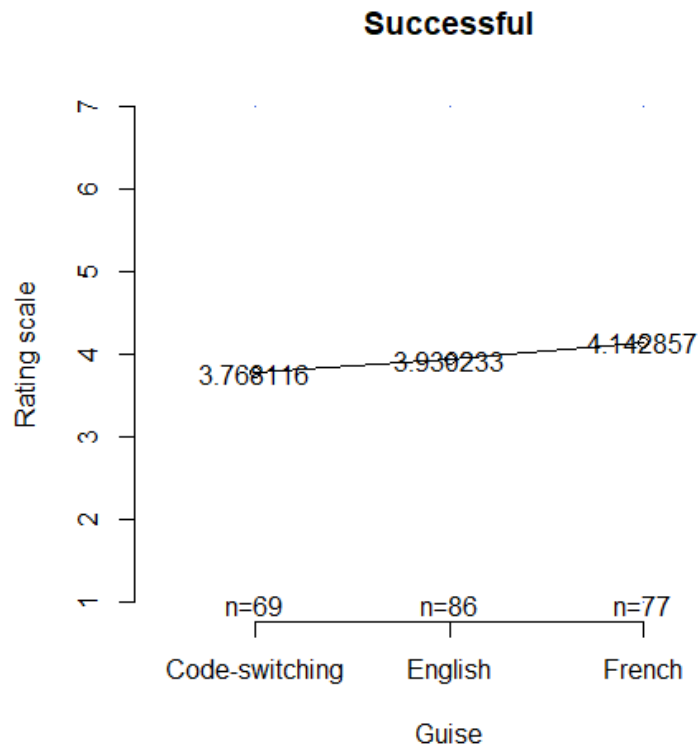


**Lazy.** Overall participants do not associate the trait *lazy* with any guise (Figure 7), and the Main Effects model (AIC = 680.14) does not yield any significant results. However, the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 701.89) shows that males find Speaker 1 significantly *lazier* when speaking English than females ($z = 2.13$, $p = .03$). No other interaction approaches significance for this trait.

**Figure 7**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* lazy *in the MGT*
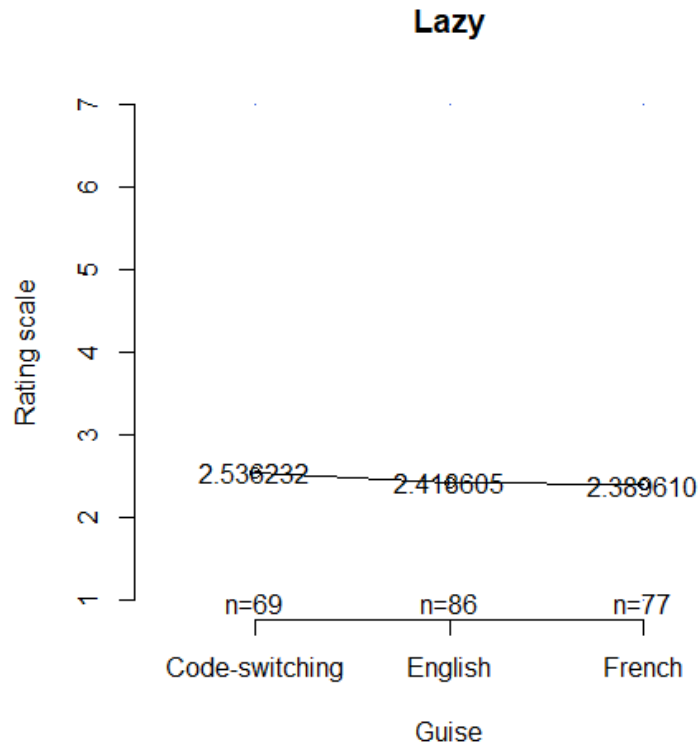


**Intelligent.** Although overall ratings are neutral for this trait (Figure 8), the Main Effects model (AIC = 720.11) shows that Speaker 1 is rated less *intelligent* when speaking code-switching ($z = -2.61$, $p = .01$) and English ($z = -2.10$, $p = .04$) than when speaking French. The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 739.40) shows that Baby Boomers, however, perceive Speaker 1 in her code-switching ($z = 163.36$, $p < .001$) and English guises ($z = 335.86$, $p < .001$) to be more *intelligent* than Generation Z participants. Males rate the speaker in her code-switching ($z = -423.35$, $p < .001$) and English guises ($z = -674.37$, $p < .001$) less *intelligent* than females. Lastly, participants who identify as Franco-Manitobans find the speaker in her code-switching guise more *intelligent* ($z = 85.91$, $p < .001$) and in her English guise less *intelligent* ($z = -13.86$, $p < .001$) than those participants who do not identify as Franco-Manitobans.

**Figure 8**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* intelligent *in the MGT*



**Intelligent**
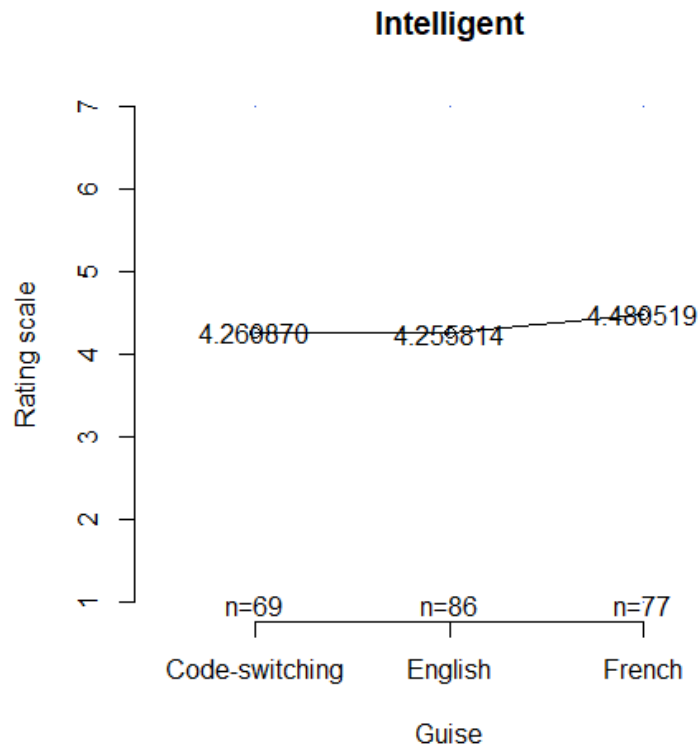
Correct. Figure 9 shows that the average rating for the code-switching guise is neutral on this trait, whereas ratings for English and French guises tend to be higher. This interaction reaches significance in the Main Effects model (AIC = 736.29), indicating that Speaker 1 is perceived as speaking less *correctly* when using code-switching than when using French ($z = -6.67$, $p < .001$). The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 749.47) reveals that Baby Boomers rate the speaker in her code-switching guise less *correct* than participants from Generation Z ($z = -2.02$, $p = .04$).

**Figure 9**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* correct *in the MGT*



**Correct**
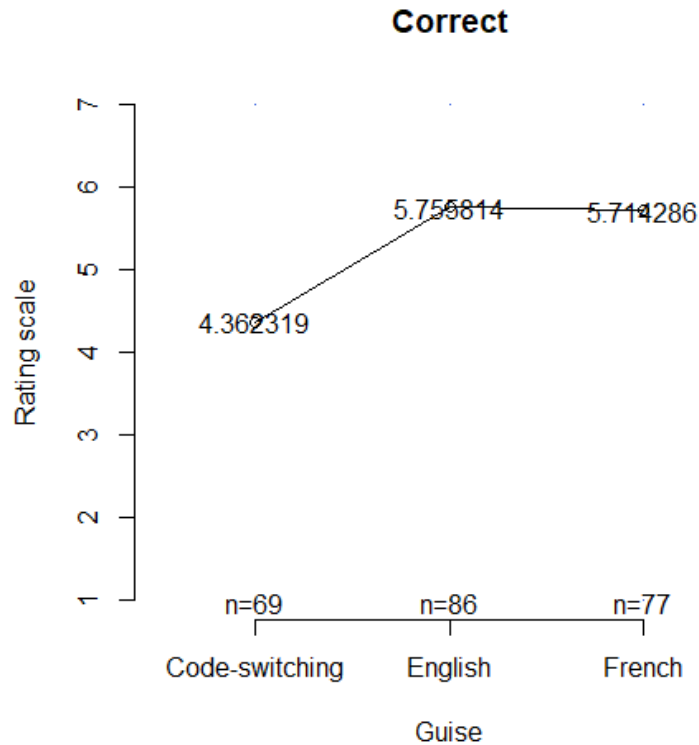
### 5.1.2. Solidarity Traits

The mean distribution of participants' ratings for each of the solidarity traits in the MGT is shown in Figures 10-13. Overall ratings suggest that participants do not find the speaker *snobby* (Figure 10), whereas results for the trait *open-minded* (Figure 11) are neutral and for traits *outgoing* (Figure 12) and *likeable* (Figure 13) are neutral to high.

