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Japanese language attitudes:

A case study on Tokyo University students' opinion on the place of Hakata dialect speakers in Japanese society

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Part one – Theoretical foundations

1. Introduction

In this paper the author will approach the topic of language attitudes of native Japanese speakers towards native Hakata dialect speakers. Hakata dialect is mainly spoken in Northern Kyūshū, mainly the municipal area of Fukuoka. The purpose of this research is to find out about the interdependency between spoken language and linguistic stereotypes, which tends to heavily influence interpersonal relationships as well as the process of establishing biases. If a specific language variation faces similar positive or (especially) negative evaluations throughout a big number of members of the same society, one can decidedly speak of a linguistic stereotype. As linguistic stereotypes operate as a huge catalyst regarding human relations and societal procedures, research concerning this matter in the case of Hakata dialect may influence not only the sociolinguistic stance on the perception of Hakata dialect speakers, but also any field that focuses on interactions between Hakata dialect speakers and (native) speakers of other Japanese language variations.

The author starts with a short introduction regarding the research that has been conducted and giving background information about why and how the topic had been selected. In chapter 2 the author discusses the topic of language variation, what it is and how it is connected to language attitudes. Furthermore, some basic knowledge about Japanese language varieties is given. Chapter 3 concerns itself with language attitude research itself. Chapter 4 commences part two of the paper – the empirical part – while sketching the outlines of the performed experiment. The next two chapters are about the findings that could be made through the experiment and their interpretation. The last chapter gives a short summary of the findings and interpretations while connecting them once again with the research questions, ending with a conclusion and an outlook for this research.

Language attitude research may be conducted in the perspective of both, the speaker as well as the listener of the speaker's utterances. In this paper the focus is put on the perceptions of the listener. In order to obtain corresponding data that can be analyzed, the matched-guise experimental technique will be applied in combination with a questionnaire to find out about what comes to mind of Japanese native speakers, when listening to recordings of Hakata dialect speakers in contrast to speakers of other Japanese language variations. In other words, the variables in the recordings are pinned down to associations with dialect and accent.

A major premise can be said to be that language does not only have the effect of delivering the information that is spoken, when intelligible to the listener, but also provides information, which makes it possible to categorize the speaking individual, corresponding to assumptions of the listener regarding above mentioned variables, and that a categorization is after all happening.

Giles and Coupland (1991) thoroughly discuss the matter of stereotyping due to the clash of different language groups by introducing the discourse of language attitudes and the

matched-guise technique. It is pointed out that back in time Lambert et. al. (1960) used the matched-guise technique to gather information about people's true stance on other individuals, regarding their language group affiliation (initially the perception of French and English Canadian people regarding each other).

The author himself has spent a year studying at Kyushu University (Fukuoka) from September 2013. There, for the first time, he has had the chance to get to know Hakata dialect. For a non-native Japanese speaker, it is a quite unique experience to have firsthand contact with a Japanese dialect that unlike the Kansai dialects, which have gained a great degree of popularity through television broadcasts and the internet, is not very well known outside of Japan. Surprising for the author was that he came across some almost hostile reactions from some friends in Tokyo. When talking about people he had met in Fukuoka, his friends from Tokyo would say e.g. "I don't like those rural people (*inakamono* 田舎者), without even having met the person they were told about. From time to time when he unintentionally used a phrase or intonation that he copied from his environment in Fukuoka, not being a native speaker after all, he was told by the same friends that grew up in Tokyo: "You really should try harder to speak 'proper Japanese' again (i.e. standard Japanese). You're not in Fukuoka anymore."

As the encounters described above, as well as the author being an Austrian dialect native, and therefore experiencing a great deal of stereotyping himself, had a big impact on the author, he decided to find out more about the place of Hakata dialect in Japanese society by searching for existing stereotypes. The impression, due to firsthand experiences the author had so far, is that the overall attitude towards Hakata dialect is a negative one, with some exceptions like Hakata dialect speakers being considered particularly sociable people and women sounding cute when using their dialect.

As already briefly picked up before, in this paper the author would like to look at assumptions that native Japanese speakers make regarding individuals who speak Hakata dialect. Put another way: Are Hakata dialect speakers consistently perceived differently in comparison to standard Japanese speakers as a consequence of linguistic stereotyping? If so, then what are the prevalent stereotypes held by native Japanese speakers about people who speak Hakata dialect? Subsequently, it will be analyzed if and what kind of differences can be found in the answers to the questions above, regarding variables like gender, age, or the listener's origin.

The hypothesis was that there is a difference in how Hakata dialect speakers are perceived in comparison to standard Japanese speakers due to linguistic stereotypes, especially in Hakata natives being perceived as more sociable than Standard speakers, which could be verified through the analysis of collected data in the case study.

The author's attention was drawn to the matched-guise technique since the time when he had been selected to take part in a matched-guise experiment himself. As a student at the University of Vienna he was evaluating speakers of standard Austrian-German guises and Austrian dialect guises. He found the matched-guise technique to be a handy method for obtaining listeners' personal thoughts on other individuals, and as other academics supported this thought the decision was easily made.

2. Language variation

Before tackling the problem of language attitudes in Japanese society, as well as discussing the state regarding Japanese language varieties, there are a few terms and concepts that need explanation. Firstly, the author will clarify what the term *language attitude* implies, briefly explain the concept of the term *language variation*, what kind of linguistic variation we can find, and furthermore how the above is interconnected with each other.

There are many studies discussing how people perceive each other on terms of, for example, non-verbal behavior, their appearance etc. Now, language attitudes deal with how assumptions are made about an individual only because of what kind of language, dialect, accent, slang, jargon etc. is used, as these generate connections to potential biases. This goes as far as that "even a single vowel or consonant sound, contrasting with others or with our expectations, can have evaluative repercussions for its utterer" (Giles and Coupland 1991, 32).

Now, one could argue that every person has their own assumption about a specific person or language and that this does not necessarily go further than that. Yet, studies have proven a "considerable social consensus" regarding the evaluation of specific traits due to a stereotypical bias (Giles and Coupland 1991, 33), which means that our attitude is not an arbitrary reaction we have towards strange language varieties, but rather a socially constructed image.

As of course this question of interpersonal perception can be seen as not only formed by societal processes, but more or less as part of an interdependency between constant change of societal structure and attitude, thus this judgmental stance is considered a vital element in our societal processes and therefore made for an avalanche of similar research to follow since 1960. There have been a few methods in regards to how language attitudes may be examined and assessed, a short outline of which can be found in chapter 3. The majority of language-attitudes' research however has been conducted by the application of methods deriving from the matched-guise technique. (Giles and Coupland 1991, 33)

After deliberating on attitudes regarding contrasting language varieties, we shall take a short excurse in order to illuminate the concept and definitions of a language variety: Like one language is different to another one, every language itself holds internal differences; both are being referred to as *language variation* (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 408)

"The term language variety is used by linguists as a cover term to refer to any form of language characterized by systematic features. The term may be used in reference to a distinct language […], a particular form of a language spoken by a specific group of people [*dialects*] […], the speech of a single person [*idiolects*], or even […] the way a single person speaks in a particular context [*speech styles*]" (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 409).

It should be stated that *accents* are often mistaken for dialects, although accents only describe systematic phonological variation, while dialects stand for various systematic

differences in speech (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 409). Therefore, accents can more accurately be classified as a sub-category of a dialect.

The speech community in which a specific dialect is spoken is defined by numerous extralinguistic factors. Seldom it is the case that a dialect is determined by purely regional circumstances, ethnic circumstances etc. as this would require communicative isolation of the concerned community (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 409).

In general, yet not always dialects are connoted negatively and only received as a dialect if they vary from the widely recognized standard variety. Hence it may be noted that every speaker actually speaks a dialect of their native language, even if not viewed that way by most laypersons (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 409, 411).

It is a common view that every language has one "correct" standard dialect and therefore all other varieties are considered "inferior", although "linguistically speaking, no one dialect or language is better, more correct, more systematic, or more logical than any other" (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 412). Normally the standard dialect is chosen because of it being spoken by the higher socioeconomic (prestige) group, while there actually is no standard dialect but rather a variety that is considered the standard. This was also the case for the Japanese language before the indoctrination of the prescriptive Standard Japanese. First the Kyoto dialect, later on the Edo dialect being considered superior or the standard (Shibatani 1990, 185). (cf. 2.1. Standard Japanese) Thus, the prescriptive standard, which serves as the norm when judging speech, is rather connected to societal views than intrinsic value (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011, 412-413).

While members of the prestige group tend to downgrade non-standard varieties, empirical studies carried out in different situations in numerous different communities around the globe have shown the rather steady paradigm, that also non-standard variety speakers will gravitate towards evaluating the standard variety more favorably (Giles and Coupland 1991, 38). Not only are standard varieties ranked higher than non-standard varieties, but research also shows that a hierarchical system exists among non-standard varieties (Giles and Coupland 1991, 39).

However, it must be considered that, although the explanations of terms and concepts have been rather generalized here and may in cases follow similar patterns, there is a large number of variables influencing a person's opinion making process that must not be overlooked. For example, at different points in our lives, our evaluation of one and the same language variety may be different, like elderly people being more lenient in regard to other people speaking a non-standard variety than younger people (Giles and Coupland 1991, 40).

Of course, teachers should be immune to these socially constructed biases in connection with language varieties, when evaluating children, but of course teachers in the end are nothing else but another individual in a society full of stereotypes. That is why non-standard variety speakers' children tend to be pinned on negative assumptions about their personalities, social background and academic abilities, and furthermore often are lead to a behavior that would confirm stereotypes expected by teachers (Giles and Coupland 1991, 45).

2.1. Standard Japanese

Shibatani (1990, 185-186) explains the origins of the concept of a standard language, starting with the early 17th century, when people were already pretty specific about which language variety was to be accepted as "standard" and which was not. There are numerous examples of how the Kyoto dialect was being regarded as being of high status. Even after the government was moved to Edo, the Kyoto dialect held up its prestigious image for quite some time, until it slowly started to lose its authority to the Edo dialect, and losing it entirely in the late 18th century. By the time of the Meiji Restoration (1867), when Edo was renamed as Tokyo, the "new" Tokyo dialect did not only occupy the role as a lingua franca, but also was actually labelled the *standard language* (標準語 *hyōjungo*), as introducing a unified common language was one of the goals of the new government. Although specifically labelled standard language, by the people, the Tokyo dialect was only considered the standard for practical reasons. The enforcement of Tokyo dialect as standard language found a new reason in the planning of Japanese-language textbooks for the then already compulsory school attendance. This excessive enforcement lead to a row of dialect shaming incidents, like students having to wear a "dialect tag" (方言札 *hōgen fuda*) around their necks, when using a local dialect in school.

Despite all efforts regarding this reinvigoration of Tokyo dialect as a standard, the general concept of a standard variety may be regarded as problematic, as Giles and Coupland (1991, 38) discussed in connection to the heterogeneity and evolution of standard varieties. Here, the author would like to stress the difference between the *prescriptive* Japanese standard language and the Japanese *common language* (共通語 *kyōtsūgo*) which came into being after World War II:

The Japanese common language is heavily influenced by the Tokyo dialect (especially the langauge of the former Yamanote area (Okamori 2010, 6)), while keeping dialectal coloring (e.g. accentual features). This leads to the Japanese common language consisting of different features in different areas, while still being similar enough so it is mutually intelligible. (Shibatani 1990, 186-187)

This can be illustrated using the supposition of two speakers from the Aomori area and the Kagoshima area having a conversation. If they use their respective dialects when speaking, they will have problems understanding each other, but if they use the common language, which is based on the Tokyo dialect, but still shows dialect influences of their respective native dialects, be it accentuation, vocabulary or minor grammatical discrepancies etc., intelligibility will not be a problem. So, in other words we can describe the Japanese standard language as an artificial language, created for the purpose of taking the role of a lingua franca, facilitating conversation between speakers of different Japanese dialects. The common language on the other hand, is a heterogeneous language, which developed naturally through mass communication means and extended mobility, without being regulated. (Inamdar 2014, 6-7)

Interesting to mention is maybe the fact that variety does not only exist in spoken language, but also in written language. Let us take a look at the orthography of the word

computer in Japanese: コンピューター or コンピュータ would both be correct. Reducing the correctness of those two spellings to only one "correct way", is exactly what the concept of the Japanese standard language is regarding spoken language. The concept of the Japanese common language says that as long as both alternatives are mutually intelligible, both are acceptable (Okamori 2010, 6).

Despite this precise distinction between the common language and the standard language in today's Japan many people use the two terms as synonyms, as Inamdar (2014, 6) points out.

Now, this paper concerns itself mainly with the societal images of dialects rather than looking into systematic linguistic differences of different language varieties, but in this chapter a short outline about how Japanese language varieties differ from each other, will be given, excluding obvious differences in the lexicon.

Infamous is the accentuation of words. This "accent" should not be mixed with the term, which describes all systematic phonological variation of words. Here accent describes, which part of a word should be emphasized. In Japanese, we can find the case of a pitch-accent. The pitch-accent hast two functions: Firstly, it helps to identify the end and beginning of words. Secondly, it helps to distinguish between homophones, which can be found quite frequently in the Japanese language, especially because the Japanese pronunciation of *kanji* has a small number of phonemes to work with as well as the fact the there is no usage of tones like in Chinese (Sasahara 2010, 45). The word *hashi* for example can either mean 'bridge' 橋, 'chopsticks' 箸 or 'edge' 端.

