Universiteit Leiden

MA Language and Communication

Masters Thesis

"Accents are just accents": The role of contact and prolonged exposure in International teachers' language attitudes.

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Attitudes to Foreign Englishes: The role of International teaching backgrounds in rater's language attitudes.

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Abstract

This study aims to provide an insight into the effect an international teaching background can have on language users' attitudes and prejudices. The motivation behind this study focuses on the contact hypothesis, which posits that under certain conditions of prolonged contact, favourable impressions of other speakers may develop based on shared experience. Given the lack of previous research into more international contact settings, this study aimed to provide a brief insight into how prolonged exposure to language variation might allow for the development of more positive language attitudes. Eleven teachers from the International School of the Hague volunteered to take part in this study which aimed to test the hypothesis that prolonged contact in an immersive international environment could make raters more tolerant of other speakers' diverse accents in English. The data was derived from an anonymous survey and short fifteen- minute participant interviews. Though no solid conclusions can be drawn due to a small sample size, the implications of this study are profound and far-reaching. Establishing how extensive contact may influence a person's language attitudes has value in a number of fields that go beyond sociolinguistic research, with implications in international politics, economic and social relations (both national and international) and importantly, teaching. It is the hope that more in-depth research will follow this study.

1. Introduction

Attitude is defined by Eagly and Chaiken (1993) as a "psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993:1, citd in Dewaele, 2014: 222). People can have conscious attitudes toward an entity but also be unaware of having certain other attitudes. For example, a person's speech patterns may cause a listener irritation but the listener may not be aware as to why this is the case. Although language attitude studies may focus on languages, dialects and accents, the latter will be the focus of this research. Accents are included in any list of characteristics that may be considered stigmatizing in any given social situation and are thus interesting focal points in attitude research. Such research could help provide answers to questions such as why the bad guys in movies almost always have a Russian or German accent or better yet, why are people more willing to find credible a bad guy with a Russian or German accent. Giles (1970) defines accent as "someone's manner of pronunciation," which is helpful in distinguishing it from dialect, two terms that are often mixed (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010: 215). Moyer (2013) provides a slightly more social definition of accent, stating that it is a "fluid, contextualized expression of our personal and social identity as well as our communicative stance" (Moyer 2013:10). It is important to both understand what an accent is, for example in how it differs from a dialect, and additionally how it functions in important social constructions such as identity.

There are a number of factors and frameworks that can help explain why people react the way they do towards languages, dialects and accents, whether those reactions be positive or negative. Examples often employed in such explanations include, stereotypes, social stigma, the native versus non-native dichotomy, standardisation, comprehensibility and intelligibility and notions of foreignness. In effect, all these factors and theories overlap significantly and more often than not any language evaluation in context can be explained using more than one at any given time. Keeping their mutual interconnectedness in mind, these explanatory factors and their significance for language attitudes will be further elaborated on below.

Language attitudes are best thought of as the conscious or sub-conscious perceptions or prejudices that a person may use to judge another based on the way that they speak. After an indeterminate period of time, such attitudes can foster ideologies about certain people, which may become more deeply ingrained in societal thought processes and behaviour. It is therefore a topic of quintessential importance to both social and linguistic studies alike as it belies a deeper understanding of social, psychological and linguistic mechanisms at play in human interaction.

According to Brennan and Brennan (1981), the "earliest work dealing with evaluative reactions to language" was pioneered by Lambert and his associates (1967) with his matched guise method, which involved a single speaker producing a number of varieties of language for the benefit of speaker evaluation and allowed for linguists to get around other variables related to voice production (Brennan & Brennan, 1981: 207). The benefits of the matched guise method lay fundamentally in the elimination of variation in other voice related variables, such as pitch, tone, fluency etc. With one speaker performing all of the variants under study, there was more focus on the different languages, dialects or accents being examined. Accents in particular are the specific focus of this study as it focuses on an international setting where different accents of English (native and non-native) mix on a daily basis for extended periods of time.

Thanks to the inception of this new, specially tailored methodology, language attitude research has been making significant headway over the last 50-60 years. Even so, there are a number of prominent gaps in the literature, and the one most relevant to this study revolves around the contact hypothesis and specifically, the different types of contact situations and how they affect the language ideologies of those involved. More research is needed to determine which contexts are ideal for the fostering of positive language attitudes and also what kind of time frame is necessary in order to cultivate such attitudes.

With context and time frame in mind, this study aimed at examining a contact situation that was very specific and insular in context (the unique nature of the interaction taking place) and the time frame in which the contact is proliferated. Subsequently, the study narrows in on specifically how contact in an international school influences international school teachers' language ideologies. Participants were selected from the American School of the Hague which is actually located in Wassenaar, a small and insular suburb situated roughly 10km outside of the Hague, the Netherlands, which functions as an expatriate bubble and provided ideal conditions for the current study. Therefore the research question addressed in this study will be; Does extensive contact with accent variation in an international school community make international teachers more tolerant raters of foreign accents?

2. Literature review

2.1. Prevailing Theoretical Frameworks

Tajfel and Turner (1979) constructed Social Identity Theory (SIT), a comprehensive "theoretical framework" which addresses the very notion of people's 'social identities' with respect to both the 'speaker and the listener' (Giles & Rakic, 2014: 9). SIT proposes that people at any given time can identify with a number of varying social identities that are context dependent. Essentially, people create identity in every social situation and because each and every social situation is different by some increment, those identities must necessarily be altered to fit those shifts. Additionally, Giles and Rakic (2014) mention Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory, where a person's linguistic evaluations are also influenced by a speaker's ethnicity and where their language use can function as a "powerful cue" in determining membership in "in- or out-group" (Giles & Rakic, 2014: 9). This latter dichotomy becomes particularly important to studies which address listeners' language evaluations in face-to-face communication (when the speaker's face is visible). It provides a framework that helps explain the complex relationship between social constructions of stigma and language as a social tool and indicator of certain stigmas or stereotypes. The notion of group membership is important to consider because it can expand as the population under consideration expands. For example, a group of speakers with the same Geordie dialect would be part of the same in-group when one compares speakers on a dialectal level but on a national level, all British English speakers might identify as in-group members when the circle of consideration expands to include all Western Europeans.

Social categorization theory is another prevailing framework, which helps "[explain] intergroup behaviour in terms of underlying cognitive representation" (Doelman, 1998: 21). This framework can be used to explain the processes involved in stereotyping, and also notions of in-group and out-group identity, and is very closely

related to SIT. According to Doelman (1998) there are two basic premises underlying social categorization theory. Firstly, that "individuals organize their understanding of the world on the basis of categorical distinctions that transform continuous variables into discrete classes" and secondly that "since individuals are members of some social categories and not others, social categorization also reinforces the in-group/out-group distinction," effectively creating the us versus them dichotomy that is so fundamental in processes of stigma and stereotyping (Doelman, 1998: 21). The whole concept of an 'us versus them' distinction is crucial because ultimately it means that human beings seek to establish identity based on differences as well as similarities. What this indicates is that differentiating oneself from 'the rest' is a particularly basic cognitive function in all human beings, perhaps even a fundamental necessity.

2.1.1. Stereotypes and Social Stigma

One of the more basic explanations for language evaluations is the concept of stereotypes and the social construction of certain stigmas. Stigma is here defined by Goffmann (1963) as "an attribute of a person that is deeply discrediting, which in others' minds reduces that person from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" and by Crocker et al (1998) as "[conveying] a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context" (cited in Gluszek et al, 2010: 216). Lindemann (2003) illustrates the function of these factors in terms of salient social groups and where people determine the borders between these groups to be most relevant. To break it down, the example used by Lindemann is a comparison between the United States, where the more 'salient social divisions' involve race, and Britain where the boundaries are drawn between social classes (Lindemann, 2003: 350). Effectively, speakers use language as cues to determine where other speakers stand in relation to themselves and, additionally, whether the other social group is favourable or not. Social stigmas arise when certain perceptions, whether valid or not, attach themselves to particular social groups and the resulting linguistic stigma arises when the language use becomes an identifying factor of that social group.

Regardless of where the social divisions are drawn, there are some general patterns that emerge when it comes to stigmatized varieties. For example, stigma is more often found attached to what are considered more "non standard" varieties of language due to perceptions of incorrectness and all around "bad" language use. Dragojevic et al (2017) define standard varieties as 'codified norms defining "correct" usage in terms of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary' and assert that they "tend to be associated with dominant socioeconomic and ethnic groups in a given society" (Dragojevic et al, 2017: 386). One of the most obvious examples would be Received Pronunciation (RP), what is mostly considered to be the British standard, strongly associated with the royal family, and therefore power and overt prestige. The term 'non-standard' applies to regional dialects and varieties within the same language however there is also a great deal of stigma attached to what may be referred to as non-native language use. Additionally, both Dragojevic et al (2017) and Dewaele and McCloskey (2014) suggest that there is, in fact, a kind of hierarchy when it comes to evaluations of non-native speech, depending both on how strong the non-native accent is and also the associations the listener has regarding the speaker's country or region of origin. Such evaluations of non-native speech may arise ultimately from native speakers' expectations that non-native speakers should work harder to reproduce the language in a manner that reflects native-like production.

