

ambivalent feelings about both French Canadians and English Canadians, an interpretation that is analogous to the attitude of American Jews toward both Jews and non-Jews as described by Lewin (1948, p. 145ff). The French Ss describe their own group as progressing and having a potential (18 occurrences); feeling inferior or without confidence (16); having good qualities and being likable (16); being uninformed or uneducated (16); being individualistic or disunited (11); lacking ambition (14); being prejudiced or narrow-minded (10). They describe the English Canadians as being likable, good, or nice (27); thinking badly of French Canadians (19); feeling superior to French Canadians (13); being too Americanized (12); lacking knowledge of or appreciation for French Canadians (11); and as being less mannered or more rude (11).

The findings presented here take on somewhat more significance in view of two pilot studies using other samples of Ss which show essentially the same results. In the first study, 17 English speaking college students listened to three of the four speakers used in the present study. In this case, English guises were evaluated more favorably on all five traits presented. In the second study, 22 male and 25 female French speaking members of Catholic religious orders were Ss and three of the four speakers and 12 of the 14 scales used in the present study were administered. Ss evaluated the English guises significantly more favorably on most traits except for kindness (*bonté*) on which French guises were more favorably evaluated. Speaker Tri, as in the present study, was not subject to this trend.

Attitude data. The general trend of correlations indicates that certain measures of attitude, particularly attitudes toward one's own group, are associated with the favorableness of evaluational reactions to the spoken languages, but this relation is clearly not a marked one, especially for the English Ss. Furthermore, the prediction was not supported that more skill with the other group's language, which would permit more intimate interaction, would lead to smaller differences in favorableness of evaluational responses to the guises.

In view of the striking tendency for both English and French speaking Ss to evaluate the English guises more favorably, a possible reason for the generally low correlations may be that generalized

characteristics of French speaking and English speaking people are so widely accepted in the Montreal community that even those English Ss with positive attitudes toward French may still perceive them as inferior on many traits. Likewise, French Ss with negative attitudes toward English speaking people may still perceive them as superior in many respects. That is, both French and English Ss regardless of their attitude may have come to believe that English speaking Canadians are taller and possibly more "intelligent" in the sense that they have more educational opportunities. To this extent, the attitude factor would be submerged by powerful community-wide stereotypes. This argument is limited, however, in that attitudes would certainly be expected to play the dominant role when the two guises are compared on such traits as good looks or character. To check this possible interpretation, correlations for the English sample were computed between the comparative favorableness of reactions to the guises and attitudes toward English Canadians for each trait examined separately. The correlations for character, intelligence, and dependability reach significance at about the .05 level but none of the others do, even those for good looks or kindness which would also be expected to reflect an attitude factor. We conclude, therefore, that the comparatively unfavorable perception of French speakers is essentially independent of the perceivers' attitudes toward French and English groups. The correlations for the French sample are not large or consistent enough to make French Ss an exception to this generalization. Furthermore, experience with both groups, as inferred from the degree of skill in using both languages, also appears to be independent of the tendency to downgrade French speaking individuals. Further research is necessary to determine the influence of community-wide stereotypes and majority-minority feelings of members of the two language groups in Montreal.

Although the findings may be considered consistent and reliable, the generality of the results will become clear only after extensions to other samples of Ss and a larger sample of speakers. It will be recalled that the four speakers used here were chosen to represent different linguistic communities: three speakers were educated in French Canadian universities but Leo spoke more naturally with a caricatured French Canadian accent. Only speaker Tri spoke French with a Parisian accent. A comparison of the evaluational reactions made to these speakers suggests that further study