Identifying the beginning and ending of words works by applying two rules (only applicable in standard/common language Japanese). Rule number one indicates that only one part of a word can have a high pitch-accent. Furthermore, between the first and second mora[1], there has to be a change in pitch. Although there are small differences regarding which part of speech it concerns, generally speaking there are two different accent patterns: In case of the flat pattern (平板型 *heiban-gata*) the accent, starting from the second mora, stays high until the end of the word (in case of a noun, including the following particle). However, the undulation pattern (起伏式 *kifuku-shiki*) indicates that the accent core is somewhere inside the words, therefore somewhere in the word the pitch accent will drop (cf. table 1). (Akutsu 2010, 24-25)

Table 1: Accent patterns - nouns (Akutsu 2010, 25)

pattern	1 mora	2 morae	3 morae	4 morae
Heiban-gata	ka (**ga**) 毛	ka**ze** (**ga**) 風	sa**kana** (**ga**) 魚	u**ketsuke** (**ga**) 受付
Kifuku-shiki		ka**gi** (ga) 鍵	o**toko** (ga) 男	o**tōto** (ga) 弟
			sa**ka**i (ga) 境	o**shie**go (ga) 教え子
				u**zu**maki (ga) 渦巻
	te (ga) 手	**ka**sa (ga) 傘	**i**nochi (ga) 命	**shi**rōto (ga) 素人

[1] Mora in contrast to syllable describes each large character or regular *kana* (Japanese syllabary), as well as each combination of large character *kana* + small character *kana* as one unit (mora), while each mora takes roughly the same amount of time to be pronounced (Akutsu 2010, 16).

As already approached above, the rules regarding pitch-accents vary depending on the spoken language variety. There are, the Tokyo-style accent (the accent style which is most widespread), the Kyoto-Osaka-style accent, the two-type style accent, the one-type accent and the irregular accent. (Akutsu 2010, 30-31)

Other differences between language varieties are the pronunciation of the vowel 'u' as either *ɯ* or *u,* intonation, grammatical variation, and other rules in attitudinal expressions (e.g. honorifics[2]) (Kimura 2010, 136).

If one looks back a few decades when methods like dialect shaming were not only accepted but normal due to the strict policy to enforce the standard language it might seem interesting that nowadays the contrary is happening. Especially in Tokyo and other Japanese bigger cities dialects are booming. A lot of younger people are using dialectal expressions, even if it is not their native dialect because "dialects [have] become 'cool' now." (Jinnouchi 2007, 44-45)

What has happened since the 1960s for dialects to become popular? Jinnouchi (2007, 48-49) points out that there are three types of factors that worked as a catalyst: linguistic, socio-cultural and educational factors. Linguistic factors are what happened during the shift from the oppression of dialects until the equalization of standard language and dialect if used in proper contexts. Since a specific language variety was expected to be used in different contexts, code-switching became essential and was later used, not only when necessary, but also to add variety to one's speech styles. Secondly, after the 1970s people's way of viewing one's life changed from "seriousness" to "enjoyment", which lead to a shift away from mainstream things, including language. Education also did its part by more and more communicating American values since the end of World War II. New values including individualism and regional identity started to flourish in Japanese society, hence the transformation from homogeneity to heterogeneity.

Jinnouchi (2007, 50) describes this "dialect renaissance" with data regarding language attitudes of standard language monolinguals, dialect and standard language bilinguals and dialect monolinguals. After the 1960s, dialect monolinguals more or less disappeared but standard language monolinguals changed their attitude to being unhappy about being able to only speak the standard language. Dialect standard language bilinguals on the other hand no longer felt unhappy about their bilingualism. It is pointed out though, that these data do not apply to all of Japan but are most applicable to younger speakers of more urbanized areas.

The Yomiuri Newspaper (October 27, 2005) reported on above mentioned use of dialectal expressions in text messages by young standard language monolinguists, giving following examples:

(Tōhoku) 日曜に観る映画どうすっぺ？ *Nichiyō ni miru eiga dō suppe?*
[What movie should we watch on Sunday?] sunday on see film how do - dialect

[2] *Keigo* 敬語: A way of speech used for praising the listener, person in a conversation or object by elevating the before mentioned or abasing oneself in order to do so. *Keigo* is also used to display one's distance to a not very close person. (Kimura 2010, 124)

(Kyūshū) 何観たいと？	*Nani mitai to?*
[What do you want to see?]	What see-want *question* - dialect
(Kansai) うちは何でもかまへんよ	*Uchi wa nandemo kamahen yo*
[I'm fine with anything.]	I *topic* whatever don't care - dialect
(Okinawa) 返事待ってるさー	*Henji matteru saa*
[I'm waiting for your reply.]	Reply be-waiting *dialect*

(Jinnouchi 2007, 44)

2.2. Hakata dialect

Since the Nara period (710–794), the dialects of Kyūshū have been quite close to the Kyoto and Osaka dialects, but as the latter two were slowly changing due to modernization around the Kamakura/Muromachi eras (1185–1333, 1333–1573 respectively), the Kyūshū dialects kept many classical Japanese language traits in use, and also started to develop into a different direction (Sugimura 2009, 1).

Nowadays, Fukuoka prefecture can be divided into three major dialectal areas: the western area, eastern area and southern area. Representative for the Kyūshū dialects and topic of this paper is the Hakata dialect. It is part of the western dialectal area, the Hichiku 肥筑 dialect region (Kimura 2010, 136) to be a little more exact. (Shinozaki 2014, 16)
Today's municipal area of Fukuoka was actually divided into the Hakata language area, where the townspeople lived, and the Fukuoka language area, mostly populated by warrior families. Today the former Fukuoka language, now called Fukuoka dialect, has largely disappeared. (Nakamura 2009, 115)

To give a clearer image of what the Hakata dialect is the author will give a few examples of phrases that are used in Fukuoka's everyday life. A good example to start with might be the famous sentence-ending particle 'to'. Often used in situations like:

今日は休むと？ *Kyō wa yasumu to?* [Are you going to stay at home today?]

instead of the standard language version: 今日は休むの？ *Kyō wa yasumu no?*

To give a definition, the sentence-ending particle 'to' can be equated to the standard Japanese form '-(na)no'. (Shinozaki 2014, 16)

Another interesting element is the distinction between the two aspect suffixes '-yoru' and '-toru': e.g. 食べよる *tabeyoru* 食べとる *tabetoru* both correspond to one form in the standard language, 食べている *tabeteiru* [to be eating]. Yet, there is a big difference between the dialect forms. The '-yoru' suffix describes an action which is still going on, while '-toru' stands for the completion of an action, or the condition of having completed an action. So, explained using above-mentioned example, *tabeyoru* translates to [I am eating], as opposed to *tabetoru* [I have already eaten]. (Shinozaki 2014, 18)

Also representative for the Hakata dialect are the sentence-ending particles 'bai' and 'tai'. Former is used when giving information that is new to the listener, comparable to 'yo' in the standard language. Latter one is often used when indicating a reason (cf. standard language's '-noda').

雨の降ってきたばい　*ame no* *futte kita* *bai*
rain *subject* rain came *dialect*
雨が降ってきたよ　*ame ga* *futte kita yo*
rain *subject* rain came

[It started raining.]

はよ行かんけん、乗り遅れたたい　*hayo ikan ken,* *noriokureta tai*
early not go beacause missed (train etc.) *dialect*
早く行かないから、乗り遅れたんだよ　*hayaku ikanai kara,* *noriokuretandayo*
early not go because missed (train etc.)

[You didn't catch the train, because you left too late.]

(Shinozaki 2014, 18)

An example for a newer dialectal form, which came into being only in the 21st century, is a form of *aizuchi* 相づち (acoustic and gestural feedback, assuring the speaker one's attention): 'aa ne'. It is widely used by younger Hakata dialect speakers, when replying to various situations, ranging from a mother telling her child "You should go to bed soon" to being told by a friend from school "Yesterday's class was quite difficult". (Shinozaki 2014, 19)

To complete this outline chapter, two examples on how classical Japanese forms still exist in today's Hakata dialect are given. Sakaguchi (2009, 50) introduces how classical Japanese's verb conjugation plays a role in the Kyūshū dialects:

> "One day, the high school student Rika, who is living in Fukuoka city, together in one household with her grandmother Tae, is requested as follows by her grandmother: '*Shōyu ga kirashita kara, tonari ni itte katte kite*' (醤油が切らしたから、隣に行ってかってきて) [I am out of soy sauce. Please go and buy/borrow some from next-door's.] But next door there was no supermarket, and no convenience store. There was an ordinary private house. To go there and *buy* soy sauce would be weird. After some time Rika understood that her grandmother wanted her to go and *borrow* some soy sauce from the neighbors, but thought that it was strange that her grandmother used '*katte*' [instead of '*karite*']."

Table 3: *Kami ichidan* verb conjugation table (Katō 2012, 570)

dictonary form	借りる kariru
未然形 **imperfective form**	kari
連用形 **continuative form**	kari
終止形 **predicative form**	kari.ru
連体形 **attributive form**	kari.ru
仮定形 **hypothetical form**	kari.re
命令形 **imperative form**	kari.ro

Table 2: *Yodan* verb conjugation table – classic Japanese (Katō 2012, 570)

dictonary form	借る karu
未然形 **imperfective form**	ka.ra
連用形 **continuative form**	ka.ri
終止形 **predicative form**	ka.ru
連体形 **attributive form**	ka.ru
已然形 **realis form**	ka.re
命令形 **imperative form**	ka.re

How can this misunderstanding be explained? Actually it is quite simple if one considers classical Japanese and the change it went through in different areas. The *kami ichidan* verb 'kariru' 借りる [to borrow] (cf. table 2) has only come into use since the Edo

period (1603-1868). The other/older version of 'to borrow' is the *yodan* verb 'karu' 借る (cf. table 3) and was also in use in eastern Japan before the Edo period. Why 'karu' has changed to 'kariru' becomes clear if we look at following developments. Starting from the Heian period (794-1185) euphonic change was happening for various verb forms. 書く *kaku* [to write] changed its conjugational forms from *kakite* and *kakitari* to respectively *kaite* and *kaitari* (*i-onbin*). The same way 'karu' changed its forms from *karite* and *karitari* to respectively *katte* and *kattari* (*sokuonbin*). It was a major problem that the verb 買う *kau* [to buy] already occupied the same conjugational forms as 'karu', especially because both verbs are used in the same or at least similar contexts. In order to make clear which verb is intended the *i-onbin* development was reversed and thereby the word 'kariru' came into being. Why now did the change from 'karu' to 'kariru' occur in eastern Japan but not in western Japan? The answer is that in western Japan contrariwise to eastern Japan, not the *sokuonbin* but the *u-onbin* occurred – *koute* and *koutari*. As there was nothing to be confused about, in western Japan, thus also the case for Kyūshū dialects, the change from 'karu' to 'kariru' did simply not happen, because it was not necessary. (Sakaguchi 2009, 50-52)

The second example is introduced with following conversation:

「今日は天気のよかばい。家ん中におってもしょんなかけん、油山いでも遊び行かんや。
"Kyō wa tenki no yoka bai. Ie n naka ni ottemo shonnaka ken, aburayama idemo asobi ikan ya.
[Today the weather is so nice. It's no use staying indoors, so let's go to Aburayama.

たっかとこから福岡市内ば眺めたら気持ちよかろーや。」
Takka toko kara Fukuoka-shinai ba nagametara kimochi yokarou ya."
Gazing down at Fukuoka city from somewhere high up is going to be quite nice I think.]

「よか考えたい。行こーや。」
"Yoka kangae tai. Ikou ya."
[Good idea! Let's go.] (Sugimura 2009, 110)

The underlined portions of the conversation show adjectives ending on '-ka'. This way of ending adjectives is fairly common in the western dialectal area of Kyūshū. Now, why is this the case? Again, this form is rooted back in the classical Japanese form of adjective conjugation (*kari-conjugation*). It should be noted that the *kari-conjugation* is not a primary conjugational form but originated from the composing of adjectives' negative forms. Negative forms were constructed by adding '-arazu' to the adjectives' continuative form (ending on '-shiku' or '-ku'). '-(shi)ku + ara + zu' through euphonic change created the form '-(shi)kara + zu'. The continuative form '-(shi)kari' then formed the base for the '-ka' ending of adjectives, especially because of its emotional connotation. Thus, the distinction between adjectives ending on '-ka' and '-i' into adjective forms with respectively subjective and objective nuances (cf. 暑い日には熱中症に注意！ *Atsui hi niwa necchūshō ni chūi* [Beware of heatstroke on hot days.] – *i-ending*; 今日は暑かー！ *Kyō wa atsukaa* [It's so hot today!] – *ka-ending*). (Sugimura 2009, 111-113)

2.3. Kansai dialects

Although the focus of this paper is not laid on a dialect of the Kansai region, there will be a short approach of the topic, because of the apparent special status of the Kansai dialects. This special status manifests itself on one hand in the huge amount of dialect research conducted in comparison to dialects of other regions, and on the other hand in a tendency of Kansai dialects being assessed positively all over Japan, including the area of the Tokyo dialect:

In Jinnouchi's studies, which were conducted between 2001 and 2003 in six major Japanese cities, he tries to depict the popularity of Kansai dialects throughout Japan. Findings showed that in every examined area 'younger generations', as well as 'older generations' (Jinnouchi referred to people, who were 39 years old or younger as 'younger generation' and to people 40 years old and above as 'older generation') preferred Kansai dialect in comparison to the Japanese language variety, spoken in the metropolitan area of Tokyo, except Tokyo itself of course, although even in Tokyo, Kansai dialect shows considerable likeability among the 'younger generations'. (Jinnouchi 2007, 45-46)

Furthermore, it has been found out, that there is a generation gap regarding the likeability of Kansai dialect in all researched areas but Osaka, showing a much bigger preference of Kansai dialect among 'younger generations' than 'older generations.' Also, as already mentioned above, Kansai dialect is evaluated quite positively in Tokyo, but if one looks at the data vice versa, Tokyo dialect shows very low likeability in Osaka, while Kansai dialect is rated the highest. Thus, one can assume an outstanding regional identity of Kansai natives, which also manifests itself in their dialect. (JInnouchi 2007, 46)

This high likeability of Kansai dialect is described as the precursor of the dialect boom, which is happening since the 1990s. Kansai dialect's leadership role among all Japanese dialects, if nothing else, goes back to it being the Japanese standard variety for almost a thousand years, as well as nowadays being the variety spoken in famous comedy shows (cf. *manzai* boom). (Jinnouchi 2007, 45 and 49)

3. Language-attitudes' research

Although this paper's focus is laid on matched-guise technique research, one should not forget to mention the broad variety of disciplines in which the language-attitudes' research is rooted. As Cargile et. al. (1994, 211) state, language-attitudes' research has its base in the social psychology of language, sociology of language, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, communication, and discourse analysis.

