LINGUISTIC INSECURITY AMONG THE ELDERLY

by

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ABSTRACT

From a gerontological perspective, it is important to study linguistic insecurity among older respondents as there is an ongoing debate involving two competing notions. The first notion assumes that the "old" are linguistically insecure because of their age and generally low levels of education. The second notion assumes the "old" are not insecure as they are less concerned with what is thought to be "correct".

Since Labov's (1966) original study on linguistic insecurity there has been relatively little research conducted addressing this issue. Owens and Baker (1984) developed a Canadian version of Labov's "Index of Linguistic Insecurity". The research presented here, is a replication of Owens and Baker's study, in which they validated a Canadian Index of Linguistic Insecurity, as a measure of linguistic insecurity. Because Owens and Baker concluded that age might have a strong influence on scores of linguistic insecurity, a convenience sample of 201 older respondents were tested for this research.

Data were gathered by administering the Canadian Index of

Linguistic Insecurity and also questions concerned with respondents' demographic characteristics in face to face interviews. The age of the respondents ranged from 45 to 92 years of age. Statistical analysis was performed by conducting comparisons of frequencies, T-tests, or one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the mean scores of Owens and Baker's results and the various groups tested in this study.

The findings of this study did not produce results that were similar to the results found by Owens and Baker. The older respondents studied here, showed little or no sign of linguistic insecurity. Approximately 68 percent of the sample had scores of zero, indicating no linguistic insecurity.

Contrary to what was predicted, the characteristics of age, sex, socio-economic class, and feelings of educational inadequacy were not related to scores on the index of linguistic insecurity. It was concluded that any one of four very diverse explanations might be responsible for the results found in this study. The first explanation for the low scores might be that the older respondents have outgrown any linguistic insecurity they once felt. A second possible explanation for the low scores might be due to a cohort or generational effect. The third explanation centers around some methodological problems encountered with the index

some methodological problems encountered with the index during the research process. 12 insecurity as discussed by Labov and Owens and Baker.

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May we grow old together!

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.1 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to replicate, with some modifications, a study conducted by Owens and Baker (1984), in which they validated a Canadian Index of Linguistic Insecurity (CILI) as a measure of linguistic insecurity. Linguistic insecurity is a subjective language attitude that represents the attitude of an individual who thinks that his particular pronunciation of a word is in some way "inferior", "incorrect", or "inadequate" when he compares his pronunciation to another pronunciation which he thinks is superior to his own or to the established norms. Labov (1966) originally developed the Index of Linguistic Insecurity (ILI) to measure this in a study of New York City speech. The index that Owens and Baker constructed was a Canadian equivalent of Labov's index.

Most of the studies of linguistic insecurity to date, have either tested students or random samples of the general population. Owens and Baker (1984:348) suggested that additional research be conducted on linguistic insecurity. In particular, they thought that age might have a strong

influence on scores of linguistic insecurity. The study presented here differs from Owens and Baker's study in that a convenience sample of older respondents was tested rather than a random sample of the general population. This was the first time that linguistic insecurity had been subjected to empirical testing with an older sample.

There is relatively little literature available examining linguistic insecurity and the research that has been conducted has been done mostly by linguists. The pattern of these previous studies has been to report on scores obtained by subjects on indexes, their differences in pronunciations of vowels and attitudes toward speech. These studies have not however, offered any substantial sociological reasons for the differences of scores on the indexes, or the differences in pronunciations or of the attitudes of the subjects on language use. Bright (1966:11) stated that a major trend of linguistics has been to treat languages as completely uniform, homogeneous or monolithic in their structure; differences in speech habits found within a community were swept under the rug as "free variation". He went on to state that a major task of sociolinguistics was to illustrate that such variation or diversity was not in fact "free", but was correlated with systematic social differences:

> The sociolinguist's task is then to show the systematic covariance of linguistic structure and social structure - and perhaps even to show a causal relationship in one direction or the other (Bright, 1966:11).

After examining the data, it is the hope of this researcher to offer some substantial sociological reasoning to explain the scores of an older sample on the Canadian Index of Linguistic Insecurity (CILI). From a gerontological perspective, it is important to study linguistic insecurity among an older sample because in the literature there is an ongoing debate involving two competing notions which needs to be resolved. The first notion assumes that the old are linguistically insecure simply because of their age and their generally lower level of formal education. The second notion assumes that the old are not insecure because they are less concerned with what is thought to be "correct" or "incorrect" and pay little attention to their language use. This study will hopefully lend empirical support to one of the competing notions involved in the debate. The results should indicate which notion is better at describing the subjective language attitudes of an older sample.

Since linguistic insecurity is a component of language attitude, this chapter will begin with a general review of the literature on language attitudes. This will be followed by a detailed review of the literature on

linguistic insecurity. In particular, the main emphasis of the review will focus on Labov's and Owens and Baker's studies. Before discussing this study in specific terms the chapter will conclude with the presentation of the study's hypotheses along with their rationales.

1.2 Language Attitudes

For the purposes of this research, the focus was on studies that examined language attitudes and language use. Nader (1962:276) noted that research which dealt specifically with attitudes and beliefs that a speaker possessed about his own language use was scarce. She stated that the studies which had employed language attitude as a variable focused mainly on its effect on language borrowing or second language learning. These studies did not examine how a respondent thought or felt about his own language use or the language use of other native speakers.

On a field trip in Lebanon, in which time was spent among the upper class, among the middle class, and among the lower class residents, Nader reported on language attitudes and the uses of Arabic. Nader (1962:277) stated that it had been generally thought that language imitation had been undertaken by those among the lower ranks of society and those who were competing with others of higher echelons.

However, others have suggested that factors such as the context of particular speech situations should be investigated. Nader's (1962:279) general point was to show that the prestige factor (the most admired speech) which had encouraged admiration, borrowing, or imitation of language need not be related to the affluent position of one group or another, or of one individual or another.

The results showed that apart from status enhancement, such things as when a person wanted to be stiff or relaxed, honest, amusing, or ambivalent influenced the language interchange among individuals. Therefore, it was not the case that the lower class tried to match the language use of the upper classes but that these situational factors mentioned played an important part in determining the language use. Nader suggested that these factors would vary with personality, with group membership, and with a broad range of cultural factors. Combined with these factors, was the ability of the respondents to use many or part of many different dialects. Nader (1962:281) concluded that it was not only the socio-economic position of the person but whether an individual had the use of different dialects and the way he borrowed, styled, accented, and formed words that would also determine the range of prestige variants.

Heise (1966) and Williams (1973) used modified versions of a

semantic differential scale to examine the relationship between social class and language attitude. In Heise's study, the subjects were college students and in Williams' they were teachers evaluating the speech of young students. The results of both studies were twofold; first, the attitudinal association or the connotation of a word was generally uniform across social position, and second, only minimal cues had to be offered to elicit stereotypes about social dialects and their speakers. These results suggested that a speaker's social status is determined by how he spoke and not word use. These studies give support to the notion that speech or language use is very important in determining the social ranking of one individual by another. This suggests that individuals are aware of the differences in speech used by the different classes in society. Baker (1977:196) found that when seeking clues as to another's education, respondents stressed speech style first, then dress, and then personality or attitude. The result could be that certain ways of speech, such as certain pronunciations could be considered as "more proper", "better", or "correct" than others.

Researchers also wanted to examine the development of language attitudes, and therefore focused their research on children. It was thought that by studying children's attitudes of language use, a researcher could develop a better understanding of language attitudes in general.

Fisher (1958) conducted a study of child-rearing in a semi-rural New England village. He was interested with certain inconsistencies of children's speech. The sample consisted of twenty-four children with an equal number of boys and girls. The children were divided into two equal age groups, ages 3-6 and 7-10. The data were collected from interviews with the children, administration of the Thematic Appreciation Test (TAT), and a questionnaire.

Fisher found a notable variation between "in" and "ing" for the present participle ending. Girls used "ing" more often, while more boys used "in". He thought that within the community he was studying, "ing" was regarded as symbolizing female speakers and "in" symbolizing males. Also, Fisher thought that the results indicated the "ing" variant to be associated with higher socio-economic status. He concluded that the choice between "ing" and "in" variants was related to sex, social class, personality, mood of the speaker, the formality of the conversation, and the specific verb spoken (Fisher, 1958:51). Fisher's findings support the notion that certain pronunciations are associated with the upper levels of the socio-economic class structure of society, and that individuals are aware of the pronunciations which are used by the upper classes. This suggests that the pronunciations used by the upper classes may be considered as more "correct" and "better" than the pronunciations used by the lower classes.

In another study, Light (1977) investigated the reactions of 8 and 9 year olds to "standard" and "nonstandard" Black English. The traditional view is that the nonstandard or substandard form of speech used by children is an imperfect copy of standard English, marred by a number of careless and ignorant errors (Labov, 1970:1). The purpose of the study was to determine how the children from different socio-economic backgrounds would react to dialect differences. A simplified version of the Osgood semantic differential scale was employed to investigate the extent children could verbally conceptualize their attitudes.

The results indicated that the children had fully developed stereotypes about others on the basis of speech. Again, this indicated that social awareness played a part when individuals evaluate the speech or language use of others. Light (1977:13) stated that children were sensitive to speech differences, and had absorbed many of the attitudes of society toward standard and non-standard speech. The stereotypes that the children had were not as complete as adults, but they were able to verbalize their attitudes toward speech. From this Light concluded that 8 and 9 year old children were developing stereotypical attitudes toward speakers of nonstandard English.

There has been no longitudinal research that has examined

language attitudes across the lifespan. However, it would seem only logical that if young children were aware of the differences between standard and non-standard English that their attitudes towards each would persist into adulthood. The result based on these attitudes would be that some kinds of language use would be considered as "correct" and others as "incorrect". Shuy and Williams (1973:93) found an interaction between the social status of the respondents and speech attitudes which indicated that the higher status respondents tended to have more positive judgments of British speech as compared to the lower class respondents. However, the opposite occurred for the evaluations of Detroit and Negro speech, the lower class respondents rated both more positively than did the higher class respondents. They also found an interaction between age and attitude. Standard and British speech were rated more positively by adults as compared to the ratings given by the younger respondents. They found no interaction between sex and language attitude.

In summary, the studies reviewed here have shown the social dimensions of objective language attitudes and language use. In determining the social significance of language attitudes, the studies have focused on examining the relationship between language use or Standard English and different social varieties or varying types of speech. In attempting to explain the relationship, researchers have

used sex, age and social class as independent variables. Social class was the only variable which had consistent results in all of the studies. It was found that the higher the social class, the more positive the ratings were of Standard language use. In some studies, women rated Standard English more positively, while in other studies no relationship was found to exist between sex and language use. A relationship between age and language attitude was reported only in one study. It was reported that as age increased so did the ratings of Standard language use. In other words, what was considered the "proper" or "correct" language use was rated higher as age increased.

The focus will now turn to the subjective language attitude referred to as linguistic insecurity. Linguistic insecurity is a subjective feeling that a speaker possesses about his own language use, in particular his pronunciation of words. In addition, he also feels that his use of language is full of errors and "unskillful". Labov (1966) developed the Index of Linguistic Insecurity (ILI) as an overt measure of a speaker's attitude or feeling of the way he speaks. Labov claimed high scores on the index indicated that a respondent was willing to admit that his own language use was not correct.

