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The Evaluation of Non-standard Accented English: An Intergroup Perspective on Language Attitudes

Doris Acheme
Cleveland State University

THE EVALUATION OF NON-STANDARD ACCENTED ENGLISH: AN

INTERGROUP PERSPECTIVE ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

DORIS ACHEME

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We hereby approve this thesis for

DORIS ACHEME

Candidate for the Applied Communication Theory & Methodology degree for the

School of Communication

and the CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY'S

College of Graduate Studies by

———————————————————

Thesis Committee Chairman (George Ray)
School of Communication

———————————————————

Committee Member (Richard Perloff)
School of Communication

———————————————————

Committee Member (Kimberly Neuendorf)
School of Communication

———————————————————

Committee Member (Violet Cox)
School of Health Sciences

Student's Defense Date: April 30, 2018

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ABSTRACT

The present study used social identity theory as a framework in examining the

evaluation of non-standard accented speakers from India and Nigeria and whose first

language is English. Social identity theory explains one's awareness that he/she is a

member of a certain social group and that such group membership is of value to the

individual. Accordingly, the study investigated how social identity influences listeners'

perceptions of non-standard accented speakers' status, solidarity, and dynamism. And

also, if Standard American English (SAE), Indian and Nigerian accents are perceived

differently by listeners.

A 3 (SAE, Indian accented English, and Nigerian accented English) $\times$ 2

(introduction and no introduction) design was employed. 115 Participants from an urban

university in the United States participated in an online survey. Participants were

randomly assigned to listen to one of six speech samples in experimental conditions

(SAE, Indian accent, Nigerian accent, SAE with introduction, Indian accent with

introduction, and Nigerian accent with introduction).

It was found that SAE, Indian, and Nigerian accents were not significantly

evaluated differently in perceived status and dynamism. However, the three accents were

evaluated differently in perceived solidarity. The Indian and Nigerian accents were rated

higher on solidarity than the SAE. Also, Social identity did not play a significant role in

the evaluation of the accents. The implications of this study are discussed in terms of

accent attractiveness, interpersonal contact, stereotypes, and language attitudes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

English is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. It is also clear

that immigration around the world has led to English-speaking countries becoming more

diverse. This diversity has contributed to the fact that speakers of English have a greater

likelihood of coming in contact and interacting with other speakers of English who use

different varieties of English than in the past. These different varieties accrue from the

fact that spoken language is inherently variable on dimensions of pronunciation,

grammar, and vocabulary (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). Besides, spoken

language varies for every speaker in terms of the speakers' sounds, patterns, words,

intonation, and even sentence structure. According to Lippi-Green (1997), the main

sources of these variations in spoken language are: (a) the internal pressures of the

language arising from the mechanics of the production and perception; (b) the external

influences of the language such as the geographic mobility and social behavior due to the

normative and formative social pressures and; (c) the variation arising from language as a

creative vehicle of free expression. These sources of variation in spoken language

indicates that a portion of language is systematic and reflects regional, social, and

contextual difference of its use (Lippi-Green, 1997) and this can result from linguistic

features such as accents (i.e. language varieties marked by specific pronunciation), and dialects (i.e. language varieties marked by a specific grammar and vocabulary).

Linguistic features such as accent can serve as an important cue to intergroup categorization (e.g. Shuck, 2004) and one impact of this is that attitudes can influence intergroup social relationships. Since language is a social force that conveys more than the intended verbal meaning (Coso & Bogunovic, 2017; Hogg & Giles, 2012), an accent can be an indication that someone is not a native speaker of the dominant language, irrespective of the language fluency and competence (Derwing & Munro, 2009; Kinzler, Dupoux & Spelke, 2007; Lindemann, 2002). Language attitudes can influence the trajectory of social relationships because social evaluations of accents are not only based on the use of language but are a reference to the normative and dominant accent in the country where the communication occurs (e.g. Anisfeld, Bogo, & Lambert, 1962). It is clear that the presence of a speaker's accent and the fluency of speech influence the listener's evaluation (e.g., Ryan, Carranza & Moffie, 1977). Thus, we see a growing interest by scholars in communication, sociology, psychology, and linguistics in evaluating these language attitudes, particularly in multicultural settings (e.g. Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). Past research has examined listeners' attitudes toward accents in the evaluation of personality types (Cargile & Giles, 1998), media portrayal (Dragojevic, Mastro, Giles, & Sink, 2016) stigmatization and discrimination (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010), ethnocentrism (Neuliep & Speten-Hansen, 2013) and other listener behavior toward accented speech. These studies report that various judgments are cued as a result of speaking with an accent. Furthermore, research demonstrates that accents affect the perceptions listeners have of accented speakers along the dimensions of status (e.g.,

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intelligence), solidarity (e.g.,warmth), and dynamism (e.g., friendliness). These dimensions suggest that accents have a significant communicative and social consequence for users of those language varieties (Dragojevic, Berglund, Blauvelt, 2015; Dragojevic & Giles, 2016; Giles & Billings, 2004). Evaluations of language varieties can be interpreted as evaluations of the linguistic group who speak with an accent rather than the language itself. This explains how different speakers organize their social world and what different groups are perceived to be. Thus, the perceptions of accented speech provides insight into the relationship between speakers of different social groups (Lindemann, 2005).

Speaking with an accent is an important aspect of one's social identity which conveys significant social information (Edwards, 1999; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Lippi-Green, 1997). An accent is a cue to one's social origins and a powerful in-group/ out-group indicator as it provides information about an individual's nationality, regional, ethnic, and social group membership (Neuliep & Speten-Hansen, 2013). The effects associated with accents are related to two underlying mechanisms. The first mechanism one is that cues such as accents make group membership salient, thus intensifying intergroup distinctions. The second mechanism involves the communicative aspect of accents. Differences in accents create a negative state of dysfluency (Alter & Oppenheimer, 2009). This makes it cognitively difficult and a subjectively taxing experience which can exacerbate intergroup bias leading to negative intergroup interactions (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012). Social identity theory serves as a theoretical framework for explaining how perceptions of individuals with non-standard accents function during intergroup interaction (Neuliep & Speten-Hansen, 2013). This is because

social groups establish a shared identity for group members which prescribe their beliefs and values and also, how distinct they are from other social groups within a given context (Hogg, 2016). Identities vary in terms of the subjective importance and chronic and situational accessibility. Depending on the situation, one's identity can take different forms. Thus, an accent can distinguish a person psychologically as either an in-group or out-group member (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012; Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004)

1.1. Rationale

The evaluation of non-standard accents by standard speakers of English is important to study for several reasons. We live in an era where intercultural communication is evolving and essential for social relationships in various sectors of the global economy. With every passing decade, we see a need for a greater multicultural awareness. The rise in globalization through education and immigration to the United States has led to an increased likelihood of people encountering an individual with a different language variety or non-standard accent (Harte, Oliveira, Frizelle & Gibbon, 2016). For some time now, there has been a trend toward increasing numbers of students leaving their home countries to study abroad. Universities and colleges accordingly have sought to provide programs to enhance students' intercultural competence, skills, and confidence (Summers & Volet, 2008) as well as the admission of international students into various academic programs.

The United States Institute of Education carried out a survey on the number of international students by places of origin. Results from this survey reported that the number of international students grew by 7.1% in the 2015/16 academic year. This increase amounted to a total of over a million foreign students in the United States

(Institute of International Education, 2016). The increasing number of international students is clearly contributing to the multicultural makeup of the United States. A question of interest to researchers is how universities and colleges are accommodating international students and the measures put in place to facilitate the achievement of their academic goals and experiences. Also, since universities and colleges are a subset of the society, the evaluations of the non-standard accents of international students can shed light on how society responds to non-standard accents and/or different language varieties.

Studies have attempted to quantify how standard accented speakers of English evaluate non-standard accented speakers. However, the evaluation of speakers from non-English speaking countries who grew up speaking English but who have an "accent" still remains an unanswered question. This is a key factor in the role of diversity in universities and colleges in the United States. According to Labov (2006), the language and accent with which someone speaks provides information about his/her social group membership. In this manner, social evaluations based on language or accent reflect the presence of cultural stereotypes about different linguistic communities. Thus, when people are familiar with a certain type of speech or accent social preferences for speakers who speak with that accent can be generated (Labov, 2006). Based on past research, the focus of the present study is to extend research on evaluations of non-standard speakers of English in the United States by examining non-standard accented speech from India and Nigeria, former British colonies.

When one examines countries where English is spoken, India and Nigeria are noteworthy. India, with a population of about 1 billion people (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017), is one of the

most populous countries on earth and also, one of the countries with a great number of English speakers. It is estimated that about 125 million Indians speak English (Census data, 2001). Another large country with many English speakers is Nigeria, with an overall population of about 192 million (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017) and 79 million speakers of English (Euromonitor International Report, 2009). These numbers for India and Nigeria are most impressive given that they are higher than the number of English speakers in the United Kingdom (59 million, Census Data, 2011) and Canada (28 million, Census Data, 2011). Furthermore, India is one of the greatest Asian sources of international students in higher education in the United States, and Nigeria is the source of the greatest number of African students in higher education in the United States (Institute of International Education, 2016). Consequently, there is a notable likelihood of encountering international students with Indian and Nigerian accents.

The current study is one of the first attempts to examine how listeners' in the United States will evaluate accents of speakers who come from countries that were colonized by the British, and where English is a prominent language. This is key because arguments about the different perception of the standard varieties of English in Britain and the United States form the cornerstones of distinctive language varieties (Milroy, 2001). In the chapter that follows, a literature review on language ideologies and language attitudes are discussed followed by an overview of the varieties of English. Chapter two proceeds with a discussion that examines accents, focusing on standard and non-standard accents, social evaluations of accents. The next section provides a

theoretical implications of social identity as it relates to non- standard accents and poses some research questions and hypotheses.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Language Ideologies

Language ideologies generally reflect what people believe about the essential characteristics of language and about how language should be used. People are socialized into language ideologies and create an explanation for the source and meaning of the links between linguistic and social phenomena (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). Language ideologies provide the organizational pattern through which linguistic diversity is perceived, interpreted, and evaluated. Dragojevic, Giles, and Watson (2013) categorize language ideologies into three: nationalist ideology, nativeness as an ideology, and standard language ideology.

The nationalist ideology of language hinges on the connection between language and nationality by conceptualizing linguistic differences as universal laws or biological truths (Gal & Irvine, 1995). Language is often viewed as the property of nation states and nationhood legitimacy issues (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). For instance, the worldwide proliferation of English challenges the notions of language ownership and legitimacy of any single nation's right to prescriptivism (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). As such, English may be the property of the Indian nation, where it is the primary language, or the

property of the Korean speaker, as much as it is the property of Britain or the United States.