That said, some speakers may argue that their own negative evaluations of heavier non-native accents or foreign accents arise because they impede their ability to comprehend what is being said. Dragojevic et al (2017) refers to this as the 'fluency principle,' where variations in phonetic reproduction of a language may cause delay in a listener's cognitive processing time, requiring more effort on part of the listener and subsequent negative evaluative associations.

2.1.2. Processing Fluency and Comprehensibility

The fluency principle has received a lot of attention in the last few years as a number of studies have, in increments, attempted to contribute to the understanding of how extensively processing fluency affects language evaluations. Indeed it has also been suggested that certain stigmas may cause listeners to perceive comprehensibility issues when there should be none. A commonly cited example of this phenomenon is the study done by Rubin and Smith (1990) and Rubin (1992). The study tested the notion of "perceived accentedness" in teaching assistants (Rubin & Smith 1990: 349). What was revealed was that even though all speakers spoke with a standard American accent, those with facial features belying "East-Asian origins" were judged harder to comprehend due to their accents (Giles & Rakic, 2014: 8).

One of the prevalent arguments circulating in research concerning processing fluency is that non-native or foreign accents present a higher "communicative cost," which may cause, either subconscious or obvious, irritation in the listener, causing them to have less favourable evaluations towards the speaker (Munro & Derwing, 1995: 290). This may occur even if the speaker's accent does not necessarily fully impede the listener's ability to understand what is being said; the extra effort involved might be considered enough to justify less favourable reactions. A number of different studies also corroborate the conclusion that "high fluency promotes favourable judgements" across a number of dimensions, crucially including intelligence (Dragojevic, 2017: 289). These studies include the works of Dragojevic et al (2017), Clarke and Garret (2004), Floccia et al (2009), Munro and Derwing (1995) and Dragojevic and Giles (2016).

Dragojevic et al's 2017 study examined the difference between mild and heavy foreign accents and how they both affected ratings in terms of status and solidarity, two categories commonly compared in matched guise studies. Conclusions reached at the end of this study, that heavily accented speech disrupts listeners' processing fluency and is (causally or not) rated less favourably in terms of status yet not necessarily solidarity, reflect a general pattern across the board when it comes to language attitude research focusing on fluency disruption as a determining factor. In effect, there is a connection between difficulty understanding a speaker and negatively rating them on qualities to do with status, such as intelligence. Whether or not this can be considered a causal relationship remains to be investigated, however, results of the Rubin and Smith (1990) and Rubin (1992) would suggest that such a relationship exists even if it is perceived rather than in actual effect.

That said, Clarke and Garret (2004) conclude that listeners have the ability to rapidly adapt to foreign accented speech. According to their study, any delay in processing experienced by the listener is only initial and this "deficit diminishes after one minute of exposure" to the accent in question (Clarke and Garret, 2004: 3647). Though this conclusion has been countered by a more recent study conducted by Floccia et al (2009), it raises interesting questions about the notion of adaptation and whether repeated or prolonged exposure to certain foreign varieties of accents may

lessen one's negative evaluations. This is, of course, assuming that adaptation adequately removes any existing processing deficits. Floccia et al (2009) also raise an important distinction between comprehensibility and intelligibility, which may also require consideration in the overall argument regarding adaptation to accented speech. In this case, an utterance is considered intelligible if 'the message intended by the speaker is properly conveyed' and is usually 'evaluated by accuracy measures' whereas comprehensibility is a "function of the perceptual and cognitive effort which [is] necessary to identify the intended word" (Floccia et al, 2009: 380). By this distinction, speech may be intelligible but still "difficult to process" (Floccia et al, 2009: 380). Effectively, most evaluation studies might be based more on intelligibility instead of comprehensibility given that it appears to provide more room for perceptions of how language should be produced.

2.1.3. Early Development

According to Giles and Rakic (2014) early development plays an enormous role when it comes to discernment towards accents. Research has shown that awareness of distinction in speech is already apparent in children as young as five months old (Nazzi, et al 2000). Studies have demonstrated that children between the ages of 5 and 10 have already developed preferences when it comes to friendships between other children who sound like themselves and those who speak with a different accent (Kinzler et al 2009, Kinzler et al 2011, Gerard et al 2008, van Bezooijen 1994). From this, what can be seen is that the development of the 'us' versus 'them' distinction begins quite early in human development. Whether this is a natural progression of human development or a direct result of social conditioning is undeterminable, however the fact that infants under six months are already reacting to variation suggests that discernment is wholly unavoidable. That said, the question still remains as to the scale of this conclusion. In effect, if young children can already distinguish between Japanese and Italian, could exposure to different languages/ variaties make them more accepting towards this variation.

Using the headturn preference procedure, Nazzi et al (2000) concluded that even five- month- old infants have the ability to distinguish across rhythmic classes. In effect, what this indicates is that children have already developed a rhythmic sensitivity over the previous five months of life and can therefore notice differences across rhythm classes. It is additionally concluded that this is due to the fact that infants are continuously developing "knowledge of the sound organization of their own language" and therefore have the ability to compare (Nazzi et al, 2000: 1). The progression of that sense of familiarity or familiar comfort to actual preference of one variety over another is a particularly relevant phenomenon as it might provide insights into what factors impact said development.

Subsequently, between the ages of 5 and 6, Girard et al's 2008 study has demonstrated that French children possess the ability to discern regional accents of French but they have a "greater awareness for the characteristics of foreign-accented speech" when compared to their own (Girard et al, 2008: 427). This suggests that even at such a young age, children have a firm understanding of the 'in-group' versus 'out-group' concept and more so that they have an easier time differentiating between more comparable varieties.

So far, both studies mentioned have illustrated that children under the age of six possess discernment abilities but what is interesting is that a study done by Kinzler et al (2011) shows that young children actually demonstrate preferences for people

with similar accents to the extent that they "selectively [trust] native-accented speakers of their native language" (Kinzler et al, 2011: 108). What this study highlights is the fundamental nature of children's language evaluations and the important role they play in guiding their choices in social situations and evaluations of those they interact with. Kinzler et al (2011) even go so far as to suggest that such "social preferences" may have a grounding in "cognitive evolution" (Kinzler et al, 2011: 110). If this is the case then future studies should focus on determining if there are any factors which may alleviate negative attitudes in the cognitive development and whether increased early exposure may cause changes in the developmental process. Case in point, Giles and Rakic (2014) argue that language attitude studies conducted with children are "important for understanding how language attitudes are learned and developed" and this is also important to consider when it comes to notions of exposure and contact (Giles & Rakic, 2014: 8). At this point, the contact hypothesis presented in the next section is particularly relevant in questions of whether children can be conditioned through exposure, of various kinds, to be more accepting of variation.

2.1.4. Contact and Exposure

The effect language contact has on personal ideologies in language attitude research has been examined in a few studies, namely Dörnyei and Csizer (2005), Brown (1995) and Ellison (2011). Also relevant to this research are the studies done by Chalhoub (2015) and Shi (2001) who focus specifically on the language attitudes of both native and non-native teachers. The contact hypothesis presents a relevant theoretical framework upon which to base this study. This is defined below by Ellison (2011) as;

> 'Contact, particularly close and sustained contact, with members of other cultural groups provides direct information about the values, life styles, and experiences of members of those groups. Information obtained in this way is likely to be more favourable and accurate than information gained through other, less direct sources [and lead to] more favourable perception of group(s) in general, countering or displacing unflattering images or other inaccurate perceptions' (Ellison, 2011: 938).

Effectively, in situations of continued exposure to certain groups, and therefore their language varieties, negative attitudes may be ameliorated and positive attitudes developed. This is especially true in contexts of friendship or regular institutionalized contact, the latter of which may play an active role in normalizing language which once sounded foreign or strange.

Conversely, in contexts that could be considered more contact deficient, perhaps where the contact is not 'close and sustained' or even non-existent, individuals resort to drawing conclusions from what Ellison (2011) terms "potentially problematic sources of information" (Ellison 2011: 239). These include but are not limited to: biased media portrayals, cultural misconceptions, and informal social interactions with members of any of one's in-groups. Additionally, certain contexts with unfavourable contact situations may actually lead to development of pejorative evaluations as opposed to amelioration of pre-existing negative evaluations. Indeed, Doelman (1998) states that "negatively experienced contact can reinforce prejudice and hostility" and concludes that the 'direction of the causal relationship between contact and prejudice is unclear' (Doelman, 1998: 24). Understanding the potentially deterring effects of contact is just as important as understanding how it may lead to

more positive attitudes because one way or another it is suggestive of a solid causal relationship.

In the mid-1990s a revised contact hypothesis emerged in studies done by Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman (1996) and Smith (1994). This revision produced four conditions that would supposedly "reduce bias" and potentially help determine whether certain contact situations may lead to positive or pejorative outcomes (Doelman, 1998: 24). These conditions are outline below;

1) 'Equal status' between groups involved in the contact situation
2) Desire for a common outcome
3) 'Cooperative dependency in intergroup interaction'
4) 'Supportive egalitarian norms (interaction with the positive support of authorities, law or custom)'

(Doelman, 1998: 24)

All four of these conditions involve the balance of power in some way, shape or form and may help to explain, for example, why contact through immigration creates so much stigma between those immigrating and the native population. Such contact situations may promote prevailing negative attitudes. In cases like number four, referring, for example, to the cohabitation of various groups within a learning institution such as a university, there is equal opportunity and the desired outcome is the same across the board. It is likely that this kind of contact will lead to favourable relations between students of all language backgrounds.