As broad the beginnings of language-attitudes' research, as far back go the connections made between language and opinion-making. Already Aristotle believed in a relation between language and credibility, in Renaissance times verbal expression was perceived as highly important. From the early 20th century, descriptive studies on language varieties lead to actual research on language attitudes using mainly three techniques since the 1960s: content analysis, direct questioning of individuals regarding their attitudes, and the speaker evaluation paradigm. (Cargile et. al. 1994, 212-213)

The matched-guise technique was initially implemented in a research project, when Lambert et. al. (1960) designed it for application in a language-attitudes' research conducted in Montreal. More specifically, the goal of the research was to elucidate the relationship of English and French to each other by means of their linguistic differences. As this study can be seen as the steppingstone for more or less all following language attitudes' research, the procedural method will here be described in detail:

In the original experiment 2:30 mins of French prose as well as its translation into English, recorded by four bilingual men in French and English, along with two filler guises recorded by two non-bilingual men in French and English respectively, were used. The guises adding up to 8 *matched guises* (2 guises times 4 speakers) and 2 *filler guises*. During the experiment the listeners were presented the ten guises, without knowing that 8 of the 10 guises came from only 4 people, starting with the two fillers and continuing with the matched guises, in a way that the guises recorded by the same person were arranged as far apart as possible. Furthermore, the order of the recordings was constantly rotating between French-English. The guises were to be evaluated on 6 point scales regarding 14 traits by the listeners, while listening to the recording as well as during the 90 sec of silence before the next recording started. After finishing the evaluation of all 10 guises, the participants were referred to a few additional questionnaires attached to the bottom of the batch. (Lambert et. al. 1960, 44-45)

The research conducted by Lambert et. al. (1960) brought following main results: English Canadian listeners judged the English guises on 7 out of 14 traits more favorably, while French Canadian listeners not only joined the trend of positively evaluating the English guises, but even preferred the English guises over the French ones on 10 out of 14 traits (Giles and Coupland 1991, 35). The fact that French listeners preferred English guises reliably over speakers of their own group was understood as a typical minority group reaction (Lambert et. al. 1960, 51).

One of the more recent studies investigates attitudes towards Korean language varieties among South Koreans, while drawing lines to similar studies conducted on Japanese and

other language varieties. This was done through a survey in which Korean speech styles were to be ranked regarding pleasantness, besides asking people to localize areas with different language varieties, label and characterize them. Like described before regarding Japanese dialects, also Korean varieties are labelled in correlation with political units. (Long and Yim 2000, 37-39) Major findings were that there are fair amount of discrepancies regarding what is considered the standard variety, and that most informants chose the Kyŏnggi (Seoul) dialect as "most pleasant" with the only two exceptions of people from Kyŏngsang and Cheju (Long and Yim 2000, 63).

Loureiro-Rodriguez et. al. (2012) are examining attitudes regarding standard Galician, non-standard Galician and Spanish in urban and non-urban areas. Interesting about Galicia's socioeconomic reality was that language varieties one is regularly exposed to had no tendency of being evaluated more positively. Moreover, in rural areas standard Galician was preferred over non-standard Galician, although the latter is generally ascribed to those areas (Loureiro-Rodriguez et. al. 2012, 148-149).

Watanabe and Karasawa (2013) undertook comparative research concerning the image of standard Japanese and Osaka dialect. Previous studies showed that Osaka dialect was evaluated less favorably in general, in comparison to standard Japanese. This study was examining if and how the image of Osaka dialect had changed in the last roughly 30 years. Findings showed that while intellectual traits still are evaluated lower than in the case of standard Japanese, likability traits showed increase. This is explained regarding the fact that in the last couple of years a shift towards solely standard Japanese in the Japanese linguist landscape is slowly happening and as a counter movement a lot of people tend to change their attitude towards dialects by appreciating linguistic diversity more. Very interesting is also the fact that Kansai dialects are labelled as representing Japanese dialects due to their high degree of recognition in the Japanese society. (Watanabe and Karasawa 2013, 25)

Okamoto's (2001) research comparing attitudes towards standard Japanese and the Nagoya dialect showed the same results like most previous studies tended to, namely the standard variety being awarded favorable evaluation regarding prestigious traits like intelligence etc., while the dialect was considered more sociable.

When looking at previous research in this domain a clear tendency can be identified. Usually standard varieties are assessed positively on prestige traits like intelligence or proactivity, albeit social factors as likability are not seldom associated with language varieties that are perceived as non-standard. Speaking of the matter of accepting a standard variety, as Long and Yim (2000) showed, it is not always clear as to what is meant when referring to a variety as "standard", as assumptions of the area in which the standard variety is spoken may vary. A fact that should also be noted, a specific language variety is not necessarily evaluated more favorably, because it being one's own language variety group (Long and Yim 2000; Loureiro-Rodriguez et. al. 2012; Lambert et. al. 1960). The research by Watanabe and Karasawa as well as by Okamoto supports this paper's hypothesis of a non-standard variety (Hakata dialect) being perceived as inferior regarding intelligence and refinement, while sociability is evaluated more favorably.

Part two – Empirical research

4. Research planning process

The research for this paper in regards of primary data collection was conducted in two steps. The first step was to obtain recordings, which served as audio stimulus for step two of the research: the matched-guise technique experiment. More information about the coming into being and beginnings, as well as some pros and cons of the matched-guise technique will be discussed in the following subchapter (cf. 4.1. Methodology). The demographic background in relation to the providers of dialect translations of stimulus texts and recordings of audio stimuli, as well as to the participants, who took part in the matched-guise experiment, will be outlined in subchapter 4.2. (Demographics). The process of the matched-guise experiment will be explained in detail in the concluding subchapter before looking into the findings and discussing them thoroughly.

In preparation for step two and main part of the experiment the author first aimed to find an appropriate stimulus text that later could be put in different dialect versions, which were used as manuscript for recording the various guises. In order to dodge biases regarding the speakers of different guises through display of too much personal information of said speakers, it was a priority to use a text rather than a speech, as well as to settle on a text as neutral as possible. The final decision was made in favor of a philosophical text that was used in one of the previous Japanese Language Proficiency Tests. Originally it was written by Hideki Maeda 前田英樹 (Japanese Language Proficiency Test 2010). The excerpt used in the above-mentioned reading section was then shortened by the author with the help of a Japanese native speaker, so it could be read in around two minutes of time. This was done so the prospective listeners would not get bored by listening to too lengthy texts with the same content ten times in a row.

After the basis was provided by the modified text described above, the author started browsing for potential speakers to record the different guises, but before the dialect guises could be recorded, the dialect speakers had to put the standard Japanese version of the modified text into the respective dialect versions.

When the recording of the ten guises had been finalized the precise planning of the matched-guise experiment, as well as the composing of a questionnaire to be used in mentioned experiment was started. The original plan was to conduct the matched-guise experiment at a prestigious all boys high school in Tokyo, taken the premise of Japan being a patriarchal society, with the elite having huge influence on societal opinion-making processes. However, due to problems in obtaining permission to conduct planned experiment the focus was shifted from male high school-students to male and female university students. In the end, the experiment was conducted at Tokyo University. Sadly, the author faced the problem of finding a lot of participants for the experiment, largely because the experiment could not be performed as an element integrated in an interested professor's class as originally planned, which would of course have led to a much bigger number of participants. In addition, the author could not offer monetary compensation for participants' time, as this would have to be paid by the author himself.

4.1. Methodology

As stated above, the main method to gather research data for this paper was the utilization of the matched-guise technique, supported by the application of a questionnaire to accumulate written evaluation data as well as background information of the participants. In this subchapter, a short outline on the beginnings of the matched-guise technique, its structure and its strengths and weaknesses will be given.

Initially the matched-guise technique was used in a study which took place in Montreal with the purpose of researching the opinion of French Canadian people regarding English Canadians and vice versa (Giles and Coupland 1991, 33; Lambert et. al. 1960).

The matched-guise technique was a handy tool to find out about how speakers of different language varieties perceive each other by using data based on people's actual "privately held views". The practice underlies the premise that usually a certain speech style, thus in a broader sense also the speaking individual, is associated with a specific set of traits the listener conjures up through social categorization. To induce a situation in which such categorization is provoked and can be properly analyzed, the following proceedings were decided on. First, recordings in which balanced bilinguals recite a specified text in English as well as French were adopted. These *stimulus materials* are later used to elicit evaluation of the different speakers through a questionnaire. It is very important for the listeners not to know that bilinguals reading passages in English as well as French were producing the stimulus materials, but rather to believe that English passages were produced by English Canadians and French passages by French Canadians. The illusion all guises being different speakers is created by using filler guises, along with telling the listeners to evaluate the following (supposedly) different speakers. That way it may be argued that the evaluation difference of the French and English guises is solely based on socially constructed bias. (Giles and Coupland 1991, 33-34)

Giles and Coupland (1991, 35) point out that: "the value of this initial MGT [matched-guise technique] study is at least fivefold. First, […] Lambert et. al. [1960] invented a rigorous and elegant method for eliciting apparently private attitudes […]. Second, the findings underscored the important role of language […] in impression formation. Third, the study laid the foundations for an interface between sociolinguistic and sociopsychological analyses of language and was an important factor in establishing the cross-disciplinary field of language attitudes. […] Fourth, the original study spawned an enormous number of studies world-wide […]. Fifth, the dependent variables used in the study gave rise to the now pervasively recognized (though relabelled) judgement clusters of status versus solidarity traits […]."

It is viewed as problematic, on the other hand, that listeners are asked to provide judgement only a few seconds after hearing the stimulus voice for the first time, as well as the fact that the texts to be read and recorded are never neutral, as even if a text is negligible in a political and social sense, it is not possible to generate an "age-neutral" text (Giles and Coupland 1991, 54).

4.2. Demographics

In this subchapter, demographic backgrounds of on one hand the speakers of the different guises, and on the other hand the participants of the matched-guise experiment will be discussed. Furthermore it will be taken into account how mentioned demographic backgrounds and outcomes of the conducted experiment may have correlated with each other.

First of all, the demographics of the guise speakers will be broken down into groups. The ten audio stimuli were recorded by eight individuals. There have been four male, and four female speakers each. Six of the speakers were born and raised in Western Japan; three Fukuoka natives, one Kumamoto/Fukuoka native, one Osaka native and one Wakayama native, to be exact. The remaining two speakers from Eastern Japan are both Tokyo natives. Again, the author laid great importance on employing equal numbers of each gender regarding each bigger dialectal region. Seven out of eight speakers were in their twenties, with only one additional speaker in their early thirties. One speaker is working as an in-house attorney, one in the sales department of a company, and the remaining six speakers are all university students of prestigious Japanese state universities.

Table 4: Sampling groups

sampling groups: details									
	total	dialect	non-dialect	m	f	<33 y	≧33 y	west	east
general	**10**	4	6	7	3	6	4	4	6
dialect speakers	**4**	4	0	3	1	1	3	3	1
non-dialect speakers	**6**	0	6	4	2	5	1	1	5
male participants	**7**	3	4	7	0	4	3	4	3
female participants	**3**	1	2	0	3	2	1	0	3
participants under 33 y	**6**	1	5	4	2	6	0	2	4
participants from 33 y	**4**	3	1	3	1	0	4	2	2
participants from West Japan	**4**	3	1	4	0	2	2	4	0
participants from East Japan	**6**	1	5	3	3	4	2	0	6

Table 5: Participants - details

participants: details								
participant	dialect	non-dialect	m	f	<33 y	≧33 y	west	east
1	x		x			x	x	
2		x	x		x			x
3		x	x		x		x	
4		x	x			x		x
5		x	x		x			x
6		x		x	x			x
7		x		x	x			x
8	x			x		x		x
9	x		x			x	x	
10	x		x		x		x	

Participants of the matched-guise experiment were in total ten people, all affiliated to Tokyo University's faculty of letters, the linguistics lab to be exact. Out of those ten participants four were dialect speakers (from Okayama, Shizuoka, Kagawa, Hiroshima), with six considering themselves standard Japanese natives, while not all of them being raised in the Tokyo area (one person from Ishikawa and one person from Ibaraki). Although the author tried to employ balanced numbers of female and male participants, due to the small number of participants in general, the female-male ratio turned out 3:7. Regarding the age of the participants, all individuals under the age of 33 and all individuals from the age of 33 were put into respective groups. If done that way, a relatively balanced ratio of 6:4 is the result. For the analysis participants have also been divided into a Western Japan and Eastern Japan group, regarding the origin of participants. This division showed a West-East ratio of 4:6. For a more detailed itemization please refer to table 4 and 5.

Now, if one takes a closer look at how all those demographic variables may correlate with each other it may explain why the different sampling groups have been divided as depicted in table 4. First of all, it is a legitimate question if there were differences in how guises have been evaluated by dialect speakers and non-dialect speakers, as after all standard Japanese speakers can be considered the more powerful group in a society of restrictive language planning (cf. standard language in 2.1. Standard Japanese). Gender and age variables of course should be taken into consideration, as well as potentially different biases of Western and Eastern Japanese natives, especially if one considers the linguistic closeness of Western Japanese dialects as opposed to Eastern Japanese language variations (cf. 2.2. Hakata dialect). As all guise speakers, as well as all participants of the matched-guise experiment are at the moment of the experiment, or were formerly members of prestigious Japanese state universities there should only be minor variations regarding the social stratum of speakers as well as listeners.

A factor that may be considered a major bias and should be taken into consideration in any case is that the evaluation of the different guises has been carried out by merely linguistics majors. This does not mean that linguistics majors have a "better" ability to evaluate the guises, as it is the unbiased information given by members of the Japanese society that is vital for this research, and not the opinion of experts on this matter. On the other hand, the listeners were not only linguistics majors, but also members of Japanese society, hence desired data will be obtained anyways. Yet, as a bigger tolerance regarding different language variations and the urge to eliminate biases as far as possible may be expected of a university student in the field of linguistics, the possibility of having obtained more alleviated data than from listeners not studying the field of linguistics, is given. Still, the analysis of the data showed quite clear answers to this research, which could be seen as evidence that it might be fruitful to consider conducting more research on this matter in bigger numbers and of course different regions and different strata of Japanese society.