The notion of nativeness as an ideology is premised on a monolingual view of the world, a view that divides the world into two linguistic categories: *us* and *them* (Giles, 2012; Giles, Reid, & Harwood, 2010a; Harwood & Giles, 2005). For instance, in the United States, this categorization will be native English speakers as Americans and non-native English speakers as foreign accented or foreign others (Schmidt, 2002). This categorization will hold even when these so called foreign others' primary language may be English (Shuck, 2004). This nativeness ideology amplifies and rationalizes the distinction between native and non-native speakers by classifying non-native speakers as incomprehensible (Gallois & Callan, 1989; Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2011). According to Shuck (2006), discourse about language is often racialized such that native speakers are viewed as American, White, and accent-neutral whereas non-native speakers are conceptualized as international, non-White, and accented. In turn, language soon becomes a subtle instrument of exclusion in which social institutions and people rely on to control access to social interactions and rewards (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013).

Standard language ideology expresses the perception that there is only one correct form of a given language which is called the standard variety. This standard variety functions as a model against which all other varieties of written and spoken language are judged, and idealized into a uniform pronunciation, grammar, and lexis (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). However, notions of correctness are ideological and not rooted in linguistic fact. Institutions such as schools and the media promote the standard language ideology by devaluing and marginalizing varieties labelled non-standard

(Barker, Giles, Noels, Duck, Hecht, & Clement, 2001; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Silverstein, 1996). These social institutions recognize and promote only one variety as legitimately correct and other varieties as incorrect. These so called "incorrect" varieties are thought of as dialects, vernacular, or accents rather than as real languages (He & Ng, 2013). Furthermore, the standard variety is believed to be associated with clarity of expression and necessary for effective communication (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Lippi-Green, 1994). Thus, the view emerges that accents, as well as phonological, and intonational differences are thought to pose a barrier to clarity, understanding, and effectiveness in communication (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). Conversely, non-standard varieties, particularly foreign accents are associated with incomprehensibility and speakers of such forms are often stigmatized (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Examples of standard varieties include Standard American English (SAE) in the United States and British Received Pronunciation (RP) in the United Kingdom, whereas non-standard varieties include regional (e.g. American Southern English) and ethnic (e.g. African American Vernacular English) accents, or even foreign accents (e.g. Indian/Nigerian accent in the United States).

These language ideologies shape intrapersonal language attitudes toward particular language varieties and their speakers. The schemas of language produced by socio-cultural expectations and norms are ingrained in public consciousness such that language ideologies have come to be accepted as natural laws or matters of common sense (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). In turn, Government policies, media representations, and educational practices promote such schemas. Consequently, condoning private and public expression of attitudes that are consistent with such

prevailing language norms. This can lead to derogation of those who fail to linguistically conform to these language norms. Language ideologies and attitudes often shape each other, and serve to reinforce and produce relationships of domination and subordination (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013).

  2.1.1. Language attitudes*.* A language attitude can be defined as the social evaluation of speech styles (e.g., Dragojevic & Giles, 2014) and it represents an important communicative phenomena. It is a powerful social force that conveys more than the intended information and can have great impact on social categorization beyond a person's physical appearance (Coso & Bogunovic, 2017; Hogg & Giles, 2012). Beliefs about language use influence social interactions especially because individuals react to the linguistic and paralinguistic variation in speech as suggestive of the personal and social characteristics of the speaker (Cargile & Giles, 1998). People have attitudes toward language that is evident and influential in initial interactions. Furthermore, various linguistic features (e.g. accents) trigger listeners' beliefs and evaluations regarding the speaker. These beliefs and evaluations are likely to affect the listener's behavior toward the speaker and ultimately the trajectory of the interaction (Bradac, 1990).

  Language is also considered to be a strong symbol of ethnicity and social identity (Fishman, 1977). Edwards (1999) presents three reasons why people hold powerful language attitudes. One possibility is that speakers of a particular language believe that their language, accent, or dialect is superior to another. Linguists have, however, demonstrated that viewing one language variety as superior over another results in a profound misunderstanding of the nature of human languages. Another possibility, which is also referred to as the inherent value hypothesis, is the variation in the aesthetic quality

of language varieties. To the contrary, empirical studies have demonstrated that the aesthetic quality of a given language variety is not due to an inherent value but results from imposed norms (Edwards, 1999). The third possibility is the one with which most scholars tend to agree and it is referred to as the social connotation hypothesis. With this possibility, listening to a particular language variety evokes attitudes about the relevant speech community and not necessarily because of the logical or aesthetic quality of the language variety. Language attitudes reflect intrinsic differences within and across language varieties and social perceptions serve as windows through which people view social structures and interactions (Dragojevic, 2017; Edwards, 1999).

According to Dragojevic (2016), language attitudes have cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. The cognitive component of language attitudes refers to the reflection of people's beliefs about different language varieties or accents. The affective component is a reflection of people's feelings toward different language varieties or accents, while the behavioral component refers to behavioral predispositions in relation to language varieties or accents. Each of these components may vary in salience and the given context in relation to an individual's language attitude. The focus of much previous research has centered on the cognitive component of language attitudes and so will the present study, evaluating listeners' perceptions of Indian and Nigerian accents.

Language attitudes have also been reported to result from two sequential cognitive processes: categorization and stereotyping (Dragojevic, 2016; Ryan, 1983). During interactions listeners use linguistic cues, such as accent, to make inferences about the speaker's social group. Then based on the speaker's group membership, listeners

attribute stereotypical labels associated with the inferred group. Bradac (1990) presents the following generalizations of language attitudes:

- Listeners often distinguish between valued and non-valued linguistic forms.

- Valued linguistic forms are positively associated with listener's judgment of a speaker's status or competence.

- Listeners distinguish between convergent and divergent linguistic forms.

- A speaker's convergence to the listener's language is positively associated with the listener's judgment of the speaker's sociability or solidarity.

Following these generalizations, language attitudes therefore reflect people's stereotypes about different linguistic and social groups (Dragojevic, Mastro, Giles, & Sink, 2016). And this stems from the varieties in language usage. This next section discusses the varieties of English language since the present study's focus is on the evaluation of accented English.

2.2. Varieties of English

English as a globalized *lingua franca* is used in education, media, foreign affairs, commerce, and trade. Thus, different varieties of English are used regularly in daily communications in English speaking countries throughout the world. However, there is a distinction between what is referred to as standard and/or non-standard English. Standard English is a variety of English that has undergone standardization. What this means is that it has been selected and stabilized in a way that other varieties have not. The standard variety is the type of English used in publishing, education, and in the media in the English-speaking world (Xu, 2017). Alternatively, non-standard English can then be referred to as a variety of English which has not undergone standardization.

Kachru (1985) acknowledges that the global growth of English can be viewed in terms of the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which the English language is used across various languages and cultures. This, Kachru labels, the inner circle, the outer (or extended) circle, and the expanding circle. In terms of the users, the inner circle refers to regions where English is the native language. Countries like the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, fall into this category. The outer (or extended) circle refers to the spread of English and its institutionalization in non-native contexts or regions, for example, Nigeria and India belong to the outer circle. These countries were colonized by users of the inner circle varieties. The characteristics of the outer circle are, (a) English has acquired an important status in the language policies of these countries, and (b) English is one of the many languages spoken in the countries in the outer circle. The third circle is the expanding circle. This refers to regions where English functions as an international language. Countries such as China, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and so on, are part of the expanding circle (Kachru, 1985).
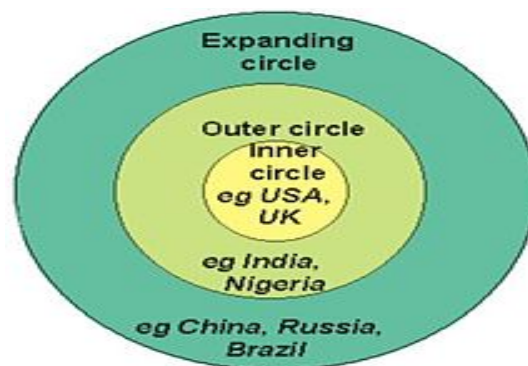
Figure 1. Kachru's Three Circles of English

Xu (2017) confirms Kachru's (1985) model of non-native speakers of English language and classifies them into two groups. The first group are speakers of English as a

Foreign Language (EFL). This group learns English as a tool of international communication such as people in Germany, Japan, or Morocco. The second group of non-native speakers are speakers of English as a second language (ESL), as found in Nigeria and India for example. These speakers are found in nations where English is used as the official language or as the language of education. Non-native varieties of English may differ from the English of native speakers because of the influence from their local languages. Native speakers of English may sometimes have difficulty understanding the non-native varieties (Xu, 2017), due to the linguistic differences in pronunciation (e.g., accents), which can serve as an important social maker.

2.3. Accents

Accents are variations in the pronunciation of the same language (Fuertes et al., 2011) and is an aspect of speech that differs from a speaker's dialect. The definition of an accent has been expanded to include the impact of suprasegmentals on accent. This shows that accents are created by sounds in the language, as well as the pitch, stress, and speech rate, which are the suprasegmentals (Kang, 2010). On the other hand, a dialect is referred to as the difference in grammar and vocabulary among different versions of the same language (Giles, 1970). While some accents are geographically determined such as the southern American accent, others come from the transfer of the first language's phonological features to the second language for example, Japanese English (Derwing, Fraser, Kang, & Thomson, 2014).

Accents are primarily classified as standard (native) or non-standard (non-native). Standard accents are referred to as the accepted accent used by the majority population in a given society. This is the type usually associated with high socioeconomic status and

power. Non-standard accents, on the other hand, are accents that are considered foreign or spoken by the minorities. These accents are perceived as often associated with a lower socioeconomic status (Giles & Billings, 2004; Ohama et al., 2000). It is possible that speakers with different accents may share the same grammar, syntax, and lexicon but still sound different in their usage of language, thus leading to different evaluations by listeners (Giles, 1970).

2.3.1. Accent evaluations. Past research reports that verbal cues shape perceptions and evaluations of speakers such that listeners can distil personal information about the speakers based on recorded speech (Fuertes et al., 2011; Krauss, Freyberg, & Morsella, 2002). Accents have been used to evaluate personality types, variations in language use, compliance gaining, social decision making, and other listener behavioral reactions towards accented speakers (for review see Giles & Billings, 2004). These social evaluations are based on the speaker's use of language and the listener's reference to the normative and dominant accent in the country where the communication occurs. For first time interactions, an individual's intelligence, warmth, and height can also be evaluated based on their language use (e.g., Anisfeld, Bogo, & Lambert, 1962).