Essentially, the consequences of this hypothesis have far reaching implications in terms of language attitude research, especially more contemporary research conducted in this era of ever increasing globalization and immigration. Research over the last 50 years has covered the effects of contact on language attitudes based on age '(Caspi 1984), sexual orientation (Herek and Capitiano 1996; Wood and Bartkowski 2004),' tourism (Dörnyei and Cziser 2005) and also more specific studies such as African American attitudes towards "whites" (Ellison and Powers 1994; Powers and Ellison 1995) (Ellison, 2011: 940). These studies mostly focus on specific and even well-known dichotomies which exist side by side in certain contexts, such as the long standing tensions between African American and European Americans people in certain cities within the United states. These tensions are an especially rich source of information because at this point it is particularly difficult to tell if race informs language attitudes or the other way around, a veritable chicken and egg situation.

Foundational to this study is the notion of intercultural contact, a focus on situations where a number of varied cultures are interacting as a constant norm. However, this illuminates a considerable gap in the literature, specifically when it comes to the effect of internationalism on language attitudes. A possible reason for this is that true international communities are so hard to come by. The term 'true' here is applied loosely and in this specific context is taken to refer to locations where a wide variety of languages mix during a daily interaction of the same group of people. Many studies focus on comparisons between relatively insulated monocultural communities and ensuing contact situations and there are comparatively few which take into consideration the multitude of multicultural communities and the third culture kid phenomenon. A study that comes close to meeting the afore mentioned 'true international' condition is the one carried out by Dörnyei and Csizer (2005), which focuses both on intercultural contact and also on the type of cultural contact typical of tourism.

What is concluded by this study is that the "conditions," which are unique to tourism do not, in fact, generate genuine, positive attitudes towards the "other" (Dörnyei and Cziser 2005: 330). In effect, tourism promotes contact induced interactions which are "saliently commercial, contrived and even exploitative" due to a relationship between "host" and tourist that is "asymmetrical" in nature (Dörnyei and Cziser 2005: 330). In addition to this, the relationship between tourists and hosts is characterized by its briefness, a condition under which no genuine relationship may grow and which subsequently could not lead to the positive changes in language evaluation associated with longer durations of contact. Though conclusions regarding contact through tourism might be suggestive of negative evaluations, Dörnyei and Csizer (2005) concluded that intercultural contact does, in fact, provide conditions under which said negative language attitudes are subsequently mediated/ameliorated.

For example, another important dimension in the current study is the influence of rater background and, more specifically, backgrounds in education. In this case the salient aspect is not only occupation in the field of didactics and additionally high levels of multi-lingual exposure. No doubt occupation in and of itself plays an important role in language ideology in that it can determine which groups one is in contact with on a daily basis but of particular interest in this study is the role of teaching. Chalhoub & Wigglesworth (2005) and Shi (2001) present research which pays special attention to the language attitudes of teachers with the former focusing on comparisons between the different global 'native' English speaking teachers and the latter examining the dichotomy between native and non-native teachers. The results of Shi's (2001) study are varied but possibly the most significant result is the very fact that all of the native English teachers and all of the non-native teachers demonstrated such similar patterns (within each group) of looking at students' work. This might suggest a kind of tacit in-group membership based on professional affiliation which could be unexpected and is therefore highly significant, suggesting similar cognitive processes within a group which is by no means tight knit or coherently formed.

In relative support of these findings, Chalhoub and Wigglesworth (2005) concluded that native English teachers from the US, UK, Canada and Australia demonstrated similar evaluations of speaking proficiency. This conclusion was contrary to the initial hypothesis made by the authors, who anticipated that there would be different evaluations across the board. Though this study is more academically oriented, pertaining to speaking proficiency in TOEFL language learners, it is also applicable to the study of language attitudes and both studies are relevant to the overarching questions being addressed in the current? study regarding the relationship between teachers and language variation.

A study done by Brown (1995) on the effect of rater's occupational and linguistic background on their language evaluations revealed that non-native raters were more harsh in their judgements than native speakers who, regarding pronunciation, might be said to have a "more global or positive view and do not worry about non-native features as long as they do not seriously impede communication" (Brown 1995: 11). Though the results of the study done by Brown (1995) reveal a number of varying conclusions about the relationship between negative language evaluations and rater occupation and linguistic background (dependent on the context and factors being examined), one assertion is of particular interest to this study. In effect, Brown (1995) concludes that;

> "teachers, through their experience of dealing with language at a very detailed level, may be no longer able to make intuitive, global evaluations such as a 'naïve' language user would" (Brown, 1995: 13).

The idea that teachers may stand apart from other occupations when it comes to language evaluation is an intriguing one and one of the motivations for the present study. Considering the notion of language experience mentioned above, the idea that this 'linguistic experience' can shape more positive language ideologies is corroborated by Carey & Dunn (2011). In effect, "the perceptual weighting that listeners attribute to certain features of pronunciation changes with linguistic experience" (Carey and Dunn, 2011: 202). One might subsequently expect that if teachers are continuously being exposed to varied pronunciation on a daily basis then they might either become desensitized to it or more discerning.

2.2. Relevant Gaps in the Literature

Effectively, the most appropriate, and indeed relevant, intercultural community can be found within the confines of international schools, most of which function as bubbles for international expatriate families from all over the world. These schools form a kind of neutral territory which becomes a functioning community and safe haven where all members have something in common, namely their international status. In this very specific context, the 'us' versus 'them' situation is very different in that the 'us' is extremely diverse - the only significant similarity being the international community membership – and the role of the other is taken by the host culture or the environment surrounding the bubble. In this way, individual differences become a unifying factor in a situation where all four conditions of the modified contact hypothesis are applicable.

Consider again the study briefly mentioned above by Carey & Dunn (2011). This study provides further evidence that prolonged exposure to language variation *can* help with the development of positive attitudes towards certain accents. The authors have termed this phenomenon "interlanguage phonology familiarity" (Carey & Dunn, 2011: 204). What this posits is that evaluation can vary according to how much familiarity or prior experience raters have with the pronunciation of certain variants. In a sense, there might even be a gradient scale or hierarchy of familiarity and even those with more contact with variation might tend more towards familiar foreign sounding speech rather than accents which sound less familiar. This concept will be addressed further in this study.

2.3. Research Methods

As was previously mentioned, the matched guise method was created especially for the purpose of testing language attitudes. The key feature of the matched guise study is the idea of having the same speaker produce a number of variants (i.e. a number of different accents), which the participants must subsequently evaluate. In this way, researchers can avoid the possibility of participants evaluating the recorded speech based on the differing voice qualities that come with having different speakers. Obviously, this method still presents a number of issues, some of which have a solution and others, which are indicative of fundamental methodological flaws, which do not. First and foremost is the question of the content of the spoken message being evaluated, i.e. the topic and whether it is read out loud or spontaneous. As for the latter, the benefits of having speakers read out loud from a passage allows for more control over the result, i.e. "the word, the content, and the linguistic environment of variables" (Campbell-Kibler 2013: 143). On the other hand,

spontaneous speech provides a more "natural evaluation task" and participants might be inclined to negatively evaluate speech if it does not sound natural (Campbell-Kibler, 2013: 143).

Message content can also have a significant influence in participants' evaluations of language so it would be natural to assume that having as neutral a message content as possible would be an ideal method of overcoming this obstacle. However, according to Campbell-Kibler (2013), there is no such thing as a "socially neutral content" as people are likely to find socially charged stimuli in any message content (Campbell-Kibler 2013: 144). In effect, it is extremely difficult, one could argue impossible, to find content that does not invite opinion. One potential solution to this methodological issue, according to Campbell-Kibler (2013) is to perform a pilot test on a small sample set before beginning the actual study in order to get a preliminary measure of people's reactions to the stimuli. Naturally, this is not a foolproof solution.

Campbell-Kibler herself utilized the matched guise method in her 2009 study on the (ING) variable as it is perceived in the speech of those from the West Coast and South of the US. For the purpose of her study, Campbell-Kibler (2009) also used participant interviews and focus group sessions in conjunction with her matched guise study and the reason for doing so is key. Effectively, the matched guise survey allows the researcher to collect quantifiable data that can be statistically analyzed. However, according to Soukup (2012), this does not provide a holistic scope relevant to any study. By this reasoning, language attitude research necessitates the collection of qualitative AND quantitative data. Though most matched guise surveys also involve more open questions where participants can elaborate more on why they provided certain evaluations, this is hardly extensive enough to provide an in-depth look at the topic under study. Conducting one-on-one interviews with the participants allows for the researcher to elicit more in-depth explanations about the participant's language ideologies and allows the participant the time to go into greater detail. This provides the researcher with excellent anecdotal evidence to back up the numerical results and a deeper understanding of why participants produce certain evaluations. Open questions by their very nature allow participants greater freedom to express their ideologies and explain themselves in a way that is hindered by the restrictiveness of surveys.