**Snobby.** Overall, participants do not deem Speaker 1 *snobby* (Figure 10), although results from the Main Effects model (AIC = 632.43) indicate that Speaker 1's English guise is rated significantly *snobbier* than in her French guise (z = 2.18, *p* =.03). The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 657.52) shows that participants of Canadian origin rate the speaker in her code-switching guise *snobbier* than those of Manitoban origin (z = 2.25, *p* = .02). No other interaction approaches significance.

**Figure 10**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* snobby *in the MGT*



**Snobby**
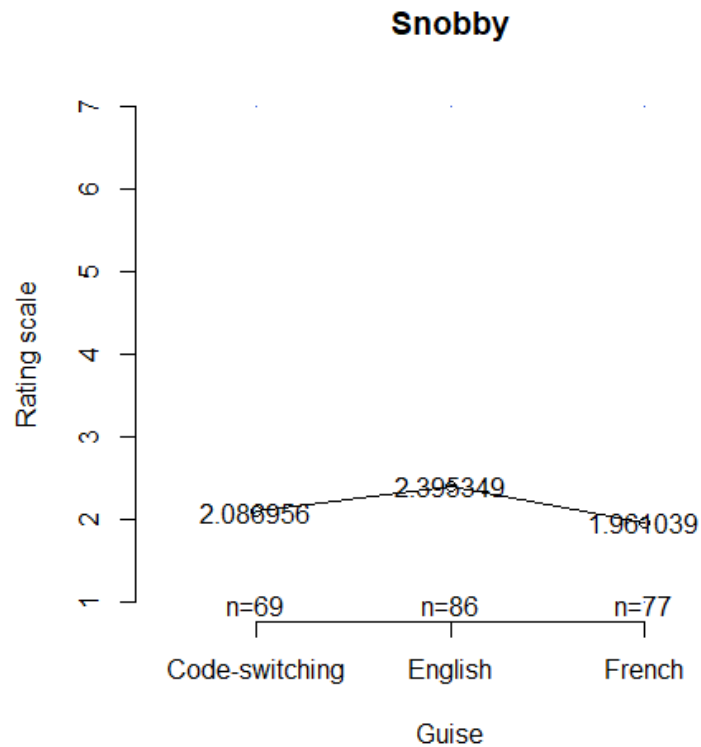
**Open-minded.** Overall means are neutral for this trait (Figure 11) and no significant results emerge in either the Main Effects model (AIC = 756.72) and the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 779.77) for this trait.

**Figure 11**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* open-minded *in the MGT*



**Open-minded**
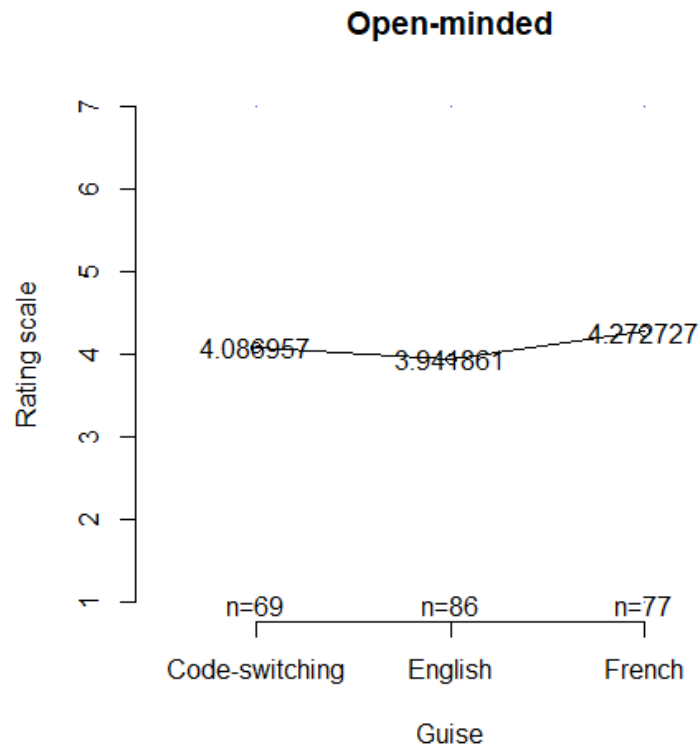


**Outgoing.** As shown in Figure 12, participants tend to rate Speaker 1 high in this trait. However, the Main Effects model (AIC = 753.21) reveals that overall participants find Speaker 1 significantly less *outgoing* when speaking code-switching than when speaking French ($z = -1.996$, $p = .05$). No statistically significant results emerge from the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 781.55).

**Figure 12**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* outgoing *in the MGT*
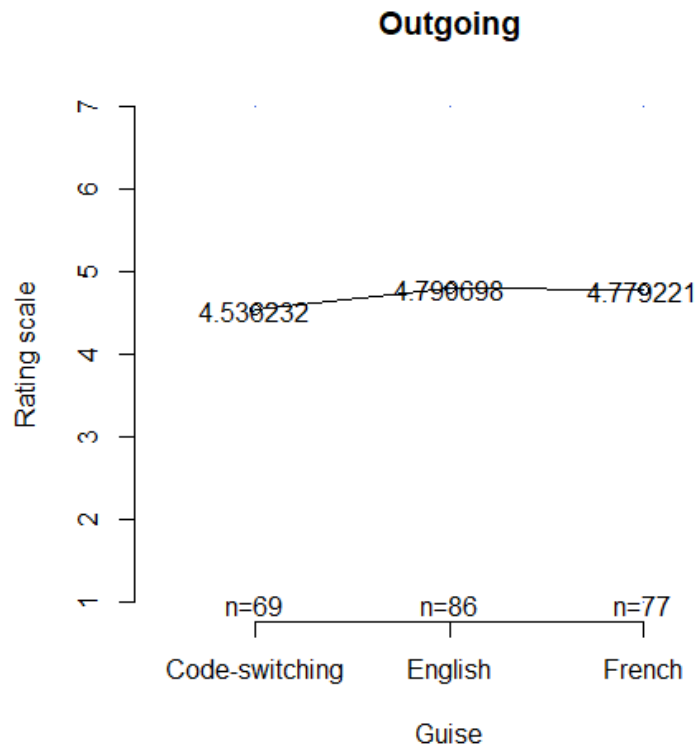


**Likeable.** The mean distribution shows that participants tend to rate Speaker 1 neutral to high in this trait (Figure 13). However, results from the Main Effects model (AIC = 754.29) indicate that they find Speaker 1 in her code-switching guise significantly less *likeable* than in her French guise ($z = -2.54$, $p = .01$). The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 776.01) shows that participants whose mother tongue is English rate Speaker 1 in her code-switching variety less *likeable* than those whose mother tongue is French ($z = -2.33$, $p = .02$). No other interaction approaches significance.