1.3 Linguistic Insecurity

The origins of linguistic insecurity can be traced back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which corresponded with the beginning of the "doctrine of correctness". Labov noted that the middle class found themselves in social situations where their native speech patterns were not appropriate (Labov, 1966:475). He stated that the desire for upward social mobility created a need for a "doctrine of correctness", the result being the schoolmaster and dictionary becoming authorities for speech in both England and America (Labov, 1966:475).

Sterling Leonard (1962) reviewed the historical development of the "doctrine of correctness" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before the seventeenth century, he noted there was no real interest in the quest for grammatical correctness, and the demand for correct English only began during the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century it seemed as if everyone was becoming interested in language. They were noting the imperfections of the language and the necessity for remedial measures (Leonard, 1962:11).

Leonard (1962:14) noted the prevailing view of language in the eighteenth century was that English could and must be subjected to a process of classical regularizing. There was a battle among the elite and the emphasis was on matters of

correctness and precision. It was thought that only vulgar men perpetually used vulgar proverbs and the language of a gentleman was neither deformed by solecisms, nor disgraced by low and vulgar words which were the characteristics of low company and the poorly educated (Leonard, 1962:178).

1.4 Labov's Study of New York English and Linguistic Insecurity

In The Social Stratification of English in New York City, Labov (1966) used a random sample of 73 adults to investigate language use within the social context of a single speech community, the Lower East Side of New York City. The Lower East Side was chosen because it was composed of middle, working, and lower class individuals. To determine the socio-economic status of these groups, Labov used a 10 point socio-economic index developed by the Mobilization for Youth Program, combining three objective characteristics: occupation, education, and family income into a single linear scale.

Labov (1966) developed the Index of Linguistic Insecurity (ILI) to tap the subjective language attitudes an individual might possess. He believed that linguistic insecurity was a language attitude that was characteristic to some degree among all Americans (Labov,1966,1970). He

disagreed with the findings from previous studies that reported the speech of an individual, town, or neighbourhood became inconsistent over time. Labov thought the alterations were due to stylistic or cultural factors which were external to language and not a part of the linguistic structure. These factors may have been the result of the quest by some for upward social mobility.

From administering the ILI, Labov (1966:477) found the lower middle class had the highest index scores, indicating high linguistic insecurity. 68 percent of the lower middle class respondents had scores that ranged from 3 to 13 out of 18 items where they stated that their pronunciation was different from the one they thought was "correct". Approximately half of the lower class and middle class had scores of zero, indicating no linguistic insecurity and the other half had very low scores. The upper middle class was in a moderate position, with 70 percent showing only 1 or 2 "correct" items different than their own.

Labov (1966:475) stated that linguistic insecurity was an inevitable accompaniment of social mobility and the development of upward social aspirations in terms of the socio-economic hierarchy. Labov (1966:475) suggested the hypercorrect behavior committed by the lower middle class was rooted in a profound linguistic insecurity. He used the

term hypercorrection to refer to the tendency of speakers to exceed the mark in grammatical usage, in an attempt to correct a non-standard form or usage. The process of hypercorrection is the misapplication of linguistic rules that do not apply for the given situation. He cited the following two examples: Whom did you say was calling? and He is looking for you and I. These two examples illustrate the use of formal styles in inappropriate places: "whom" should be "who" and "I" should be "me".

With the different components of Labov's study, the behavior of the lower middle class remained consistent. The lower middle class respondents displayed hypercorrect behavior indicating a high level of linguistic insecurity. The hypercorrect behavior was a result of the speaker not having internalized the newly acquired norms and having no automatically applied rule to let him know where to stop in his correction (Labov, 1966:475).

Labov found the upper middle class speakers had greater linguistic security than any other socio-economic class. He reported the upper middle class had less tendency to shift their speech in later life, partly because they had incorporated into their everyday speech a large measure of the prestige norm (Labov, 1966:323). The prestige norm was acquired in part from the college environment and also from

the workplace. Labov concluded that since the upper middle class speaker had acquired and internalized the prestige traits, their general linguistic security would tend to diminish any future shift of their everyday speech.

Labov thought there were social forces which may produce a shift in the overall speech pattern of New Yorkers as they grow older. Labov (1966:322) suggested that contact with a wide range of class types, better acquaintance with the language of the upper middle class and exposure to the standard of the broadcast media, all had some effect in moving the everyday speech of the average citizen from his neighbourhood pattern, and towards the prestige norm. Labov (1966:323) predicted the lower middle class speakers would be preeminent in this respect because of their desire for upward social mobility. The working class speakers would be next and the older speakers from the lower class and upper middle class would show the least degree of stylistic variation. He thought the lower class speakers would show less of a shift because they were isolated from the clerical and business world, and their attitudes towards upward social movement may be negative or anomic (Labov, 1966:323).

Labov also reported that women scored higher on the index than men, indicating women were more linguistically insecure. He found no immediate pattern of sex differences

by class. However, he reported that women displayed a more extreme range of stylistic variation than men which resulted in a much greater degree of correction in formal styles (Labov, 1966:478). In each category men and women followed the same stylistic variation, but the total shift of the female speakers was much greater (Labov, 1966:312).

1.5 Subsequent Research on Linguistic Insecurity

Since Labov's study, there has been relatively little research subjecting linguistic insecurity to empirical testing. Bailey (1973) argued that our culture has a "mania for correctness". He modified Labov's Index of Linguistic Insecurity and administered it to his class of high school students. Bailey (1973:390) reported that newcomers who had recently moved from the inner city to a wealthy Detroit suburb acknowledged a disparity between their own language behavior and "correctness" twice as often as those who lived in the suburb for ten years or more. Bailey interpreted this as a clear indication of status insecurity among those who had not lived in a wealthy neighbourhood over a long period of time.

Bailey also conducted the same test with elementary and high school students in a small town on the outskirts of the Detroit metropolitan area. Bailey (1973:390) found that at

the sixth grade level, girls had index scores that were slightly lower than the boys. When the test was administered to twelfth grade students, the situation was reversed. The girl's scores on the index were twice as high as the boys. Bailey suggested that at the elementary level, the girls felt themselves to be in greater harmony with the external standard, but by the time they were finishing high school, the socialization process was imposed on women and encouraged linguistic insecurity along with other uncertainties about the proper role of educated women.

Bailey (1973:390) concluded that high linguistic insecurity accompanied an individual's awareness of himself as remote from the sources of power and authority. He found the same connection between aspirations, self-assuredness and language as Labov reported in his study. Bailey presented the following scenario to illustrate this:

> The butler in fiction is usually represented as speaking more elegantly than his wealthy employers; those who have emerged from the humble origins often betray their admiration for the supposed prestige dialect by going that dialect one better through hypercorrection (Bailey, 1973:388).

Baron (1976:2) in his study on the effects of linguistic insecurity on language production, found that many Americans

felt linguistically insecure. They felt that their language was "inferior", "out of control", "riddled with errors", "unskilled" and "gauche" (Baron, 1976:2). This left the speaker feeling guilty about his speech and produced hypercorrections, resulting in an altered course of language. Hypercorrection would occur when a speaker felt his speech was inadequate and over compensated for it by using the most formal styles of speech. Baron (1976:2) suggested the result of these insecure feelings would be a devastating state of silence, inhibiting communications between individuals and groups. He stated that there were two major forces operating in our culture that produced linguistic insecurity: a) stereotyping of social and geographic dialects, and b) an educational system based on a doctrine of correctness and purity in language (Baron, 1976:2).

D'Anglejan and Tucker (1973) also investigated feelings of insecurity among French Canadians with respect to their own language. They found that a majority of the respondents would accept correction and try to adjust their speech habits when the errors were pointed out to them by another Quebecer. However, the percentage decreased to just less than half if the corrections were pointed out by Europeans. D'Anglejan and Tucker (1973:19) concluded that the data showed French Canadians were aware of the phonological differences between their language and standard French, but

unaware of the extent to which their syntax diverges from the standard patterns. Laberge and Chaisson-Lavoie (1971) administered a questionnaire to five samples of French speaking students, from different socio-economic groups, to examine their attitude about "joual". They found that the students from the higher socio-economic groups displayed more linguistic security than the students from the lower groups. According to Owens and Baker (1984:337), this suggested that there was some evidence of linguistic insecurity among the lower socio-economic groups.

Underwood (1974) has been the only researcher to challenge Labov's claim that linguistic insecurity was a trait that was characteristic to all Americans to some degree. He conducted the Arkansas Language Survey and used a semantic differential technique to test Labov's hypothesis of linguistic insecurity. In analyzing the data, Underwood (1974:214) found that the respondents did not exhibit any of the linguistic "self-hatred" that outsiders might expect them to feel. Underwood stated that the universal language trait of "self-hatred" was not found in Arkansas. Underwood (1974:214) reported that the subjects displayed self-confidence and pride and showed no signs of linguistic insecurity.

Lastly, Owens and Baker (1984) constructed a Canadian

equivalent of Labov's Index of Linguistic Insecurity. Then they conducted a study to validate the Canadian version of Labov's index. They studied linguistic insecurity among a random sample of 80 adult Winnipeggers. The sample selection process employed by Owens and Baker was similar to Labov's. The method of determining social class replicated Labov's procedure for indexing social class in his New York study. Owens and Baker administered both Labov's original test and the new Canadian equivalent. The items for the CILI were drawn from a national sample survey on language use in Canada by Scargill and Warkentyne (1974).

Owens and Baker (1984:343) found that the results of their study were remarkably similar to Labov's original findings. However, they did report one major difference between the two studies. In the Owens and Baker's study, a greater percentage of the respondents scored zero on the index, indicating more respondents in their study were linguistically secure than the respondents in Labov's study. Owens and Baker accounted for this difference by suggesting that Winnipeggers and perhaps other anglophone Canadians were much less linguistically insecure than New Yorkers. An alternative explanation that they presented was that there had been a decline in linguistic insecurity since 1966 in both New York and Winnipeg.

Owens and Baker (1984:344) concluded that there were two main factors which contributed to linguistic insecurity among Winnipeggers: first, use of American versus British form, and second, use of a pronunciation which deviated from the orthographic (correct spelling) form of the word. Among the respondents , there was an overwhelming feeling that the British pronunciation was "correct" and the American pronunciation was "sloppy". Owens and Baker were able to validate the Canadian index, as the scores on the two indexes were highly correlated with each other. They were able to replicate Labov's results in terms of social class and sex differences. In their discussion, they noted further research was required and suggested that chronological age may have an influence on the scores on the index, suggesting that older individuals may have outgrown any linguistic insecurity they once had.

1.6 HYPOTHESES

None of the previous studies of linguistic insecurity have specifically subjected an older sample to empirical testing. However, both Labov and Owens and Baker recommend such study. This study has done just that by testing a chronologically older sample of respondents. The six hypotheses which were derived from the literature and tested in this study are presented below.

The first five hypotheses tested in this study can be thought of as variations on a theme. Each of these hypotheses revolve around differing aspects of feelings of inferiority. In the first hypothesis there are four factors which have been suggested will cause the old to be more linguistically insecure than the general population. These factors are the objective characteristics of education, job classification, socio-economic class, and sex. In old age, these factors are often concentrated which could promote subjective feelings of inferiority. It is hypothesized that these feelings of inferiority are then manifested by feelings of linguistic insecurity. Hypothesis two extends the rationale of hypothesis one to examine whether different age groups within the older sample have different scores of linguistic insecurity. Hypothesis three states that because of sexism or minority group status, women possess feelings of inferiority which results in higher linguistic insecurity scores for them. The fourth hypothesis examines social class and presents the notion that the lower middle class are social climbers and therefore consider themselves inferior to the higher socio-economic classes, this results in higher scores on the CILI for the lower middle class respondents. Approaching feelings of inferiority directly, hypothesis five examines whether there is a difference between respondents' feelings of educational inadequacy and scores of linguistic insecurity.