3. The Study

The methodology employed within this study was chosen to best address the research gaps identified above, effectively the lack of research into how prolonged international contact affects language attitudes and whether teachers are more pre-disposed to certain attitudes. Following Soukup (2012), both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in order to make the study more holistic and provide greater depth to the research. Following traditional language attitude studies, a matched guise survey was used in order to collect quantitative data. It was judged that the matched guise was the most appropriate method in this context, especially given its specific purpose in collecting evaluative reactions without resorting to direct questioning, and also sidestepping the observer's paradox. Though a matched guise survey usually includes several open-ended questions in order to encourage participants to be more forthcoming with their opinions, it does not provide an adequate level of depth. For this reason, the matched-guise test was followed by one-

on-one interviews with 9/11 of the participants in order to complement the quantitative data with further detailed participant explanations.

It was judged that this kind of mixed method approach would be best suited to provide an in-depth explanation as to whether internationalised language outlooks differ from those born in contexts of less contact. Given the survey's anonymous nature, we expected participants to feel comfortable being slightly more earnest in their evaluations. It was also hypothesised that, as teachers, the participants would have a greater appreciation for the integrity of an academic study and therefore be more willing to be forthcoming in their responses. This hypothesis was also applicable in the interview portion of the study where the participants were asked to elaborate further on certain choices made in the survey.

3.1.1. The Accents

Six accents were selected for the purpose of this study; RP British, Afrikaans, Indian, General American (GA), French and German. The first three were produced by a male speaker while the latter three were recorded by a female speaker. It was decided that in order to present a full scope of the native/non-native/foreign accent hierarchy, it was relevant to have two native English accents (RP and GA), two European accents (German and French) and two 'foreign' accents (Indian and Afrikaans). In this way, a kind of hierarchy of foreignness was created. Given that participants are International teachers teaching within the Netherlands it is expected that they are highly likely to have considerable exposure to German and French accents and more importantly, both accents will be identifiably European and therefore more familiar.

GA and RP were chosen as the native English accents because they are the two most widely known and associated with native English speech. Australian and New Zealand English are considered less widely known and less common in the language-teaching context. It was expected that participants have high levels of association with GA due to the merit of working in an International school. Additionally, it is also expected that participants would possess a high level of familiarity with RP due to its social prevalence, dominant presence in the media and traditional associations with proper speech.

Considering foreign accents, the only conditions applied were that they were non-native and non-European. For the purpose of this study Afrikaans was selected, due to its likeliness to be unfamiliar to participants, and Indian, because, by merit of its likelihood of being easier to identify as quintessentially Indian, it is therefore very identifiably foreign. It was safe to expect that most participants would be able to identify an Indian accent but the same was not expected with Afrikaans. Additionally the Afrikaans accent was selected as a kind of 'wild card' to determine how participants would perceive and categorize a foreign accent that they might not be able to place.

3.1.2. The Speakers

Two speakers were selected for the purpose of recording accents, one male and one female who happened to be siblings. Both speakers were international students and spent at least 14-17 years in an international school in addition to having also lived in a minimum of five different countries each, including; South Africa, Kenya, Germany, England, Romania, the Netherlands and The United States. Additionally, both speakers identified as being a 'Third-Culture-Kid' and had travelled to a number of countries within three continents.

The first speaker, Dave, was a 21-year-old male, born in South Africa to a German father and an Italian/British mother. His L1 was English, which was used within his home environment his entire life. His father's L1s were German and English and his mother's L1s were English and Italian, however both parents spoke a number of L2s in addition to their L1.The male speaker was chosen predominantly due to his natural ability to speak with an RP British accent, General American and South African accent in addition to possessing a high proficiency in reproducing a number of other accents including but not limited to; Irish, Scottish, Australian, New Zealand, German, Indian, Swedish and certain Northern English varieties. Additionally, Dave had obtained a bachelors in Engineering, spending three years in Surrey, England and was studying performing arts in Los Angeles, making him a prime candidate for exposure to native English accents.

As the original female speaker was unable to participate at the last minute due to illness, the researcher took over as the female speaker. This was viable only because none of the participants were known to her through previous experience as a student at the American School of the Hague. The female speaker spent four years living in Glasgow, Scotland where she studied an MA in language and linguistics and through her experience had reached a proficiency in reproducing a number of accents, including; German, French, Italian, Scottish, RP, General American, South African, African and Danish.

Before beginning the study, both sets of recordings were played out loud for two people who did not participate in the rest of the study and were not related to the researcher in any way. The purpose of this step was to ensure that the accents sounded authentic to someone other than the researcher. One male and one female were selected at random for this purpose and both were asked (separately) to judge what countries the accents originated from. The male was a native German who had spent most of his life abroad and the female was born in Italy to British parents. Both volunteers correctly indentified German, French, American, English and Indian but only the male was able to place the Afrikaans accent. It was decided that the Afrikaans recording would be used for this reason, functioning as a wild card.

3.1.3. The Text

For the purpose of this study, the two speakers selected to produce the accents described above, were asked to read out loud article 1 from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This text was chosen primarily because it was unrelated to the field of education and also because it was about as neutral, topic wise, as one could get assuming that there really is no such thing as neutral topic matter. Additionally, it was short and could be read out loud in less than twenty seconds. Speakers were required to read this short text out loud in three different accents each and record themselves doing so. These recordings were subsequently sent to the researcher via email or text message. Both speakers elected to use their phone to record themselves, as they did not have access to recording equipment.

3.1.4. Participants

The participants in this study were all teachers from the American School of the Hague located in Wassenaar, a small suburb situated roughly 10km outside of the Hague, the Netherlands. Teachers from Elementary, Middle and High School were included in this study though there was no preference for any of the three and participants were selected purely on the basis of volunteering. Subjects taught included; English, IT, Spanish, Dutch, Art and ESL. The participants included both

native and non-native speakers of English and had been teaching both at the American School and other international schools for between 2 and 37 years. Both first and second languages spoken by participants can be found in table 1 below and include: English, Dutch, Spanish, French, German, Portuguese and Turkish.

Though the study was originally designed with 25 or more participants in mind, due to the period in which this study was conducted being a particularly busy one in the spring semester, only eleven participants initially volunteered to take part. The study was subsequently down-scaled to accommodate a smaller sample size. There were seven native speakers and four non-native speakers. There were ten female participants and one male and they were all of varying ages, though neither age nor gender were considered for the purpose of this study.

All of the 11 participants completed the initial stage of the study, turning in the survey with no issues. However, due to scheduling conflicts, 2 out of the 11 were unable to meet with the researcher in order to complete the final stage of the study, the individual interview. Subsequently it was decided that the data collected from the surveys of these two participants would be used in part during some of the quantitative data analysis but removed for the rest of it.

Table 1. Participant information.

Participants	Nationality /National Identity	Native/non -Native	L1	L2	# of years at ASH	# of years at an International School
P1	Dutch	Non-native	Dutch	Spanish, French	2	2
P2	European/ American	Native	English	French	3	22
P3	American	Native	English	N/A	37	37
P4	Dutch	Non-native	Dutch	French,	3	12
P5	Mexican	Native	Spanish	English, French, Dutch	11	14
P6	Brazilian	Non-native	Portuguese	English, Spanish, French, Turkish	13	27
P7	Dutch	Native	English, Japanese	Korean, Mandarin	18	18
P8	Spanish	Non-native	Spanish	English, Dutch	16	16
P9	American	Native	English	N/A	21	21
P10	American	Native	English	Dutch	19	19
P11	American	Native	English	French, Dutch	17	25

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. The Survey

Participants for this study were contacted by a liaison within ASH via a general email detailing the study and a request for volunteers. Participants were asked to email the researcher if they were interested in participating, with their name and a short confirmation. These names and email addresses were subsequently added to a

mailing list for the purpose of the primary section of the study. The survey itself was conducted in an empty classroom using a laptop and a headset. The instructions were given by the researcher before starting, and the participants were not disturbed whilst completing the survey itself. During this time the researcher remained in the classroom but did not interfere with the process.

Participants were given a laptop and a headset and requested to complete a brief online survey consisting of 19 questions in total (see Appendix A). This included seven open-ended questions inquiring about language background and national identity and also a number of Likert scales for rating the recorded speakers on status and solidarity traits. There were 20 adjectives used, ten describing solidarity and ten describing status. These were derived from descriptions of solidarity and status traits found in Nesdale and Rooney (1996). Status traits were described as relating to "perceived wealth, education, strength, intelligence, success" while solidarity is illustrated as being related to traits such as, 'trustworthiness, friendliness, goodness, kindness' (Nesdale and Rooney, 1996: 142). These adjectives can be seen listed and categorized below in table 2. The status traits are based on the description by Nesdale and Rooney (1996) and can be categorized as follows; numbers 1-3 are related to intelligence and education, numbers 4-8 describe notions of power, strength and wealth and 9-10 relate to comprehensibility and therefore feed back into both of the previous aspects (education, wealth, and potentially power). The solidarity traits were also based off of Nesdale and Rooney's (1996) description and can be ordered as follows; numbers 1-4 pertain to aspects of friendliness, 5-6 describe trustworthiness and 7-10 follow notions of goodness, kindness or relatability.