**Figure 13**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* likeable *in the MGT*



**Likeable**
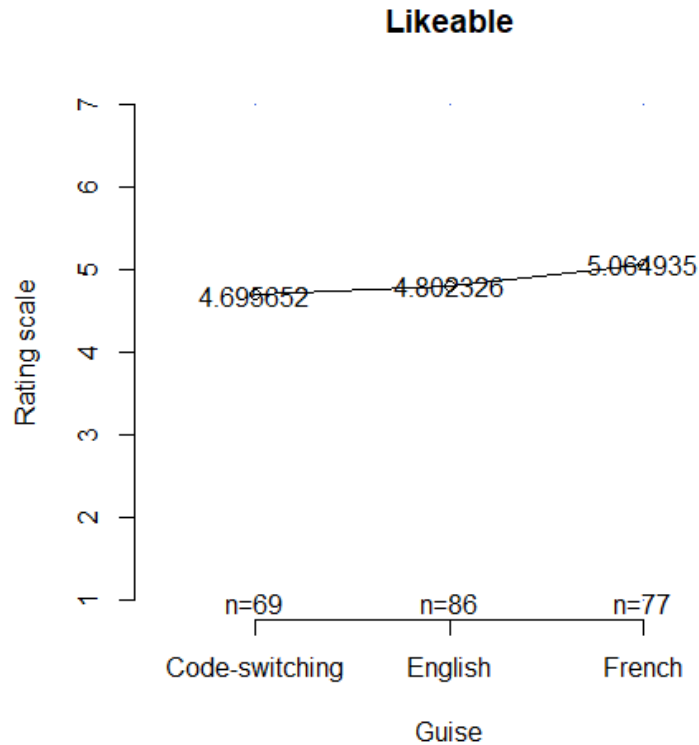
## 5.2. MGT Discussion

### 5.2.1. Status

Speaker 1 is perceived more *intelligent* in her French guise than in her English guise, and no other differences between those two guises are found in the status dimension, which differs dramatically from previous studies showing that English is perceived more statusful than French (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2014b, 2014a; Lambert et al., 1960). In this regard, these results align more with Lehnert and Hörstermann's (2019) study, where Quebecers did not show an explicit language preference. This suggest that Manitoba francophones consider both French and English as tools for socio-economic advancement, which could be partially attributed to the recent measures to promote the use of French implemented by the provincial government and various local organizations (Bureau de l'éducation française, 2019a, 2019b; Francophone Affairs Secretariat, 2017; Government of Manitoba, 2020b, 2020c; Société de la francophonie manitobaine, 2020). The code-switching guise was perceived less *successful*, less *intelligent*, and

speaking more *incorrectly* than the French guise, which is consistent with previous literature showing that despite being used extensively, code-switching tends to be perceived negatively in the status dimension (Bentahila, 1983; Hallion, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

When looking at the role played by *age* in the status dimension, we found that Baby Boomers consider the code-switching guise less *correct* than younger participants, which is in line with work on bilingual communities showing that older participants are more critical of code-switching and perceive it as ungrammatical (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2005; Pena Díaz, 2004). However, both Generation X and Baby Boomers rate code-switching and English guises more positively in two out of four traits (*successful* and *intelligent*) than younger participants. Also, although this interaction only approached significance in the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 739.40), Generation X participants perceive the code-switching guise more *intelligent* as well (z = 1.96, *p* = .05). It is not surprising, however, that older participants rate the English guise more positively in *successful* and *intelligent* traits, since until relatively recently English was the only language with political and educational representation in the province (Collins, 2018; Hallion, 2007). The preference for the code-switching guise in these traits could indicate that these groups associate this variety with bilingualism, and consequently, the opportunity to access a greater variety of positions in the province's job market, thus deeming this speaker as *successful* and *intelligent*.

*Gender* also plays a role in participants' attitudes. Males rate the guises significatively lower in all status traits and all guises than females, with the exception of *lazy* in the code-switching guise. Previous attitudinal studies in North America, also found that males rate female and male and female guises less statusful than females overall (Brown & Cichocki, 1995; Nelson et al., 2016, respectively), and personal psychology research suggests that males, when compared to females, are more likely to rate females more negatively in the status dimension because of their proclivity to accept social stereotypes (Carter et al., 2006).

Participants' *identity* also helps explain differences in results in the status dimension. Those who identify as Franco-Manitoban find the speaker more *intelligent* when using code-switching and less *intelligent* when speaking English than those that do not identify as such. It is not surprising that Franco-Manitobans rate the speaker's code-switching guise higher in this dimension, since by employing this linguistic resource the speaker presents herself as a proficient bilingual (Zentella, 1997). In Manitoba, only 6.6% of anglophones (n=59,510) have knowledge of

French and English whereas 90% (n=36,410) of francophones are bilingual (Statistics Canada, 2016). For this, Franco-Manitobans could have assumed the English guise to be monolingual and thus rate her less *intelligent* than other participants. In contrast, those who identify as *Canadian* or *other* rate the English guise more *intelligent* than Franco-Manitobans. The results of those who identify as *Canadian* could be explained by the federal status of English in Canada and its use by the majority of its population (Statistics Canada, 2017a). The perceived status of this language in Canada is even visible in the only predominantly francophone province (Quebec) as reported in Kircher (2014b, 2014a). English status of global lingua franca (Kircher, 2014a) could have also driven participants who identify as *other*, most of whom from outside North America, to rate English guise higher in this area, for the utilitarian and economic advantage that comes with being able to communicate in English worldwide.

### 5.2.2. Solidarity

Speaker 1 is found more *outgoing* and *likeable* in her French guise than in her code-switching guise, and less *snobby* in her French guise than in her English guise. Thus, not only French and English are seen as a statusful varieties, but they are also regarded as important languages in terms of solidarity when compared to CS. Paradoxically, the speaker's code-switching guise, which is rated higher by Franco-Manitobans in the status dimension is perceived more negatively when compared to other guises in the solidarity dimension. These results also contrast with those obtained in Pre-test 1 (section 4.1.3), where participants associate code-switching with solidarity but not with status traits. Similar results were found in two border cities in Texas, where Spanish-English code-switching tended to have lower ratings than monolingual speakers in solidarity (Rangel et al., 2015). Rangel et al. attributed these findings to the prestige associated with Spanish in these communities, and thus the disregard for the code-switching variety. At this point, however, no hypothesis can be presented to explain this interesting interaction in the present study, and it deserves to be further explored through more qualitative research.

Participants' *origin* and *mother tongue* also played a role in the solidarity dimension. In her code-switching guise, participants of Canadian *origin* find speaker 1 *snobbier* than those of Manitoban *origin*, and anglophones find her less *likeable* than francophones. Unlike previous MGT conducted in Canada showing that anglophone participants rated English guises positively

in solidarity traits (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2014a; Lambert et al., 1960), the lack of significant results with regards to English and the negative results in code-switching in the present study suggest that participants deem speaking a single variety at a time more positively than mixing the codes.

**Chapter 6: VGT Results and Discussion**

Results from the VGT analysis are outlined in this chapter (section 6.1). Results in section 6.1 are divided into status (section 6.1.1) and solidarity dimensions (section 6.1.2). Lastly, in section 6.2 results are examined and discussed, by status (section 6.2.1) and lastly solidarity dimensions (section 6.2.2).

## 6.1. VGT Results

Table 7 summarizes the results for speaker main effects, interaction between effects, and speaker by trait. The model with interactions between effects and speakers for the trait *lazy* does not yield reliable results, thus these will not be discussed. The status trait *intelligent* and all solidarity traits show significant results in the main effects model. The main effects and interactions with guise models show that participants' *age* and *gender* only reach significance in certain status traits (*correct* and *successful,* and *intelligent*, respectively). On the contrary, participants' *origin*, *mother tongue* and *identity* seem to produce more significant results with most solidarity traits (except *openminded*) and two status traits (*correct* and *successful*).

**Table 7**

*VGT results for speaker main effects, and interactions between speaker and effects by trait*

| Traits | Effects | Interactions with Speaker | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Speaker | Age | Gender | Origin | Mother tongue | Identity |
| Successful | . | | * | | * | . |
| Lazy[a] | | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Intelligent | * | | * | | | |
| Correct | | * | | * | | . |
| Snobby | *** | | | * | | |
| Openminded | * | . | | | . | |
| Outgoing | *** | | | . | | * |
| Likeable | * | | | * | ** | * |

[a]NA: Results for this model did not yield reliable results, thus are not included in this table.

Significance codes: '***' 0.001, '**' 0.01, '*' 0.05, '.' 0.1

### 6.1.1. Status Traits

Figures 14-17 show the mean distribution of participants ratings for the status traits in the VGT. Overall, participants' ratings were neutral for traits *successful* (Figure 14) and *intelligent* (Figure 16), low for the trait *lazy* (Figure 15) and high for the trait *correct* (Figure 17). Only results that reached significance will be discussed in the following sub-section.

**Successful.** Figure 14 shows neutral ratings towards all speakers in this trait and statistical analysis confirms no significant results from the Main Effects model (AIC = 881.34). Results from the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 916.01) shows that males, however, find the Sub-Saharan African speaker less *successful* than females ($z = -2.46$, $p = .01$). Monolingual participants whose mother tongue is other than French, and English rate the European French speaker more *successful* than monolingual francophone participants ($z = 2.15$, $p = .03$).