Hypothesis 1

1) This sample of older people will, as a group, score higher on the CILI than the sample studied by Owens and Baker.

In previous studies, the characteristics of level of education, job classification, class position and sex have been tested individually. It was found that those who possessed any one of the following: a low level of education, a skilled or semi-skilled job, was from the lower middle class, or female was more likely to be linguistically insecure than those who did not possess any of these characteristics. It is hypothesized that the elderly as a group, disproportionately display these characteristics and it is predicted they will be more linguistically insecure than the sample studied by Owens and Baker based on the following four factors. First, for British Columbia, as age increases, the amount of formal education received decreases. For example, with the age group 45 to 54, 10.5 percent of this age group have grade 9 or less, while 23.8 percent of the 65 and over age group have grade 9 or less (Census of Canada, 1981:Table 93-934). Lacking a formal education, an individual may feel that he has not learned the correct usage of English, and therefore, may think that his pronunciations are "inferior" or "incorrect". Second, the majority of jobs held by this age group were farm,

skilled or semi skilled jobs (Brice, 1966). Third, because of low status jobs and lacking completed formal education the aged as a group were basically represented in the lower middle socio-economic class before retirement (Carins, 1977), and fourth, there is a higher percentage of older women than older men in the population. Combining these factors; education, job classification, class position and sex, place the elderly in an inferior position with regards to the non-aged population. As a result of this inferior position, it is predicted that the elderly will score higher on the CILI than those respondents from Owens and Baker's study.

Hypothesis 2

2) Older respondents will have higher scores on the CILI.

The second hypothesis is based on the same rationale as the first hypothesis. The main emphasis however, is on a cohort effect. With each older generation among the aged population there is an increased percentage of women to men. Second, there is an overall lower mean level of education. Third, for the same reasons as discussed for the first hypothesis there will be a large percentage of respondents who were members of the lower middle class before they retired or reached age 65. Combining these factors, sex,

education, and socio-economic class for each cohort of older respondents place each successive older generation in an inferior position relative to the next younger cohort. As a result, older respondents should have higher scores on the CILI.

Hypothesis 3

3) Females will score higher than males on CILI.

In both Labov's and the Owens and Baker's studies, females scored higher on the indexes of linguistic insecurity than males. Women showed a more extreme range of stylistic variation than men and a much greater degree of correction in formal style. The result was a higher score for women (Labov, 1966:478). Owens and Baker (1984:347) reported that in their study the scores for women were twice as high as those reported for men.

Labov (1970:32) stated that he did not find widespread variation in the actual features of language used by the sexes. The major differences between the sexes were in the areas of language attitudes. In general, women were more sensitive to overt social correction and used more prestigious forms than men. Women may actually use more of a nonstandard form of English in their casual speech than

men, but in formal styles they shift more rapidly than men and show an excess use of hypercorrect behavior (Labov, 1970:33).

Women who are now 65 years old and over, have lived during a period when many negative stereotypes of women existed. Childhood socialization led women to see their role as less important than men's, possibly even subservient to them. They also suffered from overt and covert sexual discrimination. As a result of this sexism, older women's scores will be higher than older men's scores on the CILI because of their tendency to hypercorrect, which may be due to internalized feelings of inferiority.

Hypothesis 4

4) Those respondents who belonged to the lower middle class will score higher than respondents from the other socio-economic classes on CILI.

It has been found in previous studies (Labov, 1966; Owens and Baker, 1984), that the lower middle class scored higher on indexes of linguistic insecurity than other socio-economic groups, indicating the lower middle class respondents were more linguistically insecure. Labov suggested that the lower middle class would have higher

scores because that socio-economic group wanted to improve their social position, which implies they feel inferior. Labov (1966; 1970) presented evidence showing that the lower middle class had the greatest tendency towards linguistic insecurity, and therefore, tended to adopt, even in middle age, the prestige forms used by the youngest members of the highest ranking class (Labov, 1966:248). Ellis (1967:433) stated that there are major differences in the speech of different classes of Americans and the differences are neither subtle nor restricted to differences in diction and grammar. Among the lower middle class, linguistic insecurity was displayed by the very wide range of stylistic variation, by their great fluctuation within a given stylistic context, by their conscious striving for correctness, and by their strong negative attitudes toward their native speech pattern. These negative attitudes imply that the lower middle class also feel inferior about their speech pattern.

The fluctuation in stylistic variation shown by the lower middle class, their hypersensitivity to stigmatized features which they themselves use, the inaccurate perception of their own speech, and the feeling that their speech is inferior to higher socio-economic classes, all point to a high degree of linguistic insecurity for these speakers (Labov, 1966:93). Hence, it is hypothesized that respondents who would have been classified as lower middle

class before age 65, will display the same hypercorrect behavior as described by Labov.

Hypothesis 5

5) The respondents who express feelings of educational inadequacy will score higher on the CILI than those respondents who do not express those feelings.

The fifth hypothesis deals with expressed feelings of educational inadequacy, or undereducation. Kasom (1981) stated that in the Harris Survey (1975), older people with less than high school education viewed the lack of education as being a serious problem for themselves. Education appeared to influence older persons' images of their mental capacities much more than income influenced these images. Further, the Russell Sage Foundation Survey (Campbell et al. 1976) in a study of the quality of American life, reported that next to financial reasons, lack of education was seen as the most frequently mentioned barrier to a sense of fulfillment in life (Kasom, 1981:12).

Atchley (1980:16) states that another aspect of the stigma against old people stems from the educational system. In modern societies, knowledge changes rapidly. Because we concentrate formal education, especially job preparation, at

the beginning of the life course, with each year that passes after graduation our knowledge becomes more and more out-of-date (Atchley, 1980:16). The result of this process is the young are always more and better educated than their parents and grandparents. Since there is no program for adults to update their knowledge the outcome is obsolescence (Atchley, 1980:16).

If adults' schooling is obsolete then it is plausible to suggest that they may feel their language skills are also outdated because they were learned in school. The speech used by older people in our society is often perceived by the young to be "antiquated", "archaic", or simply "uneducated". If this perception is internalized by the old, then they themselves will feel that their speech is "antiquated" and out-of-date. As a result, internalizing the notion that their language skills are out-of-date, older people may develop feelings of inferiority and feel insecure about their speech patterns. Since CILI is designed to tap feelings of linguistic insecurity, those people who feel insecure about their education should score high on the CILI.

Hypothesis 6

6) Those respondents with British accents will score lower on the CILI than those respondents without British accents.

The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that the presence of a British accent implies an individual had been educated in the United Kingdom. Since the CILI consists of both British and American pronunciations of words, it would be expected that those with British accents living in Canada would use the British pronunciation. However, they would be aware that the American pronunciation exists and is used in North America. Given this, the British respondents will more frequently state both pronunciations are correct. In calculating CILI scores, respondents indicating that both pronunciations are correct automatically are given a score of zero on that item, which suggests they are linguistically secure for that item.

This chapter has reviewed the literature on language attitudes in general and specifically the language attitude of linguistic insecurity. Also the purpose of this research was presented and discussed. The hypotheses that were tested were given along with the rationale for each. The next chapter discusses in detail the methodology, the sample and the sample selection process, and the data analysis used to test the hypotheses.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Design

This study was a replication of Owens and Baker's (1984) cross-sectional study of linguistic insecurity. In the literature on research methods, social scientists call for the replication of existing studies (Loether and McTavish,1974; Kerlinger,1979; Babbie,1979). Loether and McTavish (1974:153) state that replication receives all too little attention from sociologists. They feel that sociologists are reluctant to replicate studies because they seem determined to do something unique. Kerlinger (1979:5) for example, believes that the results from one study can only be thought of as suggestive and in no way conclusive. It cannot be expected that the results from a single experiment or study will resolve an issue once and for all.

If a study is replicated and identical or similar findings are reported, then there is increased confidence in the original results. If this process is repeated again and again and similar results are found each time, then there can be even greater confidence in the validity and generalizability of the original findings (Babbie,1979:26). Replication serves as a test of external validity. If the results can be repeated with different subjects, different

procedures and different experimenters then theory confirmation is a step closer. And it is only by conducting replications that this process of theory confirmation or rejection can be achieved. Therefore, by replicating Owens and Baker's study, their results can be tested to establish whether they apply to populations other than the one they investigated.

This chapter gives a description of the sample and a discussion of the sample selection process. A description of the data collection process, a detailed discussion of the dependent variable (CILI), and independent variables are also given. Labov's measure of socio-economic status is presented along with the minor alterations made to it for use in this study. The chapter concludes with the procedures for data analysis and a restatement of the hypotheses that were tested.

2.2 Sample

A convenience sample (Cook and Campbell,1979:71; and Kidder,1981) of 201 older respondents was sought from in and around the Victoria area. The procedures for selecting the sample for this study differed somewhat from procedures used by Owens and Baker. Because of the type of respondents being sought, the random sample selection process used by

Owens and Baker could not be replicated. Also, since this was the first time CILI had been administered solely to an older sample, and also because the elderly are a unique and specific subgroup of the overall population, different sampling procedures were employed. According to Owens and Baker, the random sample procedure they used did not provide them with a significant number of aged respondents. Therefore, in attempting to secure a large enough sample that could be considered fairly representative of the entire older population, a convenience sample was used.

Ideally of course, a simple random sample where each member of the population would have an equal opportunity of being selected would have been optimal in order for the results to be generalizable across all older people instead of just the group being studied for this research. However, due to financial and time restraints it would have been impossible to draw a random sample. Sudman (1976:201) states that although general population samples are still of great importance, there has been an increasing trend toward studies of special populations. Since the elderly as a group represent 10 percent of British Columbia's total population (Canada's Elderly, 1979; Chart 5), they may be considered a rare or special population. Therefore, locating members of the elderly population requires a different selection strategy than a simple random procedure. For this reason, a convenience sample was considered an

acceptable sampling procedure for the purpose of this study.

From May 17 to June 7 and from July 5 to August 24, 1984 a sample of of 201 respondents were interviewed. The only requirements for prospective respondents were that they be English speaking and preferably over the age of 50. There were however, three exceptions to the age requirement, these respondents were in their mid or late forties and very eager to participate and were therefore included in the sample. In Owens and Baker's study there were language and residence requirements. Eligible respondents had to have lived in Winnipeg since the age of eight and have learned English before the age of five. For this study it would not have been appropriate to place either a residence or a similar language requirement on respondents because Victoria is known as the retirement capital of Canada. As a result, a large percentage of the older Victoria residents have either moved to Victoria later in their lives or following retirement. However, many of the respondents in this study stated that they had lived in Victoria all of their lives and had seen the city grow up. There were only 9 respondents whose mother tongue was not English, but these respondents had all spoken English for more than 40 years of their life. Respondents were contacted through Victoria area senior's organizations and associations and through posters and by word of mouth. The organizations approached were located in different socio-economic areas of Victoria

and their members reflect the different socio-economic classes of people living in Victoria.

