La Belle et la Bête

Jugements esthétiques en Suisse romande et alémanique sur les langues

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1. INTRODUCTION

> Peut-on dire qu'une langue est belle? La question n'a pas grand sens pour un linguiste (Marina Yaguello [1988]: *Catalogue des idées reçues sur la langue*)

Linguists are required to avoid aesthetic judgments about languages and linguistic varieties. This must be the reason why studies on aesthetic judgments are lacking, even though lay-people like to express themselves in those terms. Martinet (1969: 47) states: "Rien n'est plus étranger aux préoccupations du linguiste contemporain, lorsqu'il s'attache à dégager les traits caractéristiques d'une langue, que la question de savoir si cette langue est belle ou laide." However, although linguists avoid judging languages themselves, their studies of the linguistic behaviour, value judgments and language attitudes of language speakers are considered to be valid pieces of sociolinguistic research. Moreover, linguistics can offer facts about value judgments, even though the recommendation of value judgments is not part of linguistics itself. Despite linguists' refusal to make aesthetic judgments on languages, Martinet, as cited above (ibid.), acknowledges the following:

> Ceci, toutefois, ne veut pas dire que le linguiste doive s'abstenir de se poser jamais de questions relatives à l'aspect esthétique des faits de langage. Il pourra, avec profit pour lui-même et, pour autrui, se demander quel sens et quelle valeur ont les déclarations selon lesquelles telle langue est belle, agréable, douce, telle autre laide, déplaisante, rude.

Collecting and analysing data about aesthetic judgments seems extremely important to us, because such judgments are part of people's cultural identity, and they probably influence their willingness to accept, learn, practice, and improve foreign languages. Gathering knowledge about them is, therefore, a precondition of successful language politics, language pedagogy and didactics.

The aim of this research is to assess, quantitatively and qualitatively, the aesthetic judgments passed on languages in the French- and German-speaking parts of Switzerland. The focus will be on attitudes toward the informant's own language(s) as well as other languages, such as Italian, Romansh, High German, Spanish, Dutch, Latin, English or any other languages that the informants encountered during their lifetime. Judgments about languages are always part of an aesthetic linguistic universe; that is, they are not autonomous but form a system. Attitudes are learnt and therefore shaped by an individual's cultural background.

Comments like the following are often heard in the French-speaking part of Switzerland: "Swiss-German is an ugly language (le suisse-allemand est une langue vilaine)", "Swiss-German is not a language (le suisse-allemand n'est pas une langue)", "Swiss-German sounds like animal cries; it is very ugly; it hurts my ears (le suisse-allemand resonne comme les cris des animaux; il est très laid; il m'agresse les oreilles)", "I would rather shut up than speak French with a Vaudois accent; my God, how ugly it is (je préfère me taire plutôt que parler avec l'accent vaudois, mon dieu comme c'est moche)". Such comments tell us many things; they tell us not only about the ways these varieties are considered or judged, but how the corresponding speech communities are looked upon. Denying the aesthetic judgments passed on languages is denying part of the reality that each and every one of us encounters, whether or not such a reality or practice corresponds to our beliefs and knowledge as linguists.

National and post-national identities are some of the components of what is generally considered as identity. In our project, we intend to deal with both, i.e., with Swiss and with European and global identity. (Post-) National identity is, among others, a linguistic identity. The linguistic identity of an individual is composed not only of the language(s) she or he speaks but also of the languages she or he encounters and reacts to. These reactions are influenced in a very complex way by individuals' attitudes toward these languages, which Hofer (2002: 217), calls a "complex mental disposition".

Language attitude is a concept that covers a variety of specific attitudes, such as attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style, learning a new language, language preferences, language groups and communities or the use of a specific language. There are various definitions for attitudes, but in this research we adopt the definitions provided by Allport (1954), Ajzen (1988), and McGuire (1985). According

to Ajzen (1988: 4) an attitude is a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object (a person, an institution, an event, a situation, a fact, a language variety, or a linguistic variant). An attitude as such is not directly perceivable or measurable; it is a "mental and neutral state of readiness" (Allport, 1954: 24), a hypothetical (implying both structure and quality) construct which mediates between stimulus and response. Attitudes are also the basis of judgments people form about objects of thought (McGuire, 1985). We follow Hofer who stresses that aesthetic judgments are part of these attitudes and that they belong to their affective component. This is why they form a *cognitio clara confusa*, a strong but not easily defendable type of knowledge (Hofer, 2002: 217).

That is probably the reason why (socio-) linguistic theory is extremely reluctant to accept aesthetic judgments on specific languages and language varieties or on the differences amongst languages, let alone formulate them itself. Thus, to analyse such judgments, as we propose, is interesting both on the level of the linguistic object as well as on the theoretical level of linguistic description.

Moreover, linguists' reservations concerning aesthetic judgments may be rooted in the fact that such judgments have obscure origins. It is not certain that the aesthetic judgments we can identify are those of individuals and not those of groups, since attitudes can spread and become rigid in a society. It is therefore possible that aesthetic judgments come from (and at the same time might lead to) stereotypes. The term "stereotype" is controversial as its use and meaning vary in different (scientific) disciplines. In sociology, for example, stereotypes are seen as probability judgments and beliefs referring to people or groups of people (Ganter, 1997). In secular linguistics, specifically in Labov's approach (1972), a stereotype is a popular and conscious characterisation of the speech of a particular group. In our case, this distinction is of particular interest since it raises questions as to the object of reference: When people judge languages, do they judge the languages themselves or do they judge the people who speak them?

This calls for a more systematic and in-depth research to be carried out on aesthetic judgments, which so far have never been treated in a more than punctual way for Switzerland (e.g., in the studies of Koller, 1992, and Hofer, 2002), because they tell us a great deal about the informants' ideological, socio-historical, socio-political, psychological, and biographical background.

2. STATE OF THE ART

2.1. RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES: A GENERAL OUTLOOK

As Baker (1995: 9) writes:

> [I]n the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important [...]
> If a community is grossly unfavourable to bilingual education or the imposition
> of a 'common' national language is attempted, language policy implementation
> is unlikely to be successful.

Study on language attitudes is not new and attitude theory has developed
significantly over the last decades. It is a fact well known among
sociolinguists that in most multilingual societies, differences of power
among various social groups are reflected in language and the way it is
used or looked upon (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982). Seen through a
purely sociolinguistic perspective, attitudes toward languages have
traditionally been important because people's reactions to language
varieties reveal their perception of the speakers of these varieties (Edwards,
1982). Many scholars have investigated language attitudes toward a
specific language and have mainly focused on the favourability and
unfavourability of attitudes toward the languages in question (for example
Arabic [Abd-El-Jawad, 1987; Stevens, 1983], Breton [Hoare, 1998],
English [e.g., Sharp et al., 1973], French [e.g., Burstall et al., 1974;
Gardner and Lambert, 1972], French vs Flemish [Edwards and Sheran,
1987a], Frisian, Gaelic, Irish, Norwegian [see Baker, 1992: 29-30], Spanish
[Attinasi, 1983], Welsh, and Asian languages). Baker (1992: 10) explains
that:

> [F]or over sixty years, attitude has repeatedly proven a valuable construct in
> theory and research, policy and practice [...] Attitudes are a convenient and
> efficient way of explaining consistent patterns in behaviour. Attitudes often
> manage to summarise, explain and predict behaviour [...] The status, value and
> importance of a language is most often and mostly easily (though imperfectly)
> measured by attitudes to that language.

Numerous studies have been carried out over the past decades on the
subject of language attitudes and bilingualism. These include, for example,
Evans (1990), Baker (1990), Gardner and Lambert (1959), Gardner (1979),
Giles, Hewstone, and Ball (1983), Bourhis (1983), Edwards (1983), Norton
Pierce (1995; 2000), Pavlenko (1999; 2001a,b; 2002a,b), Pavlenko et al.
(2001a,b; 2002a,b), Boyer (1996a; 1996b). According to Baker (1992: 20-
21), attitude seems to be "a natural part of the language of everyday

discussion of language life" and that "correspondence between scientific and everyday language can be a mixed-blessing".

Except for a few studies (Cummins, 1984 and Edwards, 1987b) that very lightly touched upon the issue of attractiveness of a language (comparing Flemish and French in Belgium), sociolinguists have not carried out research on the aesthetic aspect of language(s) and whether speakers of a language consider their own or other languages as beautiful or ugly. Scholars have probably avoided such studies because they would be at odds with their own belief in the neutral aesthetic value of all languages. Trudgill and Giles (1976), in their study on linguistic value judgments, express strong arguments against the inherent beauty or ugliness of any language and try to refute the "inherent value hypothesis" (Giles et al., 1974). This hypothesis maintains that "some linguistic varieties are inherently more attractive and pleasant than others, and that these varieties have become accepted as standards or have acquired prestige simply because they are the most attractive" (Trudgill and Giles, 1976: 7). According to Trudgill and Giles (ibid.: 11), aesthetic judgments on linguistic varieties are rather "the result of complex social connotations that these varieties have for a particular listener". Nevertheless, calling a language ugly, beautiful, rough or musical is a common practice among lay-people or, in other words, of folk linguistic discourses (Niedzielski and Preston, 2000).

Researchers who have studied "folk linguistics" following Preston have made use of attributes such as "correctness" and "pleasantness" for linguistic varieties under investigation. In their "classical" approach, they used popular representations as a point of departure. One such study carried out in the United States demonstrates that the informants who live in a region where the language is stigmatised as less correct show more solidarity, in the sense that they consider their dialect – as well as other dialects close to their own – as particularly beautiful.

The notion of emotion, however, has attracted the attention of many scholars in a variety of fields, including neurobiology, cognitive, social and cultural psychology, anthropology, and cognitive linguistics, since according to Oatley and Johnson-Laird (1998: 85), "emotions are at the centre of human mental and social life". Wierzbicka (1999), in her study, attempts to create an understanding of the way emotions are expressed and experienced in different cultures, languages, and culturally formed social relations, through psychological, anthropological and linguistic insights. By exploring the expression of emotion in the face, body and modes of speech, Wierzbicka (1999) demonstrates the way bodily expression of emotion varies across cultures and defies traditional approaches to the study of facial expressions, as well as bringing a new perspective on human emotions based on the analysis of language and ways of talking about emotion. By analysing empirical evidence from different languages and

cultures, Wierzbicka (ibid.) endeavours to identify universals of human emotions.

A recent study by Pavlenko (2002b) on oral narratives elicited from 40 monolingual Russians and 40 monolingual Americans supported Wierzbicka's (1999) claims. In view of Pavlenko (2002b) "the reading of the body" is shaped by cultural, social, and linguistic forces, as well as by individual differences. Moreover, the fact that more than half of the world's population is bi- and multi-lingual (Romaine, 1995) suggests that researchers should pay attention to ways in which the use of two or more languages or learning of a second language transform an individual's emotions and concepts. Until recently, however, investigations of language and emotions in a variety of fields – except for psychoanalysis and psychological counselling – excluded bilingual individuals.

Over the past twenty years, sociolinguistic representations have played an important role in studies that deal with attitudes, behaviours, and linguistic functions, and have served to analyse several situations arising during intercultural conflicts (Boyer, 1989, 1990; Lafont and Gardy, 1981; Lafont, 1984; Bourdieu, 1980, 1982; Ninyoles, 1976). According to Boyer (1990), the field of sociolinguistics has gained much from both studies of sociolinguistic representations and the analysis of language attitudes, and their mutual influence upon each other. In his view (ibid.), representation relies on the subjective idea that an individual forms about the represented object, and this representation is influenced by the image that the individual acquires from the context in which he or she develops. Boyer (1989) acknowledges that in a situation of linguistic inequality, whether between two linguistic varieties or among varieties of the same language, both a kind of idealisation and a denigration of the vernacular can be observed. In Boyer's system (1989; 1990) attitudes are composed of ideologies and representations, while aptitudes are constituted by access to the resources an individual has within a social context and by a social practice.

The term "*imaginaire linguistique*" is useful here. It was introduced by A. M. Houdebine (2002) in her dialectological inquiry into the French spoken in the region of *Poitou*. The author, a student of André Martinet, tried with this concept to account for the (generally negative) judgments subjects had toward the regional French dialect spoken by themselves or by people in their immediate surroundings. The concept of *imaginaire linguistique* was created in order to account for the

> rapport du sujet à la langue, la sienne et celle de la communauté qui l'intègre comme sujet parlant-sujet social ou dans laquelle il désire être intégré, par laquelle il désire être identifié par et dans sa parole; rapport énonçable en termes d'images participant à des représentations sociales et subjectives, autrement dit, d'une part des idéologies (versant social) et d'autre part des imaginaires (versant plus subjectif). […] Notons que ces deux termes peuvent

> se conjoindre, nos imaginaires se construisant aussi dans la communauté culturelle et dans sa transmission historique et sociale (cf. notion d'imaginaire social chez Castoriadis, 1975). (Houdebine, 2002)

Houdebine points out the close similarity between the concept of *imaginaire linguistique* and the sociolinguistic concepts of "social representation" and "attitude". However, she prefers the first concept, in order to avoid the rather reductive and collectivising connotation that can result from frequent use of the two latter ones. In reaction to the sociolinguistic mainstream that defines representations and linguistic attitudes as social values attributed by social groups to certain languages, dialects or varieties, the concept of *imaginaire*, with its lacanian connotation, reminds us of the important individual and psychological component of the subjects' representations of languages, and of the deep and inaccessible reality of languages that we or the subjects try to describe. Therefore, any information that we can get or give about a language, whether in scientific reports or in subjects' utterances, is actually derived from the imagination.

The concept of the *imaginaire linguistique* also provides us with categories that allow us to classify the metalinguistic judgments found in the subjects' output. These judgments are considered as "subjective norms", as opposed to "objective norms", which include systemic or statistical information about one language. Subjective norms can be further subdivided into "prescriptive norms", i.e., norms based upon some institutional discourse (e.g., grammar rules), "communicational", and "fictive norms", i.e., based upon some aesthetic ideal.

The concept of the *imaginaire linguistique* and the associated judgment classification have been used for several investigations on metalinguistic discourse referring to several levels of language analysis (e.g., Canut 1995; Adamou, 2001; Weber, 2002). A considerable amount of data about the role of aesthetic judgments for the historical development of languages is to be found in Ferenc Fodor (1999). He shows how judgments become norms and how changing norms means changes of use. He compares French and Hungarian. For the German language such a study is lacking. The problem with Erich Strassner's study of German (1995) is that he neither conceptualises the statements made about German (as Büchi [2000] does for multilingual Switzerland) nor discusses their effects (as Fodor [1999] does for France).

Why is there, with the exception of Houdebine's theory, such a lack of studies on aesthetic judgments about languages? The answer is a double one. On the one hand, linguists are not supposed to express these kinds of judgments themselves; it is difficult to study a topic that one objects to and is not entitled to talk about. On the other hand, aesthetic judgments are considered as taboo because they are seen as mere prejudices without real grounds, that is, as *idées reçues*. It is thus seemingly without interest to

study them. However, as they are widespread, we believe that sociolinguistics should take them into consideration.

Cooper and Fishman (1974) take language attitude as a central concept in social science. Taylor, Maynard and Rheault (1977), in their study on second language acquisition, consider three dimensions relating to attitudes toward the speakers of the language in question: the acquisition of the language, the (language) courses pursued by the students, and the teacher. Cooper and Fishman (1974), however, argue that the study of language attitude should consist of the analysis of attitudes toward a language, features of a language and the use of a language.

Major studies on language attitudes and second language acquisition began in 1959 with Gardner and Lambert's book on language attitudes, which provided insight for understanding such issues. Many scholars acknowledge that apart from aptitude, attitude is also an important factor for learning/teaching a language. The underlying generality is that favourable language attitudes contribute to easier and better language acquisition. Macnamara (1973) later took a contrary view deriving from his large-scale language attitude survey in Ireland, and maintained that language attitudes were of little importance in language learning. Throughout the survey he showed that the use of Irish was associated more with ability than with attitudes. Edwards (1983: 226-227), however, acknowledges that: "There is [...] some reason to think that, in real-life contexts, attitudes will be secondary in importance to ability". And he (ibid.: 227) further notes that:

> In fact, attitudes are clearly of considerable importance precisely because of "artificiality" – i.e., given that a context is not perceived as pertinent to real life, or is not based upon necessity, then attitudes may make a real difference [...] There are clear connections between attitudes in educational contexts – arguably the most important points of contact between different linguistic groups – and the extra-educational setting of intergroup and inter-linguistic interaction. In fact [...] it is reasonable to assume that multicultural and multilingual contexts in which dominant and subordinate groups, majority and minority languages, and standard and non-standard varieties co-exist, will provide much interesting and informative material.

Several scholars including Norton Pierce (1995), Willett (1995), and McKay and Wong (1996) have carried out research on English as a second language (ESL) and used ethnographic approaches for the analysis of the processes involved in L2 acquisition. These researchers have stressed that L2 acquisition involves not only a set of skills which is acquired through persistence and practice, but also complex social interactions and power differentials that engage identities defined through language (Norton Pierce, 1995). Norton Pierce (2000) acknowledges that learners' attitudes and motivations are prime areas for educational intervention by teachers.

She sees, for instance, "the diary study as a pedagogy of possibility" through which teachers can bridge the gap between classroom learning and opportunities to practice the language in the community. By encouraging learners to articulate and reflect critically upon their interactions with native speakers, teachers can empower them to position themselves as researchers rather than immigrants and also to reframe their relationships in order to construct powerful identities for themselves (ibid.).

The notion of motivation (integrative and instrumental) in language learning has been criticised in recent works on applied linguistics. Amongst such pieces of research, Norton Pierce's longitudinal case study on identity and language learning (2000) shows how complicated the notion may be in the field of adult immigrant education. Based on research she carried out in Canada, the results depict detailed individual portraits of the ways in which opportunities to practice speaking English were socially structured for the subjects that constituted her sample (ibid.). In this study, Norton Pierce demonstrates that learners are not always free to interact with whom they choose. The reason that she offers is that learners are usually inhibited by power differences and changing notions of identity. She writes (ibid.: 113):

> [N]atural language learning is frequently marked by inequitable relations of power in which language learners struggle for access to social networks that will give them the opportunities to practice their English in safe and supportive environment.

According to Norton Pierce, for many immigrants, linguistic environment represents unequal relations of power and antagonism with native speakers. She maintains (ibid.: 113) that:

> [N]atural language learning does not necessarily offer language learners the opportunity to learn a second language in an open and stimulating environment, in which learners are surrounded by fluent speakers of the target language, who generously ensure that the learner understands the communication directed at the learner, and who are prepared to negotiate meaning in an egalitarian and supportive atmosphere.

Norton Pierce (ibid.) explains the actions and reactions of her informants through the concept of investment taken from Bourdieu. With such a concept the researcher investigates the socially constructed relationships that learners have with the target language and considers the learner as having a complex history and multiple desires (ibid.: 10). In Norton Pierce's view, when people speak, "they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world." (ibid.: 10-11) Consequently, when people speak a language, they are investing in an identity as speakers of that language.

Moreover, those who invest in a second language learning do so in the hopes of having access to resources in the form of education, friendship, and money (ibid.: 7).

In the vocabulary used by Norton Pierce (ibid.: 8), the term "identity" refers to desire – the desire for recognition, affiliation, security, and safety. Such desires cannot be separated from material resources in a society. In her view "people who have access to a wide range of resources in society will have access to power and privilege, which will in turn influence how they understand their relationship to the world and their possibilities for the future" (ibid.) In Norton Pierce's (ibid.) view, individuals' identity must be understood with reference to the larger social structure in which they live. Nevertheless, the construction of a person's identity cannot be separated from the distribution of resources in society, because it is a person's access to resources that determines and defines the terms on which their desires and their realisation will be articulated. In her approach "a person's identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations" (ibid.) Norton Pierce refers to "power" in view of the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions, and communities, through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed, and validated (ibid.: 7)

2.2. RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES WITHIN SWITZERLAND: ATTITUDES OF FRENCH-SPEAKING SWISS AND SWISS-GERMANS TOWARD GERMAN AND FRENCH

Judgments about languages by subjects living in Switzerland must be seen in their wider social and linguistic context. For this purpose, we will sketch the main features of the sociolinguistic situation in the two largest linguistic areas in Switzerland. Because of the practical repercussions of the present project on teaching and linguistic policy, we will focus on plurilinguistic phenomena and on the teaching of the two main national languages as foreign languages.

2.2.1. GERMAN AND FRENCH IN THE GERMAN PART OF SWITZERLAND

According to the principle of territoriality (Windisch, 1993) that rules the status of languages in Switzerland, German is the only official language in German-speaking Switzerland, though there are some bilingual districts and communes close to the linguistic border. Swiss-Germans live in a medial diglossic situation (Wuest, 1993) where the language of oral communication in everyday life is an un-marked dialect, while Standard German is confined to written communication (even if a part of private correspondence also uses a dialectal language) and to some few occasions

which are either especially formal or include speakers who do not understand Swiss-German. The present situation is the result of a decades-long evolution. There are several reasons for this evolution, including a marked Europe-wide tendency to valorise informal and regional language varieties, and a German-Swiss attempt to differentiate their region from other German-speaking countries, especially since the 1930s (Haas, 1985).

In this context, the outcome of a systematic survey of all recruits who joined the army in 1982 is not surprising (Gutzwiller, 1985). The "Swiss-German" language (a generic term including all Alemannic dialects spoken in Switzerland and the Bavarian one of Samnaun) was considered by the vast majority of the recruits to be their mother tongue. The dialects turned out to be an important part of their identity, especially as they enable them to distinguish themselves from their German neighbours, who are not very popular and whose integration is often difficult (Koller, 1992). It is also interesting to point out that the recruits considered being part of Switzerland is more important than belonging to a supranational German-speaking cultural or linguistic space (Gutzwiller, 1985). A majority of the subjects approved of the recent extension of the situations in which Swiss-German is used and hoped they would continue to increase.

Standard German maintains its unchallenged function as the written language (Häcki Buhofer, 1985: 309; Sieber, 1994) – though the written form found in Switzerland is different from that used in Germany (Ammon, 1995; Kolde, 1986: 132, speaks of *Schweizerschriftdeutsch*). On the other hand, a majority of the subjects stated that they do not like to speak Standard German, and do not feel at ease using it for oral communication. They try to speak it as little as possible, using French or English to communicate with French-speaking Swiss. The social factor with the greatest influence on the use of Standard German and on the attitude toward it is education. Recruits with a higher education value the knowledge of Standard German more and say they use it more often.

Contrary to speakers in Southern Germany and Austria, Swiss-German speakers draw a sharp distinction between dialect and Standard German. Some authors talk about "mental diglossia" (E. Werlen, 1993). In contrast to the Bavarians, for example, the Swiss-Germans do not engage in linguistic production that mixes dialectal and standard language features and results in a regional or supra-regional communication language that can be more or less close to the dialect or standard language. This absence of a continuum between standard language and dialect can explain why some Swiss-Germans consider Standard German as a language that they learn at school (Gutzwiller, 1985) and the dialect as a language in its own right.

The recruits were also asked what their favourite language was except for Swiss-German (Gutzwiller, 1985). English was chosen by almost half of them, followed by French (18%) and Standard German

(16%). Standard German was chosen mostly by recruits with a low educational level. This might be due to the fact that Standard German is considered by them more as a foreign language. Another reason might be their poor mastery of foreign languages, which may prompt them to choose a language they know.

2.2.2. FRENCH AND GERMAN IN THE FRENCH PART OF SWITZERLAND

In comparison with the sociolinguistic situation in the German part of Switzerland, the situation in French-speaking Switzerland is characterised by a high degree of linguistic unity, with a general use of an oral variant of standard French (Knecht and Rubatel, 1984). The status of the remnants of "patois" (the generic term for the local Franco-Provençal dialects) is similar to that observable in France. The local French variants differ from standard French mainly in some phonetic and lexical features. These features are not limited to the Swiss territory and vary from one Swiss region to another; there is no unified Swiss French variety. Like most provincial Frenchmen, Vaudois with a high level of education have got the choice between a marked Vaudois accent or a pronunciation that is close to the standard norm.

On the level of linguistic representations, Singy (1996) demonstrated that the Vaudois he questioned about language varieties share a socio-spatial awareness of speaking a local French variant. This gives rise to mixed feelings. On the one hand, the Vaudois show signs of linguistic insecurity with respect to a legitimate norm which is generally situated in France, and on the other, they valorise some features of the local variant that is part of their local and regional identity. The linguistic insecurity varies according to age, socio-economic class and gender. It shows up, for example, in the fact that some subjects said they habitually moderate their local accent in certain situations. Whereas the Swiss-Germans can choose according to the situation between two linguistic varieties which are clearly distinct in their minds, the Vaudois can choose among accents of the same language – among more or less articulated regional accents of a French language that is essentially ruled by a centralised norm (Knecht and Rubatel, 1984; Franceschini, 1993).

Several surveys (Kolde, 1981; Apothéloz and Bysaeth, 1981) show that many French-speaking Swiss project their negative judgment about local French varieties on Alemannic dialects and on the related diglossia, whose rules most of the French-speaking Swiss do not know. Swiss-German is then considered as a flaw that even discredits Standard German. However these results are partially in contradiction with the 1982 survey of French-speaking recruits, which shows a less hostile attitude toward Swiss-German than what could be expected (Schmid, 1985). A surprisingly high

percentage of the subjects would approve of more Swiss-German being taught at school in French-speaking Switzerland (approx. 35% of the subjects). There is an increased sensitivity for the question of relations between French and German in Switzerland, as symptomised in the fear of a progressive Germanisation of French-speaking Switzerland, indicating a defensive attitude toward the German-speaking majority.