**Figure 14**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* successful *in the VGT*



**Successful**

Rating scale

4.394737    4.142857    4.416667    3.886792

n=76    n=77    n=72    n=53

Europe    Manitoba    Quebec    Sub-Saharan Africa

Guise

**Lazy.** Participants do not seem to associate the trait *lazy* with any speaker (Figure 15) and no statistically significant results are obtained from the Main Effects model (AIC = 757.04). Unfortunately, the Main Effects and Interactions model fails to provide reliable results.

**Figure 15**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* lazy *in the VGT*



**Lazy**
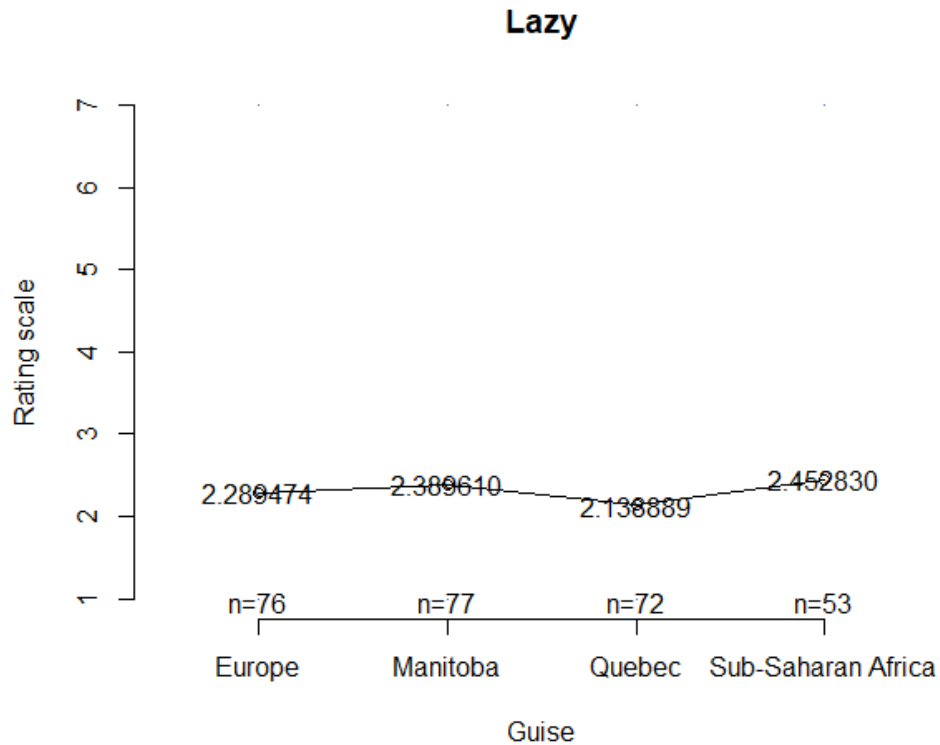
Intelligent. On average, participants show neutral to high attitudes towards the speakers in this trait (Figure 16), however results from the Main Effects model (AIC = 871.45) show that overall, they evaluate the Quebec ($z = 2.43$, $p = .02$) and European French speakers ($z = 2.08$, $p = .04$) more *intelligent* than the Manitoban French speaker. The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 911.49) shows that males find the European French speaker significantly less *intelligent* than females ($z = -1.96$, $p = .05$). No other interaction shows significance in this trait.

**Figure 16**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* intelligent *in the VGT*
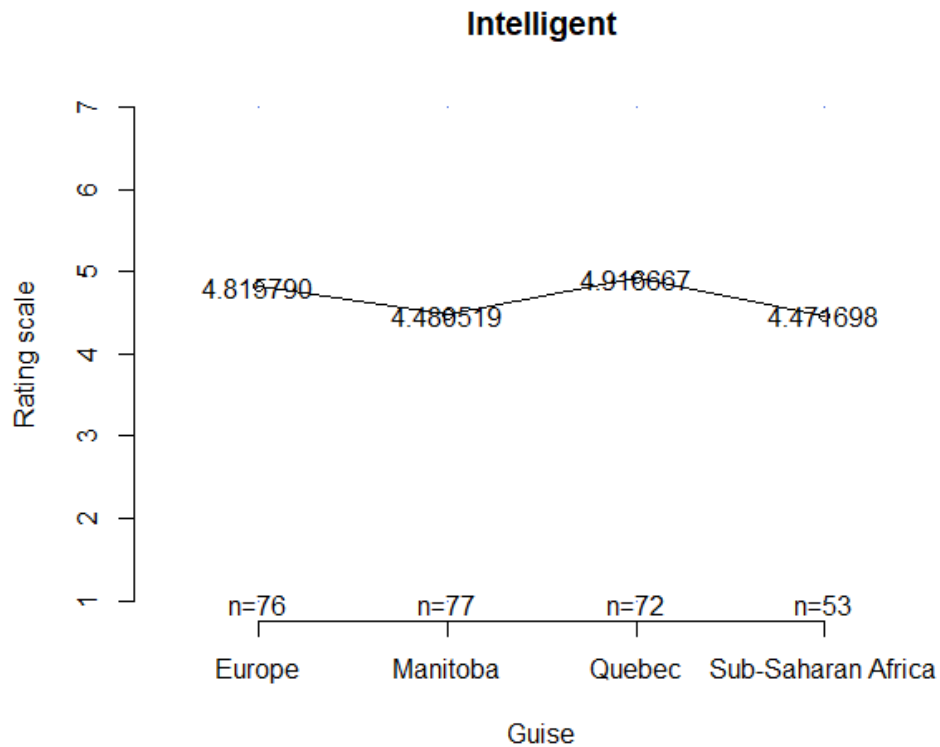


**Correct.** Participants give high ratings for correctness to all speakers (Figure 17). Results from the Main Effects model (AIC = 725.95) do not yield significant results. The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 754.42) shows that Baby Boomers perceive the Quebec French speaker as speaking less *correctly* than Generation Z participants (z = -1.99, *p* = .05). Non-Canadians find that the Sub-Saharan African French speaker speaks less *correctly* than those from Manitoba (z = -2.16, *p* = .03). No other interaction reaches significance.

**Figure 17**

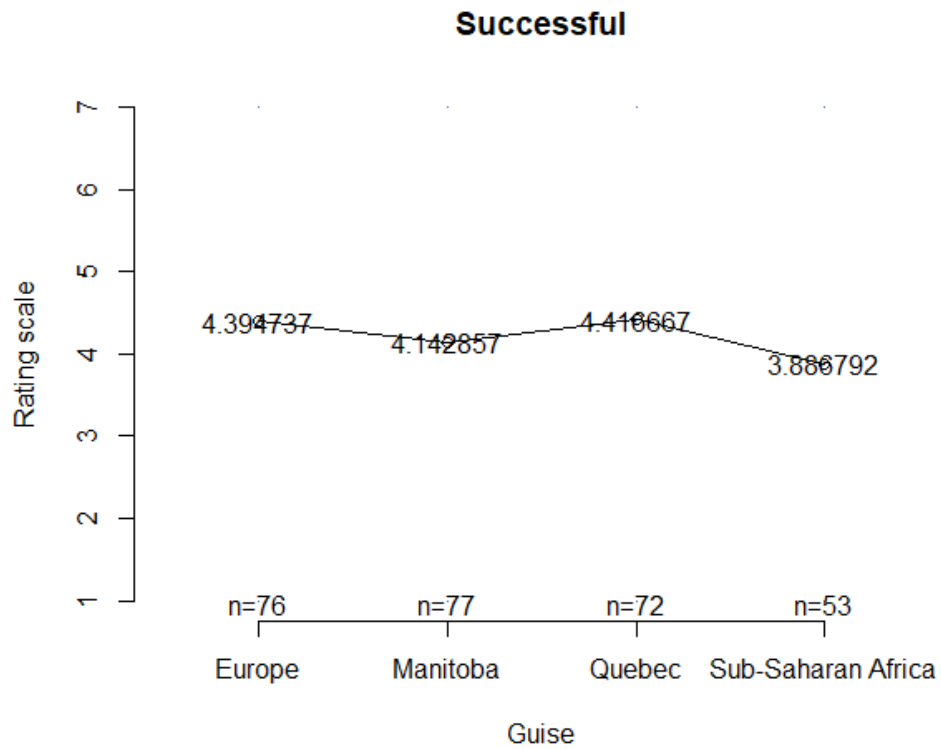*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* correct *in the VGT*
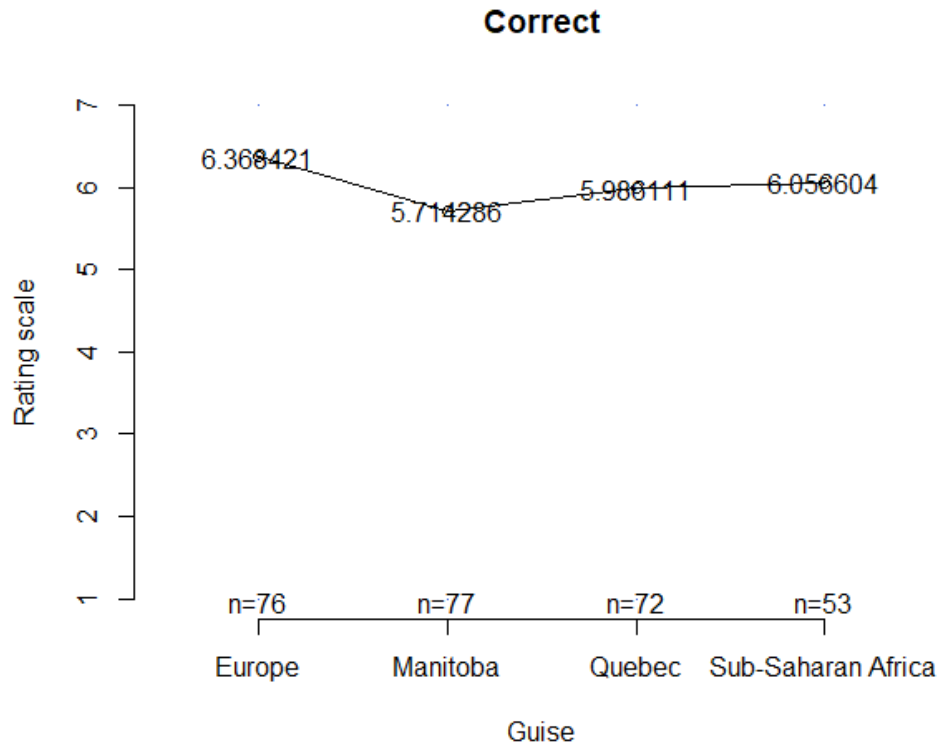