The age, sex, nationality, marital status, education, and family income characteristics of the sample were compared with 1981 Census of Canada data on Victoria's population 45 years and over (Table 2-1). The age distribution reflects the census statistics for the population 45 and over with the exceptions that the age categories under age 55 were underrepresented and the age categories 65 through 74 were overly represented. Considering aged respondents were sought and the flyers distributed asked for individuals over 50 years of age, these discrepancies were not surprising. The distribution of sex in the sample heavily favored females, with women overrepresented by 16 percent as compared to the census data. The marital status and nationality characteristics of the sample closely resembled the Victoria census distributions for the population over 45, with one difference. Canadians were slightly over represented and Europeans underrepresented in the sample.

The distributions for level of high school and post secondary education were the most unrepresentative characteristics when compared with the census data. The sample consisted of highly educated individuals. This was not unexpected considering the sample selection process was

non random and included seniors who took part in a summer course at university. Also, it has been reported that volunteers for research projects often possess higher education than non-participators (Crano and Brewer,1973:53). The distribution of family income was also overrepresented in the higher income categories when compared with the income distribution for Victoria's population 18 years old and over.

TABLE 2-1

COMPARISON OF RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS WITH CENSUS DATA FOR VICTORIA (1981)

Characteristics	Sample N=201	Census Breakdown for The Population 45 and Over N=90,025
Age		
45-49	1.49	12.29
50-54	7.96	13.36
55-59	15.92	15.45
60-64	15.42	14.87
65-69	19.40	14.37
70-74	20.90	11.13
75-79	11.44	8.17
80-84	3.98	5.18
85-89	1.99	3.23
90+	1.00	1.95
	100.00	100.00 (1)
Sex		
Male	27.36	43.93
Female	72.64	56.07
	100.00	100.00 (1)
Nationality		
Canadian	70.50	61.92
U.K.	21.00	22.72
U.S.	3.50	2.39
Europe	2.50	6.64
Other	2.50	6.32
	100.00	100.00 (2)
Marital Status		
Married (including separated)	69.70	71.56
Widowed	20.40	18.03
Never Married	6.50	5.69
Divorced	3.50	4.72
	100.00	100.00 (3)

Secondary Education			
Less Than Grade 9	12.18	17.10	
Grades 9-13	87.82	82.90	
	100.00	100.00	(4)
Post Secondary Education			
Yes	72.59	38.65	
No	27.41	61.35	
	100.00	100.00	(4)
Type of Post Secondary Education			
none	27.41	61.35	
Technical School	14.72	15.14	
Some College	31.47	9.58	
1 or More Degrees	26.40	13.93	
	100.00	100.00	(4)

Highest Family Income		Census Breakdown For all Economic Families	
$ 0- 9,999	9.39	22.40	
$ 10-19,999	17.68	26.87	
$ 20-34,999	38.67	29.98	
$ 35,000+	34.25	20.75	
	99.99	100.00	(5)

REFERENCES

1- Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981. Population: Occupied Private Dwellings, Private Households, Census Families in Private Households. Cat. No. 93-922. Table 1.

2- Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981. Population: Language, Ethnic Origins, Religion, Place of Birth, Schooling. Cat. No. 93-934. Table 10.

3- Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981. Population: Occupied Private Dwellings, Private Households, Census Families in Private Households. Cat. No. 93-922. Table 4.

4- Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981. Population: Language,

Ethnic Origins, Religion, Place of Birth, Schooling. Cat. No. 93-934. Table 13.

5- Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981. Population: Private Households, Census Families in Private Households. Cat. No. 93-958. Table 6.

2.3 Data Collection

2.3.1 The Sampling Process

A snowball sampling technique (Sudman,1976; Babbie,1979) most appropriately describes the sampling procedure used in this study. University of Victoria intersession sociology courses were canvassed and students were asked to provide the names and phone numbers of any older individuals they knew who might be willing to participate in the survey. Seniors' groups and associations from the Victoria area were contacted to seek permission to address their members in order to elicit volunteers. The Esquimalt Silver Threads, Victoria Silver Threads, Fairfield New Horizons, James Bay New Horizons and the Autumn Glo Club provided access to their members during their scheduled activities. The Victoria Gerontology Association, Victoria Skills Exchange and Victoria Hospitality Club graciously made available their membership lists.

Posters describing the study and calling for volunteers were posted at the Victoria Institute of Gerontology, Victoria YM/YWCA and several locations on the University of Victoria campus (Appendix A). Flyers were also handed out to participants of UVIC's Residential Programs (Senior Summer Studies Program).

An advertisement was placed on the local cablevision channel describing the study and invited individuals to volunteer. All respondents interviewed were given a flyer describing the research and urged to enlist their family, friends and neighbors to partake in the study (Appendix A).

2.3.2 The Interviews

In all cases the initial contact with the respondents was made over the telephone. The caller identified herself as a University of Victoria graduate student in Sociology conducting research for her master's thesis. Prospective respondents were then explained the topic of the research and asked if they would be willing to volunteer as a participant in a structured interview. If they agreed, an appointment was set up at a mutually convenient time. Interviews took place at the University of Victoria, the Victoria Institute of Gerontology or the respondent's own home. The interviews on average took 15 to 20 minutes to complete.

Prior to the interview, respondents were informed of their right to refuse to answer any or all of the questions and the right to withdraw from the interview at any time. They were also instructed that all the information they provided would be treated as completely confidential. The interview itself consisted of reading the questions to the respondents

and then coding their responses onto optical scanning cards (Refer to Appendix B for a copy of the questionnaire). Spontaneous comments made by the respondents about the questionnaire or answers they provided were taken down verbatim on a separate sheet of paper. At the conclusion of the interview all respondents received a pledge of confidentiality indicating the researcher's credibility and offering a guarantee of confidentiality (Appendix C).

This study involved one minor difference in the interviewing procedure. Unlike Owens and Baker's study, a tape recorder was used to present the CILI words (Table 2-2) to the respondents (for phonetic pronunciations of the words see Appendix D). Labov (1968:250) stated that the use of a tape recorder was a practical method of administering linguistic material. Instead of the researcher reading the list of words to the respondents and having them fill out the questionnaire form, a linguist (Dr. H. Warkentyne) prepared a tape with both pronunciations of each word. This guaranteed consistent and proper pronunciations of all the words. The tape was played to each respondent stopping after each set of words. The respondent was then asked which pronunciation he thought was correct and then which one he usually used. The responses from each respondent were coded onto optical scanning cards by the interviewer.

TABLE 2-2

ITEMS ON THE CILI

1. lever	12. leisure
2. student	13. either
3. apricot	14. cot
4. schedule	15. missile
5. genuine	16. film
6. anti	17. almond
7. bury	18. progress
8. arctic	19. route
9. butter	20. congratulate
10. caramel	21. ration
11. lieutenant	22. whine

2.4 Dependent Variable

The Canadian Index of Linguistic Insecurity (CILI)

The CILI follows the same procedure and rationale as the Index of Linguistic Insecurity as described by Labov. Labov's ILI was created by the following procedure:

> Each of the eighteen different words is pronounced by the interviewer in two different ways, in accordance with the phonetic forms shown in the questionnaire. The respondent is asked to circle the number of the pronunciation which he thinks is correct. Then he is asked to check the pronunciation which he actually uses. The number of items in which the respondent circles one form and checks another is the index of linguistic insecurity (Labov,1966:476).

The CILI is measured in the same way, but it consists of twenty-two words selected by Owens and Baker from the Survey of Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne, 1974) (see Appendix E for discussion).

The rationale for administering an index of linguistic insecurity was best stated by Labov.

> It is obvious that in many cases the respondent will not admit to using a variant pronunciation which he considers sub-standard, even when he has already used the pronunciation in reading style... Now we are measuring a type of linguistic insecurity which is overt, where the respondent is willing to admit to himself and to the interviewer that his own usage is not the correct one (Labov, 1966:476).

Labov considered the index as tapping a "manifest insecurity" as opposed to "latent insecurity". In other words, an index of linguistic insecurity measures an admitted discrepancy between a respondent's actual pronunciation and that of a pronunciation which is perceived by the respondent as being "correct". For example, if a respondent stated that he pronounced lever one way (levəʳ) but thought that the other pronunciation (li:vəʳ) was correct, then the respondent would be linguistically insecure with regard to that word.

If a respondent said both pronunciations were correct and he used both or that one pronunciation was correct and that was the one he also used, then he was considered linguistically secure on that item. A respondent's score on the CILI was calculated by giving a score of one for each item where the respondent's pronunciation differed from the one he thought was correct. The score for each of the twenty-two items were summed and this total gave the respondent's CILI score. According to Owens and Baker's calculations a score of zero would indicate no linguistic insecurity. A score of 9 or higher (the highest possible score would be 22) would indicate high linguistic insecurity. According to both Labov and Owens and Baker, the scores were divided to form four categories. These categories were grouped with the intent of obtaining a balanced distribution. In order to compare the distribution of the scores obtained in this

study with Owens and Baker's study, the same division of scores into categories had to be used. Owens and Baker used the following four categories: zero score group, 1-3 score group, 4-8 score group, 9 and over score group.

2.5 Independent Variables

To test the hypotheses for this study, the following independent variables were used. The variable social class was comprised of three objective characteristics: education, income and occupation (For an explanation of how social class was calculated see Appendix F). Sex was used as an independent variable. Age was divided into five categories each containing approximately an equal number of respondents. The categories created were: 1) 45 - 59, 2) 60 - 64, 3) 65 - 69, 4) 70 - 74, and 5) 75 and over. Subjective feelings of educational inadequacy were also used as an independent variable. These feelings were measured by asking respondents two questions from the Harris Survey (1975), Myth and Reality of Aging. The questions were: 1) Do you feel you have sufficient education for today's world? and 2) Is not having enough education a very serious problem for you? The last independent variable used in this study was the presence of a British accent. If a respondent had a discernable accent this was recorded by the interviewer.

2.6 Data Analysis

The data analysis performed in this study consisted of replicating the data analysis procedures conducted by Owens and Baker. The statistical procedures used to test the hypotheses consisted of conducting comparisons of frequencies, T-tests or one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the mean scores of the various groups mentioned in the six hypotheses presented below. T-tests are used to determine if the difference between means for two subsamples or groups is statistically significant (Kidder, 1981:337). The Student's t was used to determine whether the null hypothesis should be rejected. The null hypothesis states that there is no difference in mean scores between the two groups being tested. The degrees of freedom associated with the t-distribution was calculated by n-1 (Nie et al.,1975:268). One-way ANOVA is a test that makes possible a simultaneous comparison of more than two group means, it can be seen as a simple extension of the T-test for the difference between two means (Loether and McTavish, 1980:542). The actual testing was performed by comparing the computed F-ratio (F=between-groups mean square/within-group mean square) with the known sampling distribution of the F-ratio (Nie et al.,1975:259). The degrees of freedom associated with the numerator was calculated by k-1 (where k=the number of groups) and the degrees of freedom associated with the denominator was calculated by n-k.

Both T-tests and ANOVA were performed to test the statistical significance of the difference in mean scores with a conventional alpha level set at prob.=0.05 (Blalock 1972; Loether and McTavish,1974; Bogue,1981; Kidder,1981). In other words, the level of significance for rejecting the null hypothesis that the mean scores were equal was set at p=0.05. By convention in the social sciences, to call a difference "statistically significant" it should be possible to obtain a difference by chance at most only five times out of a hundred (Kidder,1981:340). In the tables presented in the next chapter, the level of significance associated with the T-values or F-ratios for each hypothesis is given. The T-values or F-ratios that were not significant at the 0.05 level are indicated by NS (not significant). The SPSS (Nie et al.,1975) subprogram BREAKDOWN was used to obtain the means of the scores on the CILI for the various groups being tested. This procedure also produced the T-values and F-ratios used to determine if the hypotheses were significant or not. T-tests were performed by the SPSS subprogram T-test, while ANOVA was performed as part of the BREAKDOWN command.