Table 2. Status and Solidarity Adjectives

Status	**Solidarity**
1. Intelligent	1. Friendly
2. Educated	2. Humorous
3. Incompetent	3. Easygoing
4. Confident	4. Polite
5. Assertive	5. Sincere
6. Wealthy	6. Loyal
7. Authoritative	7. Lazy
8. Unambitious	8. Condescending
9. Understandable	9. Hardworking
10. Very accented	10. Annoying

There were six six accents to rate and each was rated separately on traits of solidarity and status so there were 2 Likert scales in total for each accent. Though the survey itself was ordered from 1 to 6, the recordings were given to the participants in randomized order to prevent priming effects and they were asked to rate the recording in the corresponding section of the survey. Additionally for each recording, the order of the adjectives used was randomly shuffled in order to again prevent participants from becoming complacent. Google forms was chosen based off of the fact that it was known to the researcher and simple to use by participants. Participants were asked to first listen to the recording a maximum of three times and then answer the questions to the best of their ability. This process took between ten and fifteen minutes.

3.2.2. Individual Interviews

The interview portion of the study was arranged on an individual basis per participant upon completion of the survey and conducted in an empty classroom, either during lunch break or in the individual participant's free period. This environment was selected due to its familiarity and convenience. It was judged that the familiarity would make the participant feel more at ease and therefore more comfortable during the interview process and, additionally, that it would be a quiet environment and thus eliminate most background interference.

The interview was kept as casual as possible with the participant and researcher seated at one of the tables with the recording device positioned on the table between them. To start off with, the researcher introduced herself and the study being conducted before directing the participant to the informed consent document, which they were subsequently asked to read and sign (should they understand and agree to the terms). Additionally, the participant was informed about the process following the interviews and what would happen with the data gathered in the study.

In order to break the ice and make them feel more comfortable, participants were first asked to talk a bit about themselves. This was accomplished through a set of questions about their background and, importantly, their linguistic background, in order to establish a backdrop upon which to base the following questions regarding the survey.

It was decided that instead of full transcriptions, only relevant parts of the interviews would be transcribed for use within this study. The data collected during the interview process was subsequently used anecdotally in conjunction with quantitative results in order to better and more comprehensively answer the research question.

3.2.3. Data Selection and Processing

Given the low sample number it was not plausible to conduct any inferential statistics and it was therefore decided that in order to examine the status versus solidarity ratings, the data would be examined as tables and summary graphs. The data for all 11 participants was used in order to calculate the mean rating for each adjective across all six recordings. These values were then entered into a table in Microsoft excel and the subsequent graphs created to illustrate a summary of results and demonstrate any emergent patterns in the data. Following this, the mean rating values were additionally computed further and new values were found which were representative of the groups (native, European and foreign) under investigation in this study. These values underwent the same process as the previous mean values in order to provide adequate comparison and to determine whether the data behaved differently when grouped than the individual accents.

That said, given that the data was ordinal and not normally distributed, it was possible to conduct a Mann-Whitney U test in SPSS in order to compare the attitudes of native versus non-native teachers. Native and non-native represent two different groups and the test was conducted in order to determine whether these two data sets demonstrated similarities. First, in order to have an even distribution of native and non-native speakers, the two native speakers who completed the survey but were unable to complete the interview were removed from the data set and the data was further analyzed in SPSS as a sample size from 9/11 participants. In spite of this, as the sample size was so small it was not expected to yield any significant results.

The data collected during the interview process was transcribed only in sections which were deemed relevant to the research question as a whole. Relevant information which could be summarized briefly was entered into a table under

question headings which were asked during the interviews and deemed important. Additionally, responses directly addressing the questions regarding how their language attitude is affected by their role as a teacher and whether this applies differently to students, were looked at in greater detail and can be found in the results section as quoted excerpts from the interviews.

4. Results

4.1. Survey Results

4.1.1. Status versus solidarity

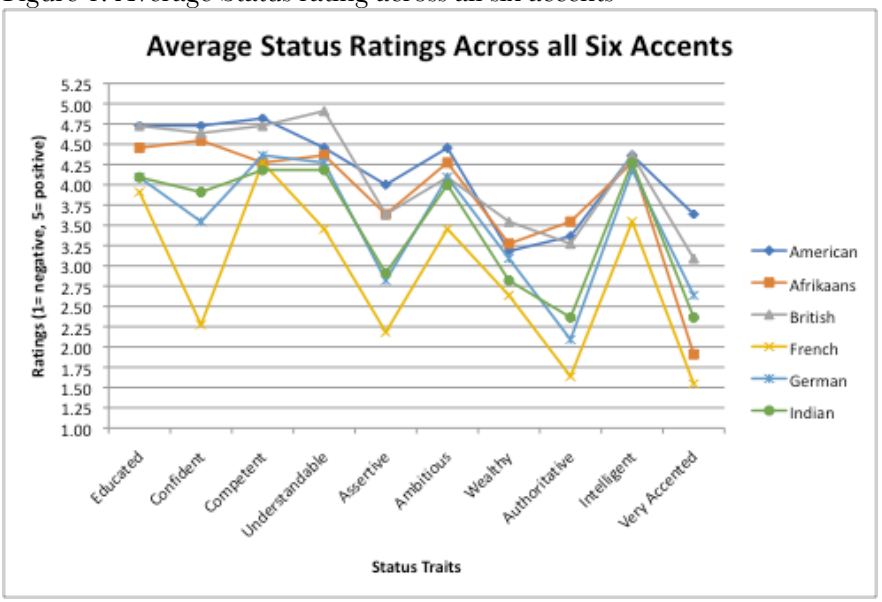
In order to determine whether participants followed similar patterns as can be seen in previous research by differentiating between solidarity and status traits, it was necessary to calculate an average for each adjective in both categories and compare them across all six recordings. These values are shown below as trend lines in figures 1 and 2. A summary of these results can additionally be seen in tables 3 and 4.

Table 3 illustrates the average values for status ratings across all six accents which are evident in figure 1. Figure 1 shows the average status rating for each adjective across all six recordings. What is immediately evident is that all six trend lines demonstrate the same pattern across all six of the recordings, indicating that participants rated all 10 adjectives similarly across all six of the accents heard during the survey. Despite the behaviour of each line being very similar, it should also be noted that the French accent appears to show considerably lower ratings for all adjectives but one, namely competent. Interestingly, Afrikaans and Indian, the two that can be considered 'foreign,' comparatively differ with regard to their individual ratings, with the former showing higher ratings through 9/10 adjectives, with the sole exception of 'very accented'. In effect, Indian was considered to be less accented than Afrikaans. The order of perceived 'accentedness' is as follows: American, British, German, Indian, Afrikaans and French with French considered the least accented out of all six. It should be stressed, however, that these values are a result of the average taken for each rating and, in the case of the American accent, it should be noted that 10/11 participants rated it 3 or lower in terms of accentedness, with one rating of 5, the maximum rating. In summary, though there is a definitive overall trend in the ratings given for each accent from one adjective to another, it is clear that French rated lowest across the board, followed by Indian and German interchangeably.

Table 3. Average Status values for all six accents

Average Status Values						
Adjective	**American**	**Afrikaans**	**British**	**French**	**German**	**Indian**
Educated	4.73	4.45	4.73	3.91	4.09	4.09
Confident	4.73	4.55	4.64	2.27	3.55	3.91
Competent	4.82	4.27	4.73	4.27	4.36	4.18
Understandable	4.45	4.36	4.91	3.45	4.27	4.18
Assertive	4.00	3.64	3.64	2.18	2.82	2.91
Ambitious	4.45	4.27	4.09	3.45	4.09	4.00
Wealthy	3.18	3.27	3.55	2.64	3.09	2.82
Authoritative	3.36	3.55	3.27	1.64	2.09	2.36
Intelligent	4.36	4.27	4.36	3.55	4.18	4.27
Very Accented	3.64	1.91	3.09	1.55	2.64	2.36

Figure 1. Average Status rating across all six accents



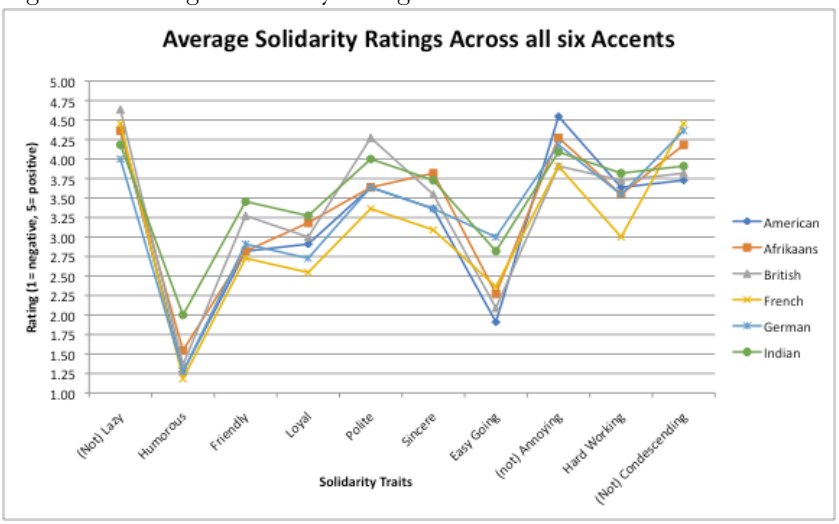
Similar to the results for status traits, the solidarity ratings also demonstrated a clear pattern in that participants appeared to agree as to which adjectives rated higher or lower for certain recordings. None of the six lines representing the individual accents are shown to deviate significantly from the overall pattern shown in figure 2. The individual values used in this analysis can be found below in table 4. Effectively, comparing native accents versus European and foreign accents, there are no obvious differences. It was expected that in solidarity, the American and British accents would generally rate lowest due to their extensive global presence and economic status, however that is not the case across the board. When comparing all six accents with each other, it was revealed that the results were mixed. On average, American rated as the least easy going and yet also the least annoying and, when it came to the eight other traits listed, American fell somewhere in the middle. French rated the lowest (comparatively) in loyalty, humour, friendliness, politeness, sincerity, hardworking and annoying traits but came out at the top when it came to being considered the least condescending and one of the least lazy. Where Indian and Afrikaans would be expected to rate highly on a number of these traits, figure 2 illustrates that though Indian rated incrementally higher in 4 traits, namely: humour, friendliness, loyalty and hardworking, and Afrikaans rated highest in sincerity, for the most part the lines showing each accent are evenly distributed in terms of positive and negative ratings.