## 6.1.2. Solidarity Traits

Figures 18-21 show the mean distribution of participants ratings for each of the status traits in the VGT. Overall, participants do not perceive the speakers as *snobby* (Figure 18), but they do find them *likeable* (Figure 21). Ratings for the trait *open-minded* tend to be neutral to low (Figure 19), and for *outgoing* neutral to high (Figure 20).

**Snobby.** Although participants do not associate this trait with the speakers (Figure 18), results from the Main Effects model (AIC = 780.98) show that the European French speaker is perceived *snobbier* than the Manitoban French speaker ($z = 3.60, p < .001$). Results from the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 809.84) indicate that participants of Canadian origin rate the European French speaker *snobbier* than participants of Manitoban origin ($z = 2.47, p = .01$). No other interaction reaches significance.

53

**Figure 18**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* snobby *in the VGT*



**Snobby**
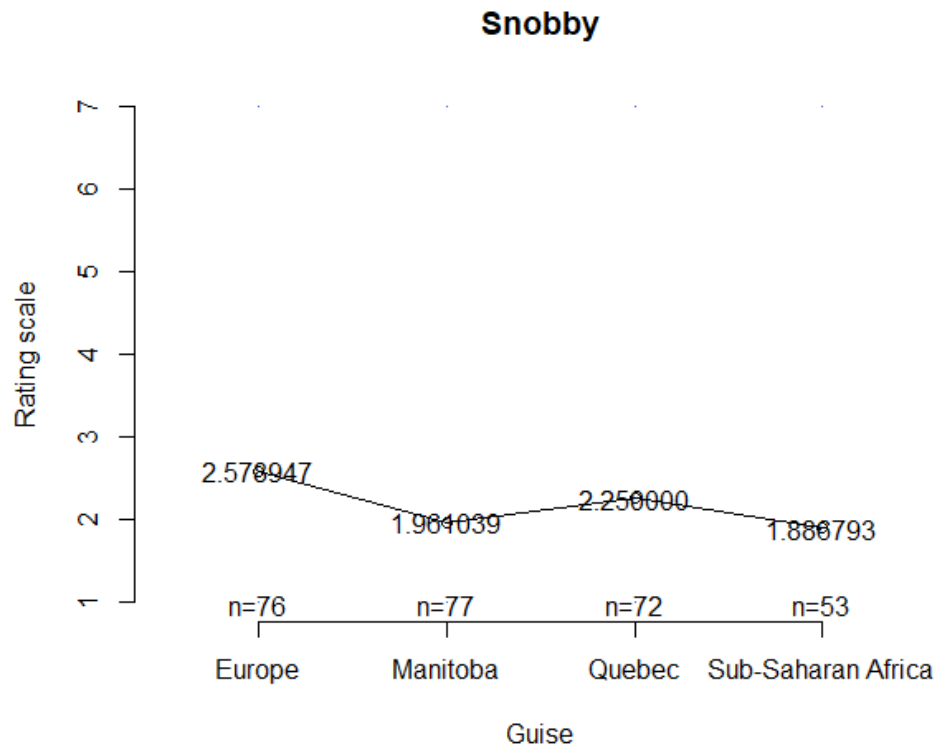
**Open-minded.** Overall ratings for this trait are neutral (Figure 19), however, the Main Effects model (AIC = 909.35) shows that participants find the European French speaker less *open-minded* than the Manitoban French speaker ($z$ = -2.44, $p$ = .01). No interactions from the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 946.07) reach significance.

**Figure 19**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* open-minded *in the VGT*



**Open-minded**

3.894737   4.272727   4.388889   4.094340

n=76   n=77   n=72   n=53

Europe   Manitoba   Quebec   Sub-Saharan Africa

Guise
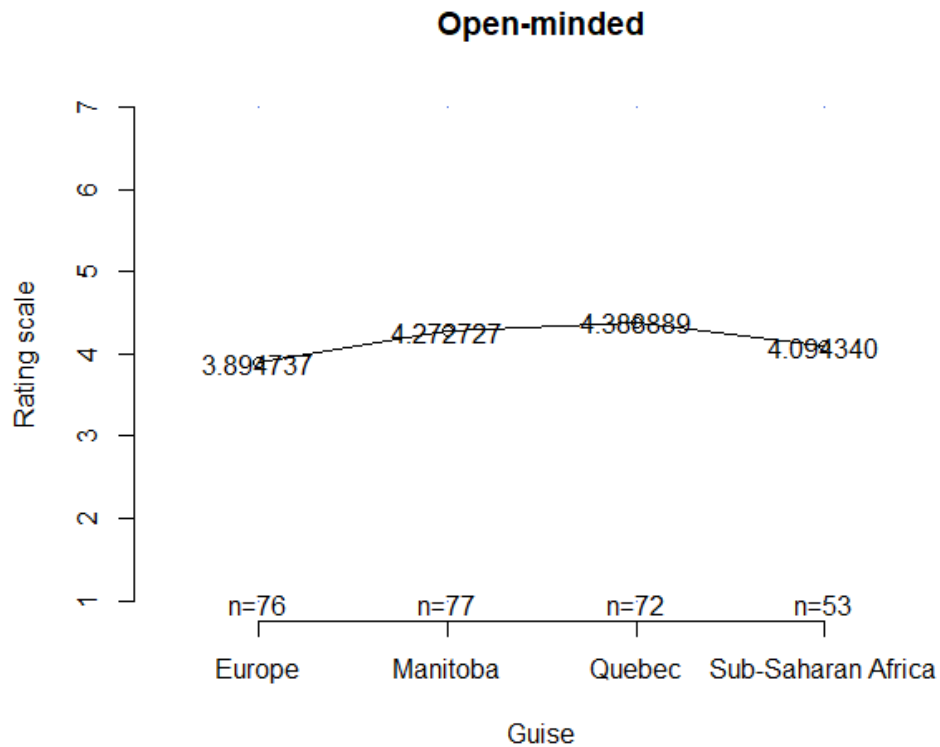
**Outgoing.** Ratings for this trait range from neutral to high (Figure 20). The Main Effects model (AIC = 936.61) shows that overall, participants rate the European (z = -4.07, *p* < .001) and Sub-Saharan African speaker (z = -3.60, *p* < .001) less *outgoing* than the Manitoban French speaker. Results from the Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 973.05) indicate that participants who identify as Franco-Manitobans consider the Quebec French speaker less *outgoing* than those who do not identify as such (z = -2.25, *p* =.02). No other interaction reaches significance.