4.3. The experiment

In preparation for the matched-guise experiment, a short philosophical text (cf. appendix a – stimulus texts) taken from the reading section of one of the previous Japanese Language Proficiency Tests was shortened with the help of a Japanese native speaker in order to make it shorter while containing the key information of the text. The next step was to look for individuals to record the different guises by reading the text in either the original standard Japanese version, and/or ask speakers to put the text in their native dialect and then record it. This was done between September 2016 and January 2017.
Here it should be noted that, regarding the use of dialect words when modifying the text to a dialect version, the author at first was not sure how to decide the desired level of divergence between the standard and other varieties of Japanese in the recordings. After all, it was decided to instruct dialect variation speakers as follows: It is free for the recording individuals to decide whether they wish to change parts of the text, but they are

asked to firstly, as much as possible use their ascribed variation's accent (cf. pitch accent) and verb suffixes rather than the standard, and secondly, using an entirely different term than in the text should only be taken into account, if using the original term in the text feels or sounds unnatural to them when used speaking their ascribed variation of Japanese.

The audio stimuli were used in connection with a questionnaire survey, in which the participants were asked to evaluate the speakers of guises regarding various features (appendix b – questionnaire), after listening to each recording. In order to avoid bias regarding the evaluation of speakers by only using Hakata dialect speakers and standard Japanese speakers, thus creating a standard vs. non-standard situation, the author also added two speakers of a Kansai dialect. The focus nevertheless was set on Hakata dialect and its evaluation. The Kansai dialect data was not used in the analysis and is added only for the matter of creating a more diverse language environment for the experiment.

Two of the individuals (one male + one female) speaking Hakata dialect, who already provided a recording in their native variation of Japanese were asked to record the same text a second time with a standard Japanese accent and verb suffixes etc. The listeners were not told before nor during the experiment that two of the speakers appear twice, only speaking different variations of Japanese. Therefore, by comparing the evaluation of the same two speakers, only in different language variations, quite significant data about stereotypes was obtained. The order in which participants were asked to listen to the different guises was decided on by trying to keep the guises recorded by the same people as far apart as possible, while not constantly putting the same dialects after each other. Guises 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 9 are filler guises:

Table 6: Guise sequence

guise 1	**male 1**	*Hakata dialect*
guise 2	female 3	Kansai dialect
guise 3	male 4	standard Japanese
guise 4	**female 1**	*Hakata dialect*
guise 5	female 4	standard Japanese
guise 6	**male 1**	*standard Japanese*
guise 7	female 2	Hakata dialect
guise 8	male 3	Kansai dialect
guise 9	male 2	Hakata dialect
guise 10	**female 1**	*standard Japanese*

After listening to each guise in the order described above, the participants of the experiment were given approximately one to two minutes to fill out the corresponding page of the questionnaire. At the end of the experiment, the listeners were asked to fill out the last page of the questionnaire, providing background information about themselves. Also, they were asked if they realized that two speakers appeared twice in the sequence. Only three out of ten participants did realize at least one person appearing in two different guises, but it could not be pinpointed down which speaker/s appear twice. The evaluation

data of the spakers that were analyzed in the end were those of guise 1 and 6, as well as guise 4 and 10.

The experiment itself took place at the University of Tokyo, in a class room of the linguistics lab at Hongō campus. Despite the small number of participants, the experiment was not performed in one group, but in two and on two different dates: March 14 and March 22 2017.

5. Findings

The findings are based on the evaluation data of the two male guises 1 and 6 (hereafter referred to as male guise A: Hakata dialect guise; and male guise B: Standard Japanese guise), and the two female guises 4 and 10 (hereafter referred to as female guise A: Hakata dialect guise; and female guise B: Standard Japanese guise) each being compared. The data for comparison consists of the mean values taken from the questionnaire answered by the participants of the matched-guise experiment. On these questionnaires, different traits were to be evaluated on a scale from 1 to 8; 1 standing for the highest degree of agreement, and 8 for the highest degree of disagreement. As all the traits may be described as positive skills or characteristics, the scale can also be interpreted as 1 being the best and 8 being the worst evaluation. An 8-point scale was chosen by the author in order to provide space for more precise nuances, while forcing a decision of either agreement or disagreement due to the even number of points.

Table 7: Significance of divergence

significance		
p-value	male guises	female guises
general	0.0237373 *	0.0671747
dialect speakers	0.6977947	0.0490801 *
non-dialect speakers	0.0017877 **	0.1335372
male participants	0.0008503 ***	0.1642620
female participants	0.6878620	0.0378564 *
participants under 33 y	0.0018498 **	0.2831223
participants from 33 y	0.7270933	0.0035327 **
participants from West Japan	0.0797298	0.5179604
participants from East Japan	0.0282081 *	0.0563146

Before undertaking a more detailed analysis by examining the data of not all participants of the matched-guise technique, but rather looking at how the results change if a specific independent variable is modified, or looking at the divergence of mean values regarding specific traits, the author investigated the data of all participants in regards to male guise A versus B and female guise A versus B respectively, giving an overall outline of the results. The correlation between changing results through modification of a independent variable was researched by putting the listeners into different sampling groups according to which variable was changed and how. For example, in regards to the independent variable 'gender', the data was split up into answers from male participants and answers from female participants in order to look at how the results of the analysis change if only data of the before mentioned participants are being assessed. At the end of the matched-guise experiment data regarding the following independent variables was collected: gender, age, dialect or standard language variety native, place of birth and growing-up. Dependent variables in this experiment are the evaluation results for traits regarding different speakers.

First of all, the p-value was calculated for comparing the evaluation results of the male dialect guise versus the male standard guise, and the female dialect guise versus the female standard guise. The data used for the analysis were the evaluation data's mean value per trait and guise taken from the answers of all participants of the experiment. The results of this analysis are the basis to answer the underlying research question: Is the dialect guise of the same speaker being significantly evaluated differently than the respective standard Japanese guise? Here the p-value was calculated because it shows if there is a significant divergence between two different groups' (here: dialect guise – A and standard guise – B) sets of mean values.

The author calculated the p-value using the mean values of all evaluated traits for the male speaker, guise A depicting one group and guise B depicting a second group. The same was done for the female speaker. Finally, calculations showed a **p-value** of **0.0237373*** for the male speaker and **0.0671747** for the female speaker (cf. Table 7), meaning that the data for the male guises a and b was significantly different, while the female guises did not show significant differences. A p-value of less than 0.05 stands for a significant difference (*), for a very significant difference (**) if it is less than 0.01 and a p-value of less than 0.001 shows a highly significant difference (***). The p-values were calculated by application of a t-test with two-tailed distribution and two sample equal variance because both guises were heard by the same group of listeners in the same sequence of recordings. The null hypothesis indicates that trait evaluations of guise A and B have equal means. If the result is less than 0.05 the null hypothesis is thrown out and unequal means are indicated. Unequal means imply a divergence in the evaluation of the same individual only speaking different variations of Japanese. Thus, one can speak of biased views due to linguistic stereotypes.

P-values also were calculated for different sampling groups (cf. Table 4, 5) to find out about the different levels of divergence regarding different variables. In all sampling groups at least either the male guises or the female guises showed a significant p-value, only in the group of western Japanese participants neither the male guises nor the female guises showed a significant p-value regarding the comparison of the evaluation of dialect guise and standard guise. The fact that western Japanese natives did not evaluate the Hakata dialect guise much differently from the standard Japanese guise may be connected to the linguistic closeness of Hakata dialect and other western Japanese dialects in comparison to eastern Japanese dialects. Also interesting is the fact that the female guises only showed significant p-values three times (evaluated by dialect speakers, only female listeners, and listeners from 33 years and older), with one being very significant. Male guises on the other hand showed significant p-values four times (evaluated by all listeners, non-dialect speakers, only male listeners, listeners under 33, and participants form Eastern Japan), with two being very significant and one being highly significant. Furthermore, it is pointed out that the male guises showed a significant p-value in the evaluation by male listeners, and female guises showed a significant p-value in the evaluation by female listeners. In other words, listeners hold more biased views regarding dialect speakers of their own gender than in the case of speakers of a different gender.

Table 8: Means and differences by trait - general

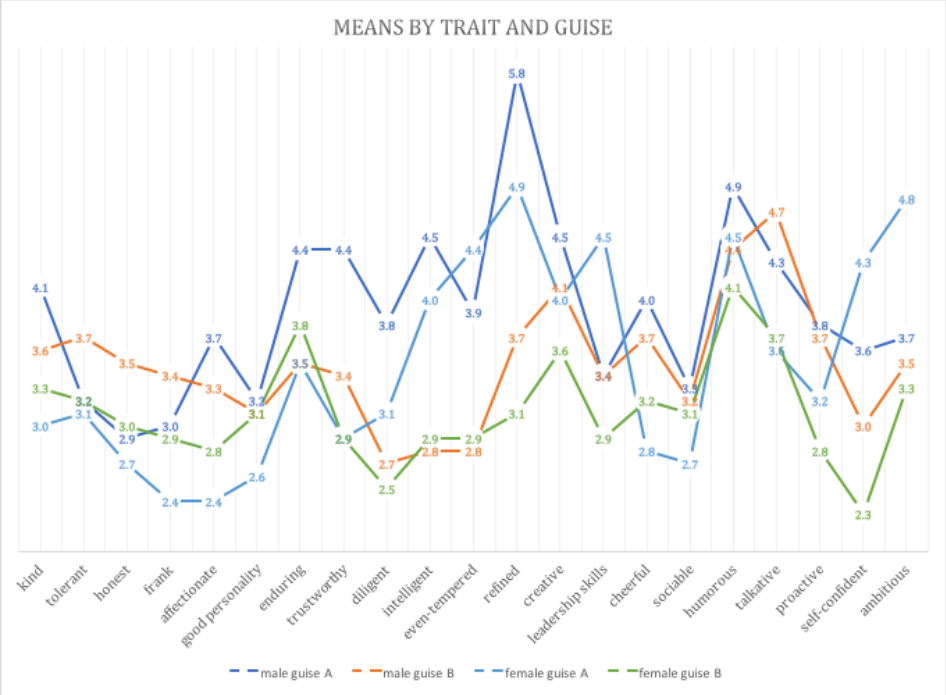
means and differences itemized by trait								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.1	3.6	0.5	guise B	3.0	3.3	-0.3	guise A
tolerant	3.2	3.7	-0.5	guise A	3.1	3.2	-0.1	guise A
honest	2.9	3.5	-0.6	guise A	2.7	3.0	-0.3	guise A
frank	3.0	3.4	-0.4	guise A	2.4	2.9	-0.5	guise A
affectionate	3.7	3.3	0.4	guise B	2.4	2.8	-0.4	guise A
good personality	3.2	3.1	0.1	guise B	2.6	3.1	-0.5	guise A
enduring	4.4	3.5	0.9	guise B	3.5	3.8	-0.3	guise A
trustworthy	4.4	3.4	1.0	guise B	2.9	2.9	0.0	even
diligent	3.8	2.7	1.1	guise B	3.1	2.5	0.6	guise B
intelligent	4.5	2.8	1.7	guise B	4.0	2.9	1.1	guise B
even-tempered	3.9	2.8	1.1	guise B	4.4	2.9	1.5	guise B
refined	5.8	3.7	2.1	guise B	4.9	3.1	1.8	guise B
creative	4.5	4.1	0.4	guise B	4.0	3.6	0.4	guise B
leadership skills	3.4	3.4	0.0	even	4.5	2.9	1.6	guise B
cheerful	4.0	3.7	0.3	guise B	2.8	3.2	-0.4	guise A
sociable	3.3	3.2	0.1	guise B	2.7	3.1	-0.4	guise A
humorous	4.9	4.4	0.5	guise B	4.5	4.1	0.4	guise B
talkative	4.3	4.7	-0.4	guise A	3.6	3.7	-0.1	guise A
proactive	3.8	3.7	0.1	guise B	3.2	2.8	0.4	guise B
self-confident	3.6	3.0	0.6	guise B	4.3	2.3	2.0	guise B
ambitious	3.7	3.5	0.2	guise B	4.8	3.3	1.5	guise B

Through the analysis of all participants' data (cf. table 8) the following findings were made: Regarding the male speaker, largely guise B (standard guise) was evaluated more positively than guise A (dialect guise). Only in the case of four out of twenty-one traits, guise A had better ratings than guise B, namely the traits of being 'tolerant', 'honest', 'frank' and 'talkative', with the trait of having 'leadership skills' coming to a tie between A and B. The female speaker featured more traits where guise A was evaluated better than guise B, ten out of twenty-one to be exact. As the trait of being 'trustworthy' showed even means for guise A and B, one could speak of a tie between not only guise A and guise B, but also between dialect and standard language.

Yet, if one looks at the traits where guise A (dialect guise) was evaluated more favorably, an interesting pattern can be identified: Mostly traits in connection to social skills as being 'kind', 'tolerant', 'honest', 'frank', 'affectionate', having a 'good personality', being 'enduring', 'cheerful', 'sociable' and 'talkative' rather than practical skills or skills connected to intelligence can be found. This pattern is also true for the male speaker's guises. While on the other hand, especially the three traits 'intelligence', 'even-temperedness' and 'refinement' show the pattern of rating guise B (standard guise) as more favorably. 'Refinement' was rated with a mean value difference of 2.1 for the male guises, and 1.8 for the female guises. At last, it is interesting that in case of the male speaker the average evaluation for the trait 'leadership skills' does not differ regarding guise A and B, but the female speaker shows a difference of 1.6 regarding the evaluation of guise A and B in favor for the standard Japanese guise (guise B). This finding infers that male speakers hold the same extent of leadership skills regardless of them speaking standard Japanese or Hakata dialect. The female speaker on the other hand shows a

difference in the evaluation on namely matter of 1.6 evaluation points, while the female standard Japanese speaker has a (0.5 point) better mean value than male speaker.