This chapter has reviewed in detail the methodology used in this study. A discussion of the research design, the sample and the data collection process was given. A description of

the interviewing process, the dependent and independent variables and the data analysis procedures performed were presented. The chapter concludes with a restatement of the hypotheses. The next chapter presents a discussion of the results obtained from each of the hypotheses.

The hypotheses tested in this study were:

HYPOTHESIS 1

1) This sample of older people will, as a group, score higher on the CILI than the sample studied by Owens and Baker.

HYPOTHESIS 2

2) Older respondents will have higher scores on the CILI.

HYPOTHESIS 3

3) Females will score higher than males on the CILI.

HYPOTHESIS 4

4) Those respondents who belonged to the lower middle class will score higher than the respondents from the other socio-economic classes on the CILI.

HYPOTHESIS 5

5) The respondents who express feelings of educational inadequacy will score higher on the CILI than those respondents who do not express those feelings.

HYPOTHESIS 6

6) Those respondents with British accents will score lower on the CILI than those respondents without British accents.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The results of the data relevant to each of the six hypotheses in this study (referred to as Victoria CILI) will be presented in this chapter. These results will be discussed and compared with the results from Owens and Baker's study (referred to as Winnipeg CILI).

3.1 The Results

HYPOTHESIS 1

The first hypothesis of this study predicted that the sample of older people, as a group, would score higher on the CILI than the sample studied by Owens and Baker. In order to compare the distribution of the Victoria and Winnipeg scores on the CILI test, the test scores of each study were divided into the same four categories of linguistic insecurity. These four categories, zero score, low score, moderate score, and high score group were established by Owens and Baker. It was felt important to use the same divisions of test scores so that a valid comparison of the two studies could be made.

Table 3-1 presents the Victoria CILI test scores in the form

of frequencies and percentages. Table 3-2 presents Owens and Baker's Winnipeg CILI test scores with frequencies and percentages.

The percentage distribution in Table 3-1 (Victoria CILI) differed substantially from the percentage distribution in Table 3-2 (Winnipeg CILI). In this study, there were proportionately 1.3 times as many respondents with a zero score (i.e. no linguistic insecurity) than in Owens and Baker's study. Of the twenty-two items on the CILI, all the respondents in this study were linguistically secure on fifteen of the items. The seven items that produced scores of insecurity were: 1) student-34 percent, 2) lever-19 percent, 3) caramel-8 percent, 4) lieutenant-7 percent, 5) butter-5 percent, 6) schedule-3.5 percent, and 7) anti-with 3 percent of the respondents showing insecurity on the CILI. The range of test scores obtained on the Victoria CILI was also much lower than the range of test scores obtained in Owens and Baker's study. In fact, the highest test score obtained in this study was 6 which falls only into the third category of moderate linguistic insecurity. There were no respondents who had a test score that corresponded to Owens and Baker's fourth category of high linguistic insecurity. In Owens and Baker's study, 8.8 percent of their respondents had test scores that fell into the fourth category of high linguistic insecurity and of the Winnipeg respondents who had high scores, 7.5 percent had scores of 10 or higher on

the CILI.

TABLE 3-1

Division of Scores on the Victoria CILI with Resultant Frequencies and Percentages

	SCORE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
No Ling. Insec.	0	136	67.7
Low Ling. Insec.	1-3	53	26.4
Moderate Ling. Insec.	4-8	12	6.0
High Ling. Insec.	9+	NIL	NIL
		201	100.0

TABLE 3-2

Division of Scores on the Winnipeg CILI with Resultant Frequencies and Percentages

	SCORE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
No Ling. Insec.	0	39	48.8
Low Ling. Insec.	1-3	17	21.3
Moderate Ling. Insec.	4-8	17	21.3
High Ling. Insec.	9+	7	8.8
		80	100.2

The chi square approximation was used to compare the frequency distributions of the Winnipeg and Victoria samples. The observed chi square of 20.691 was much greater than the critical value of chi square (7.814 with 3 df) at the 0.05 level of significance. Therefore, the distributions of the two samples were found to be significantly different from each other. In fact, when the results of Table 3-1 and Table 3-2 were compared, the percentage distributions of the scores from the two studies were found to be dissimilar. The percentage distributions and frequencies of test scores were lower in this study than those in Owens and Baker's study, therefore support for the first hypothesis was not found. In other words, this older sample as a group, was less linguistically insecure than the general population studied by Owens and Baker.

In addition, several respondents made comments that indicated they were linguistically secure, which was contrary to what was hypothesized. Many of the respondents stated throughout the interview process that they did not feel their pronunciations were incorrect. One woman commented, "I don't think much about word use or the word - I just use what comes naturally." Several respondents made this comment, "Why would I continue to use a wrong pronunciation if I knew it is wrong?" Another comment that was quite common was, "It depends in what part of the country you are in, as to how you pronounce a word." And

finally, other respondents had this to say, "I use the pronunciation that I was taught in school. It should be right and if it is not, then I can not be blamed for a wrong pronunciation, the blame lies with the school system." These and other comments suggested that most of the respondents thought their pronunciations were correct and did not exhibit any feelings of linguistic insecurity.

HYPOTHESIS 2

The second hypothesis stated that the oldest respondents within the sample would have higher scores on the CILI. Age was divided into five categories and the mean test scores for each age category were as follows:

Table 3-3

Mean Scores on the Victoria CILI by Age Categories

AGE CATEGORIES	MEAN VICTORIA CILI SCORE	N
45 - 59 years	1.43	51
60 - 64	1.34	32
65 - 69	1.34	39
70 - 74	1.45	42
75 and over	1.27	37

F-ratio = 0.583 df = 4 p = NS

In contrast to what was predicted, the mean test scores did not increase as each age category increased. An ANOVA showed that the means were not significantly different from each other at a 0.05 level of significance. It was interesting to note that the oldest age category had the lowest mean score ($\bar{x}$ = 1.27) on the CILI. The second oldest age category, 70 - 74 years had the highest mean score ($\bar{x}$ = 1.45) on the CILI. While the youngest age category, 45 - 59 years had the second highest mean score ($\bar{x}$ = 1.43) on the CILI compared to the other age categories.

The results of the mean test scores on the Victoria CILI by age did not provide support for the second hypothesis, older respondents did not have higher scores on the CILI. The interpretation of the second hypothesis should be considered with some caution. This was a cross-sectional study and the results probably reflect a cohort or generational effect and not the aging process per se.

HYPOTHESIS 3

Hypothesis three predicted that females would score higher on the Victoria CILI than males. In Labov's New York study, the females scored 50 percent higher than males on the ILI (Labov, 1966:478). In Owens and Baker's study, females on the Winnipeg CILI scored 36 percent higher than the males on the CILI. Surprisingly, the results from this study did not

show the trend found by Labov and Owens and Baker where females scored significantly higher than males. As seen in Table 3-4, the mean test scores of the male and female respondents were almost the same.

Table 3-4

Mean Scores on the Victoria CILI by Sex

	MEAN CILI SCORE	N
MALES	1.40	55
FEMALES	1.37	146

T-value = 0.25 df = 199 p = NS

The male respondents had a mean test score that was only slightly higher ($\bar{x}$=1.40) than the female mean test score ($\bar{x}$=1.37). However, performing a T-test, the mean test scores were not found to be significantly different from each other at a 0.05 level of significance. The comparison of male and female mean test scores on the Victoria CILI did not provide any support for the third hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS 4

It was hypothesized that those respondents who belonged to the lower middle class would score higher than the respondents from the other socio-economic classes on the CILI. Table 3-5 presents the distribution of the index scores from the Victoria CILI test and the Winnipeg CILI

test for the four socio-economic groups.

TABLE 3-5

Percentage Distribution of CILI Scores for Victoria and Winnipeg Respondents by SES

CILI	SES GROUPS							
	Lower Class (0-2)		Working Class (3-5)		Low-Mid Class (6-8)		Up-Mid Class (9)	
	Vict. CILI	Winn. CILI	Vict. CILI	Winn. CILI	Vict. CILI	Winn. CILI	Vict. CILI	Winn. CILI
No Ling. Insec. (0)	73.3	76	68.8	51	66.3	24	80.0	40
Low Ling. Insec. (1-3)	20.0	12	25.0	27	30.3	14	10.0	40
Mod. Ling. Insec. (4-8)	6.7	12	6.3	11	3.4	48	10.0	20
High Ling. Insec. (9+)	NIL	NIL	NIL	11	NIL	14	NIL	NIL
	100.0	100	100.1	100	100.0	100	100.0	100
N=	15	17	64	37	89	21	20	5

The lower, working, lower-middle and upper-middle socio-economic groups were used by Owens and Baker who used Labov's method for determining the socio-economic class of the respondents (see Appendix G for a detailed discussion on determining socio-economic class in this study).

As can be seen in Table 3-5, there was a marked difference between the Victoria CILI scores by socio-economic class and the Winnipeg CILI scores by socio-economic class. First, in the Victoria case there was no socio-economic class that had scores in the high linguistic insecurity category. In the Winnipeg CILI both the working class and the lower middle class had scores in the high linguistic insecurity category. Secondly, the majority of all the classes in the Victoria CILI had scores of zero. The percentage of respondents in the zero category ranged from a low of 66.3 percent for the lower middle class respondents to a high of 80 percent for the upper middle class respondents. This was a striking result when it was compared with Owens and Baker's percentage of respondents who scored zero in the Winnipeg study. The lowest percentage of respondents in the zero category of their study was found in the upper middle class (40 percent) while the highest percentage was found in the lower class (76 percent). Thirdly, 96.6 percent of the lower middle class respondents in the Victoria CILI had either no or low linguistic insecurity. In the Winnipeg CILI, only 38 percent of the lower middle class had scores

that indicated either no or low linguistic insecurity. As shown in Table 3-5, when the class frequencies were compared, no support for the fourth hypothesis that the lower middle class scores on the CILI test would be greater than other class scores was found.

As shown in Table 3-6, when ANOVA was performed on the four categories of socio-economic class, the mean of the four classes were not found to be significantly different form each other. The lower middle class did have the highest mean score ($\bar{x}$=1.37) but the working class also scored the same ($\bar{x}$=1.37). The results from the ANOVA did not provide any support for the fourth hypothesis that the lower middle class would have the highest mean test score of all the socio-economic classes.

Table 3-6

Victoria CILI Mean Scores for SES Groups with ANOVA

Socio-economic Class	Mean CILI Score	N
Lower SEC	1.33	15
Working SEC	1.37	64
Lower-mid SEC	1.37	89
Upper-mid SEC	1.30	20

F-Ratio = 0.104 df = 3,184 p = NS

Even though Owens and Baker (1984:384) tested this same hypothesis they did not provide the mean scores on the CILI for each class separately as presented here for the Victoria CILI. They tested the hypothesis by collapsing the mean test scores of the lower class, working class, and the upper middle class together and then compared the mean test score of these groups with the mean test score of the lower middle class. In their study (see Table 3-7), the lower middle class had a higher mean test score than the other socio-economic classes combined.