**Figure 20**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* outgoing *in the VGT*
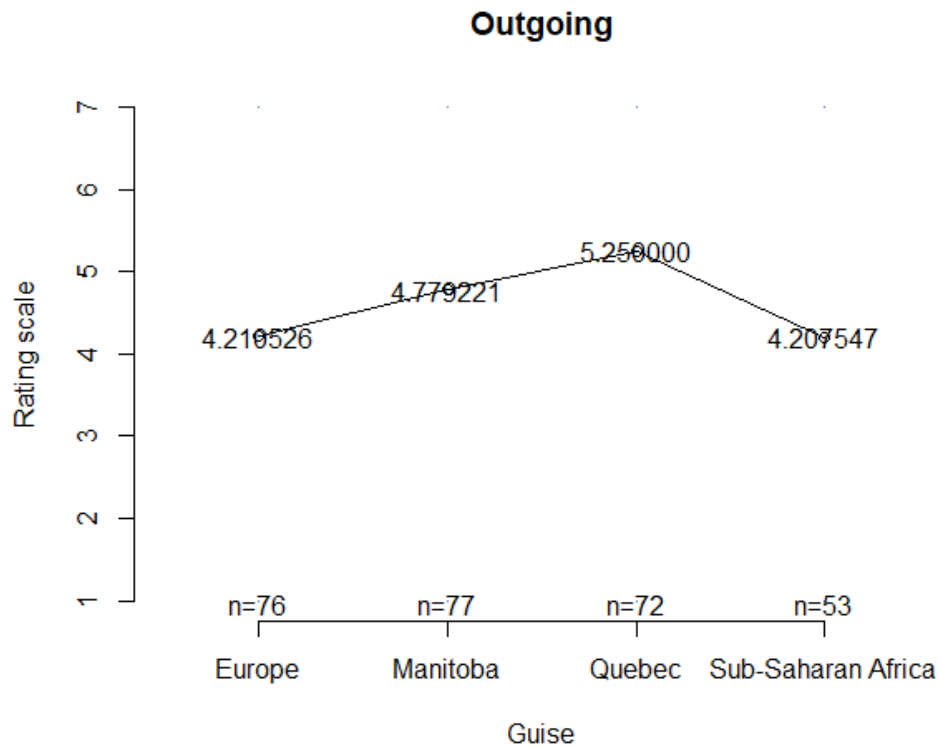


**Likeable.** As seen in Figure 21, participants give neutral to high ratings to all guises in this trait (Figure 21). The Main Effects model (AIC = 936.91) indicates however, that overall, the European French speaker is found significantly less *likeable* than the Manitoban French speaker (z = -2.43, *p* = .02). The Main Effects and Interactions model (AIC = 966.88) shows that non-Canadians rate the Quebec French speaker less *likeable* than those of Manitoban origin (z = -1.98, *p* =.05). Monolingual English participants find the Quebec French speaker less *likeable* than monolingual francophone speakers (z = -2.87, *p* = .004). Participants who identify as Franco-Manitoban rate Quebec French speaker significantly less *likeable* than those who do not identify as such (z = -2.19, *p* = .03).

**Figure 21**

*Mean distribution of participants' ratings for* likeable *in the VGT*
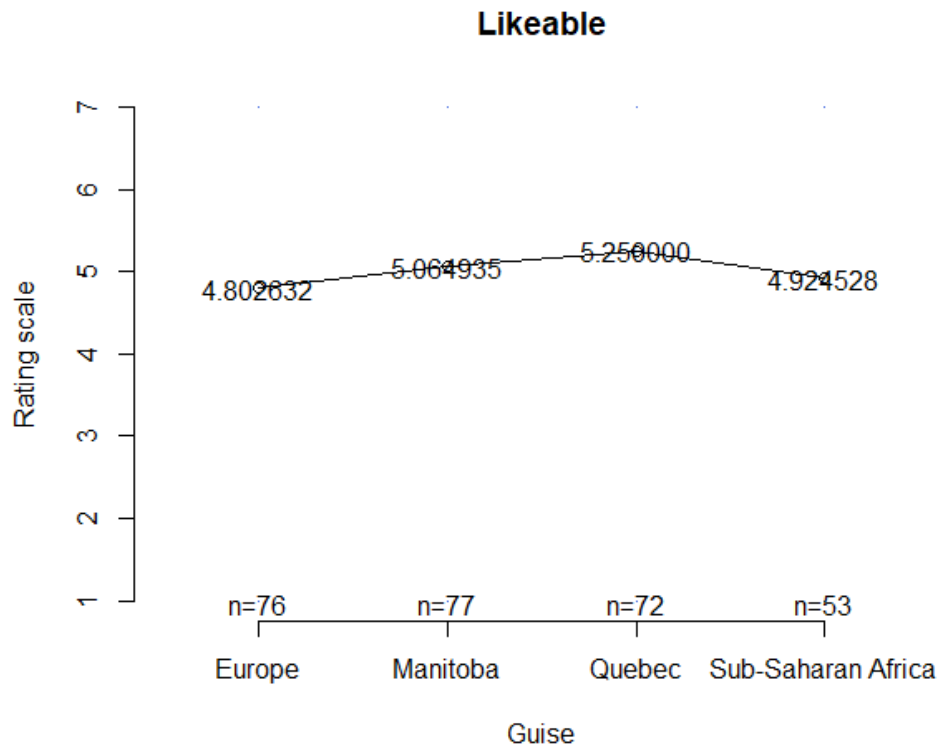
**6.2. VGT Discussion:**

Contrary to previous attitudinal studies towards French in Canada (Bourhis et al., 1975; Brown & Cichocki, 1995; D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Hallion, 2011; Kircher, 2012; Lambert et al., 1960; Rémillard et al., 1973), there was a lack of significant results for the status traits in the VGT. This may suggest that, overall, the local French variety is considered as statusful as exogenous French varieties. In turn, the fact that more significant results emerged in the solidarity dimension indicate that Manitobans also hold strong bounds with their local French variety.

Overall, more significant differences emerge between the European and Manitoban French varieties. The European speaker is perceived as more *intelligent* than the local French speaker, which is consistent with previous attitudinal studies in Canada (Bourhis et al., 1975; Brown & Cichocki, 1995; D'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Hallion, 2011; Kircher, 2012), and even European countries, such as France, Belgium and Switzerland (Kuiper, 2005; Yzerbyt et al., 2005), where Parisian or "standard" French has consistently been rated higher than regional or local French varieties in status. Furthermore, the European French speaker is considered *snobbier*, less *open-minded*, less *outgoing* and less *likeable*, which also aligns with previous work in Canada (Hallion, 2011; Kircher, 2012) and Europe (Kuiper, 2005; Yzerbyt et al., 2005) showing that the local variety elicits stronger feelings of belonging and likeability than the non-local variety.

Overall, the Quebec French speaker is also rated more *intelligent* than the Manitoban French speaker. It is possible that Quebec French speakers are perceived as intelligent by our participants for being from the only predominantly francophone province in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017d) (some pre-test participants mentioned that Quebecers generally speak with high fluency and express themselves better in French). No significant results in the status dimension emerge when the Sub-Saharan African French speaker is compared to the local French speaker. This resonates with results from Hallion's (2011) study where some Manitobans considered francophones from African countries as speakers of prestigious French varieties. The Sub-Saharan African French speaker, however, was rated lower in the trait *outgoing*.

### 6.2.1. Status

Baby Boomers find that the Quebec French speaker speaks less *correctly* than Generation Z participants. This result is unexpected considering that no Generation Z participants in my sample are from Quebec, whereas 44.4% of participants from Quebec are Baby Boomers, and thus needs to be further investigated.

Similar to the MGT results, in the VGT males tend to give lower rates than females for status; specifically, when compared to females, males find the Sub-Saharan African speaker less *successful* and the European French speaker less *intelligent*. These results reinforce the idea that males tend to perceive females as having lower status than females do (Carter et al., 2006).