2.2.3. POLYGLOSSIA IN SWITZERLAND

Switzerland is officially quadrilingual. However, as a consequence of the territory principle, with the exception of a few communes or districts, most of the different linguistic areas are de facto monolingual except for the medial diglossia discussed above. Lüdi (1992: 46) goes as far as to say that "Switzerland is thus a mosaic made up of largely monolingual regions in which the other national languages enjoy more or less the same status as, say, Spanish or English." However, this does not mean that there are no multilingual individuals living there. According to an estimation based on the 1990 census (Franceschini, 1996), about one third of the people living in Switzerland use several different languages on a daily basis, either at home or at work. Plurilinguals are most frequent in socially lower classes (immigrant workers) and upper classes (people with a high level of education who have frequent contact with foreign countries or another language community in Switzerland). A monolingual lifestyle is typical for the socio-economic middle classes. We have, however, to take into account the possible importance of spoken Standard German in a professional context (Häcki Buhofer, 1985: 301).

Part of the plurilingual population in Switzerland owes their linguistic knowledge to institutional language learning (Schwarz and Houda, 1995a, 1995b). Many other people became plurilingual due to internal or international migration, which forced them to acquire new languages in a communicative situation. In German-speaking Switzerland there are some 6% of native French or Italian speakers; in French-speaking Switzerland there are more than 10% of native German or Italian speakers. Approximately one tenth of the population living in Switzerland have got mother tongues that are not one of the four national languages. Many of them must be considered as plurilingual (Franceschini, 1996).

People who become plurilingual as a consequence of migration develop a complex relation to the languages they speak, depending on the length of the stay of the individual or the family in a certain linguistic region, and on the reason of their migration (short-term study, work, etc.). People who become plurilingual as a consequence of internal migration often have a high level of linguistic competence in both the standard language and the dialect(s) of the language spoken where they live (Lüdi, 1992, according to Franceschini). Some surveys of Italian migrants in

Neuchâtel (Lüdi and Py, 1984) and Berne (I. Werlen, 2002) show a more differentiated picture. They demonstrate the extent to which the different economical, geographical and sociolinguistic conditions of the migrants determine how they experience their plurilingualism and how they talk about it. Some other surveys in Europe have also shown that these conditions have a considerable influence on the attitude of plurilingual migrants toward the languages they can speak. A French survey (Rebaudières-Paty, 1987) showed that first generation migrants tend to reject their mother tongue and refuse to use it in public, whereas the second generation tend to valorise the language or dialect of their parents in the quest of an "original" identity. Sometimes they try to differentiate themselves from the local people, criticising their regional accent.

Two extensive studies on multilingual Switzerland and its history have been published in the last few years. Christophe Büchi, a journalist who studied philosophy and political science, traced in *Röstigraben* (Büchi, 2000) the history of the relationship between German- and French-speaking Switzerland. Büchi shows how this relationship often changed and how the relationship and the changes were always produced by external, political circumstances and never by internal linguistic conditions. Büchi reminds us that before the Reformation the Romance languages in the west were Franco-Provençal dialects which Aegidius Tschudi called a "zerhudlete spraach", not a *langue d'oil*. The term *Romandie* and with it an *identité romande* as one of the instigators of the *Röstigraben* does not date back before the end of World War I. In 1937, C. F. Ramuz was the first well-known author to bring up the question as to whether Switzerland actually exists – not only from a political and military point of view, but also from a cultural one. German speakers in Switzerland favoured the dialect (*Schwyzerdütsch*) to distinguish themselves from Hitlerian Germany, since standar German was something they had in common with Germany, while francophones in Switzerland had no such problem. This difference created a gap between the two linguistic communities. According to Büchi, World War II was at the same time "nationaler Kitt" (241), i.e., a factor that kept the nation together. This factor, however, separated Swiss-Germans from Germans – with the inconvenience for the Romands to have to deal with two German languages and cultures. On a psychological level, Büchi (2000: 245) sees the *Röstigraben* as "Ausdruck eines sehr schweizerischen Hangs zur Selbstquälerei" (as an expression of a typical Swiss tendency for masochism).

In 2002, the historian Norbert Furrer published his colossal study *Die vierzigsprachige Schweiz. Sprachkontakte und Mehrsprachigkeit in der vorindustriellen Gesellschaft* (15.-19. *Jahrhundert*). Furrer (2002) starts by presenting the multilingual situation during the *Ancien Régime* in two ways, 1) as an "objective" panorama of (at least 40) idioms from the ancient languages to argot, and 2) as a plenitude of "subjective"

hierarchisations. Furrer (2002) sums up seven types of criteria or arguments for an idiom to have a high rank in the hierarchy: codification, age, geographic expansion, richness, pureness, splendour (beauty), existence of literature. Furrer (ibid.) distinguishes two more criteria that seem to be on another level – that of unavowed, maybe unconscious, grounds for making judgments: the acquaintance of the evaluating subject with the idiom in question and the prestige of the language community. For our purpose it will be interesting to see whether 1-7 correspond to contemporary criteria for making judgments about a language and whether 1-5 and 7 may serve as arguments for 6, the assertion of beauty (or ugliness). Indeed, Furrer's corpus of historical statements about the idioms we are interested in is extremely valuable for our study.

2.2.4. LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN SWITZERLAND

A recent Swiss survey (Müller, 1997) of over 425 adolescents in the region of Solothurn suggests that in some contexts motivational and integrative factors have got no direct relation with scholastic performance in a foreign language. In this survey the only socio-psychological factors that turned out to be predictive of German scholastic performance are the ethnolinguistic profile (the multilingual students, most of whom were of modest socio-economic origin, got lower scores), intelligence and self-confidence (the students' confidence in their own learning and linguistic ability). This last factor seems to be related to the feedback students get from their school.

Some other surveys about the acquisition of German at school in Switzerland reveal similar results. They show that the learners' personal experience with German plays an important role in the evolution of their attitude toward the language and its speakers (Ostermai, 2000: 327). Relatedly, school seems to have an early negative influence on the attitude of Swiss-German students toward Standard German (Häcki Buhofer and Studer, 1993). Many children start school with a playful and positive attitude toward this variety, which they know mainly through the media. Contact with German at school quickly deteriorates their attitude: errors are criticised and Standard German comes to be associated with evaluation and selection, whereas the dialect will be associated with the break, playing and games.

In French-speaking Switzerland, a survey in Geneva (Allal et al., 1978) revealed a similar decrease in the popularity of German during the first years of German teaching at school. The authors relate this decrease to the students' personal experience. It should be noted that already before students start to study German, the language is not very popular with 13-year-old students: less than one subject out of three said that he or she

would choose to study it if he/she had a choice. A recent survey of 2467 learners of German and English in France, French-speaking Switzerland and Bulgaria supported by the UNESCO (De Pietro, 1995) also points to the compulsory nature of studying German in French-speaking Switzerland as a possible reason for students' negative attitude toward German. Learners from French-speaking Switzerland had a significantly more negative image of Germany than their Bulgarian counterparts. Another explanation could be the problematic relations of the French-speaking Swiss with the Swiss-Germans, who are at the same time the majority in Switzerland and the closest representatives of a German-speaking culture. There also seems to be a negative relation between the perceived difficulty of the language and the pleasure that students take in learning it: less than 45% of the French-speaking Swiss students considered that they were good at learning German, while this rate was above 60% in France.

Although these surveys about teaching foreign languages in Switzerland do not offer systematic and generalisable information about the relation between the attitudes toward a language (be it an aesthetic judgment or other attitudes), the representation of its speakers and the acquisition process, they still show that complex relations exist between all these spheres.

3. THE PROJECT: AIMS AND METHODS

According to Agheiysi and Fishman (1970) the difficulty with measuring attitudes can be understood through the "mentalist" definition of attitudes provided by Allport (1954). As Allport points out, attitudes cannot be directly observed and conclusions have to be derived from the responses of the subjects' introspection. Despite these conceptual problems, many researchers have overcome them by making use of various perspectives and methods. That is why our project consists of several stages and methods of data collection and data analysis. There are interviews carried out in two ways, through (a) short standardised open-ended interviews and through (b) in-depth interviews based on an interview-guide approach. Furthermore, in order to stress the dialogical/argumentative dimension of our approach – and of the informants' attitudes – we intend to organise (c) three to four sessions where several interviewees will be brought together to discuss, for example, points of disagreement with only low moderator-involvement. To this we add the historical dimension (d) historical corpora analyses (see also chapter 5 for the work in progress and forthcoming research steps).

Aesthetic judgments are easy to elicit and therefore perfect for interviews. What is behind them is much more complex – the whole emotional relationship between a speaker and all the languages that are part of his or her linguistic universe. In our study, we try to find the answer(s) to the following questions, many of which still remain unanswered:

– how frequently aesthetic judgments about languages occur;
– in what form they are expressed;
– what vocabulary and concepts are used to express such judgments;
– how strong(-ly defended in an argument) they are;
– how readily they are expressed;
– whether they lead to/come from stereotypes;
– whether in a speech community they are shared as auto- and hetero-stereotypes;
– whether they are influenced by the speaker's objective relation to the language(s) in question or by their inter-subjective status;
– if they are correlated with mono- vs. multi-lingualism including the foreign language(s) in question;
– whether they are influenced by the social status of the interviewees;
– what status they have within the ethnomethodology of a person/group.

In the interviews, it is only possible to see judgments as a result of biographical processes (linguistic background). We can compare the informants' judgments with what we learn (through the interviews) about their linguistic background. It would need a longitudinal study to compare

the informants' statements with their actual causal effect on their investment in language learning. This is why we limit ourselves in the present study to a descriptive approach, hoping that our results may be a contribution to future research on language learning motivation. In the historical corpora, we try, as Fodor (1999) has done on French and Hungarian, to see what statements correspond with what evolutions in the history of a language, i.e., what judgments have become norms.

3.1. HYPOTHESES

Our field research is based on fourteen hypotheses. Our general hypothesis is that:

1. **Aesthetic judgments and related rationalisations (content as well as form) vary in relation to a number of factors: gender, age, education, locality and contact situation, linguistic community and mother tongue(s), the number of languages acquired or known by the speakers (linguistic background), non-aesthetic judgments about the languages in question (e.g., their difficulty, utility, prestige), the image of the speech community and or the neighbourhood, and the historical background of the languages.**

It is a well-known fact established by sociolinguists that language is in many ways a social institution and a form of social behaviour. Hence, social factors are as important as geographical ones in determining linguistic behaviour and attitudes (see Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974a, b; Wolfram and Fasold, 1974; Holmes, 1993, 2001). As in many empirical studies on language carried out previously, we will attempt to classify the informants sociologically, in order to see how (far) their linguistic attitudes and behaviour can be related to their social and linguistic background.

GENDER

The hypothesis related to gender differences in our research is as follows:

2. **Women and men have different approaches to aesthetic judgments on languages, whether regional or standard varieties.**

The objective of choosing gender as a social parameter is to investigate gender differences in the informants' attitudes toward the varieties in question. Sociolinguists agree that the speech of men and women differs in many ways and that gender can influence language (Labov, 1982, 1984; Trask, 1995; Trudgill, 2000). Women typically seek overt prestige to use the register or language variety of a higher status group than their own,

while men are generally acknowledged to seek covert prestige, using that of lower-status groups (Hudson, 1980: 201). Language attitude research has shown that, in addition to differences in speech, men and women also display differences in attitude toward language. Baker (1992) in his research on the Welsh language has shown that there is a correlation between gender and language attitudes. If we consider that women in any society are considered to be the most significant figures in the lives of children in terms of language acquisition, the question of the correlation between gender and language attitudes is a central one. According to Labov (1972: 302-3):

> Parents influence children's early language, women do so even more, certainly women talk to young children more than men do, and have a more direct influence during the years when children are forming linguistic rules with the greatest speed and efficiency. It seems likely that the rate of advance and direction of linguistic change owes a great deal to the special sensitivity of women to the whole process.

Apart from the language acquisition perspective, it will be interesting to find out women's reactions to stereotypical aesthetic judgments on the varieties in question, as opposed to men's. We would like to find out if women react more sharply or more negatively than men to the aesthetic aspects of linguistic varieties. In Labov's terms (1982: 79), women are "the innovators in the majority of instances; and that where women do lead, the effect is greater than with the male-dominated changes". It would be beneficial to investigate to what degree such assumptions and understandings correspond to the Swiss context and linguistic situation in general. Our findings will be of value because of the special linguistic situation of Switzerland and because of the contribution they can make to our understanding of gender differences.

After the publication of Lakoff's "deficit theory" on language and gender in 1973, the rest of the twentieth century witnessed the development of two competing views, namely "dominance" versus "difference" theories. Many of the early language and gender studies followed Labov and Trudgill in a variationist, quantitative approach to empirical research. Such studies repeated in their findings the observation that women tend to use more prestige forms than men, explained by the assertion that women were more socially insecure and more status-conscious (Paulston, 2003). However, Swann (2000), among many other scholars, has pointed out that such studies represent statistical inclinations, that correlational data do not imply causality, and that "social class" as a variable was poorly conceptualised and operationalised (Paulston, ibid.). In sum, the language and gender studies had been reproduced with many and sometimes conflicting findings, and there was a need to develop a theoretical framework that could be used to interpret the data (Freed, 1995). The

"dominance" approach held that institutionalised male dominance was an important factor underlying male/female differences and that language feature variation thus needed to be understood in a larger socio-political context (Thorne and Henley, 1975; Uchida, 1992). The "difference" perspective was taken from Gumperz's work on intercultural comparison and from the ethnography of speaking models. Deborah Tannen's scholarly work, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (1990) exemplifies an academic approach to a "difference" perspective. Uchida (1992) writes: "[T]he dichotomization of 'power' and 'culture' as two separate, independent concepts is inappropriate, because social interaction always occurs in the context of a patriarchal society". Scholars writing in the 1990s increasingly became dissatisfied with this conceptualisation of gender. The work of linguistic anthropologists such as Gal (1979), Eckert, (1980), and Burton, Dyson and Ardener (1994) emphasised women's and men's lifestyles and interaction patterns as powerful forces in situations of language shift. As Paulston (2003: 201) points out:

> With the recent concern for the fluidity of gender and doing gender, and of language, there is also a realization that there is a considerable group fluidity within the groups of men and women; that there is considerable variation between men and variation between women, which condition remains unexplored.

According to Chambers (1995: 207), "[U]pon observing variability, we seek its social correlates". Many sociolinguists, besides Chambers, believe that sociolinguistics is the study of language variation and its purpose is to find out what variations tell us about language and speakers' "knowledge" of language, that is, their unconscious knowledge of subtle linguistic differences. However, there is some opposition to the idea that sociolinguistic investigations should be confined to fairly straightforward correlational studies of this kind. Cameron (1992), who criticised this approach, claims that these studies do not provide very satisfactory explanations for linguistic behaviours because of their inadequate adoption of social theory and their failure to appreciate the difficulties inherent in using social concepts. According to Cameron (1992: 62), more social engagement is needed so that sociolinguistics would "deal with such matters as the production and reproduction of linguistic norms by institutions and socializing practices; how these norms are apprehended, accepted, resisted and subverted by individual factors and what their relation is to the construction of identity". However, what is clear to us is that the purpose of sociolinguistics is to ask important questions regarding the relationship of language and society, and in this study, the question of gender is treated through such a perspective. Despite all the differences

among the aforesaid theoretical approaches, there is no reason to exclude gender differences from our study.

AGE

We hypothesise that:

3. Older speakers are prouder of their regional varieties than the younger generation.

The variable of age is another important factor that determines a person's linguistic behaviour. Many sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that different language behaviour can be expected of people in a society at different ages (Fasold, 1991b). Social dialectologists have provided us with a great deal of information about patterns of pronunciation and grammar for different age groups. When linguistic change is taking place, younger people will use less and older people more of the disappearing forms (Holmes, 1993: 184, 187). In language attitudes research, differences have also been reported in terms of age. Baker (1992: 41) writes: "One consistent finding from research on attitudes to the Welsh language is that attitude declines with age". Baker (1988) reviews the previous research and suggests that between the ages of 10 and 15, informants' attitudes toward Welsh become less favourable. W.R. Jones (1949, 1950), Sharp et al. (1973) and E.P. Jones (1982) all found an inverse relationship – as age goes up, favourability of attitude comes down. Sharp et al. (1973) also found that as loyalty to Welsh decreases, loyalty to English increases. That is, attitude to English becomes more favourable with increasing age. For Switzerland, Hofer has shown that age-related attitudes depend on the variety of the language in question (Hofer, 1997: 260). For our sample population, we have chosen four age groups, that is, pupils (13-16 years old), younger (20-30 years old), middle-aged (40-50 years old), and older (65 years of age and older). In this research, the objective would be to find out differences in attitudes – with regard to the informants' aesthetic judgments about the available linguistic varieties in Switzerland – in relation to age.

EDUCATION

Our main hypothesis in this relation is the following:

4. The higher the education the more reluctant speakers will be in expressing aesthetic judgments on languages.

In all seminal quantitative sociolinguistic research, social class has been considered as an important variable for indicating linguistic change and variation. As Milroy (1987: 29) points out:

> Social class of speakers has been seen by all urban sociolinguists as an important factor to take into account in sampling a population [...] It is a variable which is at first sight so obviously relevant to language variation in a modern western urban community that it is hard to see how it can be avoided; but paradoxically, it is a variable which has often created problems when researchers have attempted to replicate Labov's procedure in NY City of stratifying a sample by class.

Chambers (1995) considers that one of the sub-elements of social class is education. We adopt this idea because for Swiss society the variable of education seems to be the most objective and verifiable one. Educational level, therefore, serves as a substitute for the controversial parameter *social class* in our study. Three levels of education are considered in our sample population, namely, adults with primary, secondary and tertiary education. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with 8th and 9th graders, pupils between 13 and 16 years of age to constitute a fourth group. These pupils were in the last and next to the last year of their obligatory education at the time of the interview.

LINGUISTIC COMMUNITY/MOTHER TONGUE(S):

The hypotheses that we would like to examine are as follows:

5. **Swiss-German stands a higher chance of being attributed aesthetic judgments than regional French. The same is true for Standard German as opposed to French.**

6. **There are differences between the attitudes of Swiss people in the German-speaking part of the country toward the Standard German language and of the *Romandie* toward the standard French language: Swiss-Germans perceive Standard German as a foreign language, and the French-speaking Swiss perceive standard French as the prestigious variety of their own language.**

The work of Werlen (1993) and Knecht/Rubatel (1984) shows a higher markedness of German varieties compared to the French ones. Siebenhaar (2000) for Aarau and Hofer (2002) for Basel had no difficulty in eliciting precise judgments about the aesthetics of dialectal varieties.

While these six hypotheses guide our project as a whole, we have formulated another set of eight that have served to shape the questionnaire

for the short interviews and the guidelines for the longer interviews, the discussion groups and the historical analysis.

LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY/NUMBER OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE SPEAKERS

7. The more languages one speaks, the surer one is of one's judgments.

This has been confirmed by Gajo's (2001) study on bilingualism.

8. Languages acquired in a natural way are more likely to be seen as beautiful languages, languages learned in school are more likely to be seen as ugly.

This hypothesis is included because the outcome of its verification will add a new dimension to the discussion of Krashen's provocative theses (Krashen, 1981; 1983) that treat questions such as "the optimal linguistic environment for the adult second language student" (Krashen, 1981: 40). He introduces the acquisition-learning distinction that distinguishes two ways in which adults can develop competence in a second language (Krashen, 1983: 10): "Some second language theorists have assumed that children acquire, while adults can only learn. The acquisition-learning hypothesis claims, however, that adults also acquire, that the ability to 'pick up' languages does not disappear at puberty". Acquisition, according to Krashen (1981: 1),

> […] is very similar to the process children use in acquiring first and second languages. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language – natural communication – in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding.

While error correction and explicit teaching of rules is characteristic of language learning, it is not relevant to language acquisition (ibid.: 1-2). In his "Monitor Hypothesis", Krashen (1983: 16) claims that "formal rules, or conscious learning, play only a limited role in second language performance". In our study, we aim at finding out what role the way of developing language competence plays in the aesthetic judgment about the language. We hypothesise that (informal) acquisition leads to more favourable attitudes whereas formal language learning can lead to negative attitudes. It is possible that the way in which a language is acquired or learned has an impact on the informants' self-assessment, which consequently can have an impact on their attitudes.

9. Traumatic events connected with languages or their acquisition may lead to negative aesthetic judgments on these languages.

For this hypothesis see Allal et al. (1978). We will bring up the question in the in-depth interviews.

NON-AESTHETIC JUDGMENTS ABOUT THE LANGUAGE(S)

10. Prestigious languages and languages that have instrumental values are associated with positive aesthetic judgments. Stigmatised languages and those with small instrumental value are judged negatively.

Studies on language variation and change carried out in western countries have shown that people judge standard varieties as prestigious and non-standard varieties as non-prestigious (Chambers, 1995).

THE IMAGE OF THE SPEECH NEIGHBOURHOOD

11. Swiss-German is judged negatively in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, because of the negative image of its speakers. A similar situation applies to the German part of Switzerland where Standard German is judged negatively because of the negative image of its speakers. French is judged more positively in the German-speaking part because of the lack of such a negative image.

We expect this to be so in the light of majority-minority relations. Büchi (2000: 13) describes the majority-minority relation between the German-speaking part of Switzerland and the French-speaking part of Switzerland as follows: "In der Romandie herrschen Minderheitsängste, in der deutschen Schweiz eine – bisweilen mit unverbindlicher Pauschalsympathie gemischte – Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber der Sprachminderheit." While Swiss-Germans represent a majority in their own country, they are a minority within the larger German-speaking area including Germany, Austria, and Switzerland – and they seem to know the *Minderheitsängste* quoted above from their own experience. Koller (1992: 150-154) found that one third of his informants (Germans living in the German-speaking part of Switzerland) assumed that Swiss-Germans were highly prejudiced against them. For some of Koller's informants it is clear that Swiss-Germans suffer from an inferiority complex that is related to language. The aversion to Germans, thus, seems to go hand in hand with the aversion to the German language. For French, see Schmid (1985) and Singy (1995, 1996).

TIME

12. Aesthetic judgments depend on historical, political, cultural, and economic changes.

Büchi's work *"Röstigraben": Das Verhältnis zwischen deutscher und französischer Schweiz. Geschichte und Perspektiven* gives insight into the history of multilingual Switzerland from its beginnings to this day. The historical/time aspect will intervene in the interviews through the criterion of age and it will be specially addressed in the analysis of the historical text corpus.

"KOMMUNIKATIONSKULTUREN"

13. Aesthetic judgments on languages are dependent upon the informant's peer group(s)

Iwar Werlen and his research group have shown on the basis of interviews carried out in the city of Berne that peer groups which are not necessarily social classes have common communicative preferences and rules and regulations (Werlen, 1992). This hypothesis will be addressed in the in-depth interviews.

TEXT TYPES

14. Aesthetic judgments are no longer accepted in several types of texts, especially in scientific ones. These judgments, however, are still frequent in text types with a strong expressive function, for instance letters.

This question, neglected so far in research, has led us to the decision to include a historical part in the project.

3.2. SHORT INTERVIEWS

The data for our analysis of aesthetic judgments on languages were collected through extensive fieldwork. In a first step 280 short interviews were conducted, 140 each in the German-speaking part of Switzerland and the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

3.2.1. THE SAMPLE

Our sample size, comprising 280 informants, is large enough to allow for detailed and reliable data analysis. To investigate our general hypothesis,

we have chosen certain social parameters, which will be considered as variables used and measured quantitatively, such as gender, age, education and locality. Other parameters that constitute our hypotheses are included within these basic social variables.

TABLE 3. 1.: DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMANTS ON FOUR SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

Gender		Female				Male			
Age		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	13-16	20-30	40-50	65+
French Part of Switzerland	Pupils	7				7			
	Primary Education		7	7	7		7	7	7
	Secondary Education		7	7	7		7	7	7
	University Education		7	7	7		7	7	7
German Part of Switzerland	Pupils	7				7			
	Primary Education		7	7	7		7	7	7
	Secondary Education		7	7	7		7	7	7
	University Education		7	7	7		7	7	7
Total		14	42	42	42	14	42	42	42
		280 Informants							

With respect to the social variable of locality, our original research plan underwent some changes. Initially, we intended to include speakers from the French part of Switzerland, the German part of Switzerland, and a third group of speakers living near the language border (for example in the cantons of Berne and Fribourg). The latter group was included in the initial plan to find out whether or not contact situations lead to a tendency among speakers of one language to disqualify the other language. As increased spatial mobility and therefore intensified language contact was characteristic of many informants of the first two groups, interviewing individuals near the language border was disposed of. It would probably not do justice to the complexity of the phenomenon to simply interview subjects who live in obvious language contact situations (e.g., in bilingual cities). We have to find ways to investigate and describe the dynamics and types of language contact situations that are beyond the variable of locality. This aspect will, amongst others, be treated in detail in the forthcoming in-depth interviews.

      Another change in the original research plan concerns the 28 interviews carried out with pupils between the ages 13 and 16. Interviewing informants under 20 years of age was not part of our original research plan. The main difference between this group and all the other

groups is, of course, that its members undergo obligatory language instruction and as a result might have a somewhat special approach to the languages they are learning (for example they might regard these languages as subjects at school rather than as means of communication). Moreover, it is a fact that obligatory language instruction marks for many people the beginning of their formal acquisition of and contact with a foreign language. That is why we decided to look at this group. At present, this is being done in an experimental approach with a restricted number of informants.

In order to find the 126 adult informants in the German part of Switzerland, we used two different approaches: first, we interviewed people on trains all over the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The advantage of this method was that it enabled us to reach speakers from various dialect areas as well as individuals who are not easy to access through a snowball principle (e.g., people with a migration background). However, after having conducted half of the interviews, a change of method was necessary, as it proved to be difficult to get hold of the right informants on a random basis (e.g., none of the women over 65 years of age who were interviewed in trains had a tertiary education). Therefore, the snowball principle (starting with the researcher's own network) was used for conducting the second half of the interviews. Most of the interviews in the second half were conducted face-to-face as were those of the first half. Some of them, however, were conducted on the phone for financial and time reasons. The 14 interviews with pupils were conducted at an *Integrierte Oberstufe* school in the canton of Obwalden. The advantage of an *Integrierte Oberstufe* school is that pupils of different levels build class communities (e.g., pupils planning to attend tertiary education and pupils planning to start an apprenticeship soon).