Table 3-7

WINNIPEG CILI SCORES BY SES

	MEAN CILI SCORE
LOWER MIDDLE CLASS	4.80
ALL OTHER CLASSES	1.90

As Owens and Baker reported, the difference between these two means was found to be significant at a 0.01 significance level.

As seen in Table 3-8, for the Victoria CILI, the lower middle class had a CILI mean test score that was only slightly higher than all the other socio-economic classes combined.

Table 3-8

Mean Scores on the Victoria CILI by SES

VICTORIA CILI	MEAN CILI SCORE	N
LOWER MIDDLE CLASS	1.37	89
ALL OTHER CLASSES	1.35	99

T-value = 0.20 df = 186 p = NS

However, the difference in the Victoria CILI mean test scores was not found to be significant at a .05 level of significance. Again, this result did not provide support the fourth hypothesis that the lower middle class would score higher than the other socio-economic classes. Because the difference in mean class scores was not significant, the results may be interpreted to suggest that the mean score of the lower middle class was the same as the score of the other socio-economic classes combined. But, as seen in Table 3-6, the mean score of all the other classes was

brought up by the considerably higher score of one class- the working class ($\bar{x}$=1.37). As the results show, by combining the other socio-economic classes it is apparent that it is not an accurate method for testing whether class means are different from EACH other. Because Owens and Baker combined the test scores of the working, lower, and upper middle classes, conclusions about class test scores may not have accurately reflected the phenomenon of linguistic insecurity with regards to the social class of the respondents. A direct comparison of the mean test score of each socio-economic class may have been a more useful approach for examining the differences of class scores.

HYPOTHESIS 5

To test the fifth hypothesis, those respondents who indicated that they felt they had insufficient education were considered to suffer from feelings of subjective educational inadequacy. Those respondents who stated that they had sufficient education were considered to have feelings of educational adequacy. As was predicted, those who stated they had insufficient education scored higher on the CILI than those who reported they had sufficient education (see Table 3-9). The higher mean test score for those expressing insufficient education did not provide evidence supporting the fifth hypothesis because the results

for this hypothesis were not found to be significant at a 0.05 level of significance.

Table 3-9

Mean Scores on the Victoria CILI
by Educational Adequacy

Victoria CILI	Mean CILI Score	N
Educational Inadequacy	1.46	107
Educational Adequacy	1.33	89

T-value = 1.44 df = 194 p = NS

HYPOTHESIS 6

The final discussion of the results deals with the comparison of scores of the respondents with British accents and those without British accents. As was predicted, respondents with British accents scored lower on the CILI ($\bar{x}$=1.18) than the respondents without British accents ($\bar{x}$=1.41).

Table 3-10

Mean Scores on the Victoria CILI by Accent

Victoria CILI	Mean CILI Score	N
British Accents	1.18	32
No British Accents	1.41	167

T-value = -2.00 df = 197 p = 0.047

The results of the T-test presented in Table 3-10 shows that the difference of the mean scores was found to be significant (p=0.047) below a 0.05 level of significance. Comments made by the British respondents provided additional support for this hypothesis. The British respondents realized that of the two pronunciations they were presented with, one was the British pronunciation and the other the American pronunciation. One respondent after hearing the two pronunciations of the first item (lever) said, "Which pronunciation do you want me to say is correct - the BBC or the American?" Several respondents said, "It depends where I am, if I'm in Canada or the States I use the North American pronunciation and if I'm in Britain I use the British pronunciation". Since many respondents with British accents stated that they considered both pronunciations to be correct and used either one depending upon their given

situation, might explain why they scored lower on the CILI than those respondents with no British accent.

It was also noted that an interesting phenomenon emerged during the interviewing process. It was thought that respondents with hearing deficiencies would have difficulty in understanding the pronunciations from the tape recorder. However the reverse occurred, despite the lack of visual cues such as lip reading, the respondents with hearing deficiencies had little problem understanding the tape. Atchley (1980:45) points out that age related changes in ability to discriminate among sounds make speech more difficult to hear, especially when people talk fast, when there is background noise and when there is distortion or reverberation of sound (Corso,1977:550). The most plausible explanation of why the respondents could hear the tape so clearly may have been the lack of background noise, the slow clear pronunciation, the constant volume and especially the deep voice (low tone) on the tape. It was observed that respondents who wore hearing aids did not adjust them or try to sit closer to the tape recorder, nor did they ask to have the tape replayed.

After the tape was finished and during the rest of the interview, these respondents did display some difficulty in hearing the interviewer's voice. They readjusted their

hearing aids, sat closer, or asked for the questions to be repeated. After the interview was completed, most of the respondents commented that they found the tape recording clear and easy to understand. The use of males with deep voices or the use of tape recorded interviews should be investigated by gerontologists to establish whether or not these procedures improve the comprehension of older research subjects, especially those with hearing deficiencies.

This chapter has presented the results relevant to each of the hypotheses tested in this study. Generally, the results did not support the hypotheses. Contrary to what was predicted:1) this sample as a group did not score higher on the CILI than the sample studied by Owens and Baker, 2) the older respondents within this sample did not score higher than the younger respondents, 3) females did not score higher than males, 4) the lower middle class did not score significantly higher than the other socio-economic classes, and 5) those respondents who expressed feelings of educational inadequacy did not score significantly higher than those respondents who expressed feelings of educational adequacy. The only hypothesis that was accepted was the one that predicted that respondents with British accents would score lower on the CILI than the respondents with no British accent. The next chapter presents the conclusions of the

study and discusses in further detail the significance of the results that have emerged from the research.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter gives a summary of the conclusions based on the results of the six hypotheses tested in this study. A discussion of some possible explanations for the results are also presented. The chapter concludes with the presentation of methodological problems encountered during the research. Also, a call for more research on the topic of linguistic insecurity is given.

4.1 Conclusions

In conclusion, the results of this study did not support five out of the six hypotheses. The elderly as a group, did not have higher scores on the Victoria CILI than the sample studied by Owens and Baker. Also, the older respondents in this study did not score higher than the younger respondents on the Victoria CILI. Females had a lower mean score than the male respondents. This was unexpected. However the results were not found to be significant. The lower middle class in this study did not display the same scoring pattern as was found in Owens and Baker's study. When the other socio-economic classes, except the lower middle class, were collapsed into one category, the lower middle class did have a slightly higher mean score. However, once again these results were not found to be significant. The results of

the lower middle class and the females test scores were contradictory to Labov's claim that the lower middle class and females were most affected by linguistic insecurity (Labov,1966).

Those respondents who felt they had insufficient education did have higher mean scores than the respondents who felt they had sufficient education for today's world. However, the results were not found to be significant. The only hypothesis that produced expected results that were significant was the one which posited that respondents with British accents would be more linguistically secure. Those respondents with British accents had a lower mean score indicating they were more linguistically secure on the CILI than those respondents without British accents.

Since the results of this study did not provide support for five out of the six hypotheses, those five hypotheses were rejected. The results did however provide support for the sixth hypothesis and it was therefore accepted. Hypotheses one and two were derived from Owens and Baker's results and hypotheses three and four were identical to hypotheses tested by Owens and Baker. Interestingly, the results of these four hypotheses did not produce the same or even similar results as those obtained by Owens and Baker. If linguistic insecurity is part of the heritage of the

American and Canadian people, as Labov and Owens and Baker claim, then the lack of linguistic insecurity found among the older Victorians interviewed would seem to suggest that either linguistic insecurity is not a trait characteristic of all North Americans as commonly assumed, or the CILI is not as valid a measure of linguistic insecurity as Owens and Baker believe (Owens and Baker,1984:348).

4.2 Discussion

If it is assumed that the language attitude of linguistic insecurity does in fact exist then the results of this study represent a reversal of conventional wisdom. The results challenge both Owens and Baker's findings as well as Labov's research on linguistic insecurity. The older respondents studied here, showed little or no sign of linguistic insecurity, in fact, 67.7 percent of the respondents scored zero indicating no linguistic insecurity at all. Also, where Owens and Baker and Labov found certain categories of the respondent characteristics of sex and social class to be associated with high scores on the ILI and the CILI, the results of this study indicate that the respondent characteristics of age, sex, social class, and feelings of educational inadequacy were not associated with CILI scores.

One explanation for these unconventional findings may be

related to the older ages of the respondents. Possibly as individuals pass through middle age they become more linguistically secure or outgrow their linguistic insecurity. For example, assuming as Labov does that linguistic insecurity is closely associated with aspirations for better social class position and considering objectively that older people reach their social, economic, and occupational prime or peak during their 40's or 50's, (Cameron,1970 and Williamson et al. 1980) older people may in their later years stop concerning themselves with language "correctness" because they accept the social position they have or had obtained in mid-life and realize they are no longer in a position to improve their class standing.

Since this study was the first to use a large number of older respondents exclusively and since it was cross-sectional in design, there is no way to know if this indeed occurs. Further research employing longitudinal research design should be used to study when and how linguistic insecurity develops throughout the lifespan and what variables are associated with it.

Another explanation for the low scores may involve a cohort or generational effect. Possibly the historical time period in which these particular respondents were born and the

shared experiences of this older generation has ingrained self-confidence in their speech patterns. Many respondents noted that even though they did not have objective levels of education as high as people who had grown up during the 1950's and 1960's they felt their own education was of superior quality. One woman commented that, "I may only have a grade 9 education but I can probably read and write better than most university graduates of today."

As has been noted in previous chapters, many respondents also stated they used the pronunciation they thought was correct because that was the pronunciation they had been thought in school and as far as they were concerned it therefore had to be correct. Not only did the respondents score low on the CILI, the many comments made by respondents about the "good" education they received in their day would seem to indicate that they also felt linguistically secure as a result of their "fine" but limited education.

A very different explanation for the discrepancy between these findings and previous findings may center around methodological problems that were uncovered during the interview process. This research has revealed two major methodological problems with the CILI. The first problem revolves around the items used to make up the CILI. Labov's ILI was composed of eighteen items and the two

pronunciations accompanying each item consisted of a standard pronunciation (the norms of acceptable speech) and a substandard pronunciation (the norms of unacceptable speech). When Owens and Baker constructed the CILI, they selected the items and their accompanying pronunciations from the Survey of Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne,1974). However, the basis for selection of the items and the pronunciations were based on the following: 1) there be no more than two pronunciations for each item, 2) there be no items on the CILI that appear on the ILI, and 3) the frequency of both pronunciations be more than 15 percent and less than 20 percent for both females and males in Manitoba. The selection process resulted in twenty of the twenty-two items chosen for the CILI either having a "British" and an "American" pronunciation or having a verb and noun pronunciation. Because of this, the respondents were not given the choice of choosing between a "correct" or "incorrect" pronunciation. Only two items had both a standard and a nonstandard pronunciation, they were "butter" and "congratulate".

Many of the respondents felt that for the items that had the noun and verb pronunciations, having to choose the correct pronunciation was ambiguous. For example, for the items progress, route, and lever many of the respondents said, "both pronunciations are correct because one is used as a noun and the other is used as a verb so when you ask your

question, which pronunciation are you looking for-the noun or the verb? Several respondents also said, "it depends on the context which one is correct. If I use it as noun then the first pronunciation is correct but if I use it as a verb then the second one is correct".

Also, respondents stated, "Well it depends. For example, lieutenant (leftenənt) is more commonly used in Canada and (lu:tenənt) is used more in the U.S. but they are both correct." This comment and ones similar in nature were stated frequently by the respondents. According to many respondents, both pronunciations were considered correct and acceptable, however, one was more Canadian or British and the other was more American. This left the respondents in an uncertain position as to which pronunciation they should state as being correct.