Accents are often viewed as the cause of miscommunication and this can lead to discrimination, even though miscommunication is not connected to intelligibility. Accent is not the same as intelligibility, which refers to the ability to understand the denotative meanings of words and phrases being spoken (Derwing & Munro, 2009). Derwing and Munro assert that there have been misconceptions about the fact that strong accents lead to intelligibility problems. However, it is possible for an individual to have a noticeable

accent without losing his/her intelligibility. Additionally, an accent can signal group

identity and membership.

      2.3.2. Accent and group identity. An accent can serve as a cue to a person's

social origins and an indicator of ingroup or outgroup membership. Gluszek and Dovidio

(2010) examined the attitudes and perceptions of listeners' toward non-standard (non-

native) accents. The study evaluated non-standard speakers' expectations of

stigmatization, problems in communication, and social belonging in the United States.

The findings showed that having a non-standard accent was associated with less feelings

of belonging in the United States, a pattern that is intensified as a result of perceived

problems in communication. Therefore, this suggests that having a non-standard accent

could lead to questions of social belonging (Moyer, 2004; Skachkova, 2007). It is clear

that speaking with an accent may constitute an important aspect of an individual's social

identity and this conveys significant social information in interactions (Edwards, 1999;

Giles & Johnson, 1987).

      Similarly, various factors influence the evaluation of non-standard accents such as

the listeners' identity, context, and vocal characteristics (Bradac, 1990). Ohama et al.

(2000) examined perceptions of Hawaii Creole English and Standard English on

superiority traits and quality of speech. Listeners' ethnicity and language influenced their

ratings on quality, attractiveness, and dynamism. Standard English was rated higher in

superiority traits and quality of speech, while Hawaii Creole English was favored on

dynamism traits. The results of the study indicated that a speaker's language variety has a

significant impact on the listener's ratings. Furthermore, the findings of a meta-analysis

on speaker's accent on interpersonal evaluations underscores prior research indicating

that speakers' language plays a powerful role on how others perceive them (Fuertes et al., 2011), leading to various effects.

2.3.3. Research on accent effects. Past research has used various measures in the evaluations of non-standard accents. Research demonstrates that accents affect listeners' perceptions of speakers along the dimensions of status, solidarity, and dynamism (Dragojevic et al., 2015; Dragojevic & Giles 2016; Giles & Billings, 2004). *Status* has been defined as evaluations of the speakers' intelligence, competence, ambition, and social class. *Solidarity* is used to refer to the evaluations of speakers' attractiveness, benevolence, and trustworthiness, while *Dynamism* refers to the speaker's level of activity and liveliness (Dragojevic et al., 2015; Dragojevic & Giles 2016; Giles & Billings, 2004).

Attributions of status are basically perceptions of socioeconomic status, and standard speakers are typically evaluated more favorably on the status dimension than non-standard speakers (Fuertes, Gottdiener, Martin, Gilbert & Giles 2011; Woolard, 1985). Solidarity evaluations, on the other hand, reflect group loyalty (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). Researchers report that the use of ingroup speech styles can enhance feelings of solidarity within one's own linguistic community, but also result in social stigmatization by individuals who fail to use the ingroup speech variety (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Woolard, 1985). Cargile and Giles (1998) examined language attitudes towards varieties of English within an American-Japanese context. The findings of the study reported that the increasing strength of a speaker's accent is often associated with less favorable ratings of status and attractiveness. However, this does not consistently lead to more negative evaluations in traits such as

perceived dynamism of the speaker (Cargile & Giles, 1998). Standard speakers tend to perceive speakers with non-standard accents as less intelligent, less competent, less ambitious and less comfortable around standard speakers (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b).

Au, Kwok, Tong, Cheng, Tse, and Jun (2017) examined how the accents of non-standard speakers can lead to problematic communication. Results indicated that non-standard speakers are quite sensitive about any confusion that arises due to their non-standard accented speech. If a standard speaker asked for clarification or repetition of something the non-standard speaker said, non-standard speakers were more likely to feel negative than positive affect. The authors also report that the standard speakers who asked for clarification were viewed as socially less attractive than the non-standard speaker, and that such unfavorable first impressions could deter subsequent interactions (Au, Kwok, Tong, Cheng, Tse & Jun, 2017).

Lindemann (2005) asserts that lack of familiarity of non-standard accents allows listeners' to make evaluations based completely on stereotypes because they lack access to counterexamples that could neutralize such stereotypes. Generally, US listeners tend to have multiple overlapping categories for their evaluations of non-standard English. However, the largest category within non-standard language varieties is a general one of stigmatizing non-standard accents, a pattern which is associated with salience in immigration demographics (Lindemann, 2002; 2005).

Research also shows how several perceptions of difficulties in communication exert unique influences on the experiences of speakers (Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002). Prejudiced listeners may invest less effort in understanding the non-standard speaker (Lindemann, 2002). This may result in lack of comprehension such that

individuals with non-standard accents may attribute problems in communication to listeners' prejudices (Munro & Derwing, 1995; Ryan, 1983). Non-standard speakers suffer serious social costs as a result of their accents even when they can successfully communicate their main ideas (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). It is clear from previous research that there are varied and numerous implications of speaking with a non-standard accent. One approach to explain these implications is to utilize social identity theory, an important theoretical framework that explains the evaluations of language varieties (e.g., accents) from a psychological perspective is the social identity theory.

2.4. Social Identity Theory

Tajfel (1972) defined social identity theory as one's awareness that he/she is a member of a certain social group and that such group membership is of value to the individual. Social identity theory was developed as a theory of intergroup relations, conflict, and cooperation between groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This conceptual framework then evolved into a broader social psychological theory of the role of self and identity in ingroup and intergroup relations (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Intergroup phenomena have been basic elements of social identity theory because what happens within groups affects what happens between groups and vice versa (Hogg, 2016). The central idea of the social identity theory is social categorization, a cognitive process through which people represent groups in terms of prototypes. These prototypes could be perceptions, attitudes, or behaviors that describe and evaluate dimensions of ingroup (i.e. the group to which one belongs or identifies) similarity and outgroup (i.e. the group that one does not belongs or identifies) difference. People tend to differentiate between ingroup and outgroup characteristics. This maximization of differences is

usually favorable for the ingroup and negative for the outgroup especially, when categorization is salient (Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Yingliu & Shearman, 2002). Thus, when people categorize others they are likely to see them according to their own group membership rather than as distinctive individuals.

The notion of social identity is derived from an individual's group membership, and social interaction becomes intergroup interaction (Pantos, 2014). People form impressions of others through a process that assigns people into various categories. These categories are based on different attributes (Fiske & Neuberg., 1990) which are triggered by certain features (e.g. accents) that are dominant in the listener's mind about such categories. These features may be positively or negatively viewed and are used to form beliefs (Ohama et al., 2000). For example, a person's accent can indicate him/her as a member of the ingroup or outgroup. This language variety can exclude or prevent one from social group membership and impact group relations.

2.4.1. Social identity and intergroup relations. The early emphasis within the theory of social identity was referred to as the social identity of intergroup relations. This aspect of the theory focused mainly on intergroup relations, examining the role of conflict and cooperation between large social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1977). The relations between groups is a significant focus of research in contemporary social psychology (Brewer, 2007; Hogg & Giles, 2012). This is partly due to the fact that society is organized into groups that need to get along with one another, leading to the importance of understanding groups and managing intergroup relations (Hogg & Giles, 2012). Group dynamics are expressed through verbal (e.g., accents) and nonverbal behavior and can impact understanding and interpretation of these verbal and nonverbal behaviors. A basic

feature of social groups, such as religious groups, or racial/ethnic groups, is that they furnish their members with some sense of shared identity (e.g., Hogg, 2016). Associated normative attributes capture similarities within group members and accentuate differences in comparison to relevant outgroups (Hogg & Giles, 2012). The phenomenon of group life is mostly occurring within an intergroup context and this intergroup relationship is usually in a comparative context that can impact intergroup behavior.

    2.4.2. Social identity and intergroup behavior. Intergroup behavior hinges on the struggle to acquire relative status or prestige for one's ingroup. Accordingly, higher status groups fight to protect and preserve their evaluative superiority while lower status groups fight to take away their social stigma and acquire a more positive evaluation. The strategies social groups adopt to manage their identities depend on members' beliefs about the nature of the relationship between the ingroup and a specific outgroup. These beliefs focus on status, stability, permeability, and cognitive alternatives (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Status belief evaluates the social standing of the ingroup compared to the outgroup. Stability belief focuses on the social standing of the status relationship of the ingroup as opposed to the out group. Permeability examines the ease with which people are able to change their social identities from one group to another. Lastly, cognitive alternatives focus on the conceivable difference in intergroup relations. These management strategies groups use in intergroup relations are centered on the notion of social identity and the favorable evaluations of one's primary social group.

    Moreover, social identity theory posits that discriminatory behavior arises from the degree of ingroup identification and the achievement or maintenance of a positive social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1978). A basic tenet of social identity theory is that

outgroup discrimination is related to one's level of ingroup identification, and discrimination reflects competition for a positive social identity (Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996). Social identity springs from those aspects of individuals' self-concept that they derive from their social group together with the evaluative and emotional significance of these group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Research reports that one's degree of ingroup identification leads to ingroup bias, outgroup derogation, and discrimination. The Gagnon and Bourhis (1996) study examined positive feelings about belonging to a group and how much participants liked being members of their own group in an experiment. The study found that individuals who strongly identified with their ingroup discriminated against outgroup members compared to individuals who identified weakly with their ingroup.

