

group. The significant correlations in Table 4 therefore indicate that the more the French Ss show preference for and favorable attitudes toward their own group the less they overrate English guises.

The relation of bilingualism to other variables. Ss categorized as having a high degree of bilingualism were compared with those having little experience or skill in the other group's language on all attitudinal variables as well as the comparative favorableness of evaluations to the spoken languages. For the English sample, the more bilingual subgroup had a reliably lower mean F score than did the less bilingual group,  $t_{50} = 2.20$ , a finding consistent with another study (Gardner and Lambert, 1958) on the relation of bilingualism to attitudes. The two bilingual groups did not differ reliably on any other variable, however. For the French sample, the only significant difference between the more and less bilingual subgroups was on the modified Bogardus scale: the more bilingual group showed reliably less own group preference than did those with little facility in English,  $t_{52} = 2.43$ .

#### DISCUSSION

Evaluational reactions. It is not unexpected that English speaking Ss should show more favorableness to members of their linguistic group, but the finding that French Ss also evaluate English guises more favorably is as unexpected as the finding that these Ss judge French guises less favorably than do the English Ss.

The traits given to Ss for evaluation included several of those commonly considered necessary for social and economic success (e.g., looks, leadership, confidence, ambition), but we attempted to balance these with personality characteristics generally considered of greater value such as likability and kindness. It is possible that we were biased in the selection of traits and, through ignorance, presented a list which omitted characteristics which have value for French-speaking Canadians. However, the French sample chose dependability, intelligence, and kindness as the most desirable traits for friends of those given them for consideration, and two of these were rated more favorably with the English guises, a fact which

argues against the view that no opportunity was given the French sample to evaluate the speakers on culturally important traits.

In view of the greater probability of finding English people in more powerful social and economic positions in the Montreal community, both samples of Ss might more likely think of an English speaker as having higher status and then evaluate the English voice of the putative lawyer as having more ambition, intelligence, etc., than the French voice of the putative store employee. If the French Ss had a greater tendency to do so, this might account in part for their evaluational reaction pattern. Data were available to test this notion in an indirect fashion by making use of Ss' estimations of each speaker's likely occupation in his French and English guises. These occupational assignments were categorized as either professional or non-professional by two judges working independently. For the English sample, the ascribed status of English guises was markedly higher than for French guises,  $\chi^2 = 38.14$  with 1 df. For the French sample, the same trend was noted but was much reduced in magnitude,  $\chi^2 = 5.38$ . The fact that the French Ss ascribe higher status to a larger proportion of French guises (44%) than do English Ss (33%) and also evaluate the French guises less favorably than do English Ss argues against an interpretation in terms of differences in perceived status of the two groups.

The findings can also be interpreted as meaning that the French Ss actually perceive members of the English speaking group as having various desirable personality traits. The characteristics ascribed to the English speakers are generally the same as those ascribed by the English Ss to the same guises with the exception of the English-French conflict over which group is more kind. The French Ss may well regard themselves as members of an inferior group, one that is nonetheless kind and religious. Several recent studies (Adelson, 1953; Sarnoff, 1951; Steckler, 1957) which document the manner in which minority groups sometimes adopt the stereotyped values of majority groups indicate that a parallel process may be taking place in the French Canadian community (cf. Stewart and Blackburn, 1956).

An examination of the common descriptions given by the French Ss in the open-ended questionnaire suggests that they have