Interviews in the French-speaking part of Switzerland were carried out using various methods for finding informants. In this region, finding informants through friends and friends of friends proved to be the most feasible way. Different networks were contacted to find the informants with the right social traits, that is, age and education. As explained above, most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face. However, a few phone interviews (which were also tape-recorded) seemed inevitable. After having exhausted the possibilities amongst colleagues, friends, and friends

of friends, Saturday open markets in Lausanne and Morges were tried and proved to be good possibilities for finding informants of different age groups as well as varied levels of education. Both sales persons and clients were asked for interviews. In addition, several homes of the elderly were contacted, either by email, phone or official letters. As a result, many informants over 65 years of age were interviewed in these homes. Pupils between the ages of 13 and 14 were interviewed at the Collège de l'Elysée in Lausanne.

3.2.2. PILOT INTERVIEWS AND FINAL INTERVIEW FORM

Ten pilot interviews were carried out in the German-speaking as well as the French-speaking part of Switzerland in order to test the first draft of the standardised short interview. These interviews with informants of different educational level and age groups were used exclusively to optimise the original interview. They are not used in the actual sample.

Only small adjustments were necessary after the pilot phase. First, the estimated time of the interview that is mentioned in the introductory exchange was reduced. It was agreed that Exchange 18 (stay abroad) should be extended. We added a question (Exchange 19) asking for the length of each sojourn abroad. Since the interviews are not intended to be a series of independent questions but to form a real dialogue, the order of the questions was changed slightly to give them more of a dialogue character.

The final form of the interview (see below) includes 23 exchanges of 2 turns each plus an introductory and a closing exchange: Questions (Q) 1-23 by the interviewer(s), Answers (A) 1-23 by the informant(s). Commentaries (C) have been added to some of the exchanges in order to explain what is tested by the individual questions. What follows is the English translation of the original questions. The interviews were conducted using the French and Swiss-German questionnaires in the French-speaking and German-speaking parts of Switzerland, respectively.

Introductory exchange:

Q: Hello, I am doing research at the University of Lausanne about languages and would have a couple of questions. It would take us about 5 minutes. May I record our conversation in order to avoid writing it down?
A: Yes > exchange 1
A: No > end of interview

Exchange 1:
    Q: Do you live in this region?
    A: Yes > exchange 2
    A: No > end of interview
    C: This information is needed for the social variable "locality" of our sample.

Exchange 2:

    Q: What is your favourite language?
    A: French or German > exchange 3
    A: Other than French or German > exchange 4
    C: We are interested in the percentage of respondents choosing their mother tongue (cf. Hypotheses 5 and 6). We further aim at investigating possible differences in patterns of argumentation for favourite and most beautiful languages – e.g., emotional judgments for favourite languages and aesthetic judgments for most beautiful languages.

Exchange 3:

    Q: Which French/German?
    A: Answer
    C: We are interested in whether or not the informants reveal a particular approach toward different varieties of the languages they mention (hypotheses 5, 6 and 11 deal with variety issues).

Exchange 4:

    Q: What is the reason for that?
    A: Aesthetic reason > exchange 6
    A: Non-aesthetic reason > exchange 5
    C: We are interested in the type of reasons (cf. Furrer's list above) and especially the percentage of aesthetic vs non-aesthetic reasons (cf. again Hypotheses 5 and 6 plus Hypothesis 10).

Exchange 5:

    Q: Are there other reasons?

Exchange 6:

    Q: Does it also seem the most beautiful to you?
    A: Yes > exchange 8
    A: No > exchange 7

C: We are interested in the correlation between the answer in exchange 2 (favourite language) and a "yes" in exchange 6.

Exchange 7:

Q: Then which language is the most beautiful?
A: Answer

Exchange 8:

Q: And for what reason is it the most beautiful language?
A: Answer
C: We are interested in the type of answer (cf. the list of criteria in Furrer I, 110; Hypothesis 10).

Exchange 9:

Q: Are there other beautiful languages?
A: Answer
C: The aim is to establish a list of languages estimated as beautiful/ugly (cf. Hypotheses 1 and 10).

Exchange 10:

Q: And which languages are ugly?
A: Answer
C: We are interested in whether the answer given here refers to a language/languages evoked in exchanges 17 (mother tongue(s)) and 20 (language competences).

Exchange 11:

Q: And why?
A: Answer
C: We are interested in the type of answer and whether the categorisation fits with exchange 7 (and exchange 3).

Exchange 12:

Q: Is this not simply a question of personal taste? (Alternatively 12a:
Q: Don't you think that this is just a preconceived judgment?)
A: Answer
C: A provocative question is included because we are interested in the firmness of attitudes in this field and the type(s) of argument(s) available to defend one's position (cf. Hypothesis 7).

Exchange 13:

> Q: Have you grown up here?
> A: Yes > exchange 14
> A: No > exchange 16

Exchange 14:

> Q: Your parents as well?
> A: Yes > exchange 17
> A: No > exchange 15

Exchange 15:

> Q: Where have your parents grown up then?
> A: Answer > exchange 17

Exchange 16:

> Q: Where did you grow up? And how long have you been living here?
> A: Answer
> C: (Concerning exchanges 13 to 16): These questions regard the (linguistic) biography of the informants in order to test hypotheses 5, 6, (and 7). The exchanges should further shed light on hypotheses 1 and 11.

Exchange 17:

> Q: Your mother tongue is therefore …
> A: Answer
> C: We are interested in whether the answer gives a language (as an overall term) or a dialect/regional language (cf. Hypothesis 5).

Exchange 18:

> Q: Have you ever lived elsewhere?
> A: Yes > exchange 19
> A: No > exchange 20
> C: This question tries to specify the linguistic biography of the interviewee (cf. Hypotheses 7 and 8).

Exchange 19:

> Q: Where and for how long?
> A: Answer

Exchange 20:

Q: What (other) languages do you speak?
A: Answer
C: We are interested in the influence of the number of spoken languages on the readiness to express aesthetic judgments (exchange 3), cf. Hypothesis 7.

Exchange 21:

Q: How did you learn them?
A: Answer
C: We are interested in the influence of natural acquisition vs. formal school learning on the readiness to express aesthetic judgments and the choice of the most beautiful vs. ugliest languages (Hypotheses 8 and 9).

Exchange 22:

Q: What schools did you attend?
C: We do not have to ask questions concerning our parameter gender, but we have to ask about the informants' level of education (cf. Hypothesis 4 – and possibly age (cf. Hypothesis 3).

Exchange 23:

Q: How old are you?
A: Answer
C: Age is one of our parameters.

Closing exchange:

Q: Thanks a lot.

3.2.3. SAMPLE SHORT INTERVIEWS

In the French-speaking part of Switzerland

What follows is the transcription of an interview that was conducted in the French-speaking part with a 45 year old, male, informant (I) with university education. The researcher (R) met this informant through the snowball principle. Some of the questions from the standard questionnaire were omitted, because they did not match the situation. It must be mentioned that the transcription remained as close to the style of the original conversation as possible.

Introductory exchange

Exchange 1:

R: Est-ce que vous vivez en Suisse Romande?
I: Oui

Exchange 2:

R: Quelle est votre langue préférée?....
I : Le français.

Exchange 3:

R: Quel français ?
I: Qu'est-ce que vous entendez par "quel français" ?
R: Le français régional ou le français standard ?
I: Le français standard veut dire la norme ?
R: Oui.
I: Alors, les deux. Le français en général. Mais j'aime le vaudois aussi.
Je sais que j'ai l'accent vaudois. Mais ça me gêne pas.

Exchange 4:

R: Pour quelle raison?
I: Parce que c'est ma langue maternelle. C'est la mienne. Et parce que
je le connais mieux, je le maîtrise mieux.

Exchange 5:

R: Y a-t-il d'autre raison?
I: Non.

Exchange 6:

R: Est-ce qu'il est en même temps la langue la plus belle?
I: Non. Je crois pas.

Exchange 7:

R: Alors quelle langue est la plus belle?
I: C'est l'italien.

Exchange 8:

> R: Et pour quelle raison ?
> I: Parce qu'il est beau et chaud. Ça chante. Il y a les [r] qui roulent. Ça me fait penser au soleil et à la mentalité des gens.

Exchange 9:

> R: Y-t-il d'autre langue belle?
> I: Oui, sans doute. Mais malheureusement j'ai peu de connaissance des autres langues pour une comparaison objective.

Exchange 10:

> R: Et quelles langues sont laides?
> I: Le Suisse-allemand. Je déteste le Suisse-allemand.

Exchange 11:

> R: Et pourquoi ?
> I: Je le trouve brutal, agressif. Il est carré, erratique, saccadé. Je trouve qu'il va ni aux hommes, ni aux femmes. Vraiment il m'agresse les oreilles. Le Hochdeutsch, par contre, je le trouve très beau comme langue. L'anglais, aussi, je le trouve assez laid. C'est très sec comme langue. Le turc et le chinois aussi. On dirait que les gens sont tout le temps en colère quand ils parlent.

Exchange 12:

> R: N'est-ce pas seulement une question de goût personnel ?
> I: Oui, bien sûr. Mais il y a aussi des préjugés, par exemple, contre l'allemand à cause de la 2$^{\text{ème}}$ guerre mondiale.

Exchange 13:

> R: Est-ce que vous avez grandi ici ?
> I: Oui.

Exchange 14 :

> R: Vos parents aussi ?
> I: Oui.

Exchange 17:

> R: Votre langue maternelle est donc le…
> I: Le français.

Exchange 18:

> R: Avez-vous jamais vécu ailleurs ?
> I: Pas vraiment. Des voyages un peu partout en Europe, et quelques mois aux Etats-Unis, mais vivre, non.

Exchange 20:

> R: Quelle autre langue parlez-vous ?
> I: L'anglais, l'allemand, et un peu l'italien.

Exchange 21:

> R: Comment les avez-vous appris ?
> I: L'anglais et l'allemand à l'école, et l'italien parce que ma mère était d'origine italienne. Et puis j'ai une amie italienne.

Exchange 22:

> R: Quelles écoles avez-vous faites ?
> I: Qu'est-ce que vous entendez par cela ?
> R: Votre niveau scolaire.
> I: L'uni.

Exchange 23:

> R: Quel âge avez-vous ?
> I: Oui, j'ai 46 ans.
> R: Je vous remercie beaucoup.

Closing exchange

In the German-speaking part of Switzerland:
The informant (I) was met by the researcher (R) on a train from Lucerne to Zurich. She is a woman in her forties with tertiary education. As this informant readily provided information (e.g., exchange 6) certain questions were not asked, becauses they had already been answered in previous exchanges.

Introductory exchange

Exchange 1:

    R: Läbed si i de dütsche Schwiiz?
    I: Ja, ich läb in x [x = place in the German part of Switzerland].

Exchange 2:

    R: Weles isch ihri Liäblingssprach?
    I: Französisch.

Exchange 4:

    R: Warum grad Französisch?
    I: Ehm, ich finds e sehr e eleganti Sprach, ehm, sehr vornehm, hätt en schöne Klang, ja, jaa.

Exchange 6:

    R: Isch es für si au di schönschti Sprach de Französisch?
    I: Ehm, nei, ich finde Italienisch gfallt mir no besser. Ich find das hätt meh Musikalität dinne.
    R: Ähe, no meh als Französisch i dem Fall.
    I: Ja genau.

Exchange 9:

    R: Gits no anderi schöni Sprache usser jetz äbe Französisch und Italiänisch für si?
    I: Eh, ich finde di arabische Dialäkt find ich sehr schön. Ich verstah übehaupt nüt, also das find ich ganz schöni Sprach, Arabisch. Ehm, Spanisch gfallt mir, aso ich finds chli hert aber es het e so en bestimmte Ton dinne Spanisch. Und s karibische Spanisch isch ja weicher und melodiöser, ja, find i au no ganz spannend.

Exchange 10:

    R: Weli Sprache sind de wüescht?
    I: Ehm, Englisch find ich.

Exchange 11:

    R: Warum?
    I: Das find ich ganz schrecklich.

R: Warum?

I: Ich finds ehm sehr hert, Englisch, und für mich häts eso nen primitive Klang, ordinär.

Exchange 12:

R: Isch das nid eifach e Frag vom persönliche Gschmack so?

I: Vielleicht vo de politische Istellig au. Nei, es isch so dass ich scho als Jugendlichi Englisch schrecklich gfunde han und das han ich fasch nöd glernt. Und s andere isch sehr flüssend gange.

Exchange 13:

R: Ehm, jetz en anderi Frag. Sind si denn au i de Dütschschwiiz ufgwachse?

I: Ja.

Exchange 14 :

R: Und d Eltäre au?

I: Ja.

Exchange 17:

R: Ihri Muetersprach isch i dem Fall.

I: Ja isch Schwiizerdütsch, ja.

Exchange 18:

R: Hend si no irgendwenn mal amene andere Ort gläbt usser i de dütsche Schwiz also für lengeri Ziit?

I: Nei, leider nöd, eifach nur, ich gang gern und viel uf Reise. Ja won ich würklich Französisch, Italienisch und Spanisch cha bruche.

Exchange 19:

R: Ja, und de möched si so lengeri Reise, oder?

I: Mmh, höchschtens föif Wuche.

R: Mmh, wo sind si de da so, also jetz mal würkli für lengeri Zit mal imene Land gsi?

I: Kari also Mexiko, dominikanischi Republik und Kuba bin ich gsi für lenger.

R: Ja also demfall mit em Spanisch.

I: Ja, ja.

Exchange 20:

> R: Was für Sprache chöndsi?
> I: Eh, Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch, und Englisch bin i grad in Wiiterbildig.

Exchange 21:

> R: Und eh wiä hend si di Sprache glehrt, di unterschiedliche?
> I: Äh, eigentlich Französisch und ehm Italienisch i de Schuel also während de Usbildig, Sekundarschuel und i de Handelsschuel, kantonali Maturitätsschuel für Erwaxni Und Französisch, Italienisch hani sehr guet glernt und Spanisch han ich hauptsächlich i Kürs glernt in in Spanie und in Kuba. Aso eigentlich det wos gsproche wird. Italienisch au i de Schuel.
> R: Aso demfall au nid im Land oder so?
> I: Ich bin emal en Monat in England gsi, ja ja det, aber das isch scho lenger sithär.

Exchange 22:

> R: Jetz sötti no, also si hend ja mal sie hend ja gseit si hend d Handelsschuel gmacht. Was hend sie de susch no für Schuele gmacht? Oder, d'Matura nachher no oder?
> I: Ja ich ha zersch e Handelsschuel gmacht und nachher Matura nagholt für Erwaxeni und jetz eifach i de letzscht föif Jahr sehr viel Wiiterbildige.
> R: Ja, äha, aber jetz nid diräkt es Studium oder so, sondern?
> I: Doch, ich han ehm es Nachdiplomstudium gmacht, das isch interkulturelli Kommunikation. Und also en Master det erworbe.
> R: Also also I de Schwiz de?
> I: Ja in x [x = place in the German part of Switzerland].

Exchange 23:

> R: Jetz sött i no wüsse, eifach ungefähr, wie alt si sind.
> I: Ich wirde, muess grad emol usrächne, achtevierzgi.

Closing exchange

4. QUANTITATIVE METHODS AND FIRST RESULTS

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief description of the methods applied within the scope of the quantitative analysis of our short interviews (4.1.) as well as to present some preliminary general results (4.2.) and results that concern our hypotheses (4.3.).

4.1. QUANTITATIVE METHODS

"QUANTITIZING" OF INTERVIEW MATERIAL

In order to analyse the interview replies quantitatively with the help of the statistics software SPSS, they needed to be given numerical values. For this purpose, all recorded responses were transcribed and coded to establish a "dictionary" in which each response was given a value. The process that involves converting qualitative material (in our case, spoken language) into quantitative material (numbers) is called "quantitizing" by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998: 126-127). It should be stressed that the process of quantitising entails a first analysis, and more importantly, an interpretation, to a certain extent, of the interview material. There are many decisions involved that concern the variables with which one wishes to work and the value labels (categories) that correspond to these variables (see below). In the following, we present as clearly as possible the steps we have taken toward quantitising the 280 short interviews.

The first step in the quantitising process is to define variables according to which the interview material can be analysed. Once the variables are defined, it is the researchers' task to define the so called value labels (categories) that correspond to them – that is, all possible categories that are introduced in the informants' answers in response to the variables in question. To what extent different answers from different informants can legitimately be gathered under one value label is often the main question researchers have to ask themselves. To illustrate these procedures and make them comprehensible, we present some variables and their value labels below. It should be mentioned that this list is not an exhaustive list of all variables involved in our analysis; it is a list, however, of most of the variables involved in the results presented in Chapter 4.2.

SOCIAL VARIABLES

The social variables defined for this study, as explained in Chapter 3, are "Age", "Gender", "Education", and "Locality". While it is clear that there are only two value labels for the variable of Gender (male and female) and that there is no question in the interview that needs to address this variable, the other social variables are more complex to deal with. There is a

corresponding question in the interview for each of them (e.g., "how old are you" for the variable of Age). As for the value labels of these social variables, they are more numerous than for the variable of Gender. For example, there are four value labels (or categories) for Age (corresponding to four predefined age groups) and four for the variable of Education:

-pupils;
-informants with primary education;
-informants with secondary education;
-informants with tertiary education.

THE LANGUAGE VARIABLES

During our short interviews, many questions were formulated to elicit the names of languages as their response. These questions produced a considerable number of variables (that refer to languages) which are the result of our interviews. Below is a list of variables concerning languages included in the present study:

TABLE 4.1.: VARIABLES FOR LANGUAGES

Favourite Language 1 Favourite Language 2 Favourite Language 3 Favourite Language 4 Favourite Language 5	Most Beautiful Language 1 Most Beautiful Language 2 Most Beautiful Language 3 Most Beautiful Language 4 Most Beautiful Language 5	Other Beautiful Language 1 Other Beautiful Language 2 Other Beautiful Language 3 Other Beautiful Language 4 Other Beautiful Language 5	Ugly Language 1 Ugly Language 2 Ugly Language 3 Ugly Language 4 Ugly Language 5
Mother Tongue 1 Mother Tongue 2	Linguistic Biography Language Competence 1 Linguistic Biography Language Competence 2 Linguistic Biography Language Competence 3 Linguistic Biography Language Competence 4 Linguistic Biography Language Competence 5 Linguistic Biography Language Competence 6	Father's Language Mother's Language	

It might be wondered why there is not just a single label for the variable "Favourite Language", for instance, but five separate variables. There are several answers to this question. Informants often did not confine themselves to mentioning only one language, but mentioned 81 languages and language varieties in all. On the basis of these languages we created a list of value labels which is used for all language variables (see Chapter 4.2.1.). But when it comes to defining value labels, decisions have to be made. One such decision is to summarise certain answers into one value label, which results in the loss of details of these particular answers. This was the case with the umbrella value label "Swiss-German Dialect", which

contains all the different Swiss-German dialects that were mentioned by the informants. Within the scope of the quantitative analysis, therefore, we decided not to focus on certain Swiss-German dialects as opposed to others.

THE PLACE VARIABLES

Again, the question concerning our informants' stays abroad (Exchange 18) has led to four variables (Stay Abroad 1-4). The reason for this is that there are informants who have been abroad several times and in various countries. For the variable of "Place of Growing-up", we decided that two variables were needed, as there were informants who grew up in different places. The value labels corresponding to these variables appear as regions, country names, sometimes continents, if the informants were not more specific. (The social variable of "Locality" makes use of the same list of value labels described here).

QUESTION OF TASTE

This variable refers to Exchange 12 where it is asked whether the given aesthetic judgements are not simply a question of taste. The value labels that belong to this variable are "yes" and "no". It must be said that for all the variables that are mentioned in this chapter and for the one treated here, there were value labels for situations where the informant was unwilling/reluctant to answer or simply not able to answer. This is of major importance in 4.2.5., where the informants' attitudes are analysed.

After the quantitising process, the researcher should create a list that in some ways resembles a dictionary. An extract of this list is reproduced in Table 4.2. below. In one column value labels are listed and in the other the corresponding values.

TABLE 4.2.

Variable: Education	
Value Label	Value
Pupils	1
Primary Education	2
Secondary Education	3
Tertiary Education	4

4.2. FIRST GENERAL RESULTS

The results presented here are to be understood as the outcome of a first statistical analysis that has mainly a descriptive character. Further analyses will follow, focusing, for example, more on correlations between the informants' responses and the variables defined for this study as well as the

statistical significance of these relations. With the results at hand we intend to show the major tendencies and the general outcome of our data in close correspondence with some of the hypotheses that are presented in Chapter 3. Within the framework of this publication, we predominantly aim at showing results globally and not splitting them up according to the social variable "locality". That is to say, the responses of the informants from the German-speaking part are presented together with those from the French-speaking part of Switzerland. However, there will be "cumulative" percentages presented according to the variable of Locality in the subchapters concerning "favourite language", "beautiful language", and "ugly language". An exhaustive presentation of tables concerning the French-speaking and German-speaking parts (separate analyses of social variable "locality") will be displayed under 4.2.8.

   After a short overview of the languages and language varieties involved in our study (4.2.1.) we will deal with the following questions:

1. What is your favourite language? (4.2.2.)
2. What is the most beautiful language? (4.2.3.)
3. What languages are ugly? (4.2.4.)
4. When one judges a language as beautiful or ugly, don't you think it is a matter of personal taste? (4.2.5.)
5. What is (are) your mother tongue(s)? (4.2.6.)
6. What languages do you speak? (4.2.6.)
7. Have you ever lived or travelled abroad? (4.2.7.)

In the context of "personal taste" (4.2.5.) we additionally deal with the question of the ambivalence in our informants' way of answering our questions. It should further be stressed that in response to questions 1, 2, and 3, "What is your favourite language", "What is the most beautiful language", and "What languages are ugly", many informants mentioned more than just one language. A tendency toward multiple answers and, at the same time, a certain reluctance to opt for a single language is characteristic of our interviews. Even when asked for a superlative, which should be exclusive *per se* (that is, "The most beautiful language"), 95 informants would not confine themselves to mentioning just one language. Sometimes informants mentioned even more than five languages. However, in our database we kept the first five languages mentioned, with respect to the priority given by the informants. These languages, therefore, appear in five tables, respectively.

4.2.1. LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE VARIETIES INVOLVED

As can be seen in the questionnaire, the questions were open so as to give the interviewees freedom of choice in their responses, much as this method may create difficulties in the sphere of statistical analyses. Hence, the

interviewees not only had the choice of referring to the languages spoken in Switzerland, but also to any language they had encountered during their lifetime. Our data thus does not consist of reactions upon stimuli that can be controlled by the researcher, but of names of languages introduced by our informants in an associative and spontaneous fashion. The result is that the number of languages, language varieties, and groups of languages mentioned by the informants amounts to 81. The open-ended questions also led some informants to even mention languages that do not exist as such (Yugoslavian being an example of this). This, once more, raises the question: What do people actually talk about when they talk about languages? This question has been addressed by Niedzielski (2000: 310) before. She found that:

> For the folk we have studied, language itself is the very real (although admittedly ideal) fact which dominates language use. [...] Linguists, on the other hand, believe that a language is a very abstract notion. The label *English* is only a convenient fiction for the varieties which are its constitutive, not derivative, elements.

Some of our informants, however, were very specific in their answers and did not talk about languages but about language varieties. For example, they located the variety they had in mind geographically (e.g., "South American Spanish"). Nevertheless, many answers were vague. Our policy was to accept any answer (that is, any language label) that the informants provided, even when the answers did not correspond to any real variety, such as "Eastern Bloc Languages". Only if the answer was either French or German, were the informants asked to specify the variety they had in mind. Their answers comprised different terms to refer to the standard form of the languages. French-speaking informants used terms such as *le bon allemand* or *le bon français* and German-speaking informants used terms such as *Hochdeutsch* or *Schriftsprache*. In the list of languages below, the term "Standard German" is our own, and not our informants'. The value label "German (no specification)" (see table below) was introduced as not all informants were able or willing to specify the variety they had in mind. The reaction to the question: "What German do you mean?" was very often "Simply German".[1] Another peculiarity is the use of the two terms "Swiss-German" and "Swiss-German Dialect" for this study (see Table 4.3., below). When informants mentioned Swiss-German dialects such as

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[1] We did not insist on getting more specified answers as further questioning would either make some individuals unsure or irritate others. It also has to be said that merging the two varieties of German (Swiss-German and Standard German) as simply "German" seems to be a widespread practice among people in Switzerland. Even the Swiss Federal Constitution is not more specific when it comes to the national languages: "The national languages are German, French, Italian and Romansh." (Swiss Federal Constitution, Art. 4).

Obwaldnerdütsch or *Züridütsch,* this was referred to as "Swiss-German Dialect". If informants used generic terms for the collectivity of the dialects in German-speaking Switzerland such as *Schwiizerdütsch, Buuretütsch, Mundart,* or *Dialekt,* this was referred to as "Swiss-German".