Regarding *origin* as a variable, results show that non-Canadians find that the Sub-Saharan African French speaker speaks less *correctly* than participants born and raised in Manitoba. The only study in the province suggests that some Manitobans regard francophone speakers from Africa to speak French correctly ((11) "français en Afrique, eux […] eux ils parlent un très bon français aussi", "French in Africa, they […] they speak very good French too" (Hallion, 2011, p. 5). However, participants from other origins might still regard varieties other than European or Parisian French as less *correct* as suggested by previous studies in Europe (Kuiper, 2005; Yzerbyt et al., 2005) and Northern Africa (Belazi, 1992; Benrabah, 2007; Bentahila, 1983; Davies & Bentahila, 2013). Similarly, this could be the reason why monolingual participants whose *mother tongue* is other than French and English regard the European French speaker as more *successful* than monolingual French speakers, since the former group of participants is predominantly of non-Canadian origin.

### 6.2.2. Solidarity

Regarding *origin* as participant variable, Canadians regard the European French speaker as *snobbier* than Manitobans. About half of the Canadian participants are of Quebec origin (53%, n=9), and previous work show that Quebecers rate European French speakers lower in solidarity (Kircher, 2012). Similarly, non-Canadians rate the Quebec speaker less *likeable* than Manitobans. Perhaps, Manitoban participants are more exposed to Quebec French than those of non-Canadian origin, and thus, this is reflected in the results for *likeability*.

As for participants' *mother tongue*, monolingual anglophones consider the Quebec speaker less *likeable* than monolingual francophones, but this interaction does not appear in the MGT

towards the Manitoban French speaker. In previous attitudinal studies, anglophones also rated French guises lower in solidarity traits (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2014a). This may equally resonate with longstanding different attitudes between Quebecers and the rest of Canadians (Baer et al., 1993), and thus the difference between these predominant language groups may have prompted monolingual anglophone speakers to view the Quebec French speaker as less *likeable* in the present study.

Participants who identify as Franco-Manitobans rate the Quebec speaker less *outgoing* and *likeable* than those who do not identify as such. These results align with those obtained from participants in Pre-test 1 (section 4.1), where some attributed the traits *self-centered* and *narrow-minded* to Quebecers for, they are perceived as a lacking awareness of the existence of other francophone communities outside of their province. This resonates with a polemic statement of Radio-Canada journalist Denise Bombardier, where she assured that there were very few francophone speakers left in Canada outside Quebec based on her personal experience (Pamou, 2019). Franco-Manitobans also rate Sub-Saharan African and European French speakers less *likeable* than those participants who did not identify as such. This could be attributed to the local prestige attached to speakers of the local French varieties when compared to speakers of exogenous varieties in solidarity dimension (Yzerbyt et al., 2005).

**Chapter 7: Conclusion**

This thesis is the first experimental work conducted in Manitoba to investigate attitudes towards varieties of French, and the first perceptual study in Canada to include a code-switching variety.

The MGT reveals no statistically significant differences between French and English guises for status, a result that is in stark contrast with recent work in Quebec where English is rated more positively than French in both status and solidarity (Kircher, 2014b, 2014a). The code-switching guise, however, is rated more negatively than French, mirroring the results of other studies that reveal negative attitudes towards code-switching (e.g. Bentahila, 1983; Hallion, 2007; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

The VGT reveals that European French is perceived more negatively than Manitoban, Quebec, and Sub-Saharan African French in terms of solidarity. In this regard, our results are comparable to those in more recent studies in Quebec, where the local variety was rated higher in solidarity than the European one (Kircher, 2012). Regarding status, there were no statistical differences between Manitoban French and other exogenous French varieties, which contrasts with Hallion (2011), who had found that Quebec and European French speakers are considered as having higher status by Manitobans. VGT results also differ from those obtained in other parts of Canada, where European French has traditionally been rated more positively for status than the local varieties (Brown & Cichocki, 1995; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2012). The lack of statistically significant results for status among French varieties in the present study suggests that Manitobans are leaving behind the myth of a single standard variety.

This study confirms that participants' socio-demographic and linguistic background should be taken into account when examining language attitudes. Participants' *origin*, *mother tongue* and *identity* play a more significant role in the results from the VGT and, specifically, in the solidarity dimension, as these traits relate to feelings of belonging, familiarity and community (Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, forthcoming). On the other hand, the MGT results, in particular results from the status dimension, seem to be more influenced by participants' *age* and *gender*. These preliminary observations about certain social factors influencing participants' attitudes in each dimension, should, however, be studied further.

Some attitudinal studies have combined direct and indirect methodologies to offer a deeper understanding of language attitudes in the communities of interest (e.g. Hoare, 2001; Ihemere,

2006; Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2008; Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2013; Pieras-Guasp, 2012). Thus, it would be beneficial to follow up the present MGT/VGT with an in-depth qualitative study that elicits overt attitudes. Doing so would bring light into some results that cannot be explained simply by means of indirect methods, such as the paradoxical view on code-switching as considered higher by Franco-Manitobans in status but lower overall in solidarity when compared to French. Future research should also incorporate other regional French varieties such as français de la Rouge, la Seine and la Montagne (Marchand, 2004), and a more diverse group of participants and guises.

This thesis shows that French-English bilinguals living in Manitoba attach similar status to English and local French and have strong solidarity ties to these varieties. This suggest that recent social and political measures in the province may have succeeded in increasing the social attachment and prestige associated to local French when compared to English. Additional qualitative research should be conducted to fully grasp the complexities of attitudes towards French and English in Manitoba.

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Pre-test 1 texts in all language varieties. The words extracted from Bérubé, Bernhardt and Stemberger's (2015) study appear underlined.

**Canadian English:**

Text 1

Come to the zoo this weekend to see crocodiles, gorillas, monkeys, seals, elephants and kangaroos! Also, don't miss the pond filled with colourful fish!

Text 2

Our new restaurant is just a short car ride away from the university. Come taste our locally grown tomatoes, mushrooms and eggs. Enjoy a salad or soup for lunch while listening to live piano music.

Text 3

Hey, it's me! Can you go to the store and grab a few things for tomorrow night? We need candles, red and blue cups, chocolate cookies, and a nut-free chocolate cake. Thanks!

Text 4

Hey, listen, I need you to pack my toque and gloves (I think I left them by the lamp?), and bring my small brown suitcase (the one by ladder). Oh, and if you could stop by the local store and get some apples, blueberries and toothpaste, that'd be awesome, thanks!!!

**European French:**

Text 1

Venez au zoo ce week-end pour voir les crocodiles, les gorilles, les singes, les phoques, les éléphants et les kangourous! Aussi, ne manquez pas l'étang rempli de poissons colorés!

Text 2

Notre nouveau restaurant se trouve à quelques minutes en voiture de l'université. Venez goûter nos tomates, nos champignons et nos œufs produits localement. Mangez une salade ou une soupe pendant que vous écoutez du piano.

Text 3

Salut c'est moi! Tu peux m'acheter quelques trucs pour demain soir? On a besoin de bougies, de gobelets rouge et bleu, de cookies au chocolat, et d'un gâteau au chocolat sans fruits à coque. Merci!

Text 4

Salut, écoute, j'ai besoin que tu mettes mon bonnet et mes gants dans ma valise (je crois que je les ai laissés à côté de la lampe) et que tu me portes ma petite valise marron (celle à côté de l'échelle). Oh, et si tu peux passer au supermarché et m'acheter des pommes, des myrtilles et du dentifrice, ça serait super, merci!

**Quebec French:**

Text 1

Venez au <u>zoo</u> cette fin de semaine pour voir les <u>crocodiles</u>, les <u>gorilles</u>, les <u>singes</u>, les <u>phoques</u>, les <u>éléphants</u> et les <u>kangourous</u>! Et ne manquez pas l'étang plein de <u>poissons</u> de toutes les couleurs!

Text 2

Notre nouveau <u>restaurant</u> est à quelques minutes en <u>voiture</u> de l'université. Venez goûter à nos produits locaux comme nos <u>tomates</u>, nos <u>champignons</u> et nos <u>œufs</u>. Dégustez une <u>salade</u> ou une <u>soupe</u> pour le lunch en écoutant notre pianiste.

Text 3

Allo, c'est moi! Peux-tu aller au <u>magasin</u> pour acheter quelques affaires pour demain <u>soir</u>? On a besoin de <u>chandelles</u>, des <u>verres</u> <u>rouges</u> et <u>bleus</u>, de <u>biscuits</u> au <u>chocolat</u> pis d'un <u>gâteau</u> au <u>chocolat</u> sans <u>noix</u>. Merci!