Table 4. Average Solidarity values across all six accents

Average Solidarity Values						
Adjective	**American**	**Afrikaans**	**British**	**French**	**German**	**Indian**
(Not) Lazy	4.36	4.36	4.64	4.45	4.00	4.18
Humorous	1.27	1.55	1.36	1.18	1.27	2.00
Friendly	2.82	2.82	3.27	2.73	2.91	3.45
Loyal	2.91	3.18	3.00	2.55	2.73	3.27
Polite	3.64	3.64	4.27	3.36	3.64	4.00
Sincere	3.36	3.82	3.55	3.09	3.36	3.73
Easy Going	1.91	2.27	2.09	2.36	3.00	2.82
(not) Annoying	4.55	4.27	3.91	3.91	4.18	4.09
Hard Working	3.64	3.55	3.73	3.00	3.55	3.82
(Not)	3.73	4.18	3.82	4.45	4.36	3.91

Condescending						

Figure 2. Average Solidarity rating across all six accents



In order to address the opinions towards foreign versus native accents of English, it was necessary to group all six accents into three groups: Native (British and American), European (German and French) and Foreign (Afrikaans and Indian). For these results it was much easier to determine whether these distinct groups demonstrated any common patterns. Figure 3 illustrates the summary of these results. With regard to status traits, it is immediately apparent that there is a definitive difference between ratings across all three groups. In effect, the native English group rated the highest in status traits, followed by the Foreign group and the European group rated the lowest in terms of status. American And British rated highest across all ten adjectives and Indian and Afrikaans together rated higher than German and French on 9 out of 10 traits with the exception of competence. In this case, the difference is between a rating of 4.32 versus 4.23 and cannot be deemed significant. The same summary of results can also be seen in table 5 below.

Figure 3. Average Status Rating across 3 groups: Native, European and Foreign

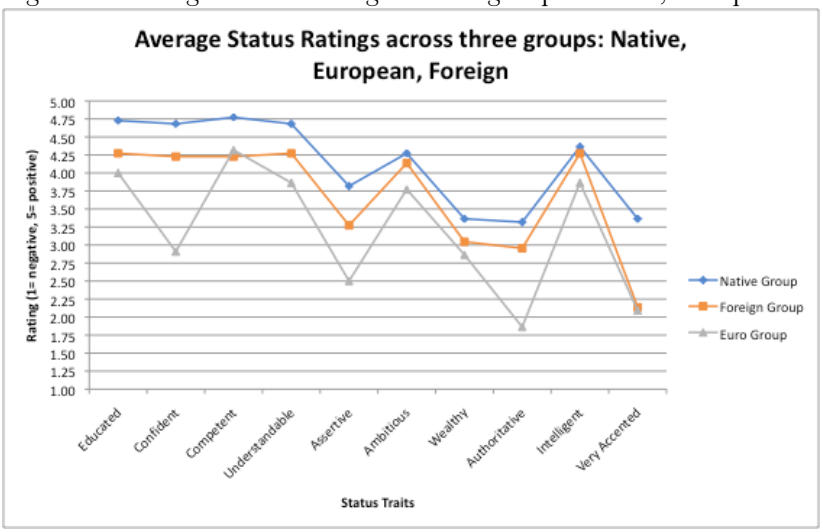


Table 5. Average Status values for grouped data

Status

Adjective	Native Group	Foreign Group	Euro Group
Educated	4.73	4.27	4.00
Confident	4.68	4.23	2.91
Competent	4.77	4.23	4.32
Understandable	4.68	4.27	3.86
Assertive	3.82	3.27	2.50
Ambitious	4.27	4.14	3.77
Wealthy	3.36	3.05	2.86
Authoritative	3.32	2.95	1.86
Intelligent	4.36	4.27	3.86
Very Accented	3.36	2.14	2.09

The same measure was taken for the solidarity data. The average ratings from all six recordings were compounded into three groups, representing the three different target groups mentioned prior. Figure 4 below demonstrates a summary of this data. What can be seen is that, much like with the solidarity data across all six of the accents, there is no apparent pattern to the participant ratings. In summary, the Native group rated highest in 3/10 traits (not lazy, polite and not annoying) and lowest in 1/10 traits (easy going), the European group rated highest in 1/10 (not condescending) and lowest in 7/10 traits (humorous, friendly, loyal, sincere, not lazy, polite and hardworking) while the Foreign group rated highest in 4/10 (humorous, friendly, loyal and easy going) and didn't rate lowest in any of the adjectives representing solidarity. Though it can be concluded that the European group rated lowest on more than half of the traits for solidarity, the lines representing each group follow a similar pattern and such deviations are small and only suggestive instead of significant. The individual values for this summary can be seen in table 6 below.

Figure 4. Average Solidarity rating across 3 groups: Native, European and Foreign

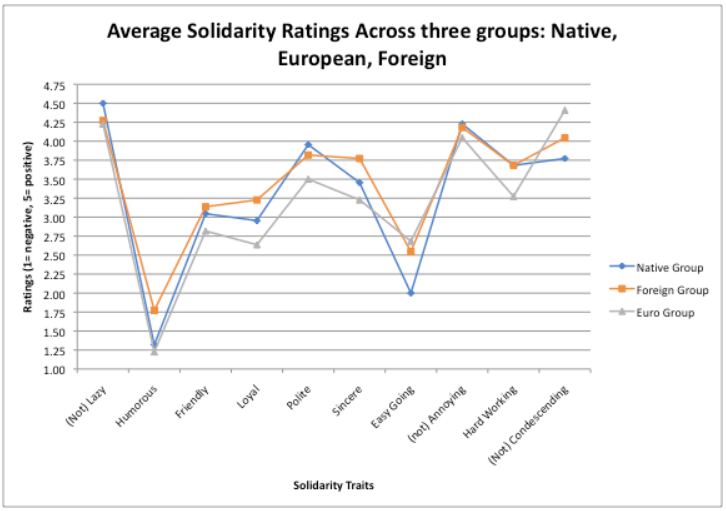


Table 6. Average Solidarity Values across grouped data

Solidarity			
Adjective	**Native Group**	**Foreign Group**	**Euro Group**
(Not) Lazy	4.50	4.27	4.23
Humorous	1.32	1.77	1.23
Friendly	3.05	3.14	2.82

Loyal	2.95	3.23	2.64
Polite	3.95	3.82	3.50
Sincere	3.45	3.77	3.23
Easy Going	2.00	2.55	2.68
(not) Annoying	4.23	4.18	4.05
Hard Working	3.68	3.68	3.27
(Not) Condescending	3.77	4.05	4.41

4.1.2. Native versus Non-native

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to determine whether there was a statistically significant pattern between the native and non-native participants. This test was performed once to compare all six recordings and once again to compare grouped data. The results of both tests support the null hypothesis, that there is no statistically significant pattern between the independent variables in this data set. The U values of these tests were subsequently compared with the critical U value which, for this sample size, was 1. It was thus concluded that there was no significant pattern between native and non-native speakers for this test. The results are shown below in tables 7 and 8.

Table 7. Mann- Whitney U results for individual recordings

Test Statistics[a]

	Recording 1 Average	Recording 2 Average	Recording 3 Average	Recording 4 Average	Recording 5 Average	Recording 6 Average
Mann-Whitney U	4.500	6.500	1.000	6.500	3.000	4.000
Wilcoxon W	19.500	16.500	16.000	16.500	18.000	14.000
Z	-1.364	-.861	-2.252	-.865	-1.722	-1.495
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.172	.389	.024	.387	.085	.135
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.190[b]	.413[b]	.032[b]	.413[b]	.111[b]	.190[b]

a. Grouping Variable: Native/Non-Native

b. Not corrected for ties.

Table 8. Mann-Whitney U results for grouped data

Test Statistics[a]

	Native Average	Foreign Average	Euro Average
Mann-Whitney U	4.000	4.500	7.000
Wilcoxon W	19.000	14.500	22.000
Z	-1.476	-1.353	-.735
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.140	.176	.462
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.190[b]	.190[b]	.556[b]

a. Grouping Variable: Native/Non-Native

b. Not corrected for ties.