These comments suggest that the items used to make up the CILI may not be tapping the manifest insecurity as Labov predicted the ILI would do. This may be due to the fact that twenty of the twenty-two items on the CILI do not have a standard and substandard pronunciation as does the ILI. The respondents realized that for most of the items both pronunciations were in fact "correct" and they had difficulty in deciding what exactly was asked of them. Another point dealing with the items that were chosen to

make up the CILI, is that Owens and Baker(1984:348) contend that CILI could be used as a measure of linguistic insecurity across Canada. As was previously discussed, the third criterion they used for having selected items for the CILI was that the frequency for both pronunciations of each item be more than 15 percent and less than 20 percent for both males and females in Manitoba. It would seem plausible to argue that the frequency of pronunciations should be changed to reflect a frequency of pronunciations for a national rather than a provincial population.

The second and more important methodological problem that was uncovered has to do with how the pronunciations were presented to the respondents. In both Labov's and Owens and Baker's studies, the researchers and their associates conducted the interviews. The researchers said the pronunciations and asked the respondents for their responses. In the first sixteen interviews of this study, the researcher after being coached by a linguist on the two pronunciations followed the same procedures as in the two other studies mentioned. However, to better ensure that all respondents were presented with the correct pronunciations (according to the CILI) and also to ensure that there was no variation in pronunciations from respondent to respondent tape recorded pronunciations were used for the remaining respondents.

The results indicated that the group of respondents who did not have the tape played had a mean test score of ($\bar{x}$=1.93) while the respondents who had the tape played had a mean test score of ($\bar{x}$=1.33). The T-value was 4.01, the degrees of freedom was 199 with a prob.=0.00. The difference in mean test scores was found to be very significant. In other words, when the tape recorder was used, the scores on the CILI were significantly lower than when the tape recorder was not used. T-tests were performed on the variables of sex, socio-economic class, accent and feelings of educational inadequacy to see if there were significant differences in mean test scores for those respondents who did not have the tape played. The results were not found to be significant for any of the variables (see Appendix G for the results). However, significance is dependent on both sample size and degrees of freedom and in this case the sample size was only 16. Hence, for the 16 people who did not have the tape played to them, no support was found for any of the six hypotheses tested.

The discrepancy in mean test scores between those who had the tape played and those who did not have the tape played indicates that further research is required before CILI can be considered a truly valid measure of linguistic insecurity. It is possible that the method of administering the CILI or the ILI in previous studies has not been measuring what it was hypothesized to be measuring.

There may be some evidence to support this claim. It has been reported in the sociolinguistic literature (Bell,1984; Goffman, 1981) that persons respond mainly to other persons, and that speakers take most account of hearers when designing their talk (Bell,1984:159). Bell (1984:161) states there is a variety of qualitative and quantitative evidence that justifies attributing style variation primarily to the effect of the addressee. Accommodation theory is believed to be a powerful explanatory model of speech style (Bell,1984:162). The accommodation model, as presented by Giles and Powesland (1975) and later by Giles and Smith (1979), hypothesizes that speakers accommodate their speech style to their addressee in order to win approval (Bell,1984:162).

Accommodation theory may be thought of as a counterpart to symbolic interactionist theory, in that, speaker and addressee negotiate their own reality through interaction. It is believed that persons respond mainly to other persons (i.e. speakers take into account their addressee when styling their speech). This notion of accommodating one's speech style to the addressee came up during the interview with some of the respondents and is illustrated by the fact, that the British respondents overwhelming stated that both pronunciations of many of the items were correct. They then added that when they were in Canada or the U.S. they tried to use the American pronunciation so as not to seem out of

place. It is argued that speakers alter their speech or shift their style of speech to match the addressee in response to visual and verbal cues emitted by the addressee.

Should this take place, then linguistic insecurity can never be accurately measured using the CILI or the ILI in their present forms because it can not be known (by present methods) whether the pronunciations which the respondents indicate on the indexes are the pronunciations they actually use or the pronunciations they feel are appropriate for the given situation. Some respondents, simply because of the situation, may believe that admitting they use a pronunciation that they feel is incorrect is appropriate.

It is only by continued research into the methods used to assess linguistic insecurity that the validity of the CILI as a measure of linguistic insecurity can be evaluated. As has been stated earlier, one research study does not settle an issue once and for all. This study has shown that there may be methodological problems with how the CILI and the ILI have been administered in previous studies. The next logical step would be to conduct research that would investigate different administering techniques of the CILI and included in these different techniques should be substandard pronunciations for the items.

In his study in Arkansas, Underwood found no evidence of linguistic insecurity. In keeping with his findings, this study has also found little evidence of linguistic insecurity among older Victorians. Therefore, the last explanation to be put forward about the results of this study questions the very existence of linguistic insecurity as discussed by Labov and Owens and Baker. Simply stated, does linguistic insecurity exist? As this research has not produced results that were consistent with Labov's and Owens and Baker's findings, the reliability of these previous findings and the conclusions drawn from those results may be put in question. It is only when a substantial number of studies involving this topic have been conducted, and consistent results produced, that there can be confidence in the validity of the results. To establish the existence or non-existence of the language attitude referred to as linguistic insecurity, longitudinal studies need to be conducted which follow respondents from childhood through to old age.

Some may suggest or argue that the sample used in this study was biased which in turn had an effect on the outcome of the results. Certainly this would be a fair criticism of this study if the objective had been to get a national picture of linguistic insecurity among all older individuals. But this research sought only to elicit the language attitude of a small sample of older respondents to act as a pilot study.

Clearly, biased samples reveal little or nothing about the views of older respondents in general, but to the extent that it reveals the attitude of this particular sample, the results may constitute the basis for future research into this topic.

It was hoped that the results of this study would lend empirical support to one of the two competing notions in the gerontological literature about the relationship between linguistic insecurity and older people. As presented in chapter 1, the first notion stated that the old are linguistically insecure while the second notion stated that the old are not linguistically insecure. If the assumption is made that linguistic insecurity exists and the CILI is a valid measure of it, then the results of this study can be interpreted to mean that the respondents studied here were not linguistically insecure. However, since the results also indicated several methodological weaknesses with the CILI, caution is urged in interpreting the CILI scores as reflecting linguistic insecurity. Indeed, the results of this study have raised more questions about linguistic insecurity and the CILI than they have answered. Because the results presented here may only be an artifact of this research it is necessary that additional research be conducted in the hope of resolving the debate about linguistic insecurity and older people, as well as, finding answers to these new questions that have been brought about

by this research.

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Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

VICTORIA INSTITUTE OF GERONTOLOGY

IF YOU ARE OVER 50 YEARS OF AGE

WE NEED YOUR HELP

We are two University of Victoria students working on our masters theses in Sociology. Our research involves studying mature people's views on the topics of LANGUAGE ATTITUDES and SOCIAL STATUS.

We need a large sample of volunteers who would be willing to be interviewed. The interview takes only about 20 minutes to complete. We think you may find the experience interesting and thought provoking.

If you or any of your friends would like to volunteer, you would not only be helping us with our research and theses, you would also be playing a part in the advancement of gerontological research.

We are conducting interviews both at the Institute of gerontology-Rm. 208 at 841 Fairfield (formerly the Victoria General Hospital Nurse's residence) and at the University of Victoria. If it is more convenient for you, we can come to you.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

To contact us call: weekdays after 6pm - 721-4683
or during the day leave a message with
the Sociology office - 721-7572

Dawn Fowler- Graham

Ian Graham

M.A. students - UVIC

Appendix B

The Questionnaire*

Hello, I am _____.

My husband/wife and I are conducting research for our MA theses in Sociology. We are studying language attitudes and perceptions of social status. We would like to ask you some questions on these topics. This is not a test, we are only interested in your answers and there are no right or wrong answers. The interview should take about 15 minutes. All the information you will give us will be kept completely confidential and will be used solely for the purpose of our theses. Please keep in mind that at any time you have the RIGHT to withdraw from the survey. Also, please feel free to ask any questions you may have. Your name and address will not be kept anywhere or used for any purpose other than this research.

SECTION A

This section deals with language attitudes. You will hear two pronunciations of the same word. After hearing both pronunciations, you will be asked which pronunciation is correct. You will then be asked which pronunciation you

commonly use.

1.	lever	(1)	lever	(2)	both	(3)
2.	lever	(1)	lever	(2)		
3.	student	(1)	student	(2)	both	(3)
4.	student	(1)	student	(2)		
5.	apricot	(1)	apricot	(2)	both	(3)
6.	apricot	(1)	apricot	(2)		
7.	schedule	(1)	schedule	(2)	both	(3)
8.	schedule	(1)	schedule	(2)		
9.	genuine	(1)	genuine	(2)	both	(3)
10.	genuine	(1)	genuine	(2)		
11.	anti	(1)	anti	(2)	both	(3)
12.	anti	(1)	anti	(2)		
13.	bury	(1)	bury	(2)	both	(3)
14.	bury	(1)	bury	(2)		
15.	arctic	(1)	arctic	(2)	both	(3)
16.	arctic	(1)	arctic	(2)		
17.	butter	(1)	butter	(2)	both	(3)
18.	butter	(1)	butter	(2)		
19.	caramel	(1)	caramel	(2)	both	(3)
20.	caramel	(1)	caramel	(2)		
21.	lieutenant	(1)	lieutenant	(2)	both	(3)
22.	lieutenant	(1)	lieutenant	(2)		

23.	leisure	(1)	leisure	(2)	both (3)
24.	leisure	(1)	leisure	(2)	
25.	either	(1)	either	(2)	both (3)
26.	either	(1)	either	(2)	
27.	cot	(1)	cot	(2)	both (3)
28.	cot	(1)	cot	(2)	
29.	missile	(1)	missile	(2)	both (3)
30.	missile	(1)	missile	(2)	
31.	film	(1)	film	(2)	both (3)
32.	film	(1)	film	(2)	
33.	almond	(1)	almond	(2)	both (3)
34.	almond	(1)	almond	(2)	
35.	progress	(1)	progress	(2)	both (3)
36.	progress	(1)	progress	(2)	
37.	route	(1)	route	(2)	both (3)
38.	route	(1)	route	(2)	
39.	congratulate	(1)	congratulate	(2)	both (3)
40.	congratulate	(1)	congratulate	(2)	
41.	ration	(1)	ration	(2)	both (3)
42.	ration	(1)	ration	(2)	
43.	whine	(1)	whine	(2)	both (3)
44.	whine	(1)	whine	(2)	

SECTION B

This next section will deal with attitudes about older people. Generally speaking, would you (1) agree or (2) disagree that the following terms apply to most older people?

MOST OLDER PEOPLE ARE ---

45.	set in their ways.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
46.	in good health.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
47.	conservative.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
48.	lonely.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
49.	live in poverty.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
50.	wise from experience.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
51.	warm and friendly.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
52.	forgetful.	(1)agree	(2)disagree
53.	productive.	(1)agree	(2)disagree

SECTION C

The following section is concerned with perceptions of status. Some people in our society have more status or prestige than others. Using this scale, indicate how most people your age would rate the categories of people you are about to hear in terms of their status in our society.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Far below average	Below average	Slightly below average	Average	Slightly above average	Above average	Far above average

Hand respondents card A.

Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. We are only looking for you first impression or immediate feeling.