TABLE 4.3.: LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE VARIETIES INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

German (no specification)	Italian Italian	Brazilian Portuguese	Danish
Standard German	Italian (no specification)	Romance/Latin Languages	Sami
Swiss-German	Dialects in Italy	Germanic Languages	Polish
Swiss-German Dialects	Swiss Italian/Ticinese	English (no specification)	Czech
Dialect in Germany	Napolitan	American English	Slovenian
Austrian German	Romansh	British English	Serbo-Croatian
Viennese Colloquial German	Patois	Irish English	Russian
Catalan	Spanish (no specification)	Canadian English	Finnish
French (no specification)	South American Spanish	Australian English	Albanian
Standard French	European Spanish	Indian English	Modern Greek
Swiss French	Caribbean Spanish	Dutch	Ancient Greek
Parisian French	Portuguese (no specification)	Swedish	Macedonian
Northern French	European Portuguese	Norwegian	Persian
Southern French	Latin	Old Icelandic	Indian
Indonesian	Chinese	Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	Hindi
Thai	Korean	Slavic Languages	Tamil
Turkish	Japanese	Eastern Bloc Languages	Bengali
Hungarian	Lingala	Asian Languages	Sinhala
Baltic Languages	African Languages	Computer Languages	Arabic
Balkan Languages	Eastern Languages	Hebrew	Ukrainian
Yugoslavian			

4.2.2. FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

In the following tables the names as well as the frequencies and percentages of the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth favourite language mentioned by the informants are displayed. It is important to notice that the order in which the languages were stated during the interviews (and therefore the order in which they are displayed in the following tables) does not correspond to a ranking but to a spontaneous listing on the part of the interviewees. We did not, however, exclude the idea that certain informants arranged the sequence according to their preferences. There are two types of percentages calculated in these tables, 1) "Percent" and 2)

"Valid Percent". The difference between these two calculations is as follows: Percent encompasses all the occurrences (or non-occurrences) of the cases including the empty cells (or what is termed in the table as "Missing System"), while Valid Percent excludes the empty cells in the statistical database. In cases where there are no empty cells, Percents and Valid Percents are equal.

TABLE 4.4.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 1

Favourite language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	6	2.1	2.1
Standard German	7	2.5	2.5
Swiss-German	46	16.4	16.4
Swiss-German Dialect	9	3.2	3.2
Dialect in Germany	1	.4	.4
Austrian German	2	.7	.7
Catalan	1	.4	.4
French (no specification)	91	32.5	32.5
Standard French	11	3.9	3.9
Swiss French	7	2.5	2.5
Italian (no specification)	30	10.7	10.7
Italian Italian	1	.4	.4
Spanish (no specification)	11	3.9	3.9
South American Spanish	1	.4	.4
European Spanish	1	.4	.4
English (no specification)	36	12.9	12.9
American English	2	.7	.7
British English	2	.7	.7
Canadian English	1	.4	.4
Romansh	1	.4	.4
Dutch	2	.7	.7
Norwegian	1	.4	.4
Russian	3	1.1	1.1
Modern Greek	1	.4	.4
Arabic	1	.4	.4
Inability to answer	5	1.8	1.8
Total	280	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.5A.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 2

Favourite language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	3	1.1	5.3
Standard German	7	2.5	12.3
Swiss-German	4	1.4	7.0
Swiss-German Dialect	5	1.8	8.8
French (no specification)	6	2.1	10.5
Standard French	3	1.1	5.3
Italian (no specification)	8	2.9	14.0
Spanish (no specification)	6	2.1	10.5
English (no specification)	9	3.2	15.8
American English	1	.4	1.8
British English	1	.4	1.8
Dutch	1	.4	1.8
Swedish	1	.4	1.8

TABLE 4.5B.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 2

Favourite language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Polish	1	.4	1.8
Persian	1	.4	1.8
Total	57	20.4	100.0
Missing System	223	79.6	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.6.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 3

Favourite language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swiss-German	2	.7	9.1
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.4	4.5
French (no specification)	5	1.8	22.7
Italian (no specification)	2	.7	9.1
English (no specification)	7	2.5	31.8
Romansh	1	.4	4.5
Chinese	1	.4	4.5
Persian	1	.4	4.5
Arabic	1	.4	4.5
African Languages	1	.4	4.5
Total	22	7.9	100.0
Missing System	258	92.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.7.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 4

Favourite language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.4	16.7
French (no specification)	3	1.1	50.0
Italian (no specification)	1	.4	16.7
Spanish (no specification)	1	.4	16.7
Total	6	2.1	100.0
Missing System	274	97.9	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.8.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 5

Favourite language 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Russian	1	.4	100.0
Missing System	279	99.6	
Total	280	100.0	

According to the above results, 279 informants (out of 280) mention a first, 57 a second, 22 a third, 6 a fourth and only 1 a fifth favourite language. The global results of this table also reveal that the informants reveal more positive attitudes toward the languages (their varieties included) of French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English than toward other languages. In other words, the number of times the above languages were mentioned by the informants was greater as compared to other languages in the list. In our calculation, we have retained only the languages that appeared more than ten times and excluded those that were mentioned fewer than ten. However, Romansh, as one of the official languages in Switzerland, is also

taken into account in our analyses, even though the frequencies reveal no sign of significance.

On the basis of the above information, the "cumulative" frequencies and percentages of the most frequently mentioned languages in the five tables above (including Romansh) can be observed in Table 4.9. It must be explained that the frequencies that appear below are the sum of the number of times each particular language was mentioned by the informants in five occurrences (i.e., in Tables 4.4.-4.8.). In other words these frequencies are the sum of those in all five tables. The calculation of the cumulative percentages in Table 4.9. is based on the cumulative frequencies. For example, what appears as 36% for French is relative to the number of times this language was mentioned, as compared with the other seven languages in the table.

It is important to mention that for the cumulative frequencies, we adopted the following procedure (this applies to all further tables that show cumulative frequencies in this text): "French" encompasses all the varieties mentioned; the same applies for "Italian", "English" and "Spanish". The case of "Other Varieties of German" and "Swiss-German" is more complex: "Other Varieties of German" encompasses "German (no specification)", "Austrian German", and "Dialects in Germany". We do not call this category "Standard German" as it comprises dialectal varieties. The category "Swiss-German" encapsulates "Swiss-German Dialects" and "Swiss-German". Needless to say, the problem with "German (no specification)" is that it is a label which can comprise both varieties of German. The way we deal with this value label (that is, including it under the category "Other varieties of German") in this present study is just one possible temporary solution. In our forthcoming research and analyses we may consider other ways to deal with this problem. For now, we can but advise our reader to bear the particularity of "German (no specification)" in mind while studying the cumulative tables, and to study the cumulative tables in close relation with the antecedent tables that present information in detail.

TABLE 4.9.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR 'FAVOURITE LANGUAGES'

	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
French	124	36
Swiss-German	67	20
Italian	42	12
English	58	17
Spanish	19	6
Other varieties of German	26	8
Romansh	2	1

As can be seen in this table, the number of informants who consider French as their favourite language is the highest, while those who consider

Romansh as their favourite language is the lowest, amongst the languages in question. The cumulative percentages are also displayed in the chart below.
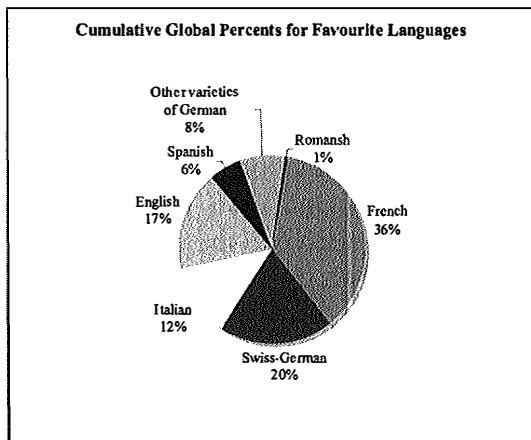
Regarding the cumulative tables below, which are separated according to the variable of Locality, it seems that the speakers' place of residence (and presumably their mother tongue) influences the choice of their favourite language. This issue has to be investigated further at a later stage to see whether or not, indeed, there is a mutual dependence between an individual's mother tongue and their choice of favourite language.

TABLE 4.10.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR 'FAVOURITE LANGUAGES': FRENCH PART OF SWITZERLAND

	Frequency	Percent
French	101	62
Swiss-German	1	1
Other Varieties of German	4	2
English	27	17
Italian	17	11
Spanish	11	7
Romansh	0	0

TABLE 4.11.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR 'FAVOURITE LANGUAGES': GERMAN PART OF SWITZERLAND

	Frequency	Percent
French	23	16.4
Swiss-German	66	47.1
Italian	25	17.9
English	31	22.1
Spanish	8	5.7
Other Varieties of German	22	15.7
Romansh	2	1.4

4.2.3. BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGES

One should expect that each respondent would have only one "most beautiful" language, as the superlative implies. As stated above, this is not the case and 95 informants named more than one language in this category. In the following tables "most beautiful" languages one to five are presented.

TABLE 4.12.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Most beautiful language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	7	2.5	2.5
Swiss-German	10	3.6	3.6
Swiss-German Dialect	10	3.6	3.6
Austrian German	2	.7	.7
Catalan	1	.4	.4
French (no specification)	58	20.7	20.7
Standard French	8	2.9	2.9
Swiss French	2	.7	.7
Southern French	1	.4	.4
Italian (no specification)	72	25.7	25.7
Dialects in Italy	1	.4	.4
Spanish (no specification)	26	9.3	9.3
South American Spanish	3	1.1	1.1
European Spanish	1	.4	.4
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.4	.4
English (no specification)	15	5.4	5.4
American English	1	.4	.4
British English	3	1.1	1.1
Romansh	4	1.4	1.4
Swedish	1	.4	.4
Danish	1	.4	.4
Polish	2	.7	.7
Czech	1	.4	.4
Russian	3	1.1	1.1
Turkish	1	.4	.4
Modern Greek	1	.4	.4
Ancient Greek	1	.4	.4
Thai	1	.4	.4
Persian	1	.4	.4
Arabic	3	1.1	1.1
Romance/Latin Languages	6	2.1	2.1
All languages are beautiful; inability to answer	30	10.7	10.7
Forgotten to ask the question	1	.4	.4
Disagreement with question/refusal to answer	1	.4	.4
Total	280	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.13A.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Most Beautiful Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.4	1.1
Standard German	8	2.9	8.4
Swiss-German	3	1.1	3.2
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.4	1.1

TABLE 4.13B.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Most Beautiful Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Austrian German	1	.4	1.1
French (no specification)	24	8.6	25.3
Swiss French	1	.4	1.1
Italian (no specification)	26	9.3	27.4
Spanish (no specification)	8	2.9	8.4
English (no specification)	5	1.8	5.3
British English	1	.4	1.1
Serbo-Croatian	1	.4	1.1
Russian	5	1.8	5.3
Modern Greek	1	.4	1.1
Chinese	1	.4	1.1
Persian	4	1.4	4.2
Arabic	1	.4	1.1
Romance/Latin Languages	2	.7	2.1
Asian Languages	1	.4	1.1
Total	95	33.9	100.0
Missing System	185	66.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.14.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Most Beautiful Language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	3	1.1	8.8
Swiss-German	1	.4	2.9
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.4	2.9
French (no specification)	3	1.1	8.8
Italian (no specification)	3	1.1	8.8
Spanish (no specification)	7	2.5	20.6
South American Spanish	1	.4	2.9
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.4	2.9
English (no specification)	7	2.5	20.6
Polish	1	.4	2.9
Finnish	1	.4	2.9
Chinese	2	.7	5.9
Persian	1	.4	2.9
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.4	2.9
Total	34	12.1	100.0
Missing System	246	87.9	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.15.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 4

Most Beautiful Language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French (no specification)	1	.4	11.1
Standard French	1	.4	11.1
Italian (no specification)	1	.4	11.1
Spanish (no specification)	2	.7	22.2
English (no specification)	2	.7	22.2
Arabic	1	.4	11.1
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.4	11.1
Total	9	3.2	100.0
Missing System	271	96.8	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.16.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 5

Most Beautiful Language 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swedish	1	.4	100.0
Missing System	279	99.6	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.17.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Other Beautiful Language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.4	.6
Standard German	11	3.9	6.1
Swiss-German Dialect	5	1.8	2.8
French (no specification)	25	8.9	14.0
Italian (no specification)	26	9.3	14.5
Italian Italian	1	.4	.6
Spanish (no specification)	20	7.1	11.2
European Spanish	1	.4	.6
Portuguese (no specification)	6	2.1	3.4
English (no specification)	17	6.1	9.5
British English	1	.4	.6
Romansh	2	.7	1.1
Dutch	1	.4	.6
Swedish	4	1.4	2.2
Danish	1	.4	.6
Polish	1	.4	.6
Slovenian	1	.4	.6
Russian	8	2.9	4.5
Tamil	1	.4	.6
Indonesian	1	.4	.6
Finnish	1	.4	.6
Modern Greek	1	.4	.6
Latin	1	.4	.6
Thai	1	.4	.6
Chinese	2	.7	1.1
Japanese	1	.4	.6
Persian	1	.4	.6
Arabic	1	.4	.6
Romance/Latin Languages	4	1.4	2.2
Forgotten to ask the question	8	2.9	4.5
Inability to answer	24	8.6	13.4
Total	179	63.9	100.0
Missing System	101	36.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.18A.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Other beautiful language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.4	1.6
Standard German	2	.7	3.1
French (no specification)	7	2.5	10.9
Italian (no specification)	6	2.1	9.4
Spanish (no specification)	10	3.6	15.6
Portuguese (no specification)	2	.7	3.1
English (no specification)	10	3.6	15.6
British English	1	.4	1.6

TABLE 4.18B.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Other beautiful language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Romansh	1	.4	1.6
Dutch	1	.4	1.6
Danish	1	.4	1.6
Serbo-Croatian	1	.4	1.6
Russian	3	1.1	4.7
Bosnian	1	.4	1.6
Finnish	1	.4	1.6
Modern Greek	1	.4	1.6
Ancient Greek	1	.4	1.6
Latin	1	.4	1.6
Korean	1	.4	1.6
Japanese	3	1.1	4.7
Arabic	1	.4	1.6
Caribbean Spanish	1	.4	1.6
Romance/Latin Languages	4	1.4	6.3
Slavic Languages	3	1.1	4.7
Total	64	22.9	100.0
Missing System	216	77.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.19.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Other beautiful language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.4	5.0
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.4	5.0
French (no specification)	1	.4	5.0
Italian (no specification)	3	1.1	15.0
Spanish (no specification)	1	.4	5.0
Portuguese (no specification)	2	.7	10.0
English (no specification)	4	1.4	20.0
Romansh	1	.4	5.0
Russian	2	.7	10.0
Arabic	1	.4	5.0
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.4	5.0
Romance/Latin Languages	2	.7	10.0
Total	20	7.1	100.0
Missing System	260	92.9	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.20.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 4

Other beautiful language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.4	33.3
English (no specification)	1	.4	33.3
Japanese	1	.4	33.3
Total	3	1.1	100.0
Missing System	277	98.9	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.21.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 5

Other beautiful language 5	Frequency	Percent
Missing System	280	100.0

As can be seen from the data above, informants manifest more positive attitudes toward languages such as French, Italian, German, Spanish and English. On principle, as explained earlier, the languages that are mentioned fewer than ten times by the informants are disregarded in the second step of the analysis. However, Romansh is kept among these languages for this phase. Table 4.22. demonstrates cumulative frequencies and percentages of beautiful languages ("most beautiful" and "other beautiful"). It should be emphasised that these frequencies indicate the number of times each particular language was mentioned as beautiful by all the informants in ten occurrences ("most beautiful language" one to five as well as "other beautiful language" one to five, which are ten occurrences in all).

TABLE 4.22.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR 'MOST BEAUTIFUL' AND 'OTHER BEAUTIFUL' LANGUAGES

	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
French	130	27
Swiss-German	27	6
Italian	137	29
English	68	14
Spanish	78	16
Other Varieties of German	33	7
Romansh	7	1

As can be seen from the above tables and chart, Italian and French seem to be considered as the most beautiful languages while Spanish, English, German, Swiss-German and Romansh score lower, respectively. The two tables below (Table 4.23. and Table 4.24.) showing the results according to the variable of Locality offer some explanation why, for example, French scores very high while Swiss-German scores so low. French is considered beautiful not only by its speakers but also by Swiss-Germans, whereas Swiss-German is in no case considered beautiful by French-speaking Swiss.

TABLE 4.23.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR 'MOST BEAUTIFUL' AND 'OTHER BEAUTIFUL' LANGUAGES: FRENCH PART OF SWITZERLAND

	Frequency	Percent
French	62	28
Swiss-German	0	0
Other Varieties of German	22	10
Italian	66	29
Spanish	38	17
English	35	16
Romansh	1	0

TABLE 4.24.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR 'MOST BEAUTIFUL' AND 'OTHER BEAUTIFUL' LANGUAGES: GERMAN PART OF SWITZERLAND

	Frequency	Percents
French	23	13
Swiss-German	66	37
Italian	25	14
English	31	18
Spanish	8	5
Other Varieties of German	22	12
Romansh	2	1

4.2.4. UGLY LANGUAGES

The following tables represent the results of the question "What languages are ugly?" The informants' responses to this question are presented below, again, according to the priority they gave in mentioning particular languages.

TABLE 4.25A.: UGLY LANGUAGE 1

Ugly Language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.4	.4
Standard German	4	1.4	1.4
Swiss-German	76	27.1	27.1
Swiss-German Dialect	8	2.9	2.9
Austrian German	1	.4	.4
French (no specification)	6	2.1	2.1
Italian (no specification)	5	1.8	1.8
Spanish (no specification)	2	.7	.7
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.4	.4
English (no specification)	8	2.9	2.9
American English	5	1.8	1.8
Romansh	1	.4	.4
Indian English	1	.4	.4
Dutch	8	2.9	2.9
Danish	1	.4	.4
Czech	1	.4	.4
Russian	8	2.9	2.9
Indian	1	.4	.4
Albanian	2	.7	.7
Turkish	2	.7	.7
Thai	1	.4	.4
Chinese	4	1.4	1.4
Japanese	4	1.4	1.4
Arabic	9	3.2	3.2
Baltic Languages	1	.4	.4
Balkan Languages	4	1.4	1.4
Yugoslavian	1	.4	.4
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.4	.4
Germanic Languages	4	1.4	1.4
Slavic Languages	1	.4	.4
Eastern Bloc Languages	1	.4	.4

TABLE 4.25B.: UGLY LANGUAGE 1

Ugly Language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
African Languages	1	.4	.4
Asian Languages	2	.7	.7
Eastern Languages	3	1.1	1.1
Computer Languages/Artificial Languages	1	.4	.4
No ugly language exists/ Inability to answer	98	35	35
Forgotten to ask the question	1	.4	.4
Disagreement with question/refusal to answer	1	.4	.4
Total	280	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.26.: UGLY LANGUAGE 2

Ugly Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	25	8.9	27.2
Swiss-German	7	2.5	7.6
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.4	1.1
Spanish (no specification)	3	1.1	3.3
European Spanish	1	.4	1.1
Portuguese (no specification)	2	.7	2.2
English (no specification)	1	.4	1.1
American English	1	.4	1.1
Dutch	10	3.6	10.9
Danish	3	1.1	3.3
Sami	1	.4	1.1
Czech	1	.4	1.1
Russian	2	.7	2.2
Albanian	1	.4	1.1
Turkish	1	.4	1.1
Thai	1	.4	1.1
Chinese	4	1.4	4.3
Korean	1	.4	1.1
Japanese	1	.4	1.1
Arabic	6	2.1	6.5
Ukrainian	1	.4	1.1
Balkan Languages	1	.4	1.1
Yugoslavian	3	1.1	3.3
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	2	.7	2.2
Germanic Languages	2	.7	2.2
Slavic Languages	2	.7	2.2
Eastern Bloc Languages	1	.4	1.1
African Languages	1	.4	1.1
Asian Languages	2	.7	2.2
Eastern Languages	4	1.4	4.3
Total	92	32.9	100.0
Missing System	188	67.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.27A.: UGLY LANGUAGE 3

Ugly language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	5	1.8	15.6
Swiss-German	1	.4	3.1
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.4	3.1
Dialect in Germany	1	.4	3.1

TABLE 4.27B.: UGLY LANGUAGE 3

Ugly language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
European Spanish	1	.4	3.1
Brazilian Portuguese	1	.4	3.1
English (no specification)	1	.4	3.1
Romansh	1	.4	3.1
Dutch	1	.4	3.1
Swedish	3	1.1	9.4
Norwegian	1	.4	3.1
Danish	2	.7	6.3
Russian	1	.4	3.1
Turkish	1	.4	3.1
Chinese	3	1.1	9.4
Arabic	4	1.4	12.5
Balkan Languages	1	.4	3.1
Yugoslavian	1	.4	3.1
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.4	3.1
Germanic Languages	1	.4	3.1
Total	32	11.4	100.0
Missing System	248	88.6	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.28.: UGLY LANGUAGE 4

Ugly language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.4	14.3
Dutch	1	.4	14.3
Swedish	1	.4	14.3
Serbo-Croatian	1	.4	14.3
Tamil	1	.4	14.3
Chinese	1	.4	14.3
Japanese	1	.4	14.3
Total	7	2.5	100.0
Missing System	273	97.5	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.29.: UGLY LANGUAGE 5

Ugly language 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Germanic Languages	1	.4	50.0
Eastern Bloc Languages	1	.4	50.0
Total	2	.7	100.0
Missing System	278	99.3	
Total	280	100.0	

In the first table, 52 informants were unable to reply to this question and one disagreed with this question. Some informants modified the adjective "ugly" before they answered. They would say, for example, that they do not want to call a language ugly, but that if the interviewer meant "unappealing" or "dislikeable" by "ugly" they would think of language x or language y. Among those who were prepared to answer this question, the majority considered Swiss-German an ugly language. French is also mentioned among ugly languages. It must be mentioned that in the

cumulative frequencies and percents listed below, we have kept the same languages listed among "favourite" and "beautiful languages" for the sake of comparison. However, Dutch is an addition to the list of "ugly languages", because of the tendency among many informants who consider Dutch as an ugly language.

On the basis of the above tables, cumulative frequencies and percents for the languages in question were calculated. As explained previously, these frequencies represent the sum of the number of times each particular language was mentioned.

TABLE 4.30.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES
AND PERCENTS FOR UGLY LANGUAGES

	Frequency	Percent
French	6	3
Swiss-German	91	51
Italian	4	2
Other Varieties of German	37	20
English	14	8
Spanish	7	4
Dutch	20	11
Romansh	2	1
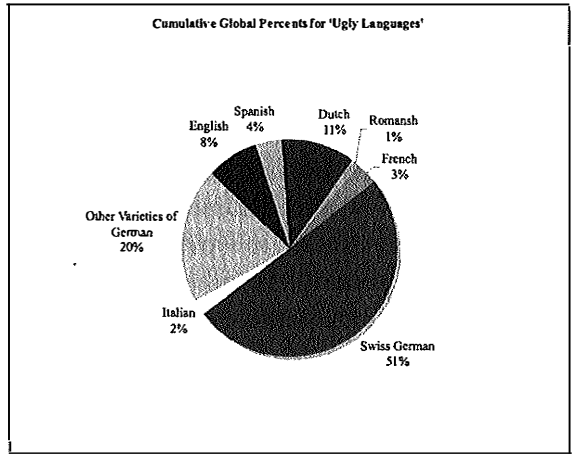
As displayed in the table above, Swiss-German scores the highest, that is, as the language the informants considered the ugliest. The group "Other varieties of German" ranks second, and Dutch, English, Spanish, and French rank third, fourth, and fifth, respectively. Again, the presentation of the results according to the variable of Locality may help to explain the global results. As an example, while informants from the French-speaking part of Switzerland do not judge their own language as ugly, Swiss-Germans are more critical toward their own language.

TABE 4.31.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR UGLY LANGUAGES: FRENCH PART OF SWITZERLAND

	Frequency	Percent
French	0	0
Swiss-German	80	62
Italian	0	0
Other varieties of German	27	21
English	3	2
Spanish	3	2
Dutch	16	12
Romansh	1	1

TABLE 4.32.: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR UGLY LANGUAGES: GERMAN PART OF SWITZERLAND

	Frequency	Percent
French	23	13
Swiss-German	66	37
Italian	25	14
English	31	17
Spanish	8	4
Other Varieties of German	22	12
Dutch	4	2
Romansh	2	1

4.2.5. PASSING JUDGMENTS ON LANGUAGES

The table below (4.33.) demonstrates the number of informants (as well as percentages) who did or did not pass judgments on languages, as well as those who manifested ambivalent attitudes. By ambivalence, it is meant that the informants reveal attitudinal ambivalence toward the idea of passing aesthetic judgment on languages in general. In other words, they are both willing to and reluctant to judge. For example, some informants stated that "all languages are beautiful", yet named some ugly languages. This reveals the informants' self-contradiction or indecisiveness. Logically, if we consider the statement "all languages are beautiful" as a premise, then the conclusion is self-evident: no ugly language exists. Even more strikingly, some informants stated that there are no ugly languages and a few minutes after this statement named an ugly language. Such indecisive cases are considered as attitudinal ambivalence in judging languages. The issue of ambivalence has often been encountered in many studies on language attitudes. According to social psychologists, attitudinal questions are by nature dichotomous and ambivalence is a property of an attitude. Scott (1966; 1968) was the first scholar to define and consider ambivalence as such (cited in Thompson et al., 1995: 363). His (Scott, 1966) definition was:

> Ambivalence was thought to be the result of a particular configuration of response alternatives. Specifically, the response alternative (a) must have contradictory implications; (b) be of subjectively equal significance or strength; and (c) occur in instances where goal or end states are equally desirable and available, and where compromise/escape is not a salient option.

In our study, the ambivalence manifested by the informants seems to encompass attitudes and beliefs of different and multifaceted natures. Furthermore, many factors seem to be involved in the way the individuals express their attitudes verbally, either positively or negatively. Affective, cognitive, historical, and societal (political, cultural, ethnic) preconceived judgments and stereotypes, among others, can contribute to determining an individual's response to attitudinal stimuli. The fact that some individuals in our survey would readily express their opinions and that some would be reluctant to do so may also reveal differences between individuals' socio-psychological dispositions. However, finding the answer to these questions requires an in-depth study, which will be dealt with in future.