Figure 1: Graph – general



When looking at the graph (cf. Figure 1) displaying the different traits' mean values (taken from the answers of all participants) for the male and female A guises (dialect guise) as well as B guises (standard guise) one understands that the major differences in the evaluation of traits can be found in the middle part (from 'enduring' until 'leadership skills') as well as the end part (regarding 'self-confidence' and 'ambition'). Biggest differences for the male speaker can be found for the traits 'refinement' (2.1) and 'intelligence' (1.7), both in favor for guise B. The female speaker showed bigger differences in the evaluation of traits, all being in favor for guise B: 'intelligent' (1.1), 'even-tempered' (1.5), 'refined' (1.8), 'leadership skills' (1.6), 'self-confident' (2.0), 'ambitious' (1.5).

Table 9 summarizes which listener group evaluated which male and female guise more positively (A – dialect guise; B – standard guise) by looking at which guise occupied more traits as the guise in favor. The sampling groups of 'dialect speakers', 'participants 33 years and older' and 'participants from eastern Japan' on an average evaluated guise B more positively in case of the male speaker as well as the female speaker. If one looks at the data received through the evaluation by all listeners, on an average the male speaker showed more positive evaluations for guise B, while the female speaker shows a tie between guise A and B.

Table 9: Positive evaluation

positive evaluation			
	ratio:		A:B:even
general	male guise	B	4:16:1
	female guise	x	10:10:1
dialect speakers	male guise	B	8:12:1
	female guise	B	8:10:3
non-dialect speakers	male guise	B	3:15:3
	female guise	A	12:9:0
male participants	male guise	B	3:17:1
	female guise	A	11:9:1
female participants	male guise	A	12:9:0
	female guise	B	6:13:2
participants under 33 y	male guise	B	5:15:1
	female guise	A	12:8:1
participants from 33 y	male guise	B	8:12:1
	female guise	B	2:17:2
participants from West Japan	male guise	B	7:14:0
	female guise	A	11:10:0
participants from East Japan	male guise	B	6:13:2
	female guise	B	7:11:3

The speaker that showed the most more positive evaluations for guise A was the female speaker (four in number as well as one tie). The male speaker only was evaluated more favorably regarding guise A by female participants, with a ratio of 12:9:0 (number of favorable evaluations for guise A : number of favorable evaluations for guise B : tie). The sampling groups with the biggest ratio differences appeared in the overall group for the male speaker (4:16:1), in the 'non-dialect speakers'-group for the male speaker (3:15:3), in the 'male participants'-group for the male speaker (3:17:1), in the 'female participants'-group for the female speaker (6:13:2), in the 'participants under 33 years'-group for the male speaker (5:15:1), in the 'participants 33 years and older'-group for the female speaker (2:17:2), in the 'participants from western Japan'-group for the male speaker (7:14:0) and in the 'participants from eastern Japan'-group for both the male (6:13:2) and the female (7:11:3) speaker.

Table 10 gives an overview over evaluations by trait, itemized by different sampling groups and male and female speaker guises. Instead of writing down mean values of guise A and B, or the differences between those two, the author put an 'x' into the respective cell if the difference between guise A and B was not bigger than 1.0 points, an 'A' or a 'B' if the respective guise was evaluated with a gap between 1.1 and 1.4 points to the other guise, and from 1.5 points difference and above the more favorably evaluated guise as well as its advance to the other guise was noted. By looking at this table stereotypes for the male as well as the female speaker associated by different sampling groups could easily be extracted.

Table 10: Evaluation of traits by guises and different sampling groups

evaluation of traits by guises and different sampling groups

	general		dialect		non-dialect		male		female		<33 y		≧33 y		West Japan		East Japan	
	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises	male guises	female guises
kind	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1.7 B	x	x	x	x	x	x	A	B	x
tolerant	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
honest	x	x	1.8 A	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	A	x	1.5 A	x	x	x
frank	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	A	A	x	x
affectionate	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
good personality	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
enduring	x	x	B	x	x	x	x	x	2.7 B	1.0 A	B	x	x	x	B	x	x	x
trustworthy	B	x	B	x	B	x	x	x	2.0 B	1.0 B	B	x	B	x	x	x	B	x
diligent	B	x	x	x	x	B	B	x	B	x	B	x	x	x	B	x	B	x
intelligent	1.7 B	B	B	x	2.0 B	1.7 B	1.6 B	B	2.0 B	x	2.5 B	1.7 B	x	x	2.0 B	B	1.5 B	B
even-tempered	B	1.5 B	x	1.5 B	1.7 B	1.5 B	x	1.9 B	2.0 B	x	B	1.5 B	B	1.5 B	x	1.7 B	B	B
refined	2.1 B	1.8 B	x	1.8 B	2.8 B	1.8 B	B	1.6 B	4.3 B	2.3 B	2.2 B	2.2 B	2.0 B	B	B	2.2 B	2.8 B	2.0 B
creative	x	x	x	B	x	x	x	x	B	x	x	x	x	B	x	B	x	x
leadership skills	x	1.6 B	x	B	x	2.0 B	x	B	A	2.3 B	x	2.3 B	A	x	x	B	x	1.7 B
cheerful	x	x	x	x	x	x	B	x	A	A	x	x	x	x	B	x	x	x
sociable	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x
humorous	x	x	B	B	x	x	x	x	x	B	x	x	B	1.5 B	B	x	x	x
talkative	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3.0 A	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	A	x
proactive	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1.7 A	2.0 B	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	B
self-confident	x	2.0 B	x	1.5 B	B	2.3 B	B	1.6 B	x	3.0 B	1.5 B	2.7 B	x	B	x	1.6 B	x	2.5 B
ambitious	x	1.5 B	A	1.8 B	B	B	B	B	2.0 A	2.7 B	B	2.2 B	1.5 A	x	x	1.8 B	x	B

x: diff. < 1.0; A/B: pos. evaluation, 1.0 > diff. < 1.5; 0.0 A/B: pos. evaluation, diff. > 1.5

First of all, the traits that showed no significant difference in the evaluation for guise A and B in case of all sampling groups were the traits of being 'affectionate' and having a 'good personality', thus no stereotyping was detected. The trait of being 'sociable' only showed minor differences between guises A and B for the female speaker in the 'participants from western Japan'-group (favoring guise A). The trait of being 'tolerant' showed two minor differences between the guises, favoring guise A in both cases, for the male speaker in the groups 'dialect speakers' and 'female participants'. Also those three traits could not be connected to specific stereotypes when comparing Hakata dialect and standard Japanese in this experiment.

The three traits of being 'intelligent', 'even-tempered' , and 'refined' showed bigger as well as major differences in the evaluation of guise A and B for mostly both, the male and female speaker, in all sampling groups. 'Refinement' only did not show a significant difference for male speaker in the 'dialect speakers' sampling group, while all other male and female speaker evaluations did, all cases favoring the B guise. In case of the male speaker being evaluated by the 'female participants'-group the author found the greatest difference in the evaluation of guise A and B between all the ones analyzed, with a 4.3 points better evaluation for guise B. Altogether these findings demonstrate biased views regarding Hakata dialect speakers not being as 'intelligent', 'even-tempered' and 'refined' as standard Japanese speakers.

The trait 'leadership skills' shows more positive evaluations of guise B with significant differences to guise A for the female speaker in eight out of nine cases, while male speakers only showed significant differences of the evaluation in two out of nine cases and in both cases favoring guise A over B.

The trait of being 'trustworthy' showed significant differences in seven out of nine cases regarding the male speaker, while regarding the female speaker only one out of nine cases showed significant data. For both speakers, guise B was favored. The only traits that showed significant differences favoring only guise A were: 'tolerance', 'honesty', 'frankness', 'sociability', and 'talkativeness'.

Finally, the traits of being 'self-confident' and 'ambitious' showed major differences in de evaluation of guise A and B in all sampling groups and in all but one case regarding the female speaker. Mostly the guise B was favored. Only in three out of twenty-six cases regarding the traits described above, guise A was evaluated more favorably.

6. Discussion

Looking at the findings being presented in chapter 5, it becomes clear that in the performed experiment, there were major differences in the evaluation of one and the same individual, when this person spoke in standard Japanese for one guise and recorded another guise in Hakata dialect. The overall data shows that most of the time the standard Japanese guise was evaluated more favorably than the Hakata dialect guise. Especially traits, which are connected to being a person's intelligence or classy image showed major differences in the evaluation most and foremost in favor of the standard Japanese guise. Only traits that can be connected to an open and cheerful personality showed some favoring regarding the Hakata dialect guise.

A biased view of the Hakata dialect speakers being not as 'intelligent' and 'refined' as standard Japanese speakers could be proven and also makes sense if one thinks of the concept of a standard language being introduced of being of the upper-class. Yet, the fact that Hakata dialect speakers were being associated as not as 'even-tempered' as standard Japanese speakers is both interesting and puzzling regarding what this bias is based on.

Surprisingly only the female speaker was evaluated as having significantly less 'leadership skills' when she spoke Hakata dialect than when standard Japanese was spoken. The male speaker did not show significant differences regarding that trait.

At this point the author would like to point out once again that the data was obtained in a small case study with linguistics students of the University of Tokyo. Thus, one should not forget that the findings and interpretation of those cannot easily be applied to all of the Japanese society but rather give an idea on what the status quo regarding on the matter is. As all the findings are only valid for the group of Tokyo University students that participated in the matched-guise experiment, following points should be noted: Mostly, linguistics majors are known to be more tolerant regarding the evaluation of other individuals' language, because they have to try, as a result of their research, to look at language more objectively. Taken this into account, harsher biases may be expected from other members of Japanese society that do not have to do anything with linguistics. Thusly, this research made a big step answering the question if further research is sensible or not with a clear 'yes'.

More research on this topic with bigger numbers of participants, conducted at different locations in Japan, as well as obtaining data through asking individuals from different social strata etc. to participate in the experiment would make great sense, so a broader variety of demographic data can be used in the analysis. If a broader demographic background is being researched, it will become easier to find conclusions and answer question regarding a bigger group of people in Japanese society.

7. Conclusion

After analyzing all data, the research questions can be answered as follows: In the experiment conducted in a case study of Tokyo University linguistic majors Hakata dialect speakers were consistently perceived differently in comparison to standard Japanese speakers as a consequence of linguistic stereotyping. The prevalent stereotypes held by the participants of the case study were that Hakata dialect speakers are not as intelligent, refined, even-tempered, self-confident and ambitious as standard Japanese speakers. In regards to traits like tolerance, honesty, frankness, sociability, and talkativeness Hakata dialect speakers showed some more positive evaluations than standard Japanese speakers. Summarizing those two facts one could say that Hakata dialect speakers were perceived as not as intelligent but open, honest and sociably attractive.

Male participants showed more biased views regarding the male Hakata dialect speaker and female participants regarding the female Hakata dialect speaker. Participants from western Japan were the only sampling group that did not show significant p-values in the evaluation regarding the Hakata dialect guise and standard Japanese guise, meaning no distinct difference, for neither the male speaker nor the female speaker. On the other hand, the sampling group of non-dialect speakers as well as the group of participants under 33 years showed very significant differences in the evaluation of the two male guises. The sampling group of participants 33 years or older showed very significant differences for the two female guises and the group of male participants showed highly significant data regarding the male guises.

Another finding that was very interesting and should be researched in more detail and in bigger numbers of participants is the result that only the female speaker showed bigger discrepancies in the evaluation of having leadership skills. Regarding this trait the female standard Japanese guise was evaluated significantly more favorably various times. The trait that showed the biggest difference of all the data analyzed in all sampling groups can be found in the group of female participants regarding the two male guises. The standard Japanese guise was evaluated 4.30 points higher than the Hakata dialect guise.

In retrospective, it can be said that the research conducted for this paper was not huge regarding its participants, but in any way indicated that further research is sensible and overdue. As a matter of fact, the author found a lot of literature regarding identity, history and fun facts or trivia in regards to Hakata dialect. Yet, one should not forget that, as discussed in chapter 2, the concept of language varieties and a language group is socially constructed, thus also language identity is. Hence it is important to know what the Japanese society's stance on Hakata dialect speakers is. This is not only important for understanding how Hakata dialect speakers are perceived (and treated) in Japanese society, what hardships or advantages they may have, but also to find out the construction of their identity itself.