4.2. Interview Results

The qualitative data in this study came from 9 interviews, each 10-18 minutes long (the shortest lasted 10:49 minutes and the longest, 17:32 minutes). During the interview process, information was collected regarding participants' background, both linguistic and otherwise, their impressions regarding the completed survey and questions regarding their role in the school community and how it affects their attitudes towards certain speakers. In keeping with the natural flow of the conversation, the questions varied slightly from participant to participant and answers were, naturally, also extremely varied. Table 9 below illustrates participant responses that required shorter or polarized (yes or no) answers.

Table 9. Participant Interview responses

Participant	**First impressions**	**Could you identify where the speakers were from?**	**Could you identify the purpose of the study?**	**Did you have a favourite/least favourite, why/why not?**
P1	- diverse speakers - could understand all - different accent/different background	- India or Pakistan - American and British	- maybe bias	There was one, maybe the first, that was easier to understand and helped to understand the rest
P2	- thought each person was the voice of an activist like Ghandi - gave character backstories	India, middle-eastern, French, English and American English too	- no - for part of it maybe prejudice	- Liked speaker number 6, he had an Indian accent - found quite calming
P3	- didn't think too much about the first – just listened	- British, Indian	- picked up immediately that it was about distinguishing between accents and clarity of speech	- no - I don't discriminate - some heavier in the accent than others - British – conception of wealth or different class
P4	- all very clear and articulate	- British, South African, French, German	- prejudices linked to accents in English	- South African – made me melancholic (read – nostalgic) - Indian – friends from India - connection
P5	- loved hearing the accents - loved the quote that was chosen	- not all the time - maybe an Indian accent? - maybe Scottish? – harder to understand	- something to do with English language/accents, comprehensibility perhaps	- First speaker – enjoyed the accent the most
P6	- interesting - tried to be as unbiased as possible	- India, Australia, South African, UK, America - These days you never know	- definitely related to language	- some were easier to understand than others
P7	- interesting, I think I saw where it was going - people have preconceived ideas about others when they hear accents	- Indian, French, Irish, English (queens English) - Maybe there was an American accent?	- prejudices, judgements about accents - preconceived ideas that people carry with them	- no because I have a pretty international upbringing

	- Myself as an example			
P8	- some speakers easier to understand - some sounded like they took a course to speak clearer - one person sounded like they learned English at a later age	- not really - the one that was difficult to understand – maybe Arab descent? - maybe Italian?	- maybe what kind of English is more convincing, like if you want to sell something or whatever	- not really - first speaker was easier to understand, spoke clearly, didn't rush
P9	- was thinking that there are prejudices with how we sound - assumptions don't match	- American, Asian? Maybe Scottish - Identified Eastern and Western and categorized as such	- prejudice in language	- Asian man seemed so passionate and motivated - first female speaker sounded like she would get away with so much – no passion

All participants illustrated that they had spent time abroad, either to live or travelling, but only Participant 2 (henceforth P2), P6 and P7 had experience in an International community such as an international school prior to teaching at the American School. P7 demonstrated the most international exposure, having grown up in Australia, Japan and Korea and attended both local and international schools there, while P2 taught for 2 years at an international school in Cairo and P6 taught at an American school in Brazil for a few years. P1 spent the least amount of time abroad or in international contexts, with most of their experience deriving from language teaching (both Spanish and Dutch). Most participants believed that their exposure to international settings, in its varied increments, helped shape a more tolerant attitude towards different speakers. This shall be elaborated on below

When it came to first impressions, most participants mentioned, in some way, that they found the study interesting and some mentioned something about language prejudice while others were paying more attention to the clarity of what was being said and whether or not they could understand the speakers. P9 also mentioned that how we sound 'can be an indication of education' and P8 guessed that one speaker's speech patterns might be indicative of language learned at a later age. It should be noted that at no time before this point were accents or prejudice mentioned, participants chose to bring these topics up for discussion when asked for their initial and general impressions. One participant (P2) assigned each speaker a character and conceptualized them as famous activists such as Ghandi, and their subsequent deductions revolved around this perception. In effect, gauging how to rate the speakers in terms of education, the participant imagined whether the character would be educated instead of trying to determine whether the speaker sounded educated based on the qualities of their speech. Similarly, another participant (P6) determined that they were unable to assess the speakers on certain qualities because they were not informed about the background of the speaker and, to a lesser extent, also assigned characters to the speakers.

Most of the participants were able to correctly identify at least one speaker correctly with the highest number of correctly identified accents being five by P4. This participant was also one of two participants who were able to correctly identify the Afrikaans (South African) speaker, the other being P6. The accent most correctly identified was Indian, as 6/9 participants were able to correctly label it and one other referred to an 'Asian man'. Additionally, 5/9 correctly labelled American and British, 3/9 identified French, 2 identified German and 3/9 participants mistook the

Afrikaans speaker for being Arabic or Middle Eastern. Other guesses included Irish, Scottish, Italian and Australian.

Participants were also asked whether they had a favourite/least favourite or if they related more or less to any one speaker. Three participants (two native and one non-native) answered definitively that they did not gravitate more or less towards any speakers and even answered that they did not have any bias one way or another. Participant 2 answered that she found the Indian speaker 'quite calming' and also enjoyed what she referred to as the Arabic speaker, who reminded her of Arabic friends from Egypt who were 'authoritative' but also had 'a good sense of humour'. Additionally, P9 also identified with the 'Asian man' who seemed 'passionate and motivated' compared with the American girl who seemed too 'privileged'. This pattern is also seen with P4 who didn't have a least favourite speaker but claimed that the South African accent made her 'melancholic' for her time spent in Africa and that she felt a connection to the Indian speaker after having a lot of experience with Indian students. Both P2 and P9 were native speakers of English and P4 identified as non-native.

Contrarily, Participants 8, 5 and 1 all preferred the American speaker as they all deemed her 'easy to understand' and P1 also went as far as to say that because the American speaker was so easy to understand, it may also have helped her to understand 'what the others were saying because it was the same text'. Participants 8 and 1 considered themselves non-native speakers of English, while P5 was a self-proclaimed native speaker due to having grown up in Canada.

As per the main focus of the study, the participants were also asked whether they thought that their role as a teacher made them more or less discerning towards people who speak differently and whether their response would have been different when considering students or not. The majority of participants (5/9) answered in the affirmative to the first question, agreeing that in some way their role as a teacher shaped their attitudes in a positive way towards different speakers. Two participants responded that experience affected their attitudes more than their position as an international school-teacher. Out of the remaining two participants, one simply claimed that she 'love[d] it' and found it 'charming' but failed to address if that was due to her profession or not, and the other expressed concerns about being able to cater to individuals who struggled more with language barriers and 'recognize[d] that [his] teaching changes according to that'. Individual responses to both questions can be found in examples 1 to 4.

Example 1.

> Researcher: Do you think your role as a teacher makes you more or less discerning towards people who speak differently?
>
> Participant 1: Because I'm used to speaking to a lot of people from multiple backgrounds, multiple nationalities so I'm used to hearing accents so I'm not biased in that respect at all, I think. But it helps that being a teacher I hear a lot of different accents, I have one myself.
>
> Researcher: Do you think this applies differently to students?
>
> P1: No no, same thing.

Example 2.

> Participant 5: I guess I have grown up with accents. My parents with quite a heavy accent when they speak English. I guess maybe I'm more tolerant of accents? I think it's more my experience.

P5: No, I guess accents are just accents. I'm not sure. Certainly in class, if I'm teaching Spanish I do hear strong accents and sometimes I joke about it or I say; let's work on your pronunciation. Because I do think, while I don't want to overemphasize, I also think we need to try to sound like – but that's just in my teacher role, there is some attention that needs to be given to speaking properly.

Example 3.

Participant 7: I think working in an international school you are very aware of the nationalities and the cultures and you can't just go on an accent to assume that students, for example, culturally understand an American way of saying things or view of the world. So I think you are quite aware, especially if you have an international background. But sometimes you do have teachers who come straight from the States or wherever and maybe haven't, although a lot of teachers here have some experience with international settings so they would have been exposed but if you have younger teachers maybe coming straight out of the US I can imagine that they sometimes come with this sort of culture bias or make assumptions that kids understand what they are saying or their views about the world. You have to be aware when you work at a school like this.

P7: No not really. I guess you're always guessing where someone is from but I've learned long time ago, I mean I'm a good example, you can never assume anything. I mean you think you hear an accent and they must be this or that but there are still those prejudices that creep in. I have to watch myself, you just never know which languages they speak, some of these kids are bilingual or multilingual.

Example 4.

Participant 9: No, because as a teacher, where does empathy come from. I want to think that I must have been empathetic my entire life but honestly when I look back at my teaching I think that although there was the potential for that that maybe it was also developed through experience, which is the blessing of travel.

Interestingly, participant 1 was the only one out of the nine interviewed who acknowledged that she herself speaks with an accent. This is relevant because it appears that in not acknowledging their own accents, other participants might be perpetuating the subconscious notion of the 'us' versus 'them' or even the non-existent 'neutral' accent. P5 acknowledges her parents' strong accents as being a source of her own tolerance but does not address her own accent. That said, P7 touches on false perceptions which are prevalent in many attitudes towards different speakers but which are likely to be completely false and uses herself as an example, a Dutch citizen raised in Asia who grew up speaking Japanese with her siblings. The idea of neutral is key here, as it appears that there is a prevailing perception in this case that the teacher experience at the American school is a kind of neutral role. This is addressed by all four of the participants above, in some way. P9 mentions the empathy gained through experience and enforced through teaching, which is echoed in example 2 by participant 5.