In the table below, only 5.7 percent of the informants do not want to pass judgments on languages, while 60.7 percent readily judge languages, both in terms of their beauty and their ugliness. However, a considerable percentage of the informants, 33.6%, remain ambivalent or contradictory about the idea of passing judgment on languages.

The informants' reluctance to name ugly languages was manifested by statements such as, "there are no ugly languages", "calling a language ugly would be a kind of racism", "languages are like people, one should not say that a language is ugly", or "it is like calling a person or a race ugly". Such approaches toward language and language attitudes offer interesting topics for our long interviews and consequently a more in-depth study. However, these issues will not be discussed here.

TABLE 4.33.: FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR JUDGING LANGUAGES

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Reluctant to judge	16	5.7	5.7
Willing to judge	170	60.7	60.7
Ambivalent	94	33.6	33.6
Total	280	100.0	100.0

One of the questions in our interviews was to find out whether or not the informants' attitudes toward languages were related to societal, cultural or linguistic preconceived judgments. The informants, therefore, were asked if their judging languages was simply a matter of personal taste or otherwise. In response to the question, "isn't it just a question of taste", informants answered in different forms, some of which are the following:

"oui, mais il y a aussi des préjugés. C'est personnel, par l' oreille";
"oui, mais aussi des affinités qu'on a avec des locuteurs d'une langue";
"oui, mais aussi les vécus, les experiences";

"oui, c'est très personnel, mais aussi il y a des préjugés".
"nei, meh ghört sehr viel, dass Französisch nid e so schön sigi, bi de jüngere Generation; dass diä meh uf Englisch gahnd."
"ja, das isch eifach, will das nid i mis Ohr passet."
"ja, das isch sehr Gschmacks- und Istelligssach."

As can be seen in the table below, a considerable number of the informants, 74.6%, believed that their judgments were based on their own personal taste.

TABLE 4.34.: FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTS FOR THE QUESTION OF TASTE

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	209	74.6	92.8
No	16	5.7	7.1
Total	225	80.3	100.0
Missing System	55	19.6	.
Total	280	100.0	

4.2.6. LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY

The linguistic background of the informants is presented in the tables below. In our interviews, we were interested in finding out the mother tongue(s) of the informants, whether or not they were brought up learning several languages simultaneously, the number of languages they speak, as well as the language(s) spoken by their parents. As can be seen in Tables 4.35a. 4.35b., and 4.36. below, concerning the mother tongue(s) of the speakers, the speakers' linguistic background is quite varied. Also, 36 informants amongst 280, were brought up as bilinguals. An interesting aspect for study would be to find out how influential the informants' linguistic background would be in relation to their attitudes.

TABLE 4.35A.: MOTHER TONGUE 1

Mother Tongue 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	12	4.3	4.3
Standard German	7	2.5	2.5
Swiss-German	112	40.0	40.0
Swiss-German Dialects	3	1.1	1.1
Dialect in Germany	1	.4	.4
Austrian German	1	.4	.4
Catalan	1	.4	.4
French (no specification)	108	38.6	38.6
Standard French	3	1.1	1.1
Swiss French	12	4.3	4.3
Italian (no specification)	2	.7	.7
Dialects in Italy	1	.4	.4
Spanish (no specification)	2	.7	.7
European Portuguese	1	.4	.4
American English	1	.4	.4
British English	2	.7	.7

TABLE 4.35B.: MOTHER TONGUE 1

Mother Tongue 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Romansh	1	.4	.4
Dutch	2	.7	.7
Swedish	1	.4	.4
Czech	1	.4	.4
Slovenian	1	.4	.4
Bosnian	1	.4	.4
Tamil	1	.4	.4
Albanian	1	.4	.4
Finnish	1	.4	.4
Arabic	1	.4	.4
Total	280	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.36.: MOTHER TONGUE 2

Mother Tongue 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	3	1.1	8.3
Swiss-German	8	2.9	22.2
Catalan	1	.4	2.8
French (no specification)	2	.7	5.6
Standard French	1	.4	2.8
Italian (no specification)	5	1.8	13.9
Italian Italian	1	.4	2.8
Spanish (no specification)	1	.4	2.8
South American Spanish	1	.4	2.8
European Spanish	1	.4	2.8
European Portuguese	1	.4	2.8
English (no specification)	1	.4	2.8
American English	1	.4	2.8
British English	1	.4	2.8
Danish	1	.4	2.8
Modern Greek	1	.4	2.8
Japanese	1	.4	2.8
Romanian	1	.4	2.8
Hungarian	2	.7	5.6
Persian	1	.4	2.8
Macedonian	1	.4	2.8
Total	36	12.9	100.0
Missing System	244	87.1	
Total	280	100.0	

From the two tables above, we have derived Table 4.37., which displays the frequencies and percentages of the informants whose mother tongue is one of the four national languages in Switzerland as well as those who are native speakers of other languages. The name of the latter languages, obviously, appears in the two previous tables (Tables 4.35a., 4.35b., and 4.36.). The aim of creating the following table is to provide a more feasible means to correlate linguistic background with other social variables. In other words, this table enables us to compare the attitudes of speakers of the four national languages toward their own or other languages with the attitudes of the speakers of non-Swiss languages toward Swiss national languages.

TABLE 4.37.: SUMMARY TABLE: THE INFORMANTS' MOTHER TONGUES

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French	123	43.9	43.9
Swiss-German[2]	129	46.1	46.1
Italian	3	1.1	1.1
Romansh	1	.4	.4
Other Languages	24	8.6	8.6
Total	280	100	100

TABLE 4.38.: SUMMARY TABLE: NUMBER OF MOTHER TONGUES

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
One	245	87.5	87.5
Two	36	12.5	12.5
Total	280	100.0	100.0

In the tables below (4.39. - 4.44.), the number of languages acquired by the informants, either formally or informally, are presented. We are interested in finding out how the number of languages a person knows could influence their attitudes toward languages. In the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the informants did make a distinction between their regional variety and Standard French, what they termed *le bon français,* or *le français littéraire.* However, they considered these varieties as one and the same language for they stated that "ah, mais ils sont pareils; la différence est seulement au niveau de l'accent", or "un Vaudois pourrait lire Voltaire ou Victor Hugo aussi bien qu'un Parisien". Swiss-German informants had different techniques to refer to their German language skills. Some of them would enumerate Standard German and Swiss-German as separate language competences. Others would summarise the diglossic situation they live in and therefore their competence in two varieties simply by replying "German". This is referred to in the table as "German (no specification)".

TABLE 4.39A.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 1

Language Competence 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	51	18.2	18.2
Standard German	60	21.4	21.4
Swiss-German	13	4.6	4.6
French (no specification)	47	16.8	16.8
Swiss French	1	.4	.4
Italian (no specification)	14	5.0	5.0
Italian Italian	1	.4	.4
Spanish (no specification)	2	.7	.7
English (no specification)	76	27.1	27.1
American English	1	.4	.4
British English	2	.7	.7

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[2] Swiss-German including here "German (no specification)"; "Swiss-German" and "Swiss-German Dialect".

TABLE 4.39B.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 1

Language Competence 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Romansh	2	.7	.7
Norwegian	1	.4	.4
Danish	1	.4	.4
Russian	2	.7	.7
Bosnian	1	.4	.4
Tamil	1	.4	.4
Albanian	1	.4	.4
Finnish	1	.4	.4
Hungarian	1	.4	.4
Persian	1	.4	.4
Total	280	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.40.:LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 2

Language Competence 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	10	3.6	3.9
Standard German	61	21.8	23.8
Swiss-German	6	2.1	2.3
French (no specification)	54	19.3	21.1
Italian (no specification)	34	12.1	13.3
Spanish (no specification)	9	3.2	3.5
English (no specification)	71	25.4	27.7
British English	1	.4	.4
Dutch	2	.7	.8
Norwegian	1	.4	.4
Polish	1	.4	.4
Czech	1	.4	.4
Russian	1	.4	.4
Chinese	2	.7	.8
Arabic	2	.7	.8
Total	256	91.4	100.0
Missing System	24	8.6	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.41A.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 3

Language Competence 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	8	2.9	4.5
Standard German	7	2.5	4.0
Swiss-German	7	2.5	4.0
French (no specification)	31	11.1	17.6
Italian (no specification)	43	15.4	24.4
Spanish (no specification)	11	3.9	6.3
South American Spanish	1	.4	.6
European Spanish	1	.4	.6
English (no specification)	47	16.8	26.7
Dutch	1	.4	.6
Swedish	1	.4	.6
Serbo-Croatian	1	.4	.6
Russian	2	.7	1.1
Hindi	1	.4	.6
Modern Greek	1	.4	.6
Latin	6	2.1	3.4
Chinese	2	.7	1.1

TABLE 4.41B.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 3

Language Competence 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Persian	2	.7	1.1
Arabic	2	.7	1.1
Hebrew	1	.4	.6
Total	176	62.9	100.0
Missing System	104	37.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.42.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 4

Language Competence 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	3	1.1	3.3
Standard German	2	.7	2.2
Swiss-German	2	.7	2.2
French (no specification)	8	2.9	8.8
Italian (no specification)	23	8.2	25.3
Spanish (no specification)	5	1.8	5.5
South American Spanish	1	.4	1.1
European Spanish	1	.4	1.1
Portuguese (no specification)	2	.7	2.2
European Portuguese	1	.4	1.1
English (no specification)	22	7.9	24.2
Romansh	1	.4	1.1
Dutch	1	.4	1.1
Norwegian	1	.4	1.1
Polish	1	.4	1.1
Slovenian	1	.4	1.1
Russian	1	.4	1.1
Turkish	1	.4	1.1
Ancient Greek	1	.4	1.1
Latin	7	2.5	7.7
Japanese	1	.4	1.1
Romanian	1	.4	1.1
Hungarian	1	.4	1.1
Persian	1	.4	1.1
Hebrew	1	.4	1.1
Bengali	1	.4	1.1
Total	91	32.5	100.0
Missing System	189	67.5	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.43A.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 5

Language Competence 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	2	.7	5.4
Standard German	2	.7	5.4
French (no specification)	5	1.8	13.5
Italian (no specification)	4	1.4	10.8
Spanish (no specification)	4	1.4	10.8
European Portuguese	1	.4	2.7
English (no specification)	1	.4	2.7
Romansh	1	.4	2.7
Serbo-Croatian	1	.4	2.7
Hindi	1	.4	2.7

TABLE 4.43B.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 5

Language Competence 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Modern Greek	1	.4	2.7
Ancient Greek	5	1.8	13.5
Latin	6	2.1	16.2
Hungarian	1	.4	2.7
Arabic	2	.7	5.4
Total	37	13.2	100.0
Missing System	243	86.8	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.44.: LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY: LANGUAGE COMPETENCE 6

Language Competence 6	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swiss-German	1	.4	6.3
Italian (no specification)	1	.4	6.3
Spanish (no specification)	1	.4	6.3
Brazilian Portuguese	1	.4	6.3
English (no specification)	5	1.8	31.3
Modern Greek	1	.4	6.3
Ancient Greek	1	.4	6.3
Latin	5	1.8	31.3
Total	16	5.7	100.0
Missing System	264	94.3	
Total	280	100.0	

The results of the six preceding tables (Tables 4.39. - 4.44.) have been summarised in the following table (Table 4.45.), which presents the number of languages spoken by the informants. The different varieties of German are counted as a single language competence in order not to falsify the picture given here. As can be seen, there are only four informants (1.4%) who speak only one language.

TABLE 4.45.: NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
One	4	1.4	1.4
Two	28	10.0	10.0
Three	96	34.3	34.3
Four	86	30.7	30.7
Five	42	15.0	15.0
Six or more	24	8.6	8.6
Total	280	100.0	100.0

4.2.7. LANGUAGE CONTACT

One of the questions that could reveal the informants' language or cultural contact, to a certain degree, is "Have you ever lived elsewhere?" The statistical results of this question are displayed below. The informants' negative responses to this question are represented as "Missing System" in Table 4.46. As the names of places mentioned by the informants varied in number, there are four tables that display the responses. It must be

mentioned that among the places mentioned by the informants only four of them were used in our database for quantitative analysis, although some of our informants have mentioned seven or more different places. As can be seen from the data in the first table ("Place of Stay Abroad 1"), 71 informants replied in the negative. This number is listed again in the summary table below.

TABLE 4.46.: PLACE OF STAY ABROAD 1

Place of Stay Abroad 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French part of Switzerland	28	10.0	13.4
German part of Switzerland	14	5.0	6.7
Italian part of Switzerland	6	2.1	2.9
France	23	8.2	11.0
Germany	8	2.9	3.8
Italy	16	5.7	7.7
Great Britain	16	5.7	7.7
Canada	6	2.1	2.9
USA	15	5.4	7.2
Australia	5	1.8	2.4
India	4	1.4	1.9
Scotland	2	.7	1.0
Spain	8	2.9	3.8
Many places	19	6.8	9.1
New Zealand	3	1.1	1.4
Romansh part of Switzerland	1	.4	.5
Central America	3	1.1	1.4
South America (no specification)	3	1.1	1.4
Africa (no specification)	2	.7	1.0
Nepal	1	.4	.5
Czech Republic	2	.7	1.0
Russia	2	.7	1.0
Hungary	1	.4	.5
Iceland	1	.4	.5
Asia (no specification)	1	.4	.5
Iran	1	.4	.5
Holland	2	.7	1.0
South Africa	1	.4	.5
Japan	2	.7	1.0
North Africa	1	.4	.5
Greece	2	.7	1.0
Austria	2	.7	1.0
Egypt	1	.4	.5
Philippines	1	.4	.5
Sweden	2	.7	1.0
Norway	2	.7	1.0
Saudi Arabia	1	.4	.5
Romania	1	.4	.5
Total	209	74.6	100.0
Missing System	71	25.4	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.47.: PLACE OF STAY ABROAD 2

Place of Stay Abroad 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French part of Switzerland	8	2.9	6.5
German part of Switzerland	6	2.1	4.9
Italian part of Switzerland	1	.4	.8
France	11	3.9	8.9
Germany	7	2.5	5.7
Italy	17	6.1	13.8
Great Britain	16	5.7	13.0
Canada	2	.7	1.6
USA	16	5.7	13.0
Australia	1	.4	.8
Scotland	1	.4	.8
Ireland	2	.7	1.6
Spain	5	1.8	4.1
Many places	1	.4	.8
New Zealand	1	.4	.8
South America (no specification)	3	1.1	2.4
Africa (no specification)	2	.7	1.6
Burkina Faso	1	.4	.8
Russia	2	.7	1.6
Hungary	1	.4	.8
Iceland	1	.4	.8
Asia (no specification)	1	.4	.8
Iran	2	.7	1.6
North Africa	1	.4	.8
Greece	2	.7	1.6
Serbia	1	.4	.8
Austria	3	1.1	2.4
Portugal	4	1.4	3.3
Egypt	2	.7	1.6
Taiwan	1	.4	.8
Finland	1	.4	.8
Total	123	43.9	100.0
Missing System	157	56.1	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.48A.: PLACE OF STAY ABROAD 3

Place of Stay Abroad 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French part of Switzerland	1	.4	1.4
German part of Switzerland	3	1.1	4.2
Italian part of Switzerland	1	.4	1.4
France	11	3.9	15.3
Germany	10	3.6	13.9
Italy	4	1.4	5.6
Great Britain	9	3.2	12.5
Canada	1	.4	1.4
USA	5	1.8	6.9
Australia	2	.7	2.8
Ireland	1	.4	1.4
Spain	2	.7	2.8
Many places	4	1.4	5.6
South America (no specification)	1	.4	1.4

TABLE 4.48B.: PLACE OF STAY ABROAD 3

Place of Stay Abroad 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Africa (no specification)	1	.4	1.4
Bosnia	1	.4	1.4
Poland	1	.4	1.4
Asia (no specification)	3	1.1	4.2
Iran	1	.4	1.4
Holland	2	.7	2.8
Greece	3	1.1	4.2
Portugal	1	.4	1.4
Egypt	2	.7	2.8
Sweden	1	.4	1.4
The Caribbean	1	.4	1.4
Total	72	25.7	100.0
Missing System	208	74.3	
Total	280	100.0	

TABLE 4.49.: PLACE OF STAYING ABROAD 4

Place of Stay Abroad 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French part of Switzerland	2	.7	6.7
France	1	.4	3.3
Germany	2	.7	6.7
Italy	2	.7	6.7
Great Britain	2	.7	6.7
USA	7	2.5	23.3
Ireland	1	.4	3.3
Spain	2	.7	6.7
South America (no specification)	1	.4	3.3
Croatia	1	.4	3.3
Hungary	1	.4	3.3
Austria	2	.7	6.7
Sweden	3	1.1	10.0
Norway	2	.7	6.7
Taiwan	1	.4	3.3
Total	30	10.7	100.0
Missing System	250	89.3	
Total	280	100.0	

After having calculated the results above, we were interested in finding out whether or not the languages with which the informants were in contact through staying abroad was the same or different from their own mother tongue. The type of language contact experienced by a francophone informant who travels to France, for example, is different from that of someone who stays in England, Germany, or China. The table below, which is the summary of the four tables above, displays the number and percentages of the informants who experienced contact with languages other than their own. We are interested in whether or not such language and cultural contacts would reveal any dependencies with the informants' attitudes toward languages.

TABLE 4.50.: PLACE OF STAYING ABROAD: SUMMARY TABLE

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Stayed abroad	209	75.0	75.0
Nowhere	71	25.0	25.0
Total	280	100.0	100.0

4.2.8. UNCOMMENTED TABLES: FRENCH-SPEAKING AND GERMAN-SPEAKING PARTS OF SWITZERLAND

In the following we present results according to the variable of Locality. The tables presented concern favourite languages, most beautiful languages, other beautiful languages, and ugly languages. Cumulative frequencies and percentages corresponding to these tables were presented in the previous section (see Tables 4.10., 4.11., 4.23., 4.24., 4.31., and 4.32.)

4.2.8.1. THE FRENCH-SPEAKING PART OF SWITZERLAND

FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

TABLE 4.51.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 1

Favourite Language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	.7
Austrian German	1	.7	.7
Catalan	1	.7	.7
French (no specification)	76	54.3	54.3
Standard French	11	7.9	7.9
Swiss French	7	5.0	5.0
Italian (no specification)	11	7.9	7.9
Italian Italian	1	.7	.7
Spanish (no specification)	5	3.6	3.6
South Amercian Spanish	1	.7	.7
European Spanish	1	.7	.7
English (no specification)	13	9.3	9.3
American English	2	1.4	1.4
British English	2	1.4	1.4
Dutch	1	.7	.7
Norwegian	1	.7	.7
Russian	2	1.4	1.4
Modern Greek	1	.7	.7
Inability to answer	2	1.4	1.4
Total	140	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.52A.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 2

Favourite language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	2	1.4	7.7
Swiss-German	1	.7	3.8
French (no specification)	5	3.6	19.2
Standard French	3	2.1	11.5
Italian (no specification)	4	2.9	15.4
Spanish (no specification)	3	2.1	11.5

TABLE 4.52B.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 2

Favourite language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
English (no specification)	5	3.6	19.2
British English	1	.7	3.8
Dutch	1	.7	3.8
Persian	1	.7	3.8
Total	26	18.6	100.0
Missing System	114	81.4	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.53.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 3

Favourite language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	11.1
English (no specification)	4	2.9	44.4
Chinese	1	.7	11.1
Persian	1	.7	11.1
Arabic	1	.7	11.1
African Languages	1	.7	11.1
Total	9	6.4	100.0
Missing System	131	93.6	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.54.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 4

Favourite language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	33.3
French (no specification)	1	.7	33.3
Spanish (no specification)	1	.7	33.3
Total	3	2.1	100.0
Missing System	137	97.9	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.55.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 5

Favourite language 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Russian	1	.7	100.0
Missing System	139	99.3	
Total	140	100.0	

BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGES

TABLE 4.56A.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Most beautiful language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	3	2.1	2.1
Catalan	1	.7	.7
French (no specification)	32	22.9	22.9
Standard French	8	5.7	5.7
Swiss French	2	1.4	1.4
Italian (no specification)	37	26.4	26.4
Dialects in Italy	1	.7	.7
Spanish (no specification)	11	7.9	7.9
South Amercian Spanish	3	2.1	2.1
European Spanish	1	.7	.7

TABLE 4.56B.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Most beautiful language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
English (no specification)	6	4.3	4.3
British English	3	2.1	2.1
Romansh	1	.7	.7
Polish	1	.7	.7
Russian	1	.7	.7
Modern Greek	1	.7	.7
Persian	1	.7	.7
Arabic	3	2.1	2.1
Romance/Latin Languages	3	2.1	2.1
all languages are beautiful	13	9.3	9.3
Inability to answer	8	5.7	5.7
Total	140	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.57.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Most beautiful language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	3	2.1	5.4
Austrian German	1	.7	1.8
French (no specification)	11	7.9	19.6
Swiss French	1	.7	1.8
Italian (no specification)	17	12.1	30.4
Spanish (no specification)	7	5.0	12.5
English (no specification)	2	1.4	3.6
British English	1	.7	1.8
Russian	5	3.6	8.9
Modern Greek	1	.7	1.8
Persian	4	2.9	7.1
Arabic	1	.7	1.8
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	1.8
Asian Languages	1	.7	1.8
Total	56	40.0	100.0
Missing System	84	60.0	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.58.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Most beautiful language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	3	2.1	11.1
French (no specification)	1	.7	3.7
Italian (no specification)	2	1.4	7.4
Spanish (no specification)	6	4.3	22.2
South American Spanish	1	.7	3.7
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.7	3.7
English (no specification)	7	5.0	25.9
American English	1	.7	3.7
Polish	1	.7	3.7
Chinese	2	1.4	7.4
Persian	1	.7	3.7
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	3.7
Total	27	19.3	100.0
Missing System	113	80.7	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.59.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 4

Most beautiful language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard French	1	.7	20.0
Spanish (no specification)	2	1.4	40.0
English (no specification)	2	1.4	40.0
Total	5	3.6	100.0
Missing System	135	96.4	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.60.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 5

Most beautiful language 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swedish	1	.7	100.0
Missing System	139	99.3	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.61.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Other beautiful language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	10	7.1	22.2
French (no specification)	5	3.6	11.1
Italian (no specification)	6	4.3	13.3
Italian Italian	1	.7	2.2
Spanish (no specification)	4	2.9	8.9
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.7	2.2
English (no specification)	6	4.3	13.3
Swedish	1	.7	2.2
Polish	1	.7	2.2
Russian	4	2.9	8.9
Chinese	1	.7	2.2
Persian	1	.7	2.2
Romance/Latin Languages	4	2.9	8.9
Total	45	32.1	100.0
Missing System	95	67.9	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.62.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Other beautiful language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	2	1.4	10.5
French (no specification)	1	.7	5.3
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	5.3
Spanish (no specification)	4	2.9	21.1
English (no specification)	4	2.9	21.1
British English	1	.7	5.3
Russian	1	.7	5.3
Modern Greek	1	.7	5.3
Japanese	1	.7	5.3
Arabic	1	.7	5.3
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	5.3
Slavic Languages	1	.7	5.3
Total	19	13.6	100.0
Missing System	121	86.4	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.63.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Other beautiful language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	11.1
French (no specification)	1	.7	11.1
Italian (no specification)	2	1.4	22.2
English (no specification)	2	1.4	22.2
Russian	1	.7	11.1
Arabic	1	.7	11.1
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	11.1
Total	9	6.4	100.0
Missing System	131	93.6	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.64.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 4

Other beautiful language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	50.0
Japanese	1	.7	50.0
Total	2	1.4	100.0
Missing System	138	98.6	
Total	140	100.0	

UGLY LANGUAGES

TABLE 4.65.: UGLY LANGUAGE 1

Ugly language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	.7
Swiss-German	73	52.1	52.1
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.7	.7
English (no specification)	2	1.4	1.4
American English	1	.7	.7
Dutch	4	2.9	2.9
Turkish	1	.7	.7
Japanese	1	.7	.7
Arabic	3	2.1	2.1
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.7	.7
Germanic Languages	3	2.1	2.1
Eastern Bloc Languages	1	.7	.7
No ugly language exists	46	32.9	32.9
Inability to answer	2	1.4	1.4
Total	140	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.66A.: UGLY LANGUAGE 2

Ugly language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	21	15.0	35.6
Swiss-German	6	4.3	10.2
Spanish (no specification)	1	.7	1.7
European Spanish	1	.7	1.7
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.7	1.7
Dutch	10	7.1	16.9
Danish	3	2.1	5.1
Russian	2	1.4	3.4
Thai	1	.7	1.7

TABLE 4.66B.: UGLY LANGUAGE 2

Ugly language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Chinese	2	1.4	3.4
Arabic	5	3.6	8.5
Balkan Languages	1	.7	1.7
Yugoslavian	1	.7	1.7
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.7	1.7
Germanic Languages	2	1.4	3.4
Asian Languages	1	.7	1.7
Total	59	42.1	100.0
Missing System	81	57.9	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.67.: UGLY LANGUAGE 3

Ugly language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	4	2.9	17.4
Swiss-German	1	.7	4.3
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.7	4.3
European Spanish	1	.7	4.3
Brazilian Portuguese	1	.7	4.3
English (no specification)	1	.7	4.3
Romansh	1	.7	4.3
Dutch	1	.7	4.3
Swedish	3	2.1	13.0
Norwegian	1	.7	4.3
Danish	2	1.4	8.7
Turkish	1	.7	4.3
Arabic	3	2.1	13.0
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.7	4.3
Germanic Languages	1	.7	4.3
Total	23	16.4	100.0
Missing System	117	83.6	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.68.: UGLY LANGUAGE 4

Ugly language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	14.3
Dutch	1	.7	14.3
Swedish	1	.7	14.3
Serbo-Croatian	1	.7	14.3
Tamil	1	.7	14.3
Chinese	1	.7	14.3
Japanese	1	.7	14.3
Total	7	5.0	100.0
Missing System	133	95.0	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.69.: UGLY LANGUAGE 5