Appendix a – stimulus texts

Basis text (Recording 3, 5, 6, 10):
我が身が生涯に望み、知りうることは、世界中を旅行しようと、なにをしようと、小さい。あきれるくらい小さいのだが、この小ささに耐えていかなければ、学問はただの大風呂敷になる。言葉の風呂敷はいくらでも広げられるから、そうやっているうちに自分は世界的に考えている、そのなかに世界の全てを包める、そんな錯覚に捕らえられる。
【中略】
人は世界的にものを考えることなどはできない。それは錯覚であり、空想であり、愚かな思い上がりである。ただし、天地に向かって我が身を開いていることならできる。
【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質を背負って生まれる。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた、人の気質に植えられた苗のように育つしかないのではないか。子供は、勉強して自分の気質という土を耕し、水を引き、もらった苗を、書物の言葉を植えるのである。それは、子供自身が何とかやってみるほかはなく、そうやってこそ、子供は学ばれる書物とともに育つことができる。
子供が勉強するのは、自分の気質という土壌から、やがて実る精神の作動を育てるためである。
「教養」とは、元来この作動を指して言うのであって、物識りたちの大風呂敷を指して言うのではない。

Recording 1:
我が身が生涯に望み、知りうることっつうのは、世界ば旅行しようと、なんばしよっと、小っちゃい。あきれるくらい小っちゃいっちゃけど、この小っちゃさに耐えていかんと、学問はただの大風呂敷になるっちゃん。言葉の風呂敷はいくらでも広げられるけん、そうしよるうちに自分は世界的に考えられちょる、そんなかに世界の全てを包める、そんな錯覚に捕らえられるっちゃん。
【中略】
人は世界的にものを考えることなんかできん。それは錯覚で、空想で、愚かな思い上がりりったい。やけど、天地に向かって我が身ば開いていくことならできるっちゃん。
【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質ば背負って生まれると。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた、人の気質に植えられた苗のように育つしかないっちゃないと。子供は、勉強して自分の気質っちゅう土を耕し、水を引き、もろうた苗ば、書物の言葉ば植えるったい。そいな、子供自身が何とかやってみるっちゅうほかはなくて、そうやってこそ、子供は学ばれる書物とともに育つことができると。子供が勉強するっつうのは、自分の気質っちゅう土壌から、やがて実る精神の作動ば育てるためばい。
「教養」っつうのは、元来この作動を指して言うことやけん、物識りたちの大風呂敷を指して言うんちゃないったい。

Recording 2:
我が身が生涯に望み、知りうることは、世界中を旅行しようと、なにをしようと、小さい。あきれるくらい小さいんやけど、この小ささに耐えていかんかったら、学問はただの大風呂敷になる。言葉の風呂敷はいくらでも広げられるから、そうやってるうちに自分は世界的に考えてる、そのなかに世界の全てを包める、そんな錯覚に捕らえられる。
【中略】
人は世界的にものを考えることなんかできへん。それは錯覚やし、空想やし、愚かな思い上がりや。せやけど、天地に向かって我が身を開いていることやったらできる。

【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質を背負って生まれるもんや。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた、人の気質に植えられた苗のように育つしかないんやないやろうか。子供は、勉強して自分の気質という土を耕し、水を引き、もらった苗を、書物の言葉を植えるんや。それは、子供自身が何とかやってみるほかはないし、そうやってこそ、子供は学ばれる書物とともに育つことができるんや。子供が勉強するんは、自分の気質という土壌から、やがて実る精神の作動を育てるためや。「教養」とは、元来この作動を指して言うんであって、物識りたちの大風呂敷を指して言うんではないやろう。

Recording 4:
我が身が生涯に望み、知りうることは、世界中を旅行しようと、なにをしようと、小さいと。あきれるくらい小さいんやけど、この小ささに耐えていかんと、学問はただの大風呂敷になるっちゃん。言葉の風呂敷はいくらでも広げられるけん、そうやっとるうちに自分は世界的に考えとる、そのなかに世界の全てを包める、そんな錯覚に捕らえられると。
【中略】
人は世界的にものを考えることなどはできん。それは錯覚であり、空想であり、愚かな思い上がりったい。ただし、天地に向かって我が身を開いとることならできるっちゃん。
【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質を背負って生まれると。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた、人の気質に植えられた苗のように育つしかないんやないやろか。子供は、勉強して自分の気質という土を耕し、水を引き、もらった苗を、書物の言葉を植えるっちゃん。それは、子供自身が何とかやってみるほかはなく、そうやってこそ、子供は学ばれる書物とともに育つことができると。子供が勉強するのは、自分の気質という土壌から、やがて実る精神の作動を育てるためっちゃん。
「教養」っていうのは、元来この作動を指して言うんであって、物識りたちの大風呂敷を指して言うんやないと。

Recording 7:
私がこの一生において知ることができるとは、世界中を旅行しようと何をしようと小さいんよ。ばり小さいんやけど、この小ささに耐えていかんと学問はただの大風呂敷になるったい。言葉の風呂敷はいくらでも広げられるけん、そがんしとるうちに自分は世界的に考えとるんよ。そん中に世界の全てを包める、そんな錯覚にとらえられるんよ。
【中略】
人は世界的に物を考えることなどはできん。そげんとは錯覚であり、空想であり、愚かな思い上がりくさ。やけど、天地に向かって私の身を開いていることならできるんよ。
【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質を背負って生まれるっちゃん。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた人の気質に植えられた苗のように育つしかないんやろうか。子どもは勉強して自分の気質という土ば耕して、水ば引いて、もらった苗を、本の言葉を植えるんよ。そげんとは子ども自身が何とかやってみるほかはなく、そげんしてこそ子どもは学ばれる本と共に育つことができるっちゃん。子どもが勉強するとは自分の気質っていう土壌からやがて実る精神の作動を育てるためなんよ。
【中略】
「教養」とは元々の作動を指して言うんであって、ものしりたちの大風呂敷を指して言うんではないんよ。

Recording 8:
我が身が生涯に望み、知れることは、世界中旅行しても、なにしても、小っさい。あきれるくらい小っさいけど、こんな小っささに耐えてかんと、学問はただの大風呂敷になるんや。言葉の風呂敷はなんぼでも広げれるから、そうやってるうちに自分は世界的に考えてる、そんなかに世界のすべてを包める、そんな錯覚に捕らえられるんや。
【中略】
人は世界的にものを考えることなんかできひん。そんなん錯覚やし、空想やし愚かな思い上がりや。せやけど、天地に向かって我が身を開いてることやったらできる。
【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質を背負って生まれる。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた、人の気質に植え付けられた苗みたいに育つしかないんちゃうんか。子供は、勉強して自分の気質っちゅう土耕して、水引いて、もろた苗を、書物の言葉を植えるんや。そんなん、子供自身がなんとかやってみるしかないし、そうやってこそ、子供は学ばれる書物とともに育つことができるんや。子供が勉強するんは自分の気質っちゅう土壌から、やがて実る精神の作動を育てるためや。
「教養」とは、元来この作動を指してゆうんであって、物識りたちの大風呂敷を指してゆんわけちゃう。

Recording 9:
我が身が生涯に望み、知りうることは、世界中を旅行しようと、なにをしようと、小さか。あきれるくらい小さかっちゃけど、この小ささに耐えていかなければ、学問はただの大風呂敷になるったい。言葉の風呂敷はいくらでも広げられるけん、そうやっとるうちに自分は世界的に考えとる、そのなかに世界の全てを包める、そんな錯覚に捕らえられるったい。
【中略】
人は世界的にものを考えることはできん。それは錯覚であり、空想であり、愚かな思い上がりである。ただし、天地に向かって我が身を開いとることならできるったい。
【中略】
人は誰でも自分の気質を背負って生まれる。
【中略】
学問や思想もまた、人の気質に植えられた苗のように育つしかないじゃなか。子供は、勉強して自分の気質という土を耕し、水を引き、もらった苗を、書物の言葉を植えるったい。それは、子供自身が何とかやってみるほかなく、そうやってこそ、子供は学ばれる書物とともに育つことができるったい。子供が勉強するのは、自分の気質という土壌から、やがて実る精神の作動を育てるためったい。
「教養」とは、元来この作動を指して言うんであって、物識りたちの大風呂敷を指して言うのではなか。

Appendix b – questionnaire

Cover page – p. 1

「喋り方の研究」

ライデン大学大学院生
東京大学特別聴講学生
ペルガー・ケビン

指示されない限り次のページを見ないようお願いします。

回答の際、考えすぎずに答えて頂いた方が研究に役立つデータとなりますので、
直感で結構です。

練習

音声ファイルを聞いてから下記の質問にご回答ください。
話し手はどのような印象を与えましたか？

1.	親切な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	不親切な
2.	寛大な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	心が狭い
3.	正直な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	不正直な

Evaluation pages – p. 2 - 11

音声ファイル10

音声ファイルを聞いてから下記の質問にご回答ください。

音声ファイル1

音声ファイルを聞いてから下記の質問にご回答ください。

話し手はどのような印象を与えましたか？

4.	親切な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	不親切な
5.	寛大な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	心が狭い
6.	正直な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	不正直な
7.	素直な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	素直でない
8.	暖かい	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	冷たい
9.	性格が良い	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	性格が悪い
10.	忍耐力のある	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	忍耐力のない
11.	信頼できる	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	信頼できない
12.	真面目な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	不真面目な
13.	知的な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	知的でない
14.	冷静な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	冷静でない
15.	洗練された	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	野暮ったい
16.	想像力のある	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	想像力のない
17.	リーダー的な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	リーダー的でない
18.	明るい	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	暗い
19.	社交的な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	非社交的な
20.	ユーモアがある	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	ユーモアがない
21.	おしゃべりな	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	無口な
22.	積極的	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	消極的
23.	自信のある	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	自信を失った
24.	野心的な	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	野心のない

Follow-up questions and background data – p. 12

話し手の中で、2回出てくる人が2人いたことに気づきましたか？

□はい　□いいえ

「はい」と答えた人に聞きます。その音声ファイルの番号を覚えていますか？

音声ファイル____ と ____

音声ファイル____ と ____

バックグランドについて

1. 年齢:

2. 性別:

3. 話せる外国語は何ですか。話せる方言はどこの方言ですか。

3.1. 方言と書いた人→ どのぐらい頻繁にそれを用いますか？

4. 専門は何ですか？

5. 生まれ育った都道府県を教えてください。生まれた場所と育った場所が異なる場合や育った場所が幾つかある場合、全部書いてください。

例： 京都府生まれ（5年間在住）、東京都へ移住（15年間在住）

いただいた情報は研究以外の目的には用いません。

ご協力ありがとうございました！

Appendix c – tables and graphs different sampling groups

Table 11: Means and differences by trait – dialect speakers

means and differences itemized by trait (dialect speakers)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	3.8	3.8	0.0	even	2.5	3.0	-0.5	guise A
tolerant	3.0	4.3	-1.3	guise A	2.5	2.5	0.0	even
honest	2.0	3.8	-1.8	guise A	2.3	2.5	-0.3	guise A
frank	2.3	3.5	-1.3	guise A	2.0	2.3	-0.3	guise A
affectionate	2.8	2.5	0.3	guise B	2.3	2.3	0.0	even
good personality	2.8	2.3	0.5	guise B	2.0	2.5	-0.5	guise A
enduring	4.3	3.3	1.0	guise B	2.5	2.8	-0.3	guise A
trustworthy	4.5	3.5	1.0	guise B	2.3	2.8	-0.5	guise A
diligent	4.3	2.5	1.8	guise B	2.3	2.3	0.0	even
intelligent	4.3	3.0	1.3	guise B	3.0	2.8	0.3	guise B
even-tempered	3.8	3.5	0.3	guise B	4.3	2.8	1.5	guise B
refined	5.3	4.3	1.0	guise B	4.3	2.5	1.8	guise B
creative	4.5	4.3	0.3	guise B	4.3	3.0	1.3	guise B
leadership skills	2.5	3.3	-0.8	guise A	3.8	2.8	1.0	guise B
cheerful	4.3	3.5	0.8	guise B	2.3	2.5	-0.3	guise A
sociable	3.3	2.5	0.8	guise B	2.3	2.5	-0.3	guise A
humorous	4.8	3.5	1.3	guise B	4.3	3.0	1.3	guise B
talkative	3.8	4.5	-0.8	guise A	4.0	3.3	0.8	guise B
proactive	3.5	4.0	-0.5	guise A	3.5	2.8	0.8	guise B
self-confident	2.8	3.3	-0.5	guise A	4.0	2.5	1.5	guise B
ambitious	2.5	3.8	-1.3	guise A	4.5	2.8	1.8	guise B

Figure 2: Graph – dialect speakers

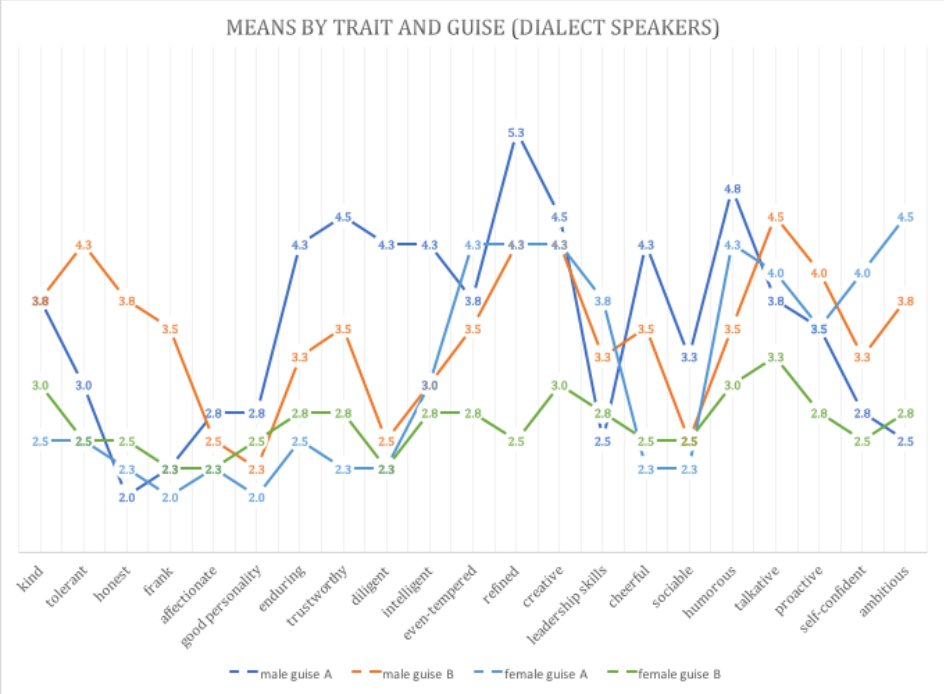


Table 12: Means and differences by trait – non-dialect speakers

means and differences itemized by trait (non-dialect speakers)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.3	3.5	0.8	guise B	3.3	3.5	-0.2	guise A
tolerant	3.3	3.3	0.0	even	3.5	3.7	-0.2	guise A
honest	3.5	3.3	0.2	guise B	3.0	3.3	-0.3	guise A
frank	3.5	3.3	0.2	guise B	2.7	3.3	-0.7	guise A
affectionate	4.3	3.8	0.5	guise B	2.5	3.2	-0.7	guise A
good personality	3.5	3.7	-0.2	guise A	3.0	3.5	-0.5	guise A
enduring	4.5	3.7	0.8	guise B	4.2	4.5	-0.3	guise A
trustworthy	4.3	3.3	1.0	guise B	3.3	3.0	0.3	guise B
diligent	3.5	2.8	0.7	guise B	3.7	2.7	1.0	guise B
intelligent	4.7	2.7	2.0	guise B	4.7	3.0	1.7	guise B
even-tempered	4.0	2.3	1.7	guise B	4.5	3.0	1.5	guise B
refined	6.2	3.3	2.8	guise B	5.3	3.5	1.8	guise B
creative	4.5	4.0	0.5	guise B	3.8	4.0	-0.2	guise A
leadership skills	4.0	3.5	0.5	guise B	5.0	3.0	2.0	guise B
cheerful	3.8	3.8	0.0	even	3.2	3.7	-0.5	guise A
sociable	3.3	3.7	-0.3	guise A	3.0	3.5	-0.5	guise A
humorous	5.0	5.0	0.0	even	4.7	4.8	-0.2	guise A
talkative	4.7	4.8	-0.2	guise A	3.3	4.0	-0.7	guise A
proactive	4.0	3.5	0.5	guise B	3.0	2.8	0.2	guise B
self-confident	4.2	2.8	1.3	guise B	4.5	2.2	2.3	guise B
ambitious	4.5	3.3	1.2	guise B	5.0	3.7	1.3	guise B