In other words, social interactions involving individuals who speak different language varieties are often intergroup in nature because they are usually defined by speakers' social identities rather than by their personal identities (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). Social groups provide group members with a shared identity that suggests and evaluates who they are, what they believe in, and how to behave, and also tells what differentiates them from members of the outgroup. Typically, when people make comparisons between their group and another group, they are concerned that their group is more favorably evaluated than relevant outgroups (Hogg, 2016). It is important, however, to note that social identity is context-dependent because identities can change quickly in response to contextual changes. Furthermore, identities differ in their subjective importance and value, and their situational accessibility (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004). Tajfel and Turner (1986) suggest that individuals first internalize their

group membership as part of their self-concept such that social identities have consequences in intergroup interactions. However, it is possible that the strength of an individual's group identification may change in response to different speakers and different messages. Support for this was found in research by the Giles, Williams, Mackie, and Rosselli (1995) in which Anglo-American listeners were randomly assigned to different non-standard speakers delivering different messages. The findings of the study reported that listeners' sense of American identity heightened when they heard an ingroup member's view in support for multilingual diversity. The results of Giles et al. (1995) suggest that the strength of listeners' identities, although stable theoretically, show slight variations when measured across different situational contexts (i.e. after listening to different speakers and different messages). Similarly, Dragojevic and Giles (2014) examined Californian listeners' attitudes toward an American Southern English accent and the Punjabi accented speaker. The study predicted that ingroups would be evaluated more favorably than outgroups and that ingroup membership would change as a function of reference frame. The findings of the study reported a strong sense of connection with the southern accented speaker. Listeners perceived their accents more similar to the southern accented speaker, and upgraded them on solidarity traits when reference frames were international (i.e., ingroup categorization) rather than interregional (i.e., outgroup categorization). According to Turner (1978), identity salience is often determined by the accessibility of any given social identity and the degree of fit between the situation and social identity. Accessibility is to a large extent determined by the subjective strength of one's identity. Social context is also important in determining identity salience. Cargile

and Giles (1997) suggest that it is likely that the strength and salience of a listener has consequences for the judgment and evaluations he/she makes of non-standard speakers.

2.5. Other Variables

2.5.1. Ethnocentrism. One of the central concepts in understanding intergroup relations is ethnocentrism (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997). Sumner (1906) defined ethnocentrism as a view of things where one's group is the center of everything and every other group is scaled and rated with reference to it. The notion of ethnocentrism is oriented to group pride. The central tenet of ethnocentrism is the tendency for a social group to view their own group in a position where every other group revolves around it. Thus, creating and reinforcing negative attitudes towards members of the outgroup (Segall, 1979), for example those who speak with non-standard accents.

Ethnocentrism is exemplified by attitudes and behaviors toward members of the ingroup versus attitudes and behaviors toward members of the outgroup thereby favoring ingroup members. With regards to attitudes, ethnocentric groups view themselves as superior, and their standards of value as universal and intrinsically true. They also view their customs as original and of central importance to humanity. While outgroup members are viewed by ethnocentric groups as contemptible, immoral, inferior, and weak (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997). In regards to behaviors, ethnocentric groups promote cooperative relations and obedience with members of the ingroup while maintaining ingroup membership. On the contrary, ethnocentric groups compete with and are not obedient and cooperative to outgroup members and are unwilling to convert to the outgroup (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997).

Furthermore, ethnocentrism is presumed to have an important impact on an individual's communication behavior, particularly when the context of that communication involves people with diverse cultural, ethnic, religious, or regional backgrounds (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997). Gudykunst and Kim (1997) assert that high levels of ethnocentrism are dysfunctional with respect to intercultural communication such that it influences the way people communicate with others.

Neuliep and McCroskey (1997) maintain that ethnocentrism is a descriptive concept that potentially has positive outcomes and negative consequences. For instance, the positive outcomes can serve as a basis for patriotism for one's group while the negative consequences could create barriers for communication and interaction between individuals from different backgrounds. Furthermore, high levels of ethnocentrism can result in wrong perceptions of people from different cultures (Lin & Rancer, 2003) and the way they speak (e.g., with non-standard accents). Lukens (1978) examined levels of ethnocentrism and its impact on the way people interact. He reported that different levels of ethnocentrism create different distances between communicators from different cultural groups.

It is important to note that ethnocentrism exists in all cultures and it is the perceptual framework through which cultures or social groups interpret and judge all other cultures and social groups (Lin & Rancer, 2003) and this can also extend to speech patterns. An individual's construction of social identity creates a set of ethnocentric values which directly or indirectly plays an important role in generating accent related biases (Chakraborty, 2017). Neuliep and Speten-Hansen (2013) examined ethnocentrism and social perceptions of speakers with non-standard accents. The results of the study

indicated that ethnocentrism plays a remarkable role in the negative perception of speakers with non-standard accents. Ethnocentrics discriminated against the speaker with the non-standard accent in their judgment of the accented speaker's credibility, attractiveness, and homophily. Therefore, it is important for the present study to take into account ethnocentrism in the evaluation of Indian and Nigerian accents.

    2.5.2. Cosmopoliteness and exposure to other cultures. Another variable that is worth accounting for in the way non-standard accents are evaluated is cosmopoliteness. Cosmopoliteness comes from the Greek term "kosmos". This term conveys the idea of a universe of order and harmony (Moulla, 2002). It is a term generally used to reflect a broader outlook on life and cosmopoliteness has been linked to social categories such as education. Cosmopolitan people are expected to have greater interests in international issues, events occurring in other countries and other cultures. Individuals who are cosmopolite are more likely to travel extensively around the world and they identify with a more global culture (Hakken, 2003; Jeffres, Bracken, Neuendorf, Kopfman, & Atkin, 2002). Past research has divided cosmopoliteness into 8 different categories (e.g., Jeffres, Bracken, Neuendorf, & Kopfman, 2002). These include:

1. Diversity of Interests: This is the extent to which an individual indicates interest in news/information about different cultures, people, and ideas in local, national, and international news.

2. Cosmopolitan Identification: This is the extent to which an individual identifies with a larger international culture rather than as an American.

3. Appreciation of Different Cultures: This is the extent to which one has an interest in or experience with different cultures and also an open attitude toward learning about different cultures.

4. Tolerance of Different Cultures: This is the extent to which an individual is not prejudice toward people who are different from his or her cultural background.

5. Knowledge of Different Cultures: This is the level of information one has about different cultures and religions.

6. Knowledge of Current Events and International affairs: This is the extent to which one is familiar with current events and international affairs.

7. Cultural Diversity of Media Content to which one is exposed: This is the extent to which an individual exposes his/herself to media from or about different cultures and countries.

8. Diversity of Interpersonal Communication Network: This is the extent to which the individuals one communicates with interpersonally come from different backgrounds.

These categories of cosmopoliteness will to a large extent determine how exposed an individual is to other cultures and consequently his/her perceptions of individuals who speak with non-standard accents. Therefore, cosmopoliteness can serve as a moderating or control variable in the evaluation of non-standard accents.

In summary, the present study seeks to examine how the SAE, Indian and Nigerian accents are evaluated and if introducing the Indian and Nigerian accented speakers as a speakers whose first language is English will make American listeners view

these non-standard accented speakers as members of the same social group (i.e. speakers of English as a first language) even though they speak with a different accent.

2.6. Research Questions and Hypotheses

Following the cumulative reasoning of the literature review, the following research questions and hypotheses are proposed;

RQ1: How are Indian and Nigerian accents evaluated differently from Standard American English (SAE)?

RQ2: How will introducing the countries (Indian, Nigerian, and American) of the speakers affect listeners' perception of the accent?

H1: Listeners will evaluate the SAE speaker higher on status than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English.

H2: Listeners will evaluate the SAE speaker higher on solidarity than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English.

H3: Listeners will evaluate the SAE speaker higher on dynamism than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English.

H4: Stronger U.S. American identity will predict a greater positive difference in rated status for the SAE speaker than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English.

H5: Stronger U.S. American identity will predict a greater positive difference in rated solidarity for the SAE speaker than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English.

H6: Stronger U.S. American identity will predict a greater positive difference in rated dynamism for the SAE speaker than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

3.1. Methodology

The present study employed an experimental method. IRB approval was obtained

from Cleveland State University IRB and participants' consents were received before

they completed the study (see Appendix B). The sections that follow include information

about the study's design, participants, voice stimuli, procedure and materials.

3.1.1. Design. A 3 (SAE, Indian accented English, and Nigerian accented

English) $\times$ 2 (introduction and no introduction) design was employed.

3.1.2. Participants. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the six

experimental conditions (SAE, Indian accent, Nigerian accent, SAE with introduction,

Indian accent with introduction and Nigerian accent with introduction). Participants were

recruited from the school of Communication, Cleveland State University and received

credits for participation.

3.1.3. Voice stimuli. The voice stimuli, a technique that involves several speakers

delivering the same neutral passage of prose was employed.

Three female speakers, all in their mid-20s, read the same extract of "The

Rainbow Passage" (Fairbanks, 1960) and the speech samples were digitally recorded.

The speakers were instructed to adopt a moderate pace to keep all aspects of their speech other than their accents constant throughout the rendition. All three speakers went through the excerpt several times in order to get familiar with the passage before producing the recordings. The first speaker, the Standard American speaker, recorded the SAE. The second speaker, a Nigerian, whose first language is English, recorded the Nigerian accent. The third speaker, an Indian, whose first language is English, recorded the Indian accent. Six separate digital speech samples were produced, all of comparable length: SAE with introduction (36 seconds), SAE with no introduction (31 seconds), Nigerian accented English with introduction (38 seconds), Nigerian accented English with no introduction (32 seconds), Indian accented English with introduction (39 seconds), and Indian accented English with no introduction (33 seconds).

3.1.4. Manipulation check. A manipulation check was conducted as a procedure to verify that the three speech samples; SAE with no introduction, Nigerian accented English with no introduction, and Indian accented English with no introduction were true representations of speakers with these accents.

Nigerian listeners (N=10, different from participants in the actual study) were asked to listen the speech sample and identify the country of origin of the Nigerian speaker. The results of the manipulation check showed a 100% confirmation of the Nigerian accent. Similarly, both Indian and SAE listeners (N= 10 each, different from participants in the actual study) were asked to listen the speech samples and to identify the country of origin of the Indian accented speaker and SAE speakers. The results of the manipulation check showed a 100% confirmation for both the Indian accent and the SAE.