Text 4

Salut, écoute, j'ai besoin que tu pactes ma <u>tuque</u> pis mes <u>gants</u> (je crois que je les ai oubliés à côté de la <u>lampe</u>?), pis apporte-moi ma petite <u>valise</u> <u>brune</u> (celle qui est à côté de l'<u>échelle</u>). Oh, pis si tu pouvais passer au <u>dépanneur</u>/<u>magasin</u> du coin acheter des <u>pommes</u>, des <u>bleuets</u>, et de la <u>pâte à dents</u>, ça serait super. Merci!
Si tu peux t'arrêter à l'<u>épicerie</u> et m'acheter des <u>pommes</u>, des <u>bleuets</u> et de la <u>pâte à dent</u>, ce serait apprécié. Merci!

**Manitoban French:**

Text 1

Venez au <u>zoo</u> ce fin de semaine pour voir les <u>crocodiles</u>, les <u>gorilles</u>, les <u>singes</u>, les <u>phoques</u>, les <u>éléphants</u> et les <u>kangourous</u> ! Aussi, ne manquez pas l'étang rempli de <u>poissons</u> colorés!

Text 2

Notre nouveau <u>restaurant</u> se trouve à quelques minutes en <u>auto</u> de l'université. Venez goûter nos <u>tomates</u>, nos <u>champignons</u> et nos <u>œufs</u> produits localement. Mangez une <u>salade</u> ou une <u>soupe</u> pendant que vous écoutez du <u>piano</u>.

Text 3

Allô c'est moi! Peux-tu m'acheter quelques choses pour demain <u>soir</u>? On a besoin de <u>chandelles</u>, de <u>tasses</u> <u>rouge</u> et <u>bleu</u>, de <u>biscuits</u> au <u>chocolat</u>, et d'un <u>gâteau</u> au <u>chocolat</u> sans <u>noix</u>. Merci!

Text 4

Allô, écoute, j'ai besoin que tu me pactes ma <u>tuque</u> et mes <u>gants</u> dans ma <u>valise</u> (je crois que je les ai laissés à côté de la <u>lampe</u>) et que tu m'apportes ma petite <u>valise</u> <u>brune</u> (celle à côté de l'<u>échelle</u>). Oh, et si tu peux passer au <u>magasin</u> et m'acheter des <u>pommes</u>, des <u>bleuets</u> et du <u>dentifrice</u>, ça serait super, merci!

**French-English code-switching:**

Text 1

Venez au <u>zoo</u> ce weekend pour voir les <u>crocodiles</u>, les <u>gorilles</u>, les <u>singes</u>, les <u>phoques</u>, les <u>éléphants</u> et les <u>kangourous</u>! And don't miss the pond avec les <u>poissons</u> de couleurs!

Text 2

Our new <u>restaurant</u> se trouve à quelques minutes en <u>auto</u> de l'université. Come taste nos <u>tomates</u>, nos <u>champignons</u> et nos <u>œufs</u> produits localement. You can eat une <u>salade</u> ou une <u>soupe</u> for lunch pendant que vous écoutez du <u>piano</u>.

Text 3

Allô, c'est moi! Can you go au <u>magasin</u> pour acheter some things pour demain <u>soir</u>? We need <u>chandelles</u>, des <u>tasses</u> <u>rouges</u> et <u>bleus</u>, des <u>biscuits</u> au <u>chocolat</u> et un <u>gâteau</u> au <u>chocolat</u> sans <u>noix</u>. Thanks!

Text 4

Hey, listen, j'ai besoin que tu pactes ma <u>tuque</u> et mes <u>gants</u> (je crois que je les ai laissés à côté de la <u>lampe</u>) et que tu m'apportes ma petite <u>valise</u> <u>brune</u> (celle à côté de <u>l'échelle</u>). Oh, if you could passer au <u>magasin</u> et m'acheter des <u>pommes</u>, des <u>bleuets</u>, et du <u>dentifrice</u>, that'd be awesome. Merci!

<p style="text-align: center;">**Appendix B**</p>

Final scripts/recordings tested in Pre-test 2.

**Canadian English:**

Text 3

We need candles, red and blue cups, chocolate cookies, and a nut-free chocolate cake. Thanks!

Text 4

Oh, and if you could stop by the store and get some apples, blueberries and toothpaste, that'd be awesome, thanks!

**European French:**

Text 3

On a besoin de bougies, de gobelets rouge et bleu, de cookies au chocolat, et d'un gâteau au chocolat sans noix. Merci!

Text 4

Oh, et si tu peux passer au supermarché et m'acheter des pommes, des myrtilles et du dentifrice, ça serait super, merci!

**Quebec French:**

Text 3

On a besoin des chandelles, des verres rouges et bleus, de biscuits au chocolat pis d'un gâteau au chocolat sans noix. Merci!

Text 4

Oh, pis si tu pouvais passer au dépanneur au coin acheter des pommes, des bleuets, et de la pâte à dents, ça serait super. Merci!

**Manitoban French:**

Text 3

On a besoin des chandelles, des tasses rouge et bleu, des biscuits au chocolat, et d'un gâteau au chocolat sans noix. Merci!

Text 4

Oh, et si tu peux-tu aller au magasin et m'acheter des pommes, des bleuets, et de la pâte à dents, ça serait super bien, merci!

**French-English code-switching:**

Text 3
___

We need candles, des tasses rouges et bleus, des biscuits au chocolat et un gâteau au chocolat nut-free. Thanks!

Text 4a
___

Oh, tu peux-tu passer au magasin et m'acheter des pommes, des bleuets, et du toothpaste, ça ce serait awesome. Thanks!

Text 4b
___

Oh, if you could stop by the store and get des pommes, des bleuets, et du toothpaste, that'd be awesome. Merci!

# Appendix C

Pre-test 2 questionnaire to select recordings for perception study.

1) When you listen to this speaker, what is the first word that comes to your mind? _____

2) Can you identify where this person is from by listening to their voice only? _____

3) Does the way this person speaks suggest that they could be from any other place in the world?

Not at all                                                                                         Absolutely

    1        2        3        4        5

4) How much does this person represent the language variety?

Not at all                                                                                 Very representative

    1        2        3        4        5

5) How natural does this person sound to you?

Not natural at all                                                                          Very natural

    1        2        3        4        5

6) How casual does this person sound to you?

Very casual                                                                                 Very formal

    1        2        3        4        5

7) How old does this person sound?

Years

   <20       20-25       25-30       30-35       >30

8) How clear does this recording sound to you?

Very unclear                                                                                Very clear

    1        2        3        4        5

9) Any other comments regarding this recording/speaker? _____

_____

## Appendix D

Online socio-demographic questionnaire. The questions marked with an asterisk were not mandatory.

1) Please indicate your age (in years): _____

*2) Please indicate your gender (optional): _____

3a) Please indicate the Canadian province or country where you grew up. _____

*3b) In which town/city did you grow up? _____

4) How long have you been living in Manitoba?

- Since birth
- Not since birth: (please indicate since when) _____

5) My mother tongue(s) is (please, select all that apply):

- French
- English
- Other (please, specify) _____

6) I was born and raised in a Francophone community/family in MB:

- Yes        - No

7) I attended a French Immersion program:

- Yes
- No

8) Please indicate how well you speak:

|  | Extremely well | very well | moderately well | slightly well | not well at all |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| French | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| English | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

9) Please select all that apply:

|  | Franco-Manitoban | Franco-Canadian | Canadian | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I think of myself as.. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

*If you indicated "other", please specify:

*10) Is there anything about your language background that you would like to comment on? _____

**Appendix E**

MGT/VGT Questionnaire. Participants completed this 9-items questionnaire, for each recording they hear. In Qualtrics software, questions 1 to 8 were draggable sliders.

The person in the recording sounds:

1) Snobby

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

2) Open-minded

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

3) Successful

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

4) Lazy

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

5) Intelligent

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

6) Outgoing

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

7) Likeable

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

8) Please indicate how <u>correctly</u> this person speaks:

  Not at all                                             Very much

     1         2         3         4         5         6         7

9) Where do you think this person is from? _____

## Appendix F

Questionnaire after perception study. Question 5 was a draggable slider.

1. Have you participated in this project in the past?
   o No
   o Yes

2. Did you recognize any of the speakers in the recordings?
   o No
   o Yes. Which one(s): _____

3. What do you think this experiment was about?
   _____

4. Did you notice anything unusual about any of the voices that you evaluated as part of this study?
   o No
   o Yes_____

5. How honestly have you answered the questions in this survey?

   Not at all                                                    Very much

      0        1        2        3        4        5        6