Figure 3: Graph – non-dialect speakers

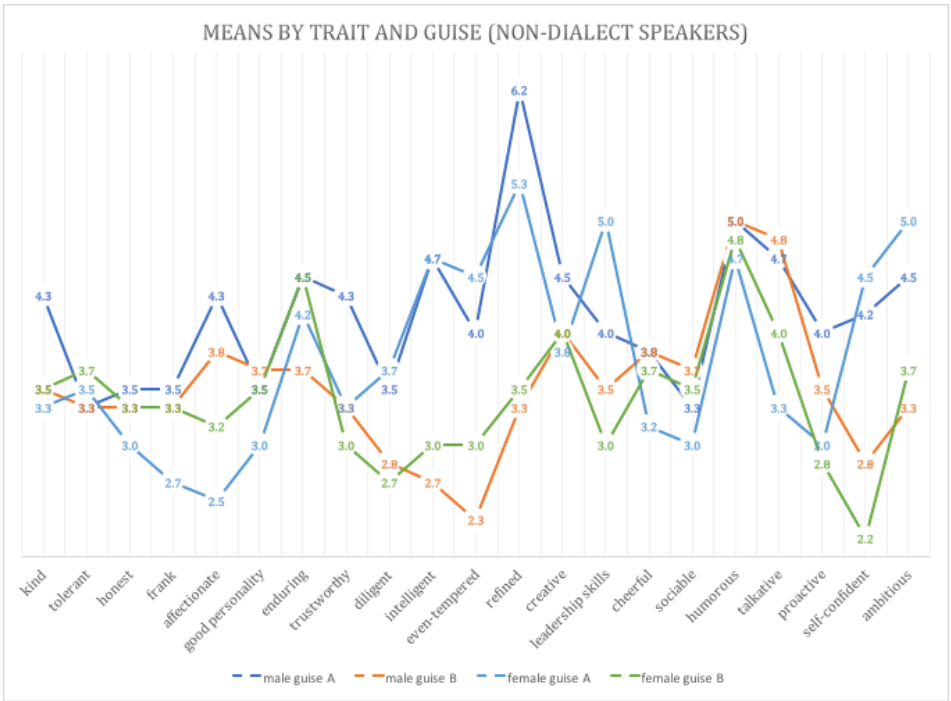


Table 13: Means and differences by trait – male participants

means and differences itemized by trait (male participants)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	3.9	3.9	0.0	even	3.0	3.7	-0.7	guise A
tolerant	3.7	4.0	-0.3	guise A	3.3	3.7	-0.4	guise A
honest	3.3	3.6	-0.3	guise A	2.9	3.3	-0.4	guise A
frank	3.4	3.7	-0.3	guise A	2.7	3.3	-0.6	guise A
affectionate	4.1	3.4	0.7	guise B	2.9	3.1	-0.3	guise A
good personality	3.6	3.3	0.3	guise B	2.7	3.3	-0.6	guise A
enduring	4.3	4.1	0.1	guise B	3.7	3.7	0.0	even
trustworthy	4.1	3.6	0.6	guise B	3.0	3.4	-0.4	guise A
diligent	3.7	2.7	1.0	guise B	3.3	2.6	0.7	guise B
intelligent	4.6	3.0	1.6	guise B	4.4	3.0	1.4	guise B
even-tempered	4.0	3.3	0.7	guise B	4.7	2.9	1.9	guise B
refined	5.0	3.9	1.1	guise B	4.7	3.1	1.6	guise B
creative	4.1	4.0	0.1	guise B	4.0	3.4	0.6	guise B
leadership skills	4.1	3.6	0.6	guise B	4.9	3.6	1.3	guise B
cheerful	4.4	3.4	1.0	guise B	3.4	3.6	-0.1	guise A
sociable	3.9	3.6	0.3	guise B	3.1	3.4	-0.3	guise A
humorous	5.1	4.6	0.6	guise B	4.6	4.4	0.1	guise B
talkative	5.3	4.6	0.7	guise B	3.7	4.0	-0.3	guise A
proactive	4.6	3.7	0.9	guise B	3.3	3.6	-0.3	guise A
self-confident	4.3	3.1	1.1	guise B	4.3	2.7	1.6	guise B
ambitious	4.6	3.4	1.1	guise B	4.9	3.9	1.0	guise B

Figure 4: Graph – male participants

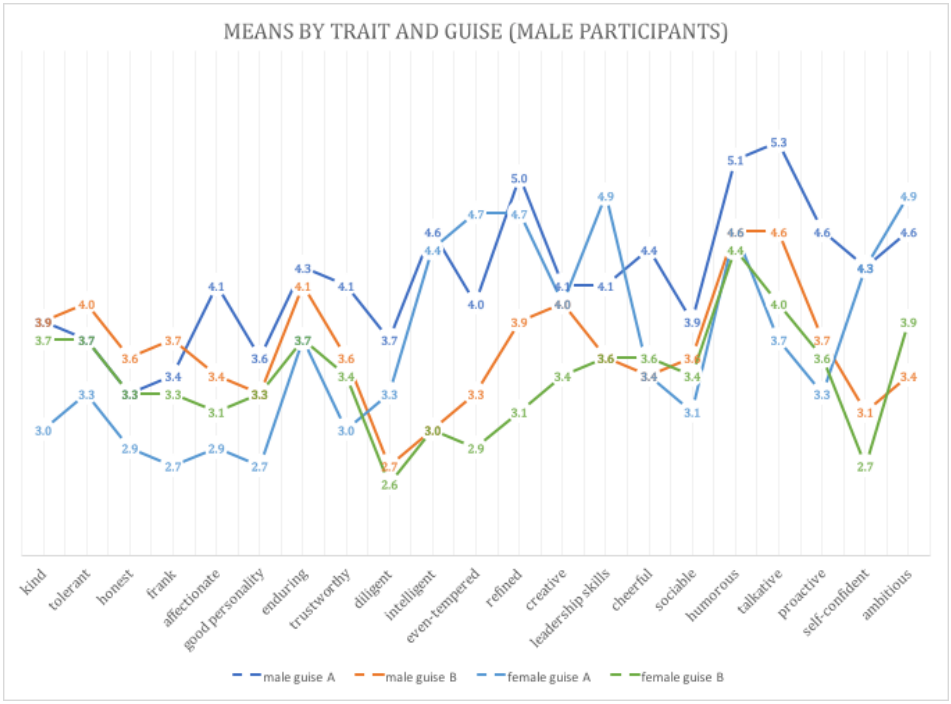


Table 14: Means and differences by trait – female participants

means and differences itemized by trait (female participants)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.7	3.0	1.7	guise B	3.0	2.3	0.7	guise B
tolerant	2.0	3.0	-1.0	guise A	2.7	2.0	0.7	guise B
honest	2.0	3.3	-1.3	guise A	2.3	2.3	0.0	even
frank	2.0	2.7	-0.7	guise A	1.7	2.0	-0.3	guise A
affectionate	2.7	3.0	-0.3	guise A	1.3	2.0	-0.7	guise A
good personality	2.3	2.7	-0.3	guise A	2.3	2.7	-0.3	guise A
enduring	4.7	2.0	2.7	guise B	3.0	4.0	-1.0	guise A
trustworthy	5.0	3.0	2.0	guise B	2.7	1.7	1.0	guise B
diligent	4.0	2.7	1.3	guise B	2.7	2.3	0.3	guise B
intelligent	4.3	2.3	2.0	guise B	3.0	2.7	0.3	guise B
even-tempered	3.7	1.7	2.0	guise B	3.7	3.0	0.7	guise B
refined	7.7	3.3	4.3	guise B	5.3	3.0	2.3	guise B
creative	5.3	4.3	1.0	guise B	4.0	4.0	0.0	even
leadership skills	1.7	3.0	-1.3	guise A	3.7	1.3	2.3	guise B
cheerful	3.0	4.3	-1.3	guise A	1.3	2.3	-1.0	guise A
sociable	2.0	2.3	-0.3	guise A	1.7	2.3	-0.7	guise A
humorous	4.3	4.0	0.3	guise B	4.3	3.3	1.0	guise B
talkative	2.0	5.0	-3.0	guise A	3.3	3.0	0.3	guise B
proactive	2.0	3.7	-1.7	guise A	3.0	1.0	2.0	guise B
self-confident	2.0	2.7	-0.7	guise A	4.3	1.3	3.0	guise B
ambitious	1.7	3.7	-2.0	guise A	4.7	2.0	2.7	guise B

Figure 5: Graph – female participants

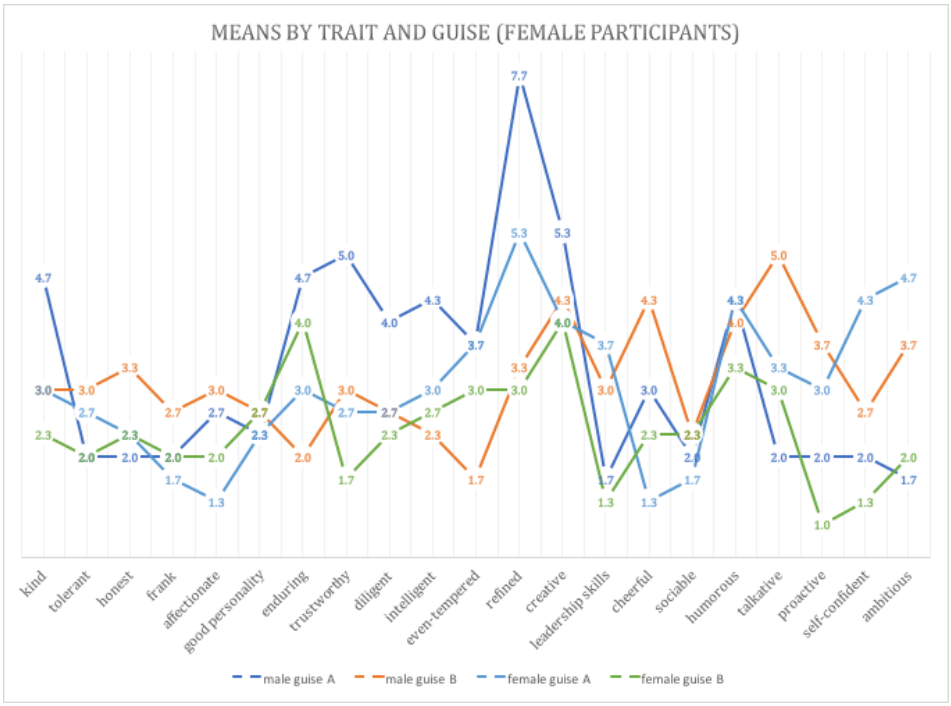


Table 15: Means and differences by trait – participants under 33 years

means and differences itemized by trait (participants under 33 y)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.0	3.5	0.5	guise B	3.2	3.8	-0.7	guise A
tolerant	3.3	3.7	-0.3	guise A	3.0	3.7	-0.7	guise A
honest	3.2	3.5	-0.3	guise A	2.5	3.2	-0.7	guise A
frank	3.2	3.8	-0.7	guise A	2.2	3.0	-0.8	guise A
affectionate	4.0	3.8	0.2	guise B	2.2	3.0	-0.8	guise A
good personality	3.2	3.3	-0.2	guise A	2.7	3.3	-0.7	guise A
enduring	4.7	3.3	1.3	guise B	3.5	4.3	-0.8	guise A
trustworthy	4.3	3.3	1.0	guise B	2.8	2.8	0.0	even
diligent	3.7	2.3	1.3	guise B	3.2	2.3	0.8	guise B
intelligent	4.7	2.2	2.5	guise B	4.5	2.8	1.7	guise B
even-tempered	3.7	2.5	1.2	guise B	4.3	2.8	1.5	guise B
refined	5.7	3.5	2.2	guise B	5.2	3.0	2.2	guise B
creative	4.5	4.2	0.3	guise B	3.7	3.8	-0.2	guise A
leadership skills	3.8	3.0	0.8	guise B	5.2	2.8	2.3	guise B
cheerful	4.3	3.7	0.7	guise B	2.7	3.5	-0.8	guise A
sociable	3.0	3.2	-0.2	guise A	2.5	3.0	-0.5	guise A
humorous	4.5	4.5	0.0	even	4.2	4.5	-0.3	guise A
talkative	4.7	4.5	0.2	guise B	3.3	4.0	-0.7	guise A
proactive	4.0	3.2	0.8	guise B	2.8	2.5	0.3	guise B
self-confident	4.0	2.5	1.5	guise B	4.5	1.8	2.7	guise B
ambitious	4.0	2.7	1.3	guise B	5.3	3.2	2.2	guise B