3.1.5. Procedure. Some professors who hold classes in the computer lab at the school of communication were contacted via email requesting their permission to allow their students participate in the study during the last 15 minutes of class time and describing what participation entailed. Interested participants were recruited class-by-class and were told orally what participation required in the classroom at the time of participation. Participants were assigned to listen to one of the six speech samples described above. The first group listened to the SAE speaker with no introduction, after which they were asked to rate the language variety on SurveyMonkey based on the dimensions of status (e.g., intelligent, educated, smart, competent, successful), solidarity (e.g., friendly, nice, sociable, pleasant, trustworthy) and dynamism (e.g., active, strong, confident, energetic), on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all)* to 7 *(very)* (see Appendix C) .These items were adapted from previous studies on language attitudes (e.g. Dragojevic & Giles, 2014; Zahn & Hopper, 1985). The second group listened to the Nigerian speaker with no introduction, after which they were asked to rate the language variety on SurveyMonkey based on the same dimensions of status, solidarity, and dynamism. The third group listened to the Indian speaker with no introduction, after which they were asked to rate the language variety based on the dimensions of status, solidarity, and dynamism. The fourth group listened to the SAE speaker with introduction, and rated the language variety on SurveyMonkey based on the same dimensions of status, solidarity, and dynamism. The fifth group listened to the Nigerian speaker with no introduction and rated the language variety on SurveyMonkey based on the same the dimensions of status, solidarity, and dynamism. Finally, the six group listened to the Indian speaker with no introduction and rated the language variety on

SurveyMonkey based on the dimensions of status, solidarity, and dynamism. After rating

the separate speech samples, participants completed other items in the questionnaire that

measured social identity, ethnocentrism, cosmopoliteness, and exposure to other cultures

(See appendix C). These items are discussed below.

3.2. Measures

      3.2.1. Dependent measures. As described above, 30 items from the speech

evaluation instrument was used (Zahn & Hopper, 1985).

      3.2.2. Demographics. Demographic information such participants' nationality,

race, sex/gender, class standing, major, and course information were obtained.

      3.2.3. Moderating variable

      3.2.3.1. *Social identity*. The Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) social identity subscale

was used. The scale comprised of 4 items that measured the concept of an individual's

identification with his/her group (in this case U.S. American). These items were

measured on a 1-7 Likert scale, with 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. Some

of the items included, "Overall my group membership has very little to do with how I feel

about myself" and "In general, belonging to my group is an important part of my self-

image". Responses for social identity were divided into individuals exhibiting either high

or low social identity. High social identity was an aggregate of responses ranging from

17.2 to 19 and low social identity included responses ranging from 4 to 17.1.

      3.2.4. Mediating variables

      3.2.4.1. *Ethnocentrism*. Neuliep and McCroskey (1997) generalized

ethnocentrism (GENE) scale was used. The scale comprised of 22 items that measured

the concept of participants' ethnocentrism regardless of their culture. Some of the items

on the GENE scale included, "my culture should be a role model for other cultures" and "people in my culture have just about the best lifestyles of anywhere". Participants were required to indicate to what extent they agreed with the 22 items on a 1-5 Likert type scale, with 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

        3.2.4.2. *Cosmopoliteness*. The Jeffres et al (2002) cosmopoliteness scale was used to measure the concept of cosmopoliteness. Three dimensions of the scale were used, namely: cosmopolitan identification, appreciation for different cultures, and tolerance of different cultures.

        Cosmopolitan identification comprised of 2 items measured on a 0 - 10 Likert type scale, with 0 = strongly disagree and 10 = strongly agree. The 2 items were, "I think of myself as a citizen of the world" and "some people see themselves only as Americans and nothing else, but I think of myself as belonging to many cultures".

        Appreciation for different cultures comprised of 3 items all measured on a 0 - 10 Likert scale, with 0 = strongly disagree and 10 = strongly agree. Some of the items included, "I'm more aware of what's going on around the world than most of my friends" and "I enjoy learning about different cultures".

        There were 4 items that comprised the tolerance of different cultures. These items were measured on a 0 - 10 Likert scale, with 0 = strongly disagree and 10 = strongly agree. Some of the items include, "I tend to value similarities over differences when I meet someone" and "There is a potential for good and evil in all of us".

        3.2.4.3. *Exposure to non-standard accents and cultural/racial identity*. Six additional items were added to the questionnaire. This items measured participants' exposure to non-standard accents in the media and in interpersonal interactions. These 6

items were measured on a 1 - 9 Likert scale, with 1 = strongly disagree and 9 = strongly agree. Some of the items included, "How often do you hear non-standard American accents in media (T.V., Movies, etc.)" and "How frequently have you been exposed to people with non-standard American accents".

One open-ended item measured cultural/racial identity. The item was "How would you describe your ethnic/racial identity?"

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

4.1. Sample Description

A total of 115 participants completed the questionnaire. 45 (38.8%) were male, 68 (58.6%) were female, and 3 (2.6%) did not respond to the gender question. Participants were between the ages of 18 and 49. Of these individuals, 67 (57.8%) were Caucasian, 43 (37.1%) were nonwhite (African-American, African, Hispanic, Asian, and others), and 6 (5.2%) did not respond what group they belong. The breakdown of the participants' academic majors was: 56 (48.3%) were Communication majors, 31 (26.7%) were Journalism majors, 13 (11.2%) were Film majors, 4 (3.4%) were Criminology majors, 4 (3.4%) were Health majors, and 8 (7.1%) were from other majors.

4.2. Research Question 1

The first research question asked how differently Indian and Nigerian accents are evaluated from SAE. Three two-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent) and accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) as fixed factors. The main effect for accent was evaluated and the dependent variables were status, solidarity,

and dynamism. The analyses showed no significant results in predicting status and dynamism but showed significant results in predicting solidarity.

In predicting status, as shown in Table 1, the main effect for accent was found to be non-significant at $F_{1, 109} = 1.51$, $p = .22$. The three group means were 62.7 for SAE, 64.4 for Indian, and 60.9 for Nigerian. An interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 109} = .327$, $p = .722$. Results indicated that when predicting status SAE was not significantly different from Indian and Nigerian accents.

Table 1. TWO-WAY ANOVA PREDICTING STATUS

ACCENT	INTRO	*n*	NO INTRO	*n*	TOTAL (*M*)	*n*
SAE	$M = 60.5$	19	$M = 64.9$	18	$M = 62.7$	37
INDIAN	$M = 64.2$	22	$M = 64.7$	16	$M = 64.4$	38
NIGERIAN	$M = 59.9$	23	$M = 62.2$	17	$M = 60.9$	40
	$M = 61.6$	64	$M = 63.9$	51	$M = 62.6$	115

Main Effect- Intro   Main Effect- Accent
$F_{2, 109} = 1.00$, $p = .371$ $F_{1, 109} = 1.51$, $p = .22$

Interaction Effect (Accent*Intro)
$F_{2, 109} = .327$, $p = .722$

In predicting solidarity, as shown in Table 2, the analyses of solidarity was found to yield a significant main effect for accent, $F_{2,109} = 11.66$, $p < .001$. The means for this significant difference were 51.3 for SAE, 62.6 for Indian, and 62.1 for Nigerian. An interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 109} = .137$, p = .873. Results indicated that there was a significant difference among the three accents on solidarity.

Table 2. TWO-WAY ANOVA PREDICTING SOLIDARITY

ACCENT	INTRO	*n*	NO INTRO	*n*	TOTAL (*M*)	*n*
SAE	$M = 51.3$	18	$M = 51.3$	19	$M = 51.3$	37
INDIAN	$M = 62.9$	16	$M = 62.4$	22	$M = 62.6$	38
NIGERIAN	$M = 60.9$	17	$M = 62.9$	23	$M = 62.1$	40
	$M = 58.1$	51	$M = 59.3$	64	$M = 58.78$	115

Main Effect- Intro   Main Effect- Accent
$F_{1, 109} = 0.06, p = .807$ $F_{2, 109} = 11.66, p < .001$
Interaction Effect (Accent*Intro)
$F_{2, 109} = .137, p = .873$

In predicting dynamism, as shown in Table 3, the analyses of dynamism yielded a non-significant main effect for accent with $F_{1, 108} = 2.\,230, p = .131$. The three means were 28.9 for SAE, 31.1 for Indian, and 30.6 for Nigerian. An interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 108} = .105, p = .901$. Results indicated that when predicting dynamism SAE was not significantly different from Indian and Nigerian accents.

Table 3. TWO-WAY ANOVA PREDICTING DYNAMISM

ACCENT	INTRO	N	NO INTRO	*n*	TOTAL (*M*)	*n*
SAE	$M = 30.0$	19	$M = 27.7$	18	$M = 28.9$	37
INDIAN	$M = 31.6$	22	$M = 30.5$	16	$M = 31.1$	38
NIGERIAN	$M = 31.3$	23	$M = 29.4$	16	$M = 30.6$	39
	$M = 31.0$	64	$M = 29.2$	50	$M = 30.2$	114

Main Effect- Intro   Main Effect- Accent
$F_{2, 108} = 1.29, p = .279$ $F_{1, 108} = 2.320, p = .131$

Interaction Effect (Accent*Intro)
$F_{2, 108} = .105, p = .901$

4.2.1. Secondary analyses. Some secondary analyses were conducted, in order to examine the findings for Research Question 1 when controlling for demographics and other key variables. Three two-way analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were conducted with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent) and accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and dynamism. Seven variables were used as covariates namely; ethnocentrism, cosmopoliteness, exposure to people with the target accent, and exposure to media representations of the target accent, and demographics; age, female, and nonwhite.

Similar to the discussed findings above, when predicting status, as shown in Table 4, SAE was still not significantly different from Indian and Nigerian accents after controlling for the seven variables with a main effect for accent of $F_{2,95} = .640$, $p = .529$. There was also a non-significant interaction between accent and introduction at $F_{2,95} = 1.27$, $p = .285$. Two covariates showed a significant relationship to status: Cosmopoliteness ($F_{1,95} = 6.79$, $p = .011$) and Exposure to people with the target accent ($F_{1,95} = 5.48$, $p = .021$).

Table 4. TWO-WAY ANCOVA PREDICTING STATUS

COVARIATES	Df	F	Sig
Ethnocentrism	1,95	2.27	.136
Cosmopoliteness	1,95	6.79	.011
Exposure to People	1,95	5.48	.021
Exposure to Media	1,95	.38	.541
Age	1,95	.526	.470
Female	1,95	1.47	.228
NonWhite	1,95	1.164	.283
IVs			
Intro	1,95	.024	.878
Accent	2,95	.640	.529
Intro*Accent	2,95	1.27	.285

When predicting solidarity as shown in Table 5, the main effect of accent remained highly significant at $F_{2,95} = 12.36$, $p < .001$ after controlling for the seven variables. Interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2,95} = .293$, $p = .746$. One covariate was found to be significant: Cosmopoliteness, with $F_{1,95} = 7.96$, $p = .006$.