54. A 40-year-old man.

55. A 5-year-old boy.

56. A 20-year-old woman.

57. An 80-year-old man.

58. A 70-year-old woman.

59. A 100-year-old man.

60. A 65-year-old woman.

61. A 30-year-old man.

62. A 50-year-old woman.

63. A 40-year-old woman.

64. A 65-year-old man.

65. A 100-year-old woman.

66. A 50-year-old man.

67. An 80-year-old woman.

68. A 5-year-old girl.

69. A 20-year-old man.

70. A 30-year-old woman.

71. A 70-year-old man.

72. Would you say the respect that people over 65 in general receive from younger people is:

(1) more than enough

(2) enough or

(3) too little

73. How much respect do you personally receive from younger people?

(1) more than enough

(2) enough or

(3) too little

74. Do you feel you have sufficient education for today's world?

(1) yes

(2) no

If yes, go to question 76.

75. Is not having enough education:

(1) a very serious problem for you

(2) a somewhat serious problem for you

(3) hardly a problem at all for you, or

(4) not a problem for you.

76. For most people over 65 would you say that not having enough education is:

(1) a very serious problem for them

(2) a somewhat serious problem for them

(3) hardly a problem for them, or

(4) not a problem for them.

SECTION D

This last section deals with demographic characteristics.

77. What is your mother tongue?

(1) English

(2) French

(3) other

If English, go to question 79.

78. How many years have you spoken English?

(1) 0-20

(2) 21-40

(3) 41-60

(4) 61+

79. What is your nationality of birth?

(1) Canadian

(2) American

(3) U.K.

(4) European

(5) Middle Eastern

(6) Oriental

(7) other

80. What is your present marital status?

(1) married

(2) widowed

(3) never married

(4) separated

(5) divorced

81. Do you have any university, college or technical school

training?

(1) yes

(2) no

82 If yes, how many years have you completed?

(1) some college

(2) undergrad degree (B.A., R.N, etc)

(3) grad school

(4) tech school

(5) more than 1 degree

83. What was the highest grade of public school which you have completed?

(1) 11

(2) 12, 13

(3) 1, 2, 3

(4) 4

(5) 5

(6) 6

(7) 7

(8) 8

(9) 9

(10) 10

84. Have you retired from a lifetime career or occupation?

(1) yes

(2) no

If no, go to question 90.

85-86. In what year did you retire?

87. What was your major occupation at time of retirement?

(1) operatives, service workers, laborers (unskilled)

(2) craftsmen and foremen (skilled/semi-skilled)

(3) clerks and sales personnel

(4) professionals, managers, and officials

(5) other

88. Approximately, could you tell me the number of the category that corresponds with your total family income at the time of retirement?

Hand respondent card B.

(1) up to 4,999

(2) 5-9,999

(3) 10-14,999

(4) 15-19,999

(5) 20-24,999

(6) 25-34,999

(7) 35-49,999

(8) over 50,000

(10) missing

89. What is/was your spouse's major lifetime occupation?

(1) operatives, service workers, laborers (unskilled)

(2) craftsmen and foremen (skilled/semi-skilled)

(3) clerks and sales personnel

(4) professionals, managers, and officials

(5) other

Go to question 97.

90. Do you presently work for pay?

(1) yes

(2) no

IF yes, go to question 92.

91. Have you ever worked outside the home?

(1) yes

(2) no

If no, go to question 93.

92. What is/was your major lifetime occupation?

(1) operatives, service workers, laborers (unskilled)

(2) craftsmen and foremen (skilled/semi-skilled)

(3) clerks and sales personnel

(4) professionals, managers, and officials

(5) other

93. Approximately, could you tell me the number of the category that corresponds to your family's highest ever family income?

Hand respondent card B.

(1) up to 4,999

(2) 5-9,999

(3) 10-14,999

(4) 15-19,999

(5) 20-24,999

(6) 25-34,999

(7) 35-49,999

(8) over 50,000

(10) missing

94-95. In what year would that have been?

96. What is/was your spouse's major lifetime occupation?

(1) operatives, service workers, laborers (unskilled)

(2) craftsmen and foremen (skilled/semi-skilled)

(3) clerks and sales personnel

(4) professionals, managers, and officials

(5) other

97. If you had to choose, which social class would you say you belong to?

(1) lower class

(2) working class

(3) lower-middle class

(4) upper-middle class

(5) upper class

(6) something other than those

(10) missing

98-99. In what year were you born?

100. Sex:
(1) male

(2) female

101. Presence of a British accent?
(1) yes

(2) no

Thank you for your time, effort and cooperation. Do you have any questions you would like to ask?

* Questions 45 through 71 were part of my husband's independent research into perceptions of social status.

Appendix C

Pledge of Confidentiality

We guarantee that all the information you have provided us will be used solely for the purpose of the research in question. Your responses will be kept confidential and your identity will not be revealed to anyone. Our research projects have been approved by the University of Victoria's Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (Project Nos. 59-84, 60-84).

Should you have any questions concerning our research you may contact our Theses advisor, Dr. Paul Baker, Professor of Sociology, University of Victoria (721-7576).

Dawn Fowler-Graham
Ian Graham

MA Candidates
Department of Sociology
University of Victoria

Appendix D

Phonetic Pronunciation of Items on the CILI

1.	(liːvəʳ) (levəʳ)	12.	(leʒəʳ) (liːʒəʳ)
2.	(stjuːdənt) (stuːdənt)	13.	(aiʤəʳ) (iːʤəʳ)
3.	(eiprəkat) (æprəkat)	14.	(kɒt) (kat)
4.	(skedʒʊl) (ʃedjuːl)	15.	(mɪsəl) (mɪsaɪl)
5.	(dʒenjʊɪn) (dʒenjʊain)	16.	(fɪləm) (fɪlm)
6.	(æntai) (ænti)	17.	(almənd) (aːmənd)
7.	(beri) (bʌri)	18.	(prəʊgres) (pragres)
8.	(arktik) (artik)	19.	(raʊt) (ruːt)
9.	(bʌdəʳ) (bʌtəʳ)	20.	(kəngrætʃʊleit) (kəngrædʒʊleit)
10.	(kærməl) (kæraməl)	21.	(ræʃən) (reiʃən)
11.	(leftenənt) (luːtenənt)	22.	(hwaɪn) (waɪn)

Appendix E

CILI Words

The twenty-two words used on CILI were selected by Owens and Baker for the following reasons. First, out of forty words which were included in Scargill and Warkentyne's study to obtain information on pronunciation, five words were omitted because they each had more than two acceptable pronunciations. Second, another eleven were omitted because the frequency of either one of the pronunciations was below a 15 percent arbitrary cut off point (Owens and Baker,1984:340). Third, four words of the forty-two were also used by Labov and these were also omitted. After all the words were omitted that were thought to be inappropriate there were twenty-two words which were considered acceptable and used in the CILI.

Appendix F

Selection of Social Class

The method of determining social class for this study was similar to the method used by Labov (Labov,1966:213-217) and was also used by Owens and Baker in their study. The socio-economic index used by Labov and Owens and Baker was comprised of three indicators: occupation, education, and income. Each indicator was divided into four broad categories.

Owens and Baker occupation into:

IV. Professionals, Managers, and Officials (Salaried and Self-employed)

III. Clerks and Salesmen

II. Craftsmen and Foremen, Self-Employed White and Blue-Collar Workers

I. Operators, Service Workers, Labourers, and Permanently Unemployed Persons

Education was divided into:

IV. Completed some College or more

III. Finished High School

II. Completed some High School

I. Finished Grade School or less

Income was divided into:

IV. More than the Canadian median

III. More than the Lord Roberts/Riverview median but less than the Canadian median

II. More than the minimum wage but less than the Lord Roberts/Riverview median

I. Less than minimum wage

For this study, the occupation ranking was divided into the same categories as those used by Owens and Baker in their study. Owens and Baker's income ranking however had to be adjusted since the use of minimum wage to delimit the first and second categories were inappropriate for retired people and those receiving the old age pension. To establish four categories of income, the total family income for all economic families as presented by Statistics Canada for Victoria was divided into four approximately equal categories. The categories were :

IV. $35,000 and higher

III. $20,000 - $34-999

II. $10,000 - $19,999

I. $0 - $9,999

To establish the respondents total family income, they were asked one of two questions concerning their family income. If respondents were retired, they were asked their total family income at the time of retirement along with the year

in which they retired. Respondents who had not retired or who had never worked were asked their highest ever total family income and in what year that would have been.

Since family income is to some extent indicative of life style and social class, it was decided that the respondent's HIGHEST family income would be the most meaningful measure of income. Retired respondents were asked their income at retirement because working individuals' incomes are usually at their highest point just prior to retirement. By using the year in which the respondents indicated highest ever total family income, the income responses were converted into 1981 constant dollars permitting a valid standardized comparison of all respondents total family income with inflation taken into account.

The education ranking used by Owens and Baker was also adjusted so as to more accurately reflect the educational levels of the respondents in this study. Many respondents when asked if they had any college or technical school training answered yes. A large percentage of these respondents had taken adult education or leisure courses or believed their grade 13 was equivalent to some college. For this reason the percentage of respondents who said they had some university or college was somewhat inflated. In order to better reflect the educational levels of the respondents

in this sample four new education categories were created. They were:

IV. Degree
III. Some College or Technical School
II. Finished High School
I. Some High School or less

Once a respondent has been ranked according to occupation, education and income, then a social class ranking is accorded to each respondent using the following matrix (Labov, 1966:216).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS MATRIX

Income Rank

		High IV			III			II			I Low		
Educ. Rank	Occupation Rank	High IV	III	Low II	High IV	III	Low II	High IV	III	Low II	High IV	III	Low II
				I			I			I			I
High	IV	9	8	7 6	8	7	6 5	7	6	5 4	6	5	4 3
	III	8	7	6 5	7	6	5 4	6	5	4 3	5	4	3 2
	II	7	6	5 4	6	5	4 3	5	4	3 2	4	3	2 1
Low	I	6	5	4 3	5	4	3 2	4	3	2 1	3	2	1 0

The final four major social class divisions are the following:

SEC Index	
0 - 2	Lower class
3 - 5	Working class
6 - 8	Lower middle class
9	Upper middle class

Appendix G

Results for the 16 Respondents who did not have the tape played

Hypotheses:

Females will score higher than males.

	Mean	N
Female	1.50	4
Male	2.08	12

T-Value = -1.20 df = 14 p=NS

Those respondents with British accents will score lower on the CILI than those respondents without British accents.

	Mean	N
Accent	1.50	2
No Accent	2.00	14

T-Value = -0.76 df = 14 p=NS

Those respondents who express feelings of educational inadequacy will score higher on the CILI than those respondents who do not express those feelings.

	Mean	N
No educ. inad.	1.66	3

Educ. adeq.	2.08	12

T-Value = -0.75 df = 13 p=NS

Those respondents who belong to the lower middle class will score higher than the respondents from the other socio-economic classes on the CILI.

	Mean	N
All other classes	1.80	10
Lower-mid class	1.75	4

T-Value = .10 df = 12 p=NS

VITA

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Place of Birth: OTTAWA, ONT. Date of Birth: August 18, 1960

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

JOHN ABBOTT COLLEGE, MONTREAL	1978 to 1980
McGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL	1980 to 1983
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, VICTORIA	1983 to 1985

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

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B.A. (Honors)	1983	McGill University

Honors and Awards:

Montreal Traffic Club Scholarship, 1980

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Author [redacted]

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