Figure 6: Graph – participants under 33 years

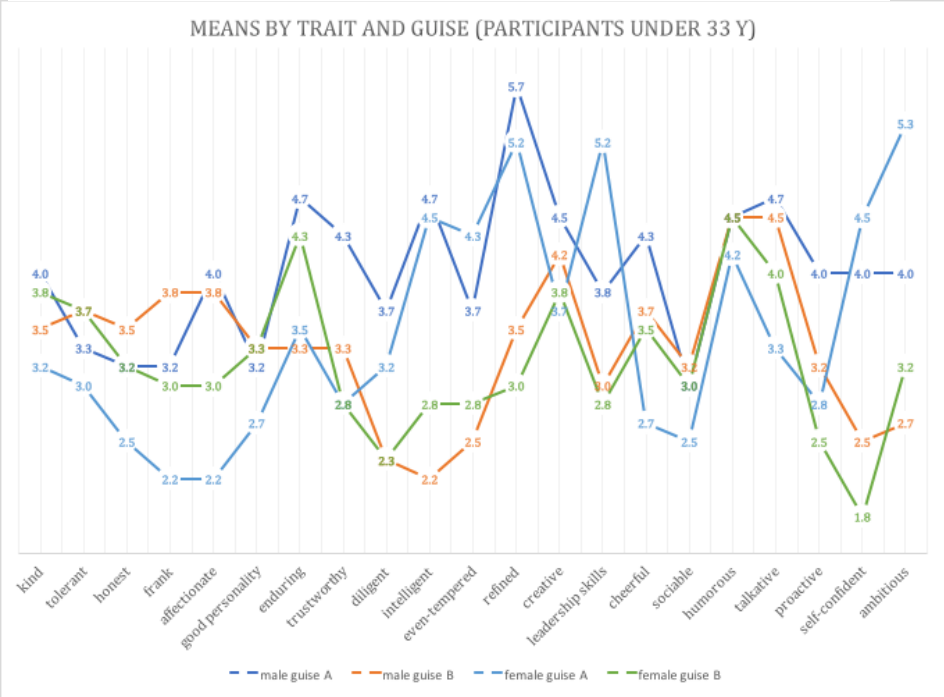


Table 16: Means and differences by trait – participants 33 years and older

means and differences itemized by trait (participants from 33 y)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.3	3.8	0.5	guise B	2.8	2.5	0.3	guise B
tolerant	3.0	3.8	-0.8	guise A	3.3	2.5	0.8	guise B
honest	2.5	3.5	-1.0	guise A	3.0	2.8	0.3	guise B
frank	2.8	2.8	0.0	even	2.8	2.8	0.0	even
affectionate	3.3	2.5	0.8	guise B	2.8	2.5	0.3	guise B
good personality	3.3	2.8	0.5	guise B	2.5	2.8	-0.3	guise A
enduring	4.0	3.8	0.3	guise B	3.5	3.0	0.5	guise B
trustworthy	4.5	3.5	1.0	guise B	3.0	3.0	0.0	even
diligent	4.0	3.3	0.8	guise B	3.0	2.8	0.3	guise B
intelligent	4.3	3.8	0.5	guise B	3.3	3.0	0.3	guise B
even-tempered	4.3	3.3	1.0	guise B	4.5	3.0	1.5	guise B
refined	6.0	4.0	2.0	guise B	4.5	3.3	1.3	guise B
creative	4.5	4.0	0.5	guise B	4.5	3.3	1.3	guise B
leadership skills	2.8	4.0	-1.3	guise A	3.5	3.0	0.5	guise B
cheerful	3.5	3.8	-0.3	guise A	3.0	2.8	0.3	guise B
sociable	3.8	3.3	0.5	guise B	3.0	3.3	-0.3	guise A
humorous	5.5	4.3	1.3	guise B	5.0	3.5	1.5	guise B
talkative	3.8	5.0	-1.3	guise A	4.0	3.3	0.8	guise B
proactive	3.5	4.5	-1.0	guise A	3.8	3.3	0.5	guise B
self-confident	3.0	3.8	-0.8	guise A	4.0	3.0	1.0	guise B
ambitious	3.3	4.8	-1.5	guise A	4.0	3.5	0.5	guise B

Figure 7: Graph – participants 33 years and older

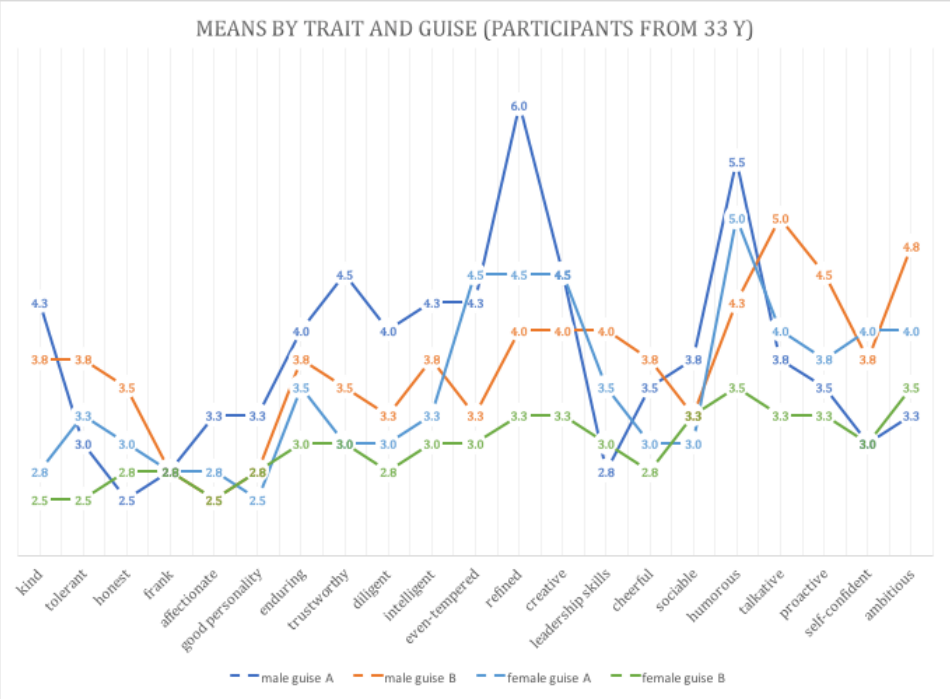


Table 17: Means and differences by trait – West Japan

means and differences itemized by trait (participants from West Japan)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.0	4.3	-0.3	guise A	3.0	4.3	-1.3	guise A
tolerant	3.8	4.5	-0.8	guise A	3.1	3.8	-0.7	guise A
honest	2.5	4.0	-1.5	guise A	2.7	3.5	-0.8	guise A
frank	2.8	4.0	-1.3	guise A	2.4	3.5	-1.1	guise A
affectionate	3.8	4.0	-0.3	guise A	2.4	3.0	-0.6	guise A
good personality	3.0	3.5	-0.5	guise A	2.6	3.5	-0.9	guise A
enduring	4.8	3.8	1.0	guise B	3.5	3.3	0.3	guise B
trustworthy	4.3	3.5	0.8	guise B	2.9	3.5	-0.6	guise A
diligent	3.8	2.5	1.3	guise B	3.1	2.5	0.6	guise B
intelligent	4.8	2.8	2.0	guise B	4.0	3.0	1.0	guise B
even-tempered	3.8	3.0	0.8	guise B	4.4	2.8	1.7	guise B
refined	5.0	4.0	1.0	guise B	4.9	2.8	2.2	guise B
creative	4.3	4.5	-0.3	guise A	4.0	3.0	1.0	guise B
leadership skills	3.8	3.3	0.5	guise B	4.5	3.3	1.3	guise B
cheerful	4.5	3.3	1.3	guise B	2.8	3.5	-0.7	guise A
sociable	3.8	3.3	0.5	guise B	2.7	3.8	-1.1	guise A
humorous	5.0	4.0	1.0	guise B	4.5	3.8	0.8	guise B
talkative	5.0	4.3	0.8	guise B	3.6	4.5	-0.9	guise A
proactive	4.3	4.0	0.3	guise B	3.2	3.8	-0.6	guise A
self-confident	3.5	3.0	0.5	guise B	4.3	2.8	1.6	guise B
ambitious	4.0	3.3	0.8	guise B	4.8	3.0	1.8	guise B

Figure 8: Graph – West Japan

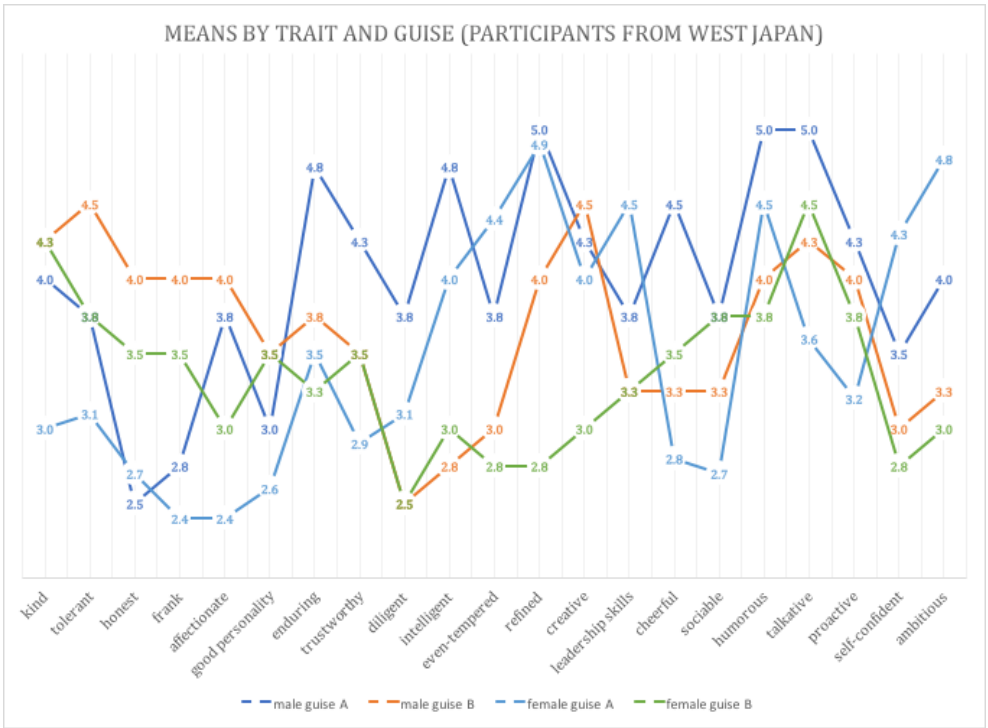
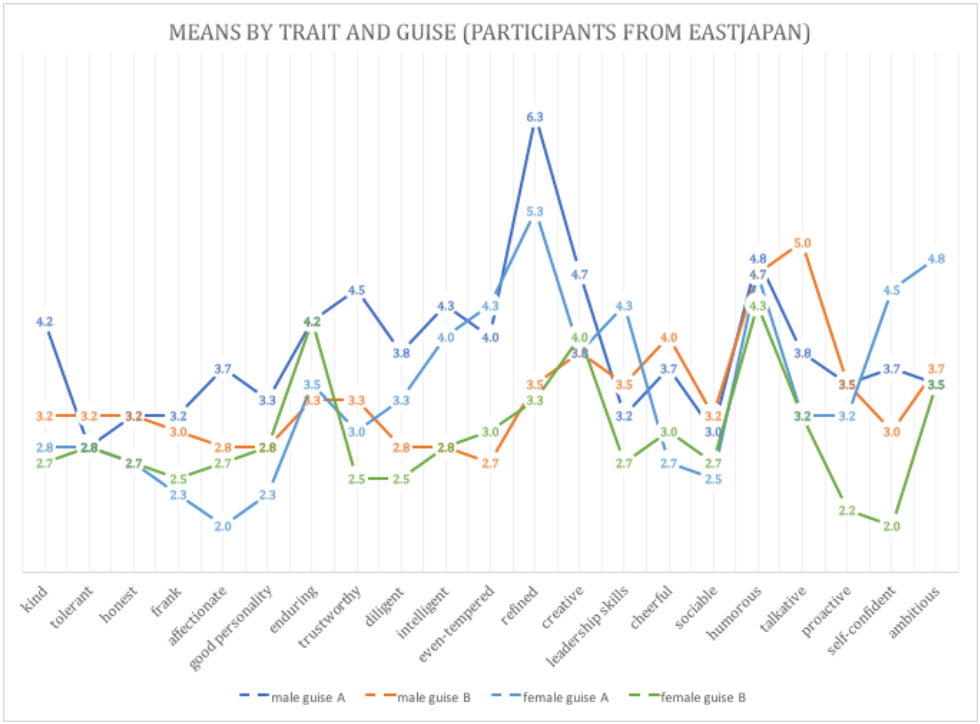


Table 18: Means and differences by trait – East Japan

means and differences itemized by trait (participants from East Japan)								
	male guise A	*male guise B*	*difference (mA-mB)*	*positive evaluation*	*female guise A*	*female guise B*	*difference (fA-fB)*	*positive evaluation*
kind	4.2	3.2	1.0	guise B	2.8	2.7	0.2	guise B
tolerant	2.8	3.2	-0.3	guise A	2.8	2.8	0.0	even
honest	3.2	3.2	0.0	even	2.7	2.7	0.0	even
frank	3.2	3.0	0.2	guise B	2.3	2.5	-0.2	guise A
affectionate	3.7	2.8	0.8	guise B	2.0	2.7	-0.7	guise A
good personality	3.3	2.8	0.5	guise B	2.3	2.8	-0.5	guise A
enduring	4.2	3.3	0.8	guise B	3.5	4.2	-0.7	guise A
trustworthy	4.5	3.3	1.2	guise B	3.0	2.5	0.5	guise B
diligent	3.8	2.8	1.0	guise B	3.3	2.5	0.8	guise B
intelligent	4.3	2.8	1.5	guise B	4.0	2.8	1.2	guise B
even-tempered	4.0	2.7	1.3	guise B	4.3	3.0	1.3	guise B
refined	6.3	3.5	2.8	guise B	5.3	3.3	2.0	guise B
creative	4.7	3.8	0.8	guise B	3.8	4.0	-0.2	guise A
leadership skills	3.2	3.5	-0.3	guise A	4.3	2.7	1.7	guise B
cheerful	3.7	4.0	-0.3	guise A	2.7	3.0	-0.3	guise A
sociable	3.0	3.2	-0.2	guise A	2.5	2.7	-0.2	guise A
humorous	4.8	4.7	0.2	guise B	4.7	4.3	0.3	guise B
talkative	3.8	5.0	-1.2	guise A	3.2	3.2	0.0	even
proactive	3.5	3.5	0.0	even	3.2	2.2	1.0	guise B
self-confident	3.7	3.0	0.7	guise B	4.5	2.0	2.5	guise B
ambitious	3.5	3.7	-0.2	guise A	4.8	3.5	1.3	guise B

Figure 9: Graph – East Japan



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