Table 5. TWO-WAY ANCOVA PREDICTING SOLIDARITY

COVARIATES	df	F	Sig
Ethnocentrism	1,95	1.35	.248
Cosmopoliteness	1,95	7.96	.006
Exposure to People	1,95	.015	.904
Exposure to Media	1,95	.899	.345
Age	1,95	.642	.425
Female	1,95	.024	.877
NonWhite	1,95	.900	.345
IVs			
Intro	1,95	2.25	.137
Accent	2,95	12.36	<.001
Intro*Accent	2,95	.293	.746

As shown in Table 6 when predicting dynamism, the main effect of accent approached near significance at $F_{2,95} = 2.84$, $p = .064$ after controlling for the seven variables. Thus, the three accents (SAE, Indian, and Nigerian accents) were slightly significantly different on dynamism when controlling for ethnocentrism, cosmopoliteness, exposure to people with the target accent, exposure to media representations of the target accent, age, female, and nonwhite status. An interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2,95} = .001$, $p = .999$. One covariate was found to be significant: Exposure to people with the target accent, with $F_{1,95} = 4.04$, $p = .047$.

Table 6. TWO-WAY ANCOVA PREDICTING DYNAMISM

COVARIATES	df	F	Sig
Ethnocentrism	1,95	.81	.371
Cosmopoliteness	1,95	1.66	.201
Exposure to People	1,95	4.04	.047
Exposure to Media	1,95	.410	.523
Age	1,95	.264	.609
Female	1,95	.003	.959
NonWhite	1,95	1.53	.219
IVs			
Intro	1,95	3.25	.75
Accent	2,95	2.84	.064
Intro*Accent	2,95	.001	.999

4.3. Research Question 2

The second research question queried about how introducing the countries of the speakers will affect listeners' perception of the accent. Three two-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent) and accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) as fixed factors. The main effect for introduction was evaluated and the dependent variables were status, solidarity, and dynamism. The analyses showed no significant main effects in predicting status, solidarity and dynamism indicating that introducing speakers' countries did not affect listeners' perception.

In predicting status, as shown in Table 1, the main effect for introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 109} = 1.00$, $p = .371$. The two means for this analysis were

61.6 for Introduction and 63.9 for No Introduction. An interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 109} = .327$, $p = .722$. Results indicated that when predicting status introducing the accents (Introduction vs. No Introduction) did not make a difference in listeners' perception of the accent.

In predicting solidarity, as shown in Table 2, the analyses of the main effect of introduction was non-significant at $F_{1, 109} = 0.06$, $p = .807$. The two means were 58.1 for introduction and 59.3 for no introduction. The interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 109} = .137$, $p = .873$. Results indicated that when predicting solidarity introducing the accents (Introduction vs. No Introduction) did not make a difference in listeners' perception of the accent.

In predicting dynamism, as shown in Table 3, the main effect for introduction was non-significant at $F_{2, 108} = 1.29$, $p = .279$. The means for the two groups were 31.0 for introduction and 29.2 for no introduction. An interaction between accent and introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{2, 108} = .105$, $p = .901$. Results indicated that when predicting solidarity introducing the accents (Introduction vs. No Introduction) did not make a difference in listeners' perception of the accent.

4.4. Hypothesis 1

The first Hypothesis posited that SAE speaker will be evaluated higher on status than the Indian or Nigerian English. Three two-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent) and accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and accent.

In predicting status, as shown in Table 1, SAE was evaluated at $M = 62.7$, the Indian accent was evaluated at $M = 64.4$ and the Nigerian accent was evaluated at $M = 60.9$. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported. The Indian accented speaker was rated higher on status than the Nigerian and SAE speakers, although this counter-hypothesized difference was non-significant.

4.5. Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 posited that SAE speaker will be evaluated higher on solidarity than the Indian or Nigerian English. Three two-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent) and accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and accent.

As shown in Table 2, in predicting solidarity SAE was evaluated at $M = 51.3$, the Indian accent was evaluated at $M = 62.6$ and the Nigerian accent was evaluated at $M = 62.1$. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported. In fact, analyses showed that SAE was *lower* than both Indian and Nigerian accents on the evaluation of solidarity.

4.6. Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 posited that SAE speaker will be evaluated higher on dynamism than the Indian or Nigerian English. Three two-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent) and accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and accent.

As shown in Table 3, in predicting dynamism SAE was evaluated at $M = 28.9$, the Indian accent was evaluated at $M = 31.1$ and the Nigerian accent was evaluated at $M =$

30.6. The main effect for accent was non-significant overall, and the direction of the differences was not as hypothesized. The Indian accented speaker was rated *higher* on dynamism than the Nigerian and SAE speakers. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Table 7. THREE- WAY ANOVA PREDICTING STATUS

LOW SOCIAL IDENTITY	INTRO	*n*	NO INTRO	*n*	TOTAL	*n*
SAE	60.8	9	67.80	10	64.5	19
INDIAN	69.3	11	61.7	10	65.7	21
NIGERIAN	60.0	10	61.8	12	61.0	22
TOTAL	63.6	30	63.7	32	63.7	62
HIGH SOCIAL ID						
SAE	60.3	10	62.5	7	61.2	17
INDIAN	59.0	11	69.7	6	62.8	17
NIGERIAN	60.0	13	57.8	4	59.4	17
TOTAL	59.8	34	63.9	17	61.1	51
TOTAL(LO & HI SOC.ID)						
SAE	60.5	19	65.6	17	62.9	36
INDIAN	64.2	22	64.7	16	64.4	38
NIGERIAN	60.0	23	60.8	16	60.3	39
TOTAL	61.6	64	63.8	49	62.5	113

Main Effect- Intro: $F_{1, 101} = 1.008$, $p = .318$
Main Effect- Accent: $F_{2, 101} = 2.142$, $p = .123$
Main Effect- Social ID: $F_{1, 101} = 1.055$, $p = .307$
Two-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Intro: $F_{2, 101} = .492$, $p = .613$
Two-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Social ID: $F_{2, 101} = .076$, $p = .927$
Two-way Interaction Effect- Intro* Social ID: $F_{1, 101} = .634$, $p = .428$
Three-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Intro* Social ID: $F_{2, 101} = 3.737$, $p = .027$
Note. Except where noted all entries in the table are means

4.7. Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 posited that stronger U.S. American identity will predict a greater positive difference in rated status for the SAE speaker than the speakers of Indian or Nigerian English. Three sets of three-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent), accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) and social identity (high social identity and low social identity) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and accent.

As shown in Table 7, in predicting status, the main effect for introduction was found to be non-significant at $F_{1,101} = 1.008$, $p = .318$, the main effect for accent was non-significant at $F_{2,101} = 2.142$, $p = .123$, and the main effect for social identity was non-significant at $F_{1,101} = 1.055$, $p = .307$. The two-way interaction between accent and social identity was non-significant at $F_{2,101} = .076$, $p = .927$. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

However, a non-hypothesized three-way interaction between accent, introduction, and social identity was found to be significant at $F_{2,101} = 3.737$, $p = .027$.

Table 8. THREE- WAY ANOVA PREDICTING SOLIDARITY

LOW SOCIAL IDENTITY	INTRO	*n*	NO INTRO	*n*	TOTAL	*n*
SAE	53.2	9	53.7	10	53.5	19
INDIAN	60.7	10	61.4	12	61.1	22
NIGERIAN	60.7	10	61.4	12	61.1	22
TOTAL	60.0	30	58.3	32	59.1	62
HIGH SOCIAL ID						
SAE	49.5	10	49.0	7	49.3	17
INDIAN	59.8	11	69.3	6	63.2	17
NIGERIAN	64.7	13	55.2	4	62.4	17
TOTAL	58.7	34	57.6	17	58.3	51
TOTAL(LO & HI SOC.ID)						
SAE	51.3	19	51.8	17	51.5	36
INDIAN	62.4	22	62.9	16	62.6	38
NIGERIAN	62.9	23	59.9	16	61.7	39
TOTAL	59.3	64	58.0	49	58.8	113

Main Effect- Intro: $F_{1, 101} = .158$, $p = .692$
Main Effect- Accent: $F_{2, 101} = 10.815$, $p < .001$
Main Effect- Social ID: $F_{1, 101} = .167$, $p = .684$
Two-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Intro: $F_{2, 101} = .644$, $p = .528$
Two-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Social ID: $F_{2, 101} = .808$, $p = .449$
Two-way Interaction Effect- Intro* Social ID: $F_{1, 101} = .103$, $p = .749$
Three-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Intro* Social ID: $F_{2, 101} = 2.831$, $p = .064$
Note. Except where noted all entries in the table are means

4.8. Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 posited that stronger U.S. American identity will predict a greater

positive difference in rated solidarity for the SAE speaker than the speakers of Indian or

Nigerian English. Three sets of three-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were

conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent), accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) and social identity (high social identity and low social identity) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and accent.

As shown in Table 8, in predicting solidarity, the main effect for introduction was non-significant at $F_{1,101} = .158$, $p = .692$, the main effect for accent was significant at $F_{2,101} = 10.815$, $p < .001$, and the main effect for social identity was non-significant $F_{1,101} = .167$, $p = .684$. The two-way interaction between accent and social identity was non-significant at $F_{2,101} = .808$, $p = .449$. Thus, Hypothesis 5 was not supported.

However, a non-hypothesized three-way interaction between accent, introduction, and social identity was found to be near-significant at $F_{2,101} = 2.831$, $p = .064$.

Table 9. THREE- WAY ANOVA PREDICTING DYNAMISM

LOW SOCIAL IDENTITY	INTRO	*n*	NO INTRO	*n*	TOTAL	*n*
SAE	29.7	9	29.0	10	29.3	19
INDIAN	33.5	11	29.2	10	31.4	21
NIGERIAN	31.0	11	29.8	12	30.3	22
TOTAL	31.5	30	29.3	32	30.38	62
HIGH SOCIAL ID						
SAE	30.3	10	25.7	7	28.4	17
INDIAN	29.7	11	37.8	6	30.8	17
NIGERIAN	31.6	13	28.5	4	30.9	17
TOTAL	30.6	34	28.9	17	30.0	51
TOTAL(LO & HI SOC.ID)						
SAE	30.0	19	27.6	17	28.9	36
INDIAN	31.6	22	30.5	16	31.1	38
NIGERIAN	31.3	23	29.4	16	30.6	39
TOTAL	31.0	64	29.2	49	30.2	113

Main Effect- Intro: $F_{1, 101}$, = 2.163, *p* = .144
Main Effect- Accent: $F_{2, 101}$ = 1.596, *p* =.208
Main Effect- Social ID: $F_{1, 101}$ =.219, *p* =.641
Two-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Intro: $F_{2, 101}$ = .258, *p* = .773
Two-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Social ID: $F_{2, 101}$ = .100, *p* = .905
Two-way Interaction Effect- Intro* Social ID: $F_{1, 101}$ = .042, *p* = .838
Three-way Interaction Effect- Accent * Intro* Social ID: $F_{2, 101}$ = 2.042, *p* = .135
Note. Except where noted all entries in the table are means

4.9. Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 posited that stronger U.S. American identity will predict a greater

positive difference in rated dynamism for the SAE speaker than the speakers of Indian or

Nigerian English. Three sets of three-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were

conducted, with introduction (two groups; introduction of accent and no introduction of accent), accents (three groups; SAE, Indian accent, and Nigerian accent) and social identity (high social identity and low social identity) as fixed factors. The dependent variables were status, solidarity, and accent.