Ugly language 5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Germanic Languages	1	.7	50.0
Eastern Bloc Languages	1	.7	50.0
Total	2	1.4	100.0
Missing System	138	98.6	
Total	140	100.0	

4.2.8.2. THE GERMAN-SPEAKING PART OF SWITZERLAND

FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

TABLE 4.70.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 1

Favourite Language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	6	4.3	4.3
Standard German	6	4.3	4.3
Swiss-German	46	32.9	32.9
Swiss-German Dialect	9	6.4	6.4
Dialect in Germany	1	.7	.7
Austrian German	1	.7	.7
French (no specification)	15	10.7	10.7
Italian (no specification)	19	13.6	13.6
Spanish (no specification)	6	4.3	4.3
English (no specification)	23	16.4	16.4
Romansh	1	.7	.7
Dutch	1	.7	.7
Russian	1	.7	.7
Canadian English	1	.7	.7
Arabic	1	.7	.7
Inability to answer	3	2.1	2.1
Total	140	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.71.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 2

Favourite Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	3	2.1	9.7
Standard German	5	3.6	16.1
Swiss-German	3	2.1	9.7
Swiss-German Dialect	5	3.6	16.1
French (no specification)	1	.7	3.2
Italian (no specification)	4	2.9	12.9
Spanish (no specification)	3	2.1	9.7
English (no specification)	4	2.9	12.9
American English	1	.7	3.2
Swedish	1	.7	3.2
Polish	1	.7	3.2
Total	31	22.1	100.0
Missing System	109	77.9	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.72.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 3

Favourite Language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swiss-German	2	1.4	15.4
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.7	7.7
French (no specification)	5	3.6	38.5
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	7.7
English (no specification)	3	2.1	23.1
Romansh	1	.7	7.7
Total	13	9.3	100.0
Missing System	127	90.7	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.73.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 3

Favourite Language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French (no specification)	2	1.4	66.7
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	33.3
Total	3	2.1	100.0
Missing System	137	97.9	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.74.: FAVOURITE LANGUAGE 5

Favourite Language 5	Frequency	Percent
Missing System	140	100.0

BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGES

TABLE 4.75.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Most beautiful Language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	4	2.9	2.9
Swiss-German	10	7.1	7.1
Swiss-German Dialect	10	7.1	7.1
Austrian German	2	1.4	1.4
French (no specification)	26	18.6	18.6
Southern French	1	.7	.7
Italian (no specification)	35	25.0	25.0
Spanish (no specification)	15	10.7	10.7
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.7	.7
English (no specification)	9	6.4	6.4
American English	1	.7	.7
Romansh	3	2.1	2.1
Swedish	1	.7	.7
Danish	1	.7	.7
Polish	1	.7	.7
Czech	1	.7	.7
Russian	2	1.4	1.4
Turkish	1	.7	.7
Ancient Greek	1	.7	.7
Thai	1	.7	.7
Romance/Latin Languages	3	2.1	2.1
Forgotten to ask the question	1	.7	.7
Disagreement with question/refusal to answer	1	.7	.7
Inability to answer; All Languages are Beautiful	9	6.4	6.4
Total	140	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.76A.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Most Beautiful Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.7	2.6
Standard German	5	3.6	12.8
Swiss-German	3	2.1	7.7
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.7	2.6
French (no specification)	13	9.3	33.3
Italian (no specification)	9	6.4	23.1
Spanish (no specification)	1	.7	2.6
English (no specification)	3	2.1	7.7

TABLE 4.76B.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Most Beautiful Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Serbo-Croatian	1	.7	2.6
Chinese	1	.7	2.6
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	2.6
Total	39	27.9	100.0
Missing System	101	72.1	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.77.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Most Beautiful Language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swiss-German	1	.7	14.3
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.7	14.3
French (no specification)	2	1.4	28.6
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	14.3
Spanish (no specification)	1	.7	14.3
Finnish	1	.7	14.3
Total	7	5.0	100.0
Missing System	133	95.0	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.78.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 4

Most Beautiful Language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
French (no specification)	1	.7	25.0
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	25.0
Arabic	1	.7	25.0
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	25.0
Total	4	2.9	100.0
Missing System	136	97.1	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.79.: MOST BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 5

Most Beautiful Language 5	Frequency	Percent
Missing System	140	100.0

TABLE 4.80A.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Other beautiful language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.7	.7
Standard German	1	.7	.7
Swiss-German Dialect	5	3.6	3.7
French (no specification)	20	14.3	14.9
Italian (no specification)	20	14.3	14.9
Spanish (no specification)	16	11.4	11.9
European Spanish	1	.7	.7
Portuguese (no specification)	5	3.6	3.7
English (no specification)	11	7.9	8.2
British English	1	.7	.7
Romansh	2	1.4	1.5
Dutch	1	.7	.7
Swedish	3	2.1	2.2
Danish	1	.7	.7
Slovenian	1	.7	.7

TABLE 4.80B.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 1

Other beautiful language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Russian	4	2.9	3.0
Tamil	1	.7	.7
Indonesian	1	.7	.7
Finnish	1	.7	.7
Modern Greek	1	.7	.7
Latin	1	.7	.7
Thai	1	.7	.7
Chinese	1	.7	.7
Japanese	1	.7	.7
Arabic	1	.7	.7
Forgotten to ask the question	8	5.7	6.0
Inability to answer	24	17.1	17.9
Total	134	95.7	100.0
Missing System	6	4.3	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.81.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 2

Other Beautiful Language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.7	2.2
French (no specification)	6	4.3	13.3
Italian (no specification)	5	3.6	11.1
Spanish (no specification)	6	4.3	13.3
Portuguese (no specification)	2	1.4	4.4
English (no specification)	6	4.3	13.3
Romansh	1	.7	2.2
Dutch	1	.7	2.2
Danish	1	.7	2.2
Serbo-Croatian	1	.7	2.2
Russian	2	1.4	4.4
Bosnian	1	.7	2.2
Finnish	1	.7	2.2
Ancient Greek	1	.7	2.2
Latin	1	.7	2.2
Korean	1	.7	2.2
Japanese	2	1.4	4.4
Caribbean Spanish	1	.7	2.2
Romance/Latin Languages	3	2.1	6.7
Slavic Languages	2	1.4	4.4
Total	45	32.1	100.0
Missing System	95	67.9	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.82A.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Other beautiful language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.7	9.1
Italian (no specification)	1	.7	9.1
Spanish (no specification)	1	.7	9.1
Portuguese (no specification)	2	1.4	18.2
English (no specification)	2	1.4	18.2
Romansh	1	.7	9.1
Russian	1	.7	9.1

TABLE 4.82B.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 3

Other beautiful language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.7	9.1
Romance/Latin Languages	1	.7	9.1
Total	11	7.9	100.0
Missing System	129	92.1	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.83.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 4

Other beautiful language 4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
English (no specification)	1	.7	100.0
Missing System	139	99.3	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.84.: OTHER BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE 5

Other beautiful language 5	Frequency	Percent
Missing System	140	100.0

UGLY LANGUAGES

TABLE 4.85A.: UGLY LANGUAGE 1

Ugly language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
German (no specification)	1	.7	.7
Standard German	3	2.1	2.1
Swiss-German	3	2.1	2.1
Swiss-German Dialect	8	5.7	5.7
Austrian German	1	.7	.7
French (no specification)	6	4.3	4.3
Italian (no specification)	5	3.6	3.6
Spanish (no specification)	2	1.4	1.4
English (no specification)	6	4.3	4.3
American English	4	2.9	2.9
Romansh	1	.7	.7
Indian English	1	.7	.7
Dutch	4	2.9	2.9
Danish	1	.7	.7
Czech	1	.7	.7
Russian	8	5.7	5.7
Indian	1	.7	.7
Albanian	2	1.4	1.4
Turkish	1	.7	.7
Thai	1	.7	.7
Chinese	4	2.9	2.9
Japanese	3	2.1	2.1
Arabic	6	4.3	4.3
Baltic Languages	1	.7	.7
Balkan Languages	4	2.9	2.9
Yugoslavian	1	.7	.7
Germanic Languages	1	.7	.7
Slavic Languages	1	.7	.7
African Languages	1	.7	.7
Asian Languages	2	1.4	1.4

TABLE 4.85B.: UGLY LANGUAGE 1

Ugly language 1	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Eastern Languages	3	2.1	2.1
Computer Languages/Artificial Languages	1	.7	.7
Forgotten to ask the question	1	.7	.7
Disagreement with question/refusal to answer	1	.7	.7
Inability to answer; No ugly language exists	50	35.7	35.7
Total	140	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4.86.: UGLY LANGUAGE 2

Ugly language 2	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	4	2.9	12.1
Swiss-German	1	.7	3.0
Swiss-German Dialect	1	.7	3.0
Spanish (no specification)	2	1.4	6.1
Portuguese (no specification)	1	.7	3.0
English (no specification)	1	.7	3.0
American English	1	.7	3.0
Sami	1	.7	3.0
Czech	1	.7	3.0
Albanian	1	.7	3.0
Turkish	1	.7	3.0
Chinese	2	1.4	6.1
Korean	1	.7	3.0
Japanese	1	.7	3.0
Arabic	1	.7	3.0
Ukrainian	1	.7	3.0
Yugoslavian	2	1.4	6.1
Scandinavian/Nordic Languages	1	.7	3.0
Slavic Languages	2	1.4	6.1
Eastern Bloc Languages	1	.7	3.0
African Languages	1	.7	3.0
Asian Languages	1	.7	3.0
Eastern Languages	4	2.9	12.1
Total	33	23.6	100.0
Missing System	107	76.4	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.87.: UGLY LANGUAGE 3

Ugly language 3	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Standard German	1	.7	11.1
Dialect in Germany	1	.7	11.1
Russian	1	.7	11.1
Chinese	3	2.1	33.3
Arabic	1	.7	11.1
Balkan Languages	1	.7	11.1
Yugoslavian	1	.7	11.1
Total	9	6.4	100.0
Missing System	131	93.6	
Total	140	100.0	

TABLE 4.88.: UGLY LANGUAGE 4

Ugly language 4		Frequency	Percent
Missing	System	140	100.0

4.3. TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

Within the scope of the present publication, we deal with the subjects
raised in the following hypotheses: Hypothesis 2 (Gender), Hypothesis 3
(Age), Hypothesis 4 (Education) and Hypothesis 7 (Linguistic
Background). They all refer to Hypothesis 1 below whose aim is to find out
whether or not social and sociolinguistic variables have any relation with
the way the informants react to the questions.

4.3.1. HYPOTHESIS 1

**Aesthetic judgments and related rationalisations (content as well as
form) vary in relation to a number of factors: gender, age, education,
locality and contact situation, linguistic community and mother
tongue(s), the number of languages acquired or known by the speakers
(linguistic background), non-aesthetic judgments about the languages
in question (e.g., their difficulty, utility, prestige), the image of the
speech community and or the neighbourhood, and the historical
background of the languages.**

GENDER

4.3.2. HYPOTHESIS 2

**Women and men have different approaches to aesthetic judgments on
languages, whether regional or standard varieties.**

The table below reveals the number of men and women willing or reluctant
to pass judgments on languages.

THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER AND PASSING JUDGMENTS ON LANGUAGES

PASSING JUDGEMENTS ON LANGUAGES BY THE INFORMANTS, CORRELATED
WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Reluctant to pass judgments	8	8	16
Willing to pass judgments	91	79	170
Ambivalent	41	53	94
Total	140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.379	2	.304
N of Valid Cases	280		

According to the results of the Chi-Square Tests, the two variables of gender and passing aesthetic judgment on languages are not significantly dependent. The Chi-Square value in this table, 2.379, is the measure of this indicator in our data. The higher the value of the Chi-Square, the greater the dependence of the two variables – gender and the making judgments in this case. The significance of this value, .304, is the percentage of the probability of observed dependence in our data, as measured by the value of Chi-Square. It is in fact the result of chance and not of a real relation of dependence in the data collected. In other words, in this particular case where the significance value is .304, if we say that the two variables are dependent, the chance of our being wrong is 30.4% (or 69.6% the chance of being right). The smaller this probability, the surer the dependence observed in our data.

The Chi-Square Test enables us to compare the frequencies that we observe with those that we should expect. A Chi-Square probability of .05 or less is commonly interpreted by social scientists as justification for rejecting the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the observed and expected values. This means that the row variable is unrelated (that is, only randomly related) to the column variable. In our table, the dependence between the two variables as measured by Pearson's Chi-Square is not significant (Chi-Square Value=2.379, 2-sided Sig.=.304), as the significance value (x^2) is not equal to or lower than .05 (see Butler, 1985: 113).

The Chi-Square value is not interpretable directly, but must be compared to a standard table of Chi-Square distribution. The columns of this table are alternative significance levels (.001, .01, .05, etc.) and the rows are degrees of freedom (df). The degrees of freedom (df), in the Chi Square Test, is calculated by multiplying the number of rows (disregarding the totals) minus one by the number of columns (disregarding the totals) minus one (see Anshen 1942: 25). In the table of data given above concerning judgments and gender, there are three rows (Reluctant to pass judgments, Willing to pass judgments, and Ambivalent) and two columns (Male, Female). The degree of freedom for this table, therefore, is calculated as: df = (3-1) (2-1) = 2.

THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER AND JUDGING SPECIFIC LANGUAGES

In the tables below, we will look at the relation of gender and the way respondents reacted to particular languages. These tables display the

different judgmental aspects toward languages. The first series of tables shows the results relating gender with favourite languages. As can be seen, the dependence of gender and the choice of favourite language is highly significant as concerns Italian, English and Spanish. The significance values are .019, .008, and .005, respectively. The number of informants who consider Italian as their favourite language is low, generally speaking. However, men and women show different tendencies concerning the choice of this language. 14 (out of 140) men chose Italian, while 28 (out of 140) women did so. As far as the choice of English is concerned, women are more likely to choose this language as their favourite one than men are – 38 (out of 140) women as opposed to 20 (out of 140) men. Men are more reluctant to choose Spanish as their favourite language as compared to women (4 women vs 16 men).

As far as the choice of beautiful languages is concerned, the dependence of gender and the choice of French is very significant. Its significance value is .031. Women are more likely to consider French as a beautiful language than men. 74 (out of 140) women mentioned French as a beautiful language while 56 (out of 140) men did so. On the other hand, no significant dependence of gender and the choice of ugly languages can be observed in our data.

THE CHOICE OF FRENCH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
French as a favourite language	Yes	68	56	124
	No	72	84	156
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.084	1	.149
Total	280		

THE CHOICE OF SWISS-GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Swiss-German as a favourite language	Yes	39	28	67
	No	101	112	213
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.374	1	.123
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE CHOICE OF ITALIAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Italian as a favourite language	Yes	14	28	42
	No	126	112	238
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.490	1	.019
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE CHOICE OF ROMANSH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Romansh as a favourite language	Yes	1	1	2
	No	139	139	278
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000	1	1.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE CHOICE OF HIGH GERMAN[1] AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
High German as a favourite language	Yes	13	13	26
	No	127	127	254
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000	1	1.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

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[1] For reasons of readability we use the term High German in this chapter instead of "Other varieties of German" (compare chapter 4.2.2.).

THE CHOICE OF ENGLISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
English as a favourite language	Yes	20	38	58
	No	120	102	222
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.046	1	.008
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE CHOICE OF SPANISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Spanish as a favourite language	Yes	4	16	20
	No	136	124	260
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.754	1	.005
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER AND THE CHOICE OF BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGES[2]

FRENCH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
French as a beautiful language	Yes	56	74	130
	No	84	66	150
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.652	1	.031
N of Valid Cases	280		

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[2] Comprising Most Beautiful as well as Other Beautiful Languages.

SWISS-GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Swiss-German as a beautiful language	Yes	18	9	27
	No	122	131	253
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.320	1	.068
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Italian as a beautiful language	Yes	64	73	137
	No	76	67	143
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.158	1	.282
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Romansh as a beautiful language	Yes	2	5	7
	No	138	135	273
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.319	1	.251
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
High German as a beautiful language	Yes	21	14	35
	No	119	126	245
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.600	1	.206
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
English as a beautiful language	Yes	34	34	68
	No	106	106	212
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000	1	1.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Spanish as a beautiful language	Yes	37	41	78
	No	103	99	202
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.284	1	.594
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER AND THE CHOICE OF UGLY LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
French as an ugly language	Yes	4	2	6
	No	136	138	274
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.681	1	.409
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Swiss-German as an ugly language	Yes	46	45	91
	No	94	95	189
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.016	1	.898
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Italian as an ugly language	Yes	3	1	4
	No	137	139	276
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.014	1	.314
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Romansh as an ugly language	Yes	2		2
	No	138	140	278
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.014	1	.156
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
High German as an ugly language	Yes	19	18	37
	No	121	122	243
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.031	1	.860
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

| | | Gender | | Total |
		Male	Female	
English as an ugly language	Yes	4	10	14
	No	136	130	266
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.707	1	.100
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

| | | Gender | | Total |
		Male	Female	
Spanish as an ugly language	Yes	4	3	7
	No	136	137	273
Total		140	140	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.147	1	.702
N of Valid Cases	280		

DUTCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH GENDER
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

| | | Gender | | Total |
		Male	Female	
Dutch as an ugly language	Yes	13	7	20
	No	127	132	259
Total		140	139	279

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.893	1	.169
N of Valid Cases	279		

AGE

4.3.3. HYPOTHESIS 3

Older speakers are prouder of their regional varieties than the younger generation.

In this present study we will only focus on the differences of responses as offered by different age groups. However, the question of pride in one's regional variety cannot be correlated with age with the present state of the quantitative and qualitative data. Several stages of statistical operations as

well as qualitative analyses must be carried out so as to further investigate this hypothesis. We will look at the aspect of pride within this hypothesis in future.

On the basis of this hypothesis, different age groups' responses are examined to find out whether any differences in their judgments could be observed. As our hypothesis implies we did indeed find that different age groups manifest different judgmental approaches toward languages. According to the Chi-Square tests presented in the table below, the Chi-Square value is 21.729 and the significance value is .001. This latter value reveals a high degree of dependence between the variable of Age and the informants' judgments. Younger informants (13-16 and 20-30) are more likely to judge languages (either positively or negatively) than middle-aged and older informants. On the other hand, middle-aged and older informants reveal more ambivalence in passing judgments on languages.

The relation between age and the choice of languages as favourite, beautiful, and ugly, have been calculated. Amongst favourite languages, the choice of High German, English and Spanish depend on age. The correlation of High German and age is higher for older subjects. As for the choice of English as a favourite language, younger informants show more tendencies toward it. Younger subjects again are more favourable toward Spanish as compared to other age groups. The significance values are .05, .000, and .000, respectively. The choice of Spanish as a beautiful language and age is significantly dependent. The significance value is .02. In this case, once again, younger informants manifest more favourable attitudes toward Spanish than other age groups.

Amongst the languages that have been considered as ugly, the choice of French (2-sided Sig.=.003) and High German (2-sided Sig.=.019) is highly dependent on the age of the respondents. In the case of French, younger speakers (13-16 and 20-30) are the only age groups who consider this language ugly. The results for High German reveal that as the age decreases the negative attitude toward this language increases. In other words the youngest age group (13-16) manifests negative attitudes toward High German more than any other age group, while the oldest age group, by contrast, reveals less dislike toward this language.

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND PASSING JUDGMENTS ON LANGUAGES
PASSING ON JUDGEMENTS, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION/COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Passing on judgements	Reluctant to judge		4	4	8	16
	Willing to judge	24	61	43	42	170
	Ambivalent	4	19	37	34	94
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.729	6	.001
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND THE CHOICE OF FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
French as a favourite language	Yes	7	34	41	42	124
	No	21	50	43	42	156
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.523	3	.089
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Swiss-German as a favourite language	Yes	7	17	18	25	67
	No	21	67	66	59	213
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

Pearson Chi-Square	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	2.374	1	.123
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Italian as a favourite language	Yes	6	11	12	13	42
	No	22	73	72	71	238
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.195	3	.754
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Romansh as a favourite language	Yes		1	1		2
	No	28	83	83	84	278
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.343	3	.719
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
High German as a favourite language	Yes		5	8	13	26
	No	28	79	76	71	254
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.801	3	.050
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
English as a favourite language	Yes	14	21	10	13	58
	No	14	63	74	71	222
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.934	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Spanish as a favourite language	Yes	5	12	3		20
	No	23	72	81	84	260
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.385	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND THE CHOICE OF BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE

FRENCH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
French as a beautiful language	Yes	15	34	35	46	130
	No	13	50	49	38	150
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.882	3	.181
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Swiss-German as a beautiful language	Yes	4	7	6	10	27
	No	24	77	78	74	253
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.954	3	.582
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Italian as a beautiful language	Yes	14	37	44	42	137
	No	14	47	40	42	143
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.253	3	.740
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Romansh as a beautiful language	Yes		5	1	1	7
	No	28	79	83	83	273
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.007	3	.111
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
High German as a beautiful language	Yes	1	7	13	14	35
	No	27	77	71	70	245
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.388	3	.146
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
English as a beautiful language	Yes	7	22	17	22	68
	No	21	62	67	62	212
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.088	3	.780
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Spanish as a beautiful language	Yes	9	33	20	16	78
	No	19	51	64	68	202
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.644	3	.022
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND THE CHOICE OF UGLY LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
French as an ugly language	Yes	3	3			6
	No	25	81	84	84	274
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.307	3	.003
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Swiss-German as an ugly language	Yes	11	33	25	22	91
	No	17	51	59	62	189
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.162	3	.244
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Italian as an ugly language	Yes	1	3			4
	No	27	81	84	84	276
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.087	3	.107
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Romansh as an ugly language	Yes	1	1			2
	No	27	83	84	84	278
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.700	3	.195
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
High German as an ugly language	Yes	8	13	11	5	37
	No	20	71	73	79	243
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.997	3	.019
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
English as an ugly language	Yes	2	3	5	4	14
	No	26	81	79	80	266
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.802	3	.849
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Spanish as an ugly language	Yes	1	4	1	1	7
	No	27	80	83	83	273
Total		28	84	84	84	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.077	3	.380
N of Valid Cases	280		

DUTCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH AGE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Age				Total
		13-16	20-30	40-50	65+	
Dutch as an ugly language	Yes		4	8	8	20
	No	28	80	76	75	259
Total		28	84	84	83	279

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.354	3	.226
N of Valid Cases	279		

EDUCATION

4.3.4. HYPOTHESIS 4

The higher the education the more reluctant the speakers will be to express aesthetic judgments on languages.

Having correlated the variable of Education and the question of passing judgment on languages, we can observe a significant degree of dependence between these two parameters. The significance value in this case is .035. The table below shows that indeed informants with university education are more reluctant, less willing and more ambivalent about judging languages as compared to other groups.

THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND PASSING JUDGMENTS ON LANGUAGES

PASSING ON JUDGEMENTS, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Passing on judgements	Reluctant to judge	3	5	8		16
	Willing to judge	51	53	42	24	170
	Ambivalent	30	26	34	4	94
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.547	6	.035
N of Valid Cases	280		

The frequencies listed in the table above can be re-interpreted in terms of percentages in the following table to make the differences more visible.

		Education			
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils
Passing on judgements	Reluctant to judge	3%	6%	10%	0%
	Willing to judge	61%	63%	50%	86%
	Ambivalent	36%	31%	40%	14%
		100	100	100	100

The results of the correlation tests between the variable of Education and the choice of favourite, beautiful and ugly languages are displayed in the tables below. As can be seen, the choice of French (2-sided Sig.=.032), High German (2-sided Sig.=.003), and English (2-sided Sig.=.000) as favourite languages correlates with the variable of Education to a highly significant degree. Informants with secondary education manifest more favourable attitudes toward French than other groups. In the case of English, if we were to present the scores then Pupils would come first, informants with university education second, those with primary third, and the respondents with secondary education last. The results for High German suggest that the higher the level of education the more favourable the attitudes toward this language.

The dependence of the variable of Education and the choice of High German as a beautiful language is also significant. The significance value for this case is .021. In this case again the informants with university education reveal the most favourable attitudes toward High German. As the level of education decreases the favourability toward this language also decreases.

The choice of French (2-sided Sig.=.007) and High German (2-sided Sig.=.019), as ugly languages, reveals a high degree of dependence with the variable of Education, with pupils revealing the most negative attitudes toward both High German and French.

THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE CHOICE OF FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
French as a favourite language	Yes	33	46	38	7	124
	No	51	38	46	21	156
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.839	3	.032
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Swiss-German as a favourite language	Yes	24	20	16	7	67
	No	60	64	68	21	213
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.112	3	.549
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Italian as a favourite language	Yes	13	9	14	6	42
	No	71	75	70	22	238
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.316	3	.510
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Romansh as a favourite language	Yes	1		1		2
	No	83	84	83	28	278
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.343	3	.719
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
High German as a favourite language	Yes	2	10	14		26
	No	82	74	70	28	254
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.737	3	.003
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
English as a favourite language	Yes	15	9	20	14	58
	No	69	75	64	14	222
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.644	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Spanish as a favourite language	Yes	5	4	6	5	20
	No	79	80	78	23	260
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.744	3	.125
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE CHOICE OF BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
French as a beautiful language	Yes	44	42	29	15	130
	No	40	42	55	13	150
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.988	3	.072
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Swiss-German as a beautiful language	Yes	9	5	9	4	27
	No	75	79	75	24	253
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.227	3	.527
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Italian as a beautiful language	Yes	35	47	41	14	137
	No	49	37	43	14	143
Tota		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.444	3	.328
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Romansh as a beautiful language	Yes	4	1	2		7
	No	80	83	82	28	273
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.077	3	.380
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
High German as a beautiful language	Yes	7	9	18	1	35
	No	77	75	66	27	245
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.741	3	.021
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
English as a beautiful language	Yes	22	22	17	7	68
	No	62	62	67	21	212
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.088	3	.780
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Spanish as a beautiful language	Yes	26	22	21	9	78
	No	58	62	63	19	202
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.114	3	.774
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE CHOICE OF UGLY LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
French as an ugly language	Yes	1		2	3	6
	No	83	84	82	25	274
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.036	3	.007
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Swiss-German as an ugly language	Yes	25	29	26	11	91
	No	59	55	58	17	189
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.123	3	.771
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Italian as an ugly language	Yes	2		1	1	4
	No	82	84	83	27	276
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.705	3	.439
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Romansh as an ugly language	Yes			1	1	2
	No	84	84	83	27	278
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.700	3	.195
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
High German as an ugly language	Yes	11	13	5	8	37
	No	73	71	79	20	243
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.997	3	.019
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
English as an ugly language	Yes	2	6	4	2	14
	No	82	78	80	26	266
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.306	3	.511
N of Valid Cases	280		

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Spanish as an ugly language	Yes		1	5	1	7
	No	84	83	79	27	273
Total		84	84	84	28	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.984	3	.072
N of Valid Cases	280		

DUTCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Education				Total
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Pupils	
Dutch as an ugly language	Yes	5	8	7		20
	No	79	75	77	28	259
Total		84	83	84	28	279

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.281	3	.350
N of Valid Cases	279		

LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY AND NUMBER OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE SPEAKERS

4.3.5. HYPOTHESIS 7

The more languages one speaks, the surer one is of one's judgments.

For this hypothesis, we will merely correlate the judgments of the informants toward different languages with the number of languages they speak. However, although the variable of "Passing judgments on languages", to some extent reveals the informants' willingness, reluctance or ambivalence, at the present stage of our data, it is not possible to provide the full outcome of this test. This requires further quantitative as well as qualitative procedures to be able to explore the certitude of the informants in relation to their judgments.

According to this hypothesis only the number of languages should be correlated with the way the informants judge languages. However, the

term "linguistic biography" can comprise the informants' mother tongue as well. Also, while conducting the short interviews, we noticed that the informants' mother tongue was an important indicator of the way they judged languages. In the light of this, we decided to correlate not only the number of languages with judgments, but also how particular languages were judged according to the informants' mother tongue(s).

The tables below display the results of Chi-Square tests correlating the informants' mother tongues and their linguistic biography. The first two sets of tables reveal the tests that were carried out correlating the informants' judgments in general with their mother tongue and their linguistic biography.

As can be seen, no significant dependence exists between these variables. The Chi-Square tests reveal no significant dependence between the informants' mother tongue and the way they judge languages generally, as the significance value is 72.8%. The second variable, that is the number of languages correlated with the informants' judgments, by contrast, reveals some degree of dependency, as the significance value is .097 (of 9.7%).

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY AND JUDGING LANGUAGES

PASSING JUDGMENTS ON LANGUAGES, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Passing Judgments on Languages	Reluctant to judge	10	5			1	16
	Willing to judge	78	76	2	1	13	170
	Ambivalent	35	48	1		10	94
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.278	8	.728
N of Valid Cases	280		

PASSING JUDGMENTS ON LANGUAGES, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES
CROSSTABULATION/COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Passing Judgments on Languages	Reluctant to judge	1	1	5	5	1	3	16
	Willing to judge	1	14	58	58	30	9	170
	Ambivalent	2	13	33	23	11	12	94
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.084	10	.097
N of Valid Cases	280		

Following, we will present the test results, correlating the informants' mother tongue with their language choices (favourite, beautiful, and ugly languages) as well as the informants' linguistic biography with their choice of favourite, beautiful and ugly languages. It would be interesting to find out whether or not the informants' judgments reveal any relation with their linguistic background. What has been observed so far is that a majority of the informants in the French-speaking part of Switzerland chose French as their favourite language and those in the German-speaking part of Switzerland chose Swiss-German as their favourite language.

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY AND THE CHOICE OF FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

The relation of the informants' linguistic biography and their choice of favourite, beautiful, and ugly languages is confirmed by Chi-Square tests in some cases. Amongst the favourite languages, the choice of French and Swiss-German are very highly dependent on the informants' mother tongue. The significance value for both cases is .000. In the case of French, 92 (out of 123) French speakers consider this language as their favourite one, while only 24 (out of 129) Swiss-German speakers consider French as such. As far as the choice of Swiss-German is concerned, 64 (out of 129) respondents, whose mother tongue is Swiss-German, consider it as their favourite language, while only one French speaker (out of 123) considers Swiss-German as such.

The choice of Italian and High German is dependent on both variables of mother tongue and number of languages. The significance values for Italian are .013 and .004 for mother tongue and number of languages, respectively. 26 (out of 129) informants, whose mother tongue is Swiss-German, consider Italian as their favourite language, whereas only 12 (out of 123) French speakers do so. Amongst the 280 informants, there are three whose mother tongue is Italian, and two of them chose Italian as their favourite language.

The significance value of the Chi-Square tests for the variables High German and mother tongue is .006, and for number of languages and High German .001. Informants with Germanic linguistic background are more likely to have more positive attitudes toward High German. 18 (out of 129) informants whose mother tongue is Swiss-German consider High German as a favourite language, while 3 (out of 123) French speakers and 5 (out of 24) of the speakers of other languages do so. Also, the more languages the

informants speak the more likely they are to choose High German as their favourite language.

Choosing French as a beautiful language is dependent on the informant's number of languages. The significance value for this case is .042. In this case no specific pattern is observed, as the scores fluctuate from one group to another. The percentage of the informants who chose French as a beautiful language within each particular group is as follows:

		Number of Languages					
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more
French as a beautiful language	Percentages	50%	64%	48%	41%	52%	20%

The choice of Swiss-German as a beautiful language depends on the informant's mother tongue. This correlation is highly significant, as the significance value is .000. In this case 25 (out of 129) Swiss-German speakers consider this language beautiful while no French speaker does so. Amongst those who are not native speakers of the four national languages in Switzerland, only 2 (out of 24) consider Swiss-German beautiful.

The informants' mother tongue is significantly dependent on the choice of Swiss-German as an ugly language. 72 (out of 123) speakers whose mother tongue is French consider Swiss-German as an ugly language, while only 9 (out of 129) Swiss-German speakers consider it ugly. The significance value for the Chi-Square test is .000. The choice of High German as an ugly language and the variables mother tongue and number of languages are interdependent. Indeed the number of speakers whose mother tongue is French is higher (25 out of 123) as compared to Swiss-German speakers (9 out of 129) for choosing High German as an ugly language. The significance value for this case is .021. The correlation between the number of languages and the informants' judgments in the case of High German as an ugly language does not reveal a consistent pattern. The percentage of the informants who chose High German as an ugly language within each particular group is as follows:

		Number of Languages					
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more
High German as an ugly language	Percentages	0 %	.3 %	11 %	23 %	9 %	4 %

Considering Dutch as an ugly language is dependent on the informants' mother tongue. The significance value for this case is .022. Informants whose mother tongue is French (16 out of 123) have more negative attitudes toward Dutch than Swiss-German speakers (6 out of 129).

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY AND THE CHOICE OF FAVOURITE LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
French as a	Yes	92	24			8	124
favourite language	No	31	105	3	1	16	156
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	85.235	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

FRENCH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION/COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
French as a favourite language	Yes	2	11	49	35	18	9	124
	No	2	17	47	51	24	15	156
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.044	5	.693
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Swiss-German as a favourite language	Yes	1	64			2	67
	No	122	65	3	1	22	213
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	87.319	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Swiss-German as a favourite language	Yes	2	11	24	17	8	5	67
	No	2	17	72	69	34	19	213
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.676	5	.246
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Italian as a favourite language	Yes	12	26	2		2	42
	No	111	103	1	1	22	238
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.636	4	.013
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Italian as a favourite language	Yes			8	22	7	5	42
	No	4	28	88	64	35	19	238
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.278	5	.004
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Romansh as a favourite language	Yes		1		1		2
	No	123	128	3		24	278
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	140.086	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages Spoken						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Romansh as a favourite language	Yes					1	1	2
	No	4	28	96	86	41	23	278
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.218	5	.205
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
High German as a favourite language	Yes	3	18			5	26
	No	120	111	3	1	19	254
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.391	4	.006
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
High German as a favourite language	Yes			6	9	3	8	26
	No	4	28	90	77	39	16	254
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.173	5	.001
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
English as a favourite language	Yes	24	26			8	58
	No	99	103	3	1	16	222
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.505	4	.477
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
English as a favourite language	Yes		5	19	17	12	5	58
	No	4	23	77	69	30	19	222
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.860	5	.722
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION /COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Spanish as a favourite language	Yes	11	6			3	20
	No	112	123	3	1	21	260
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.155	4	.532
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A FAVOURITE LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Spanish as a favourite language	Yes		1	5	11	2	1	20
	No	4	27	91	75	40	23	260
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TEST

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.203	5	.287
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY AND THE CHOICE OF BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE

FRENCH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
French as a beautiful language	Yes	58	63	1		8	130
	No	65	66	2	1	16	150
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.055	4	.549
N of Valid Cases	280		

FRENCH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION /COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
French as a favourite language	Yes	2	18	47	36	22	5	130
	No	2	10	49	50	20	19	150
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.498	5	.042
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Swiss-German as a beautiful language	Yes		25			2	27
	No	123	104	3	1	22	253
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.637	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION/COUNT

		Number of Languages Spoken						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Swiss-German as a beautiful language	Yes		7	9	7	3	1	27
	No	4	21	87	79	39	23	253
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.364	5	.095
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Italian as a beautiful language	Yes	60	68	2		7	137
	No	63	61	1	1	17	143
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.827	4	.212
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Italian as a beautiful language	Yes		6	47	48	25	11	137
	No	4	22	49	38	17	13	143
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.917	5	.007
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Romansh as a beautiful language	Yes	1	4		1	1	7
	No	122	125	3		23	273
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	40.978	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Romansh as a beautiful language	Yes		1	1	3	1	1	7
	No	4	27	95	83	41	23	273
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.693	5	.890
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE
CROSSTABULATION/COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
High German as a beautiful language	Yes	19	11			5	35
	No	104	118	3	1	19	245
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.934	4	.294
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES
CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
High German as a beautiful language	Yes		2	14	6	7	6	35
	No	4	26	82	80	35	18	245
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.181	5	.147
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
English as a beautiful language	Yes	32	30	1	1	4	68
	No	91	99	2		20	212
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.284	4	.369
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
English as a beautiful language	Yes	1	10	25	17	8	7	68
	No	3	18	71	69	34	17	212
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.043	5	.543
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Spanish as a beautiful language	Yes	35	39	1		3	78
	No	88	90	2	1	21	202
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.631	4	.458
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS A BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages Spoken						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Spanish as a beautiful language	Yes		5	32	21	15	5	78
	No	4	23	64	65	27	19	202
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.756	5	.239
N of Valid Cases	280		

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY AND THE CHOICE OF UGLY LANGUAGES

FRENCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
French as an ugly language	Yes		6				6
	No	123	123	3	1	24	274
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.177	4	.127
N of Valid Cases	280		

FRENCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
French as an ugly language	Yes			2	1	3		6
	No	4	28	94	85	39	24	274
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.629	5	.250
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Swiss-German as an ugly language	Yes	72	9	2		8	91
	No	51	120	1	1	16	189
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	78.401	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	280		

SWISS-GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Swiss-German as an ugly language	Yes	1	7	32	34	13	4	91
	No	3	21	64	52	29	20	189
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.580	5	.349
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Italian as an ugly language	Yes		3	.		1	4
	No	123	126	3	1	23	276
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.855	4	.426
N of Valid Cases	280		

ITALIAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Italian as an ugly language	Yes			2	1	1		4
	No	4	28	94	85	41	24	276
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.418	5	.922
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other languages	
Romansh as an ugly language	Yes	1	1				2
	No	122	128	3	1	24	278
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.225	4	.994
N of Valid Cases	280		

ROMANSH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Romansh as an ugly language	Yes			1	1			2
	No	4	28	96	85	41	24	278
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.983	5	.703
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
High German as an ugly language	Yes	25	9	1		2	37
	No	98	120	2	1	22	243
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.509	4	.021
N of Valid Cases	280		

HIGH GERMAN AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
High German as an ugly	Yes		1	11	20	4	1	37
language	No	4	27	85	66	38	23	243
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.911	5	.024
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss-German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
English as an ugly language	Yes	3	11				14
	No	120	118	3	1	24	266
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.551	4	.162
N of Valid Cases	280		

ENGLISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABLATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
English as an ugly language	Yes		1	3	7	3		14
	No	4	27	93	79	39	24	266
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.495	5	.481
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Spanish as an ugly language	Yes	3	3			1	7
	No	120	126	3	1	23	273
Total		123	129	3	1	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.394	4	.983
N of Valid Cases	280		

SPANISH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Spanish as an ugly language	Yes			1	2	2	2	7
	No	4	28	95	84	40	22	273
Total		4	28	96	86	42	24	280

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.901	5	.316
N of Valid Cases	280		

DUTCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH MOTHER TONGUE

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Mother Tongue					Total
		French	Swiss German	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages	
Dutch as an ugly language	Yes	16	3			1	20
	No	107	125	3	1	23	259
Total		123	128	3	1	24	279

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.414	4	.022
N of Valid Cases	279		

DUTCH AS AN UGLY LANGUAGE, CORRELATED WITH NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

CROSSTABULATION / COUNT

		Number of Languages						Total
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or more	
Dutch as an ugly language	Yes		2	8	6	2	2	20
	No	4	26	88	80	40	21	259
Total		4	28	96	86	42	23	279

CHI-SQUARE TESTS

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.956	5	.966
N of Valid Cases	279		

On the basis of the statistical results, Hypothesis 2 about gender is not confirmed. However, some degrees of interdependence seem to exist between the variable of Gender and certain languages. This is indeed an interesting aspect in our findings, as it is an atypical case and goes against the mainstream sociolinguistic findings about language and gender. This calls for a more in-depth study to find out why in the case of passing judgments on languages men and women have similar behaviours.

The dependence of the variable of Age and the question of aesthetic judgments is highly significant in Hypothesis 3. Younger speakers (13-16 and 20-30) are more judgmental about languages than other age groups. The number of older and middle-aged informants who are ambivalent about the idea of passing judgments on languages is higher than that found in the two younger age groups. Nevertheless, in terms of judging languages, only a few cases are significant; and in relation to making aesthetic judgments about particular languages, only a few specific age

groups can be significantly correlated with specific languages, as detailed above.

Hypothesis 4 on education also proves significant. Informants with a lower level of education demonstrate more willingness to judge as compared with those who have a higher level of education. Informants with a higher level of education, by contrast, reveal more reluctance to pass judgment on languages. Nevertheless, the correlation with passing judgments on specific languages is not always significant.

Hypothesis 7 was examined for the differences of the informants' responses correlated with their linguistic biography. The choice of specific languages as favourite, beautiful, or ugly, in certain cases, is dependent upon the informants' mother tongue or the number of languages they speak.

As has been explained before, the present state of our quantitative and qualitative data makes possible only a partial analysis of the hypotheses. Furthermore, the analysis of such issues cannot be restricted to statistical results or simple explanatory factors. They have to be seen and examined, along with qualitative analyses, in a larger context.

5. WORK IN PROGRESS AND OUTLOOK

In the previous chapter we gave insight into the statistical analysis of the 280 short interviews that have been carried out in the German-speaking and the French-speaking part of Switzerland. In this final chapter we would like to present an overview of our work in progress with its actual and future research questions, data collection, and data analysis. The overall research design of this study is one of mixed methodology – that is, quantitative and qualitative approaches are combined and different triangulation techniques are involved. The term "triangulation" in the sense of Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998: 41) "[...] refers to a surveying/nautical process in which two points (and their angles) are used to determine the unknown distance to a third point." In the social sciences it refers to the practice of studying one phenomenon by combining different methodologies (Denzin 1978: 41) and has been classified into four different types by Norman K. Denzin (ibid.). He distinguishes between "data triangulation" (several data sources are used in one study), "investigator triangulation" (multiple investigators work for the same study), "theory triangulation" (different perspectives and hypotheses are applied when data is analysed) and "methodological triangulation" (several methods are used to investigate a subject) (ibid.: 294-304). While all types of triangulation play a certain role in our study, the latter plays certainly the most prominent one. What can be expected of a study that uses methodological triangulation, however, is not so much a mutual validation of quantitative and qualitative methods but rather their mutual complementation (Seipel and Rieker 2003: 226-227). This seems to us particularly useful in a relatively unexplored field such as the aesthetic judgment on languages. Denzin (1978: 302) describes the advantage of the triangulation between methods as follows:

> The rationale for this strategy is that the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another; and by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each while overcoming their unique deficiencies.

As we have shown in Chapter 4, some of our hypotheses and initial research questions can be answered by the quantitative, statistical analysis of the short interviews. It must be said, however, that a lot of questions remain unanswered, and, more importantly, new questions were raised when the short interviews were analysed quantitatively. Needless to say, there are limits to the quantification of interview material and the statistical analysis cannot do entire justice to its complexity. Therefore, within the scope of a forthcoming dissertation, a computer assisted qualitative analysis of the 140 Swiss-German short interviews with the software

ATLAS.ti is being carried out (5.1.). A qualitative analysis will be carried out for the 140 short interviews conducted in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, which will focus on the psycho- and socio-linguistic aspects of the responses (particularly on emotions and language judgments). Moreover, two more different interview types are currently used and in the process of being further developed in both language regions, that is, long in-depth interviews (5.2.) and group discussions (5.3.). Finally, for the purpose of data triangulation, a corpus of historical texts dealing with the aesthetic aspect of languages will be analysed (5.4.).

5.1. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF SHORT INTERVIEWS

The following chapter describes a step of analysis that is being carried out within the scope of a forthcoming dissertation which deals with the situation in the German part of Switzerland.

The open-ended questions of the short interview (see Chapter 3.2.2.) led to an enormous variety of answers not only in terms of content but also in terms of length. The personal impression of the interviewers is that a considerable number of informants take pleasure in answering questions as to aesthetic judgments on languages and their language biography; some of them even showed enthusiasm in having longer discussions with the interviewers. This matter of fact could be one of the reasons for detailed, long answers and a certain level of (valuable) digression on part of some interviewees. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998: 101) say that "although textbooks classify interviews into qualitative and quantitative, there actually is a continuum ranging from unstructured and open-ended to highly structured and close-ended." The short interviews in this study did have a tendency toward the qualitative from the beginning; but one could argue that it were the informants themselves who strengthened this tendency by answering in the way described above. Hence, in Chapter 5.1.1. we will delineate in how far a qualitative approach to the short interviews can complement the statistical results presented in Chapter 4.

5.1.1. AIMS OF THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

It is important to notice that a different methodological approach to a data source does not change or in any way extend the data as such. It merely allows the researcher to see the data from a different perspective and, in so doing, to gain new knowledge. Some of the aspects that will be investigated qualitatively are outlined in the following and some potentialities of a qualitative approach will be described.

HYPOTHESES: GETTING CLOSER TO THE INFORMANTS' CONCEPTS
AND THEIR WORDS FOR THEM

HYPOTHESIS 7

In the statistical analysis of our interviews, we are able to refer to the
number of languages our informants speak and we can draw certain
conclusions as to the effect this number has on other variables. The actual
number of languages an informant speaks derives directly from exchange
20: "What (other) languages do you speak?" The quantitative analysis,
however, cannot provide insight into the way in which people define "to
speak a language". Some informants answered the question by simply
enumerating a certain number of languages. Others wanted to know, what
was meant by "speaking a language". The interviewers did not provide
definitions but asked the informants to define their skills for every
language they mention in the way they conceptualise them. A qualitative
analysis will allow us to make use of the considerable number of self-
assessments and definitions as to what it means to "speak a language" as
expressed by the informants. It will be interesting to find out whether the
informants' definitions differ for instance according to the language in
question. It is also possible that one or several of the social variables (e.g.,
education) play a role in the informants' self-assessments. Exposure to
different cultures and languages, a higher level of education and learning
languages in school may provide different possibilities for self-assessment.

HYPOTHESIS 8

In exchange 21 we asked our informants how they had learnt the languages
they speak. The aim was to find out whether languages that are acquired in
a natural way are seen as more beautiful than languages learnt in school.
Many informants would agree that a language is not learnt in one single
way: They refer to the foreign language classroom but they also mention
stays abroad, friends speaking the language, or caretakers in their
childhood as sources of language input and learning. By quantifying these
answers, we are not able to weigh the different sources as the informants
would probably weigh them. It is therefore important to study passages
about language acquisition and learning carefully in order to find out what
the informants think the most fruitful way of learning is, or what
combinations of ways to learn a language are most helpful. The
information that our respondents provide about their stays abroad (in
exchanges 18 and 19) will be important in this connection as well: What is
the respondents' attitude toward language learning in their own country
compared to language learning abroad? When respondents speak about

their language skills in exchange 20, do they link this explicitly to the type of acquisition or to the extent of contact with the language?

HYPOTHESIS 10

There are two ways in which researchers can treat the hypothesis concerning non-aesthetic language judgments. We can define ourselves what languages are prestigious because of their high instrumental value, and what languages are stigmatised because of their low instrumental value and check quantitatively whether respondents tend to favour the first. Alternatively, we can look at non-aesthetic judgments on different languages given by the respondents themselves. A quantification of non-aesthetic judgments is possible by analysing all exchanges that concern "reasons" (the informants are asked to justify their decisions as to their favourite, most beautiful and ugly languages). However, it is a fact that non-aesthetic judgments on languages are uttered by our respondents not only when they are explicitly invited to provide them in the exchanges mentioned. Non-aesthetic judgments can appear at other points of the interview as well, e.g., when questions about the linguistic biography are asked. There are informants, to mention just one example, who express their regret at not speaking or having learnt certain "useful" languages, English being an example. While these passages cannot be taken into account by the statistical analysis, they can be dealt with in a qualitative approach.

HYPOTHESIS 11

We hypothesise that certain languages can be judged negatively because of the negative image of their speakers. As examples we give the negative attitudes of Swiss-Germans toward Germans and the negative attitudes of French-speaking Swiss toward their German-speaking compatriots. In Chapter 4 we have seen that, indeed, Swiss-German is judged negatively by the respondents from the French part of Switzerland. A quantification of "reasons", again, will shed light on this issue to a certain extent (namely, we will be able to see if there are "reasons" referring to the speakers of a language). Nevertheless, we assume that if there are provisos against the users of a certain language, not all informants would readily admit it. It is therefore necessary to investigate qualitatively the relationship between the attitude toward a language and the attitude toward its speakers. We will have to search for all passages in the interview material that touch upon this subject in the slightest way – not only within the exchanges that concern "reasons".

TYPOLOGIES: UNDERSTANDING COMPLEX SOCIAL REALITIES

Within the framework of the computer assisted qualitative data analysis of the Swiss-German interviews, we plan to use the technique of "type construction" in order to gain further knowledge about the field of the aesthetic judgment on languages and its related areas. The aim of type construction is to "[…] comprehend, understand and explain complex social realities as far as possible." (Kluge, 2000: 1). The informants' linguistic universe and linguistic reality is doubtlessly part of a larger and complex social reality that each of our informants encounters. We aim at investigating the place of the aesthetic judgment within these realities and the place of these realities within the aesthetic judgment. We assume that, with the help of "typologies", we might be able to obtain valuable results in this respect. What is meant by type construction and typologies will be explained in the following.

If a researcher decides to work with typologies, he or she decides to systematically assign single cases (in our study, single informants) to larger groups which share certain traits and which can thereafter be analysed and compared further. The resulting groups (called "types" by Kluge) should have the following characteristic: "The elements within a type have to be as similar as possible (*intern heterogeneity* on the 'level of the type') and the differences between the types have to be as strong as possible (*external heterogeneity* on the 'level of the typology'" (Kluge 1999 quoted in Kluge 2000: 2). Kluge (ibid.) states that one problem with type construction in the social sciences is that there are not many studies "[…] in which the process of type construction is explicated and systematized in detail." She sees a further problem in the variety of, sometimes barely defined, concepts of type used in different studies (e.g., ideal types, empirical types, structure types, prototypes) (ibid.). Therefore, she comes up with what she calls an "empirically grounded construction of types" in which she gives both, a clear definition of her type concept and rules for (an empirically grounded) type construction. We plan to follow Kluge's approach for this study which is resumed by Seipel and Rieker (2003: 196) as follows:

> Der Begriff der empirisch begründeten Typenbildung wird gewählt, um die notwendige Verbindung zwischen dem Besonderen und dem Generellen (Abstraktionsgrad) sowie zwischen Empirie und Theorie (Realitätsbezug) deutlich hervorzuheben. Während sich der Abstraktionsgrad darauf bezieht, dass man ausgehend von der Analyse von Einzelfällen über die Bildung von Gruppen und Typen zu generellen Aussagen gelangen kann, um damit Theorien zu entwickeln oder weiterzuentwickeln und die Forschungsfragen zu beantworten, bezieht sich der Realitätsbezug darauf, dass die Anteile empirischer Verankerung beim Typenbildungsprozess erkennbar bleiben, um die soziale Realität auch angemessen erfassen zu können.

According to Kluge, there are four steps involved in type construction. First, the researcher has to define "relevant analysis dimensions" (ibid.: 4) that is, he or she defines the attributes according to which the objects are grouped. Then, the cases are allocated to the groups they belong to. At this stage, the researcher has to check whether the external heterogeneity and the internal homogeneity (cited above) apply to the resulting groups. Kluge defines the third step as follows:

> If the examined social phenomena should become not only described but also 'understood' and 'explained', the meaningful relationships, which form the basis of the empirically founded groups and/or combinations of attributes, must be analysed. (ibid.: 4).