Altogether, though a majority of participants answered that they did believe their role as a teacher positively affected their language attitudes, their responses to the second question were varied. Some believed that their attitude changed due to the teacher-student relationship and others thought it would be the same regardless of whether someone was a student or not. Some participants also acknowledged that there is always the possibility of a bias and that extra effort might sometimes be required. For example, P7 mentions that 'prejudices' might 'creep in' despite, perhaps, ones best intentions. There were no patterns noted in the native versus non-native English teachers' responses to these particular questions.

4.3. General Results

Given the mixed methodologies approach taken in this study it was relevant to address both the survey and the interview results in conjunction with each other. It was established that there emerged no significant patterns when comparing native English participants' survey responses with those of the non-native participants and for the most part this appears to be supported by participant responses gained through the interview process. It was noted that 3 of the non-native English participants expressed that they found that the American accent had the most clarity while two of the native English speakers expressed a preference for the foreign accents. However, for the most part, no significant results were found.

Overall, the neutral standpoint taken by participants during their interviews was reflected in the results comparing status and solidarity traits. There was a dominant unanimity amongst all participants that their perceptions were, for the most part, unbiased and this can be seen especially in the results for solidarity shown in figures 2 and 4 and tables 4 and 6. The adjectives appear to be rated similarly across all six accents and also the three groups. Participants appeared disinclined to rate speakers negatively based on aspects of friendliness and kindness and this can also be seen in the interview data.

That said, there was a slight discrepancy in ratings given for status traits, as can be seen by the results shown in figures 1 and 3 and tables 3 and 5. What these tables illustrate is that, though the ratings are again similar, it is more obvious that the European accents rated the lowest and the Native and Foreign rated higher. Possible evidence for such ratings can also be found in the interview data in the testimonials of certain participants. For example, as was stated above, participants 8, 5, and 1 had a slight preference for the American accent because it was clear and easy to understand. All three are non-native speakers of English and foreign language teachers (specifically Spanish). Contrarily, participants 2, 4, and 9 expressed either a preference or an inclination towards the foreign accents because they were more interesting or created feelings of nostalgia for past travels. This could be a possible reason for discrepancies shown in the survey results.

5. Discussion

Motivation for this study grew out of the desire to understand whether there are conditions under which people might develop more tolerant language attitudes. Despite the prevalence of investigations into the effect of comprehensibility, to name one, on language prejudice, there appeared to be a gap in the literature concerning prolonged international exposure and the influence it may have on language attitudes, and also if teachers might be prone to be more or less discerning given their central role as care-givers and educators. As one may recall, the research question addressed in this study was: Does extensive contact with language variation in an international school community make international teachers more tolerant raters of foreign accents? In order to address this research question, both survey data and participant interviews were analyzed in order to determine whether certain patterns of perceptions exist and whether these patterns mirror those shown by previous studies. The data was subsequently analyzed according to comparisons between solidarity and status traits, a key dichotomy noted by linguists such as Stewart (1985), and also native and non-native ratings, a distinction which has shown to yield different patterns for comparison in the past (Stewart 1985).

Native and non-native English speakers have distinct linguistic experiences and it is reasonable to assume that the process of learning a second language (or more) might change one's perspective on the way people speak. Previous research illustrates that such a distinction might actually exist between these two groups. For instance, Kim (2009) states that "in general teachers and non-native speakers were shown to be more severe in their assessments than non-teachers and native speakers" (Kim, 2009: 189). Additionally, a study conducted by Zhang and Elder (2010) revealed "both quantitative and qualitative differences in the way [native and non-native speaking] teachers weighed various features of the oral proficiency construct" found through analysis of teachers' comments (Zhang and Elder, 2010: 31). However, Kim (2009) also stipulates that there are a number of conditions under which this is not the case and for this reason it was expected that a distinction might exist between the ratings of native versus non-native speakers but not what such a distinction might be. In effect, the results of a Mann-Whitney U test supported the null hypothesis and it was concluded that the sample size was subsequently too small for any relevant patterns to emerge. It would, therefore, be interesting to conduct the same test again but with a sample size greater than 30. Suffice it to say that such a study on a larger scale would have significant implications regarding the contact hypothesis.

With regard to status and solidarity traits, participants demonstrated similar patterns of rating for all six of the accents that they heard. This is particularly true when it comes to adjectives linked with solidarity. Previous literature, such as the study done by Stewart (1985) suggests that standard accents appear to rate higher in terms of perceived social status than non-standard or foreign accents. Dragojevic et al. (2017) suggest that this might have something to do with comprehensibility and processing fluency, which might be more interrupted by non-standard or foreign speech. Based on this, it would be expected that people would follow the same patterns of rating accents. However, the purpose of this study was to test the theory that international teachers might be predisposed to be more accepting or less judgemental based solely off of someone's speech patterns. Subsequently it was expected that the results of this study might go a little way toward tentatively supporting a different narrative.

Overall, the results of this study illustrate that ratings for status and solidarity traits do not follow patterns illustrated by Stewart (1985). This is particularly true of the solidarity ratings, which appear to be very close together across all six accents, which rated either high or low on the same adjectives and suggests overall, true to the theoretical framework adopted and participant testimony, that participants seem not to judge solidarity differently depending on accent. The same patterns can be seen when the data was grouped into native, European and foreign, in that all three groups were rated very similarly across the board. Given that solidarity traits refer to a persons' overall likeability, it is safe to assume that the participants did not feel justified in judging likeability traits based on accent alone. It is wholly conceivable that this is mostly due to their role as teachers in an international environment where their friends and co-workers are likely to have an accent different to their own.

If one considers that the scale used for the survey went from 1 to 5 with one being strong disagreement with the adjective's suitability for a particular accent and five illustrating strong agreement, a rating of 3 being considered neutral, then perhaps a decision could not be made either way based on the information provided. Indeed P1 explained that the decision to give a rating of 3 on multiple traits for the American accent was due to not feeling strongly either way. Effectively, most of the ratings were actually positive given that few values fell beneath three. Given the predominantly

equal ratings for all accents, it was concluded that this was most likely a mirror for participants' assertions that they did not judge speakers based on accent alone due to their experience with many languages and cultures. For example, P2, P4 and P9 (all of whom had experience in language teaching) found the foreign accents charming, passionate and pleasant to listen to and P1, P5 and P8 (all of whom considered themselves non-native speakers of English and taught foreign languages) found the American accent easy to understand. Additionally, the only participant with something resembling negativity towards any particular speaker was P9 in her more negative comments regarding the American speaker, which indicates an overall trend of mostly positive opinion.

When it came to status ratings, there were some notable deviations, both from what was expected given previous literature and what was expected from these participants. Initially, when comparing all six accents individually, it appeared that American, British and Afrikaans were rated the highest followed by German, Indian and with French rating lowest. After combining the data into the three groups (Native, Foreign, European) it became more apparent that there was clearer hierarchy of ratings where the two native accents came out at the top and the European accents were rated lowest. This makes sense when considering three of the participants' (two of whom were native English speakers and one of whom missed travelling) statements that they gravitated towards the more foreign accents and the other three (all foreign language teachers) who attested to preferring the clarity of the native accent. In essence, though the status ratings for native English speakers was higher for most adjectives, they were followed very closely by the foreign speakers, with the European speakers rated lowest. It can be speculated that this latter result might be due to the fact that the participants are sure to be more familiar with German and French speech and might therefore either be more critical of other aspects of the speech (intonation, tone, etc) or that they have heard it too many times for it to be considered a charming novelty. Additionally this may be result of participants having a higher standard of fluency for German and French speakers because of said familiarity. This conclusion seems more likely given the contact hypothesis, which stipulates that, "close and sustained contact" fosters the sharing of information that is "likely to be more favourable and accurate" and may subsequently cultivate a "more favourable perception of [groups] in general" (Ellison, 2011: 938-9). However, it is not inconceivable to speculate that constant exposure, in addition to increasing awareness and tolerance, might also make one more critical of other qualities of speech such as tone and intonation. Effectively, the foreign accents might have rated higher due to increased awareness and therefore favourable opinion or also by merit of their foreignness. In certain circumstances, notions of foreign also carry connotations of being exotic and exciting which may, in turn, appeal to certain people, perhaps monolingual speakers or those who grew up in one place or did not spend much time travelling until they finished secondary education. What this indicates, in so far as the research question of this paper is concerned, is that having a non-native accent in and of itself does not appear to be a cause for negative evaluation and that there does not appear to be a causal relationship between increase in foreignness of an accent and decrease in positive opinion. Rather the specific (assumed) country background seems to make a different standards applied to different groups.

Overall, the data in this study appears to support the possibility that international exposure produces more tolerant attitudes. Indeed, it also supports certain participants' own claims that they are not biased towards certain speakers and that one accent is not better than another, as all six accents were rated similarly across

the 10 adjectives. It can be concluded that in this case, though no accent appears to be rated higher than another, there are certain adjectives which might be considered less applicable than others. Specifically, participants appeared to object most to the more marked traits such as lazy or incompetent which, on average, received the lower ratings