As shown in Table 9, in predicting dynamism, the main effect for introduction was non-significant at $F_{1,101} = 2.163$, $p = .144$, the main effect for accent was non-significant at $F_{2,101} = 1.596$, $p = .208$, and the main effect for social identity was non-significant at $F_{1,101} = .219$, $p = .641$. The two-way interaction between accent and social identity was non-significant at $F_{2,101} = .100$, $p = .905$. Thus, Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study examined the evaluation of non-standard accented speakers whose first language is English and the role of social identity in these evaluations. The hypotheses were logically developed in a manner consistent with findings in the research literature. However, there was no support for these hypotheses. This chapter addresses possible reasons why hypotheses were not supported and the implications of these reasons. The main topics of this chapter includes, attractiveness of accents, interpersonal contact and familiarity, stereotypes, language attitude/stereotype change, limitations to the study, and future directions.

5.1. Attractiveness of Accents

As already discussed in the literature review, the solidarity dimension measures how attractive a non-standard accent is perceived. It should be pointed out that significant results emerged from the evaluation of solidarity. The Indian and Nigerian accents were rated higher on the solidarity dimension than SAE. Clearly, participants found the non-standard accents to be more attractive than the SAE. Although the clear findings from numerous previous studies supports the hypotheses advanced in this study, certain studies have found some discrepant patterns. For example, one study reported that standard

speakers evaluated non-standard accents to be more attractive than the standard accent. In a study evaluating the perceptions of Australian students toward non-standard accents, non-standard accented speakers were considered more socially attractive than Australian (standard) speakers (Eisenchlas & Tsurutani, 2011). Also, a more recent study examined how perceived attractiveness of voices were influenced by a foreign language, a foreign accent, and the level of fluency in the foreign language. The results from the study (Trouvain & Zimmerer, 2017) indicated that German listeners rated the French accented speakers more attractive than German speakers. Thus, results from certain past studies are similar to the findings in the present study where ingroup members rated outgroup members higher on solidarity (or attractiveness) than members of their ingroup.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that both Indian and Nigerian accents are greatly influenced by the British Received Pronunciation (RP) and can be a possibility for the findings for solidarity. Past research reports that British (RP) accented English was rated higher than SAE (Stewart, Ryan, & Giles, 1985). Similarly, Lindemann (2005) examined how standard U.S. English speakers construct social categories for people outside the U.S. The findings of the Lindemann's (2005) study suggested that Indian accent was positively evaluated as a British influenced variety. This result can also be extended to the Nigerian accent since Nigeria was a former British colony like India.

Other exceptions of our hypotheses from past research indicates that listeners' familiarity with accented speech seems to foster acceptance and favorable attitudes toward that particular non-standard accent and its speakers (Eisenchlas & Tsurutani, 2011). Therefore, high ratings on the solidarity dimension suggests that SAE, Indian and Nigerian accents were not only evaluated differently (RQ1), but the possibility emerges

that participants were able to make differentiations amongst accents based on familiarity and interpersonal contact with accented speakers.

5.2. Interpersonal Contact and Familiarity

With the rise in globalization around the world, exposure and interpersonal contact with non-standard accented speakers has led to familiarity of certain accents such that non-standard accents are evaluated more positively than they were evaluated in previous years. There is growing evidence that familiarity with non-standard accented speakers can lead to greater acceptance of accented speech. Familiarity with accents enhances intelligibility and intelligible accents draw positive attitudes and affective responses than unintelligible non-standard (Bresnahan et al., 2002; Eisenchlas & Tsurutani, 2011).

Clarke and Garrett (2004) establish that adapting to accented speech takes a short time and familiarity with non-standard accents leads to favorable judgement (Eisenchlas & Tsurutani, 2011). Furthermore, Gluszek and Dovidio (2010) suggest that the factors that influence favorable evaluations of non-standard accents are cognitive adjustments (e.g., learning to understand accented speech) and motivation (e.g., listening patiently to a friend/classmate who speaks with a non-standard accent). Constant interactions with accented speakers influence perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and evaluations of accents (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). Results from the present study reveal patterns that support research in this area. It is important to note that participants were from an American university with a very diverse student population. It seems possible that due to interpersonal contact and familiarity with Indian and Nigerian accented speakers (e.g., classmates/friends) the social identity variable measured in this study did not play a

significant role in the evaluations of these accents. It is possible that who participants consider as an ingroup/outgroup member had little to do with accented speech.

People have as many social identities as there are groups in which they identify as members. However, only one identity is psychologically real in any given situation. This is because identities change quickly in response to contextual changes (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004). Therefore, one possibility may be that participants responded to the notion of identity based on the contextual changes (a formal setting such as a classroom vs. an informal such as setting a bar). The classroom may have triggered a certain concept of identity that was different from the social identity variable measured in this study. This concept of identity may not have necessarily resulted in any ingroup/outgroup categorization in relation to non-standard accents. Perhaps for an educated and interculturally exposed group, as was the case with the participants used in this study, the concept of social identity was viewed differently since identities vary in subjective importance and value, and chronic and situational accessibility (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004). It is possible that due to interpersonal contact or familiarity, participants evaluated the accents based on categories that were readily accessible to them, thus classifying these accented speakers as ingroup members (i.e., classmates/friends).

In addition, Hogg, Abrams, Otten and Hinkle (2004) acknowledge that social identity is context dependent not only in terms of which social identity is salient but also in terms of what form the identity takes. Results from the present study show trends that are consistent with the Hogg, Abrams, Otten and Hinkle's (2004) findings of the context dependent nature of social identity. Hogg and Reid (2006) note that the same person can

behave differently as he/she moves from situation to situation and group to group. Groups and situations have their behavioral attributes that regulate the behavior of people in the situations. Furthermore, since people draw on readily accessible social categorizations especially those that are self-evident and perceptually salient in the immediate situation (Hogg & Reid, 2006), it is possible that because data collection was carried out during regular class time, participants relied on the accessible social categorization (in this case classmates). A question that remains unanswered is the form of identity that was accessible to participants as they participated in the study because the results of this study indicate an identity that did not categorize the Indian and Nigerian accents as "outgroup" members.

5.3. Stereotypes

The results of this study indicate a trend that does not directly support the tenet of "shared identity" as it relates to the social identity theory. It was found that individuals with high social identity had higher mean scores (even though not significant) for Indian and Nigerian accents on the solidarity and dynamism dimensions. (See Tables 7, 8 & 9). Participants with high social identity rated the Indian accent higher on all three dimensions (status, solidarity, and dynamism) compared to the SAE or Nigerian speakers. It is possible that the evaluation of non-standard accents do not always spring from their identification with a social group (ingroup) but from stereotypes attributed to members of such groups (outgroup). Stereotypes are perception schemas of a particular group of people and contain a combination of both positive and negative attributes (Fiske, 1998; Operario & Fiske, 2003). They are not idiosyncratic and inaccurate beliefs but accurate beliefs particularly because they reflect a shared social reality (Hogg & Reid, 2006). In

turn, people's opinions of accents may result from stereotyped reactions to those accents (Giles, 1973). Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu (2002) acknowledge that certain stereotypes are respected for their excessive and threatening competence. Asians have often been considered a "model minority" in that they are viewed as intelligent, ambitious, hard-working, and self-disciplined (Lee & Joo, 2005). It is possible that the evaluations of the Indian accent may have triggered these stereotypes particularly because non-significant mean scores for individuals identified as having high U.S. American identity was higher for the Indian accent.

5.4. Language Attitude/Stereotype Change

It is important to note that attitudes and stereotypes about language varieties change. This may be a result of factors such as intergroup relations or institutional support. Educators, peers, family, and the media are agents of socialization through which language attitudes can be socialized and changed (Dragojevic, 2017). As a result of socialization through the educators of participants in this study, it is possible that conventional attitudes toward non-standard accents may be changing. The increasing number of international students in university campuses can portray some form of institutional support toward non-standard accented speakers.

Moreover, people's perceptions have changed as media has developed, thus making it possible for people to learn more about other social/ethnic. With the rise in intercultural interactions via media, people's attitudes toward accented speakers have become a significant aspect of daily life and play a role in the evaluation of accents (Lindemann, 2005). The frequency and portrayal of non-standard accents in media can influence perceptions of accents either positively or negatively. This portrayal can in turn

play a significant role in how non-standard accents are perceived since the mass media are major agents of socialization.

5.5. Limitations

There are several limitations associated with the present study. These include: sample, unmatched guise, short speech samples, and other scales.

First, participants were college students and this restrained the generalizability of the results. They were not an ideal representation of a broader population. Participants were communication, journalism, and film majors, who were either junior or seniors in college and who have taken classes about different cultural groups. Also, the university where this study was carried out has a very diverse student population with international students from India and Nigeria, amongst others. Therefore, participants in this study arguably have been exposed to various social groups on a daily basis.

Second, unlike other studies evaluating non-standard accents, the present study did not use a matched guise technique. A matched guise technique consists of an identical speech read by a bilingual speaker. This controls for variations in speech characteristics such as voice quality, pitch level, and intonation. To find evidence that there were individual speaker characteristics within the SAE, Indian, and Nigerian accents, at least part of the explanation for the findings of the present study, a pitch variation test was conducted (see Table 10). Measurements showed that the pitch range is almost the same for all speakers (284.6 Hz for the SAE, 286.4 Hz for the Indian speaker, and 277.7 Hz for the Nigerian speaker) but the mean pitch varied across the three speakers (SAE was 198.3 Hz, Indian was 221.0 Hz, and Nigerian was 177.5 Hz). The standard deviation was larger for the Indian (36.8 Hz), the standard deviation for the Nigerian was 35.5 Hz, and SAE

had the lowest standard deviation (29.5 Hz). A larger standard deviation for the Indian and the Nigerian speakers could give an impression of a livelier manner of speaking which may result in more favorable evaluations. These findings support the inherent-value hypothesis (Gooskens, Schuppert, & Hilton 2016).