A close study of interview passages is involved in this step. Only then the constructed types can be defined and described "by means of their combination of attributes as well as by the meaningful relationships" (ibid.: 7). In order to illustrate the so constructed types, the researcher has different possibilities. One of them is to present prototypes for every type – that is, the researcher chooses an existing case that is able to represent the characteristics of a certain type (in our case, this would be one of the short interviews). Another possibility would be to design so called ideal types in which the essential characteristics of a type are concentrated (Seipel and Rieker 2003: 198-199).

We think that this approach offers valuable opportunities in that it deals with attributes that emerge from the interview material and therefore are "introduced" by the informants themselves (and not so much by the interviewer whose task is merely to find them in the corpus). This approach will be a worthwhile complementation and extension to the statistical approach as it goes far beyond obvious variables (such as the social variables age, gender, education and locality) but deals with attributes that emerge from the interview material only through a close study.

5.1.2. COMPUTER ASSISTED QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS (CAQDA)

> Of course, one can build theory with paper and pencil, or while in the bath or walking down the street. What the software does is to facilitate and enhance theoretical development […] (Fielding and Lee 1998: 10).

This short quotation from Fielding and Lee's work *Computer Analysis and Qualitative Research* sums up the discussion around CAQDA rather well. CAQDA can be a very powerful tool to store and organise large amounts of data and it can help with the structuring and reducing processes involved in it. Some of the programmes can even support theory building. But, and this is important, it can never replace a "thinking" researcher. Theories are not

developed by CAQDA but they can be developed by the help of it. When working with CAQDA, the researcher has to be aware of and to decide on several things: First, the adequate software for a given research project has to be selected. Weitzman and Miles (1995: 16-18) provide a useful division of software into six categories (although there are, of course, overlaps between certain categories). Robson (2002: 462) summarises these categories as follows (leaving out the first one, which are simple "Word processors"):

> *text retrievers,* which specialize in finding all instances of words, phrases or other strings of characters; some have features useful for content analysis (e.g., counting and displaying words in their context);
> *textbase managers;* which are good at organizing a large number of files, sorting them, making systematic sub-sets of the text and then providing for search and retrieval;
> *code and retrieve programs;* which help you divide texts into segments, attach codes to them, and then find and display all chunks with a given code (or combination of codes);
> *code-based theory builders;* which have the same type of code and retrieve capabilities as the previous type but also include specific features intended to support theory-building (e.g., help to make connections between codes and build higher-order codes, to formulate and test propositions implying that a particular conceptual structure fits the data);
> *conceptual network-builders;* which also help build and test theory but work via systematically built graphic networks developed from your data and concepts.

For the analysis of the Swiss-German short interviews, the software ATLAS.ti is used. Weitzman and Miles classify the software ATLAS.ti in the category "code-based theory builders". Together with the analytical options this programme offers, its relatively high user-friendliness was one of the criteria for selecting it for the above mentioned dissertation. User-friendliness is an aspect that should not be underestimated by researchers who have to choose the adequate software for their research project. It should not be forgotten that the process of transcribing interview material is extremely time-consuming and therefore it can be vital to choose a programme that can be learnt and mastered in reasonable time thereafter.

Another essential aspect to CAQDA is that the researcher makes sure he or she is conscious of the theoretical principles that come into play while the software is used. The practice of coding qualitative data material, for example, is closely linked with Glaser and Strauss' "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) that has been further developed over the years by both, Glaser and Strauss independently. Grounded theory offers a complex way in which qualitative data can be approached amongst other things by applying three different types of coding. However, Barry (1998: paragraph 2.6.) states that above all research novices risk to refer to the software they use as if it were an "epistemological standpoint" (ibid.)

which is, of course, wrong. Another issue that is raised in this context is as to whether CAQDA dictates the type of analysis that is carried out for a certain data set or whether it is the researcher first and foremost, who makes these decisions. Barry (ibid.: paragraph 2.9 referring to Buston, 1997) resumes the problem as follows: "There are fears among non-users that CAQDA might be a monster and hi-jack the analysis. However, the consensus is that such packages are not monstrous but only exert some moderate degree of influence on the process of analysis." It is important, therefore, that, while dealing with these programmes, the researcher should always make clear and be explicit about the "moderate influence" the software has on the particular study in question.

We think that the use of ATLAS.ti for the qualitative analysis will help us to complement our statistical results in a valuable and interesting way. It enables us to analyse the content of the respective short interviews in a thorough and accurate way. It leads us to a deeper understanding of the outcomes of our hypotheses testing and, more importantly, we may be able to discover, explore and describe new theories in the field of the aesthetic judgment that go beyond the subjects raised in our hypotheses.

5.2. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

We use a certain number of in-depth interviews in our study in addition to the short interviews because they will allow us to obtain new and different data. We expect this data to enable us to expand and deepen our knowledge and understanding of the field. McCracken (1988: 9) sees the in-depth interview as one of the most powerful tools within qualitative research:

> The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves.

We would like to stress at this point, that the in-depth interviews of our study cannot be seen as detached research step that stands entirely on its own. The planning and conducting of the in-depth interviews is closely related to the results and questions of previous and ongoing research steps (that is, the statistical results, the qualitative analysis of the short interviews, and the in-depth interviews themselves). In the following, sampling strategies, interview technique, and some of the subjects and fields of interest will be presented.

5.2.1. SAMPLING, INTERVIEW TECHNIQUE AND INTERVIEW SETS

While the informants for our short interviews were chosen based on four social variables and sought after by snowball principle (among other sampling techniques), the informants that are interviewed in-depth are chosen and sought after in a different way. The sampling technique that we apply here can be called "purposive sampling" (Robson 2002: 265) which means that the "[...] sample is built up which enables the researcher to satisfy her specific needs in a project." Robson mentions further that this way of sampling follows the grounded theory approach and is in this context referred to as "theoretical sampling" (ibid.). Researchers "[...] carry out initial sampling, and from analysis of results extend the sample in ways guided by their emerging theory" (ibid.).

There are different sets of in-depth interviews involved in our study. We make sure that several informants are confronted with similar interviews – but we will change and develop the interviews and select our informants according to new interests and emerging gaps in knowledge. The number of the extended interviews will be at around 20 per language region, 40 altogether. These interviews are carried out face-to-face and recorded as well. They will then be exposed to different kinds of content-analyses (Bardin, 1977). Some of the in-depth interviews will further flow into the computer assisted qualitative data analysis. For the in-depth interviews we use interview guides. Loftland and Loftland (1995: 85 quoted in Robson 2002: 281) give a good account of what an interview guide looks like:

> [...] a guide is *not* a tightly structured set of questions to be asked verbatim as written, accompanied by an associated range of preworded likely answers. Rather, *it is a list of things to be sure to ask about when talking to the person being interviewed...* You want interviewees to speak freely in their own terms about a set of concerns you bring to the interaction, plus whatever else they might introduce.

A first set of in-depth interviews is conducted currently with informants who participated in the short interviews already. This set of interviews is mainly developed from the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of the study. We will try to answer open questions and find ways to explain certain outcomes of the statistical analysis. Philipp Mayring (2001: paragraph 24) in his article "Kombination und Integration qualitativer und quantitativer Analyse" distinguishes different ways in which qualitative and quantitative approaches can be combined. If a completed quantitative study is followed by a qualitative one, he speaks of the so called "*Vertiefungsmodell*" ("deepening model"): "Eine abgeschlossene quantitative Studie wird durch qualitative Analysen weitergeführt. Die Ergebnisse werden so besser interpretierbar; beispielsweise kann durch

Fallanalysen in Korrelationen die Richtung einer möglichen Kausalität gedeutet werden. Quantitativen Ergebnissen kann auf diese Weise weiter nachgegangen werden." We are sure that Mayring's point as to the direction of causalities is crucial to our study as we deal with attitudes; we will constantly have to ask ourselves – and as a result, our informants: Does x lead to a certain attitude, or does a certain attitude lead to x?

Another set of in-depth interviews is related to the computer assisted qualitative data analysis. It is important to stress that these interviews are carried out simultaneously with the ATLAS.ti analysis (the two research and analysis units intertwine and are not to be understood as a sequence). The informants are chosen according to the theories that the researcher tries to develop. New informants, who have not participated in the short interviews, will be interviewed based on the theories that are emerging from the analysis. Their answers, again, will be integrated in the theory building process. Ideally, the sampling of additional informants would be continued until new informants would not provide new aspects to the subject and a theoretical saturation is achieved. Or as Robson (2002: 192) formulates it:

> Procedurally, the researcher is expected to make several visits to the field to collect data. The data are then analysed between visits. Visits continue until the *categories* found through analysis are 'saturated'. Or, in other words, you keep on gathering information until you reach diminishing returns and you are not adding to what you already have. (A category is a unit of information made up of events, happenings and instances [...].

In a third set of in-depth interviews we try to go beyond the initial hypotheses or, alternatively, carry them in new directions. It is even possible that, in certain respects, we go beyond the aesthetic judgment that was the starting point of this study. That is to say, one way of seeing the aesthetic judgment on languages and the interviews carried out so far is that they make people talk about much more than "just" the aesthetics of languages. Informants talk about their linguistic universes and their linguistic identities, in other words, the role languages play in their lives. Starting from there, many interesting paths can be followed, some of which will be outlined roughly in Chapter 5.2.2. This third set of interviews can be carried out with both, informants who participated in the short interviews and new informants who are selected because they, for example, are in line with the specific need of a research question.

5.2.2. POSSIBLE PATHS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

The paths described below draw by no means an exhaustive picture of the paths we are effectively following in the in-depth interviews and the paths

that could be followed. They serve merely as examples as to where the in-depth interviews can lead.

HYPOTHESES BASED PATHS

HYPOTHESIS 9

We hypothesise that traumatic events connected with languages or their acquisition may lead to negative aesthetic judgments. At the same time it might be true that positive experiences with languages lead to more favourable attitudes. There was no exchange in the short interview that triggered directly statements about positive or negative experiences with languages. Regarding positive experiences with languages, people were ready to give accounts of them in a spontaneous fashion at different points of the interview. These accounts predominantly occurred in relation with stays and holidays abroad. Some informants related to positive experiences in the foreign language classroom or to teachers whom they admired. When it comes to traumatic events or negative experiences, the situation is different. Obviously, the short interview is not an adequate platform for delicate subjects touching upon the sphere of failure, traumata, shock or insecurity. These subjects have to be addressed in the in-depth interview. As we are not sure whether traumatic events with languages are a widespread phenomenon, it might be difficult to get hold of significant cases. It will, however, be easier to find informants who do not suffer from a trauma but who have negative language experiences by some means or other.

HYPOTHESIS 12

We assume that linguistic judgments can change over time and that these changes are due to historical, political, cultural, and economic circumstances. This process can take place on a large scale, that is, within society; but it can also take place on a smaller scale, that is, within individuals. Naturally, the two scales are interrelated, however, it will be more feasible to investigate changes on smaller scales. Again, there were (very few) informants who reported spontaneously on changes in their attitudes toward certain languages in the short interviews. However, if they did so, the reason for a change was not always related. In the in-depth interviews we ask more explicitly if certain attitudes have changed over time and if there are specific reasons for this. One possibility in this respect is to conduct in-depth interviews with members of the youngest and the oldest age group. The oldest are able to relate to changes in attitudes that they have experienced themselves over a lifetime. The youngest can be asked whether they expect their attitudes to change, and if yes, under what

circumstances. An interesting moment in the contact with a foreign language and the attitude toward it (and a moment that we want to investigate in our in-depth interviews) is when the learner completes obligatory language education and the language contact becomes optional out of a sudden. We will try to get hold of some of the pupils who participated in the short interviews and who have left obligatory education since.

PATHS BEYOND HYPOTHESES

MENTAL MAPS

Trudgill and Giles within the limits of their "social connotation hypothesis" (1976:13) notice that views which concern extra-linguistic categories can be transferred to linguistic varieties. As an example they mention the "romanticised nostalgic view of the countryside" (ibid.) that leads to the preference for the dialects associated with the corresponding areas in Great Britain. People's "mental maps" of different areas are, according to Trudgill and Giles, in line with their language preferences. They relate to a study conducted by geographers that investigates images of Britain held by respondents. The least desirable place to live in would be the Midlands and the West Midlands – and, after Trudgill and Giles, that is also were people would locate the most unattractive accents in the country. We follow Trudgill and Giles in that we assume that extra-linguistic categories can play a role in the aesthetic judgment, and, more precisely, that mental maps of the areas where certain languages are spoken can have significant influence on the attitudes toward these languages. In our in-depth interviews we would like to carry this aspect further: What happens if, for certain languages, the point of reference on a map (or on a mental map) is not so clearly defined, for example? The language we are thinking of in this connection is English first of all, however, the question concerns other languages as well (e.g., Arabic)

LINGUISTIC UNIVERSES AND TYPES OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

When we first analysed the short interviews, the number of languages involved was surprisingly high (see Chapter 4). Naturally, the languages spoken in Switzerland and languages that Swiss people learn at school play a somewhat more prominent role than other languages. However, the linguistic universes of our informants are more complex than primarily assumed. In the short interviews, when languages such as Thai, Dutch, Chinese or Arabic were mentioned, we did not further investigate the type of contact the informant had with these languages. In many cases, it became clear during the interviews, why the informant knew of a certain

language or where he or she had encountered it (e.g., during holidays abroad, by the means of language courses or because of friends who speak the language). In other cases it was a mere mystery, why people referred to certain languages. In our in-depth interviews we need to gain more information as to the types of language contacts involved in an informant's linguistic biography. Thomason (2001:3) refers to Switzerland to give an example of people who live in contact situations, as many of them speak one of the languages of the neighbouring regions (she even refers to the diglossic situation in the German-speaking part of Switzerland in that context). While language contacts within Switzerland are relatively well investigated, one should not neglect that Swiss nationals encounter many more than "just" the national languages during their lifetimes and that more research about this is needed. It is possible that a national language such as Romansh plays a minor role in the informants' linguistic universes while other languages (e.g., English) play a more dominant role. By identifying language contact and types of language contact of Swiss nationals on a larger scale (European languages, and languages from other parts of the world) we are in line with the field of activity of a relatively young (and controversially discussed, cf. van Pottelberge, 2001) discipline called "Eurolinguistics". "The Pushkin Manifesto", a paper of theses formulated during a symposium on Eurolinguistics in 1999, regards the investigation of contact typologies and networks of language contacts as one of Eurolinguistics' main tasks (Sture Ureland, 2001).

We will, therefore, use the in-depth interviews to figure out, where, when and how informants enter in contact with certain languages and, more importantly, whether the type of contact impacts their attitudes toward the languages in question.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

One aspect we are interested in is the place given to languages in the construction of one's identity. John E. Joseph, in his work *Language and Identity* (2004a), says that one of the assumptions of today's treatment of identity is "[…] that our identities, whether group or individual, are not 'natural' facts about us, but are things we construct – fictions in effect" (ibid.: 6). The in-depth interviews should help to gain further insight into the role beliefs about languages and attitudes toward languages can play in identity construction processes. One of our aims is to locate the linguistic identity of a person within his or her identity as a whole. An individual's linguistic identity is closely linked with the linguistic universes mentioned above. We want to find out, how comfortable our informants feel in their linguistic universes and whether these universes help or, more negatively, hinder them in the construction of their identity as a whole. For example, there are (very few) informants who speak one single language – in-depth

interviews with these informants will contrast very well with in-depth interviews with informants who speak more than six languages. One of our questions here would be in how far these people experience the world and their place in that world differently. Another aspect can be to investigate the place of languages in informants' biographic narratives: What role do languages play, how does this role change over a lifetime, what are regrets and hopes as to languages in the informants' lives and how (and why) do these elements differ among the informants.

EMOTIONS AND LANGUAGE JUDGMENTS

During the short interviews we observed the expression of a wide range of emotions. When the informants were asked to name beautiful and ugly languages, very often they showed great intensity of emotions in both their verbal and facial expression. We are interested in finding out the reasons for such intensity and in seizing the emotional content expressed verbally when the informants gave their opinions on the languages concerned. In the light of the above, many questions can be raised. What emotional terms do informants use to depict their view of a particular language? How are these terms used? How strong is the informants' affective involvement in voicing their opinion toward (specific) languages? Emotional terms convey love, hatred, indifference, and many other affective states. Very often informants personified languages through the reasons they provided for their hatred or love of a language. For example they used terms such as "warm" and "friendly" for Italian, "noble" for French, and "aggressive" and "hateful" for Swiss-German. Why is such a degree of personification and intensity expressed when talking about a language? Is such intensity only directed toward the language itself or does it go beyond this language? A question that can be raised in the context of this research is how emotions or the use of affective terms (affective could denote both negative and positive approaches) can help us decode the attitudes of the informants toward languages as well as the causal aspects of such attitudes. In other words, we can ask ourselves what lies behind what is overtly and openly expressed. Many studies show that emotions influence our judgment of others, the self, and life in general. Anderson (1989), Kaplan and Anderson (1973), and Schwarz and Clore (1988) suggest that emotion (affect) is itself information, and not only a mediator for retrieval. If we take the view that emotion contributes just as much as cognition to forming thoughts relevant to our judgments, then we are faced with an important question. How do emotions and cognition aggregate to produce judgment? How do feelings influence our social perceptions and judgments (see Kaplan, 1991: 74)? Feelings, thoughts, and actions (or reactions) may seem to be very different, but the differential experience of cognition and emotion does not rule out treating them in the same conceptual system (see Forgas, 1991). It

would be desirable to develop a proper understanding of the mechanisms that mediate between emotional states and the cognitive process in the formation of social judgments in general, and in the creation of aesthetic judgments of languages in particular.

5.3. GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Another way of data collection in our study are group discussion sessions. This method is also known under the name of "focus groups", which can be found in some of the quotations used in this chapter (for a discussion of the terms, see Robson, 2002: 284-285). In many studies, including the study at hand, group discussions are combined with other data collection methods and serve as an "ancillary method" (Bloor et al., 2001: 8). The advantage of this specific method is that it is able to "[…] tap a different realm of social reality from that revealed by one-to-one interviews […]" (Robson, 2002: 289, derived from Sim 1998: 351). In the following, a brief characteristic of group discussions will be given and we will state how and in what form we plan to integrate this data collection method into our study.

5.3.1. THE NATURE OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

A helpful definition of the method can be found in Morgan (1997: 2):

> As a form of qualitative research, focus groups are basically group interviews, although not in the sense of an alternation between a researcher's questions and the research participants' responses. Instead, the reliance is on interaction within the group, based on topics that are supplied by the researcher who typically takes the role of a moderator. The hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insight that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group.

Group discussions, therefore, are not integrated into this study in order to gain new or additional views on language aesthetics (this aspect will be covered by the in-depth interviews) but in order to find out how certain views are expressed and vindicated within the scope of a group. Group discussions, hence, help to "[…] explore group phenomena [and] not individual ones. Attempts to infer the latter from focus groups data are likely to be unfounded." (Robson, 2002: 289, derived from Sim, 1998: 351). It can, however, happen that participants express views in a group discussion that they would not express in face-to-face interviews. Seipel and Rieker (2003: 162 referring to a concept by Bohnsack, 2000: 370) talk of "*latente Meinungen*" ("latent opinions") in this context. Latent opinions are mainly uttered when the informant has to stand his or her point within a group. In face-to-face interactions, the informant would probably not feel

the need to utter these opinions. In our case, it could be fruitful to bring people together who diverge in their language preferences (e.g., people who judge language x beautiful in the same group with people who judge language x ugly). It is desirable to get access to latent opinions to a certain degree, however, the moderator has to make sure that it does not come to the situation in which an informant regrets what he or she has revealed during the group meeting (this phenomenon is also called "over-disclosure", see Bloor et al. (2001: 24-25) for a discussion). As a rule, we aim more at investigating group interactions and argumentative patterns than latent opinions – nevertheless, if we come across latent opinions we will, of course, pick them out as a theme.

5.3.2. GROUP COMPOSITION

There are differing opinions as to the composition of discussion groups. First of all, group size is an issue that has led to many discussions in the literature. Summa summarum one could say that a) the size of the group depends first of all on the study and the individual research goals addressed with the method, and b) six to ten participants per group seems to range among the most frequent group sizes (compare, as an example, Morgan's "rules of thumb" (1997: 34)). There are studies using groups with only three participants and others using groups with no less than 14 participants (Bloor et al. 2001: 26). However, one should not forget that group size is not entirely controllable by the researcher – it is possible to define a maximal size but it will always be a matter of luck how many informants actually show up at a group meeting (bearing in mind that these meetings cannot so easily be postponed). This leads us to the next point that is discussed in the context of group composition and that is located, again, between theoretical desirability and the effective research reality. It is the question whether a group should be composed of complete strangers or whether the members of a group may know each other beforehand. Again, there are arguments for both, groups of strangers and groups of people who are acquainted with each other. We think that many practical arguments speak for working with groups whose members are acquainted with each other. According to Bloor et al. (2001: 23) recruitment can be easier in that the researcher does not need to contact every informant individually. The group can organise the meeting (and probably suggest a location and a date) on its own which reduces time as well as money investment on the part of the researcher. Furthermore, it is possible that the attrition rate is reduced in such groups because of an increased feeling of obligation between the members of the group. However, it is important to be aware of the fact that group dynamics will differ between groups of strangers and groups of acquaintances (Morgan, 1997: 38). The researcher must always make sure that, when the group discussion is analysed, the relationships

within the group are considered in whatever conclusion he or she might come to. Another issue in the composition of groups is heterogeneity as opposed to homogeneity. We think that a certain degree of homogeneity is necessary to obtain valuable information and to come up to "natural" discussions. None the less, there can be heterogeneity in minor respects (it will be interesting if there is heterogeneity within the field of our study, e.g., differing attitudes toward certain languages or language learning) but maybe not in major respects which the informants would experience as cumbering (e.g., we are not going to confront a person who speaks one language only and who is insecure in his or her linguistic universe with a person who is very confident in language matters and who speaks many languages etc.). Heterogeneity, as a rule, should make the discussion more interesting and not make the informants less comfortable. As a matter of course, it would be interesting to gather informants who belong to the same type (see Chapter 5.1.1.) and contrast, for example, two different types by the means of two group discussions.

5.3.3. MODERATOR-INVOLVEMENT AND LEVEL OF STRUCTURE

Robson (2002: 283) says about group discussions that they are "[...] some form of hybrid with characteristics of a discussion as well as of an interview." This statement makes clear that the role of the researcher in group discussions is neither easy to define nor easy to accomplish. The researcher does not act as an interviewer but rather as a "moderator" or "facilitator" (ibid.: 287). Moderator-involvement (compare Morgan, 1997: 48) can vary according to the form of group discussion that is chosen (highly structured vs unstructured, and different forms between these two extremes). In more structured approaches, which have higher moderator-involvement, the researcher makes sure that all groups involved in a study discuss the same issues in a comparable way (Morgan, 1997: 39-40). It is possible that, in very structured approaches, participants discuss the researcher's interests indeed, but one cannot be sure that this is what "[...] actually matters to the participants themselves." (ibid.). Hence, less structured interviews with less moderator-involvement have the advantage that the participants speak more freely and that the interaction is therefore more "natural" over periods. However, group discussions with low moderator-involvement cannot easily be compared with each other (ibid.). In the study at hand we choose an approach with rather low moderator-involvement as the group discussions serve as counterpoint to the interview-based approaches before. However, given that there are three to four group discussions involved in this project, it is not absolutely necessary to completely standardise their overall form. There can be variation in terms of moderator-involvement as well as structure aspects of the groups. It is likely that all group discussions for this study last around

90 minutes (which is the time that is recommended by several authors including Morgan, 1979; Bloor et al., 2001). We will, for each group, define certain topics that can be discussed as well as different techniques to introduce these topics (that can be by requesting accounts on a very global level or also by a provoking input). The group discussions will then be analysed with different techniques of qualitative data analysis and in constant comparison with the results of the other research stages (described above).

5. 4. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

The work of Ferenc Fodor (Fodor (1999) and in this volume) argues that the opinions of influential authors about languages have influenced the development of these languages, at least as far as the rigidity of their norms, their openness to foreign words and the language community's attitudes toward both phenomena are concerned. Accordingly, the importance of the history of culture for the emersion of attitudes and stereotypes has been taken into consideration in hypothesis 12, "Aesthetic judgments depend on historical, political, cultural, and economic changes."

A series of historical texts, from Aegidius Tschudi's *Die uralt warhafftig Alpisch Rhetia* (1538) to Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz' *La Suisse existe-t-elle?* (1937), have been collected and will be published in form of a small reader once the results of the synchronic part of the project are known. We have to wait for them because our comments will try to link the arguments of the source texts with these results in order to test hypothesis 12.

The main sub-hypotheses guiding the selection and the reading of the source texts draw upon Schläpfer (1982):

1. In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, there is a long and strong tradition of distinguishing as clearly as possible Swiss-German from (Standard) German: For Tschudi, the Swiss *landsprach* is *helvetisch*, not alemannic (Schläpfer, 1982: 138-140).

2. There is a long tradition of linguistic insecurity with regard to Standard German as well: famous writers like Albrecht von Haller, Johann Jakob Bodmer or Johann Jakob Breitinger hired proof readers from Northern Germany (Schläpfer, 1982: 157).

3. Since the introduction in the 18th century of French as written language (replacing Latin) as well as spoken language (replacing franco-provençal patois), the linguistic attitudes in the *Romandie* are affected by "*bedingungsloser Sprachloyalität*" (unconditional

linguistic loyalty) toward France and Standard French (Schläpfer, 1982: 209).

These will have to be weighed against the political sub-hypothesis

4. Historical events like the raise of the Nazi regime in Germany have strongly influenced the attitudes toward Swiss-German and Standard German and possibly also French in Switzerland and have deepened or even brought upon the differences between German- and French-speaking Switzerland which our study confirms.

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