Table 10. Voice Characteristics of Speakers Used in the Speech Samples

	SAE	Indian Accent	Nigerian Accent
Mean Frequency (Hz)	198.3	221.0	177.5
Range (Hz)	284.6	286.4	277.7
Minimum (Hz)	91	98.9	98.7
Maximum (Hz)	376	385	376
Standard Deviation (Hz)	29.5	36.8	35.5

Note. Pitch analyses were conducted using Visi-Pitch IV Multi-dimensional program

Third, the duration of speech samples may have been a limitation to the findings of the study. The speech samples range from 31- 39 seconds and they were played once for the listeners to evaluate. Compared to daily interactions that could last for several minutes, the speech samples were very short and may not have facilitated an accurate evaluation of the accents. In the future, a longer speech sample should be used and played at least twice for participants to accurately evaluate the speech.

Finally, the experimental design was by classroom group and this was not controlled for in the study. The survey lasted about 15 minutes at the end of regular class time and was an online survey. It is possible that participants were already tired after the class and hurried through the questionnaire instead of providing more thoughtful information. Participants may have been more easily tired taking an online survey than taking a paper-pencil survey.

5.6. Future Directions

Future research can examine the following areas as it relates to language attitudes. First, a longitudinal study should investigate how language attitudes change over time and what factors trigger this change. Second, future research should replicate this study evaluating non-standard accented speakers whose first language is English but using both a younger and older participant sample. Participants in the present study were younger (between 18-48 years) and were all college students. Future research can use people who are not enrolled in college at the time of the study and a working class group alongside participants who are enrolled in college. The study should compare the responses of participants and see how variables such as age, education, and employment play a role in language attitudes. Finally, future research should examine the emotional component to language attitudes. Open-ended questions should be used to investigate the various emotions non-standard accents trigger.

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APPENDIX A

THE RAINBOW PASSAGE

When the sunlight strikes raindrops in the air, they act as a prism and form a rainbow.
The rainbow is a division of white light into many beautiful colors. These take the shape
of a long round arch, with its path high above, and its two ends apparently beyond the
horizon. There is, according to legend, a boiling pot of gold at one end. People look, but
no one ever finds it. When a man looks for something beyond his reach, his friends say
he is looking for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. Throughout the centuries
people have explained the rainbow in various ways. Some have accepted it as a miracle
without physical explanation. To the Hebrews it was a token that there would be no more
universal floods. The Greeks used to imagine that it was a sign from the gods to foretell
war or heavy rain. The Norsemen considered the rainbow as a bridge over which the gods
passed from earth to their home in the sky. Others have tried to explain the phenomenon
physically. Aristotle thought that the rainbow was caused by reflection of the sun's rays
by the rain. Since then physicists have found that it is not reflection, but refraction by the
raindrops which causes the rainbows. Many complicated ideas about the rainbow have
been formed. The difference in the rainbow depends considerably upon the size of the
drops, and the width of the colored band increases as the size of the drops increases. The
actual primary rainbow observed is said to be the effect of super-imposition of a number
of bows. If the red of the second bow falls upon the green of the first, the result is to give
a bow with an abnormally wide yellow band, since red and green light when mixed form
yellow. This is a very common type of bow, one showing mainly red and yellow, with
little or no green or blue.

Cleveland State University
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Informed Consent

Dear Participant,

My name is Doris Acheme, a Graduate student in the School of Communication at Cleveland State University. I am working on a research project with Dr. George Ray, a Professor in the School of Communication. I am requesting your participation in a research study. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (216) 687-5090 or Dr. Ray at (216) 687-5103.

I am conducting a study on how people evaluate different accents. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to rate a speech sample. This will last about 15 minutes. To participate, you must be at least 18 years old.

After listening to the speech sample, you will complete a questionnaire on SurveyMonkey that asks about the speech sample. You can use the computer in front of you.

Participation is completely voluntary. You may receive extra credits for your participation in the study. The risks of participation do not exceed those of normal daily living. Every attempt will be made to protect personal information. In the research data and final report there will be no record of your name or any other personal information. There will be no way to identify who provided what information. No one will have access to the data other than me, Dr. Ray and members of my thesis committee.

You may refuse to answer any question or stop doing the survey. You may withdraw at any time without consequence.

Please read the following: *"I understand that if I have any questions about my rights as a research subject, I can contact the Cleveland State University Institutional Review Board at (216) 687-3630."*

There are two copies of this form. After signing them, keep one copy for your records and return the other one to me.

Your signature below means that you understand the content of this document. It also means that you also are at least 18 years of age and that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_____   _____

Signature   Date

_____

Name (Printed)

Evaluation of Accents

Welcome to My Study

Thank you for participating in this study. Your feedback is important. Please check OK to start the questionnaire.

Please, respond to the impression you have formed of the speaker. Place a mark in the space corresponding to your judgment of the speaker. Check one button for each item.

1. The speaker is...

1 = Illiterate	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Literate
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

2. The speaker is...

1 = Uneducated	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Educated
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. The speaker is...

1 = Lower-class	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Upper-class
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

4. The speaker is...

1 = Poor	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Rich
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

5. She is...

1 = Unintelligent	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Intelligent
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

6. She is...

1 = Blue-collar	2	3	4	5	6	7 = White-collar
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

7. The speaker is...

1 = Unclear	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Clear
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

8. She is...

1 = Incomplete	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Complete
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

9. The speaker is...

1 = Disfluent	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Fluent
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

10. The speaker is...

1 = Disorganized	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Organized
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

11. The speaker is...

1 = Inexperienced	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Experienced
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

12. She is...

1 = Disadvantaged	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Advantaged
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

13. She is...

1 = Sour	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Sweet
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

14. She is...

1 = Awful	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Nice
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

15. The speaker is...

1 = Hostile	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Good-natured
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

16. The speaker is...

1 = Unkind	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Kind
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

17. The speaker is...

1 = Cold	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Warm
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

18. She is...

1 = Unfriendly	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Friendly
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

19. She is...

1 = Unlikable	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Likable
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

20. She is...

1 = Unpleasant	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Pleasant
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

21. She is...

1 = Inconsiderate	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Considerate
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

22. She is...

1 = Bad	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Good
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

23. She is...

1 = Dishonest	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Honest
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

24. She is...

1 = Passive	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Active
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

25. She is...

1 = Shy	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Talkative
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

26. She is...

1 = Unaggressive	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Aggressive
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

27. She is...

1 = Hesitant	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Enthusiastic
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

28. She is...

1 = Weak	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Strong
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

29. She is...

1 = Unsure	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Confident
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

30. The speaker is...

1 = Lazy	2	3	4	5	6	7 = Energetic
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

For the next 22 items, please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a 1-5 scale, with "1" indicating "strongly disagree" and "5" indicating "strongly agree". Check one number for each item.

31. Most other cultures are backward compared to my culture.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

32. My culture should be the role model for other cultures

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

33. People from other cultures act strange when they come to my culture

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

34. Lifestyles in other cultures are just as valid as those in my culture.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

35. Other cultures should try to be more like my culture.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

36. I am not interested in the values and customs of other cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

37. People in my culture could learn a lot from people in other cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

38. Most people from other cultures just don't know what's good for them.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

39. I respect the values and customs of other cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

40. Other cultures are smart to look up to our culture.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

41. Most people would be happier if they lived like people in my culture.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

42. I have many friends from different cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

43. People in my culture have just about the best lifestyles.

1= STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

44. Lifestyles in other cultures are not as valid as those in my culture.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

45. I am very interested in the values and customs of other cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

46. I apply my values when judging people who are different.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

47. I see people who are similar to me as virtuous.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

48. I do not cooperate with people who are different.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

49. Most people in my culture just don't know what is good for them.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

50. I do not trust people who are different.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

51. I dislike interacting with people from different cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

52. I have little respect for the values and customs of other cultures.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○

For the next 9 items, please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a 0-10 scale, with "0" indicating "strongly disagree" and "10" indicating "strongly agree". Check one number for each item.

53. I think of myself as a citizen of the world.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

54. Some people see themselves only as Americans and nothing else, but I think of myself as belonging to many cultures.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

55. I'm more aware of what's going on around the world than most of my friends.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

56. I enjoy traveling to different countries.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

57. I enjoy learning about different cultures.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

58. No particular culture in this world is superior to others.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

59. I tend to value similarities over differences when I meet someone.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

60. At one level of thinking, everyone in the world is very much alike.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

61. There is a potential for good and evil in all of us.

0 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

For the next 4 items, please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a 1-7 scale, with "1" indicating "Strongly disagree" and "7" indicating "Strongly agree". Check one number for each item.

For these 4 questions, think of yourself as a U.S. American:

62. Overall my group membership has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1= STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5	6	7 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

63. The group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5	6	7 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

64. The group I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5	6	7 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

65. In general, belonging to my group is an important part of my self-image.

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	3	4	5	6	7 = STRONGLY AGREE
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

The following questions ask about your exposure to non-standard American accents:

66. How frequently have you been exposed to people who speak English with an accent that is not standard U.S. American?

0 = NEVER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = VERY MUCH
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

67. How frequently have you been exposed to people with an Indian Accent?

0 = NEVER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = VERY MUCH
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

68. How frequently have you been exposed to people with a Nigerian Accent?

0 = NEVER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = VERY MUCH
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

69. How often do you hear people who speak English with an accent that is not standard U.S. American in media (T.V., Movies, etc.)?

0 = NEVER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = VERY MUCH
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

70. How often do you hear an Indian accent in media (T.V., Movies, etc.)?

0 = NEVER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = VERY MUCH
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

71. How often do you hear a Nigerian accent in media (T.V., Movies, etc.)?

0 = NEVER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 = VERY MUCH
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Please answer some questions about your background:

72. What is your age?

73. In what country were you born?

74. What is your gender/Sex?

75. How would you describe your ethnic/racial identity?

76. What is your major?

77. What is the name of your class?

○ COM 225   ○ COM 425

○ COM 301   ○ COM 348

○ COM 326   ○ OTHER

78. What is the name of your professor?

[   ]

79. What is your class standing?

☐ Freshman   ☐ Senior

☐ Sophomore   ☐ Graduate

☐ Junior   ☐ Other

Thank you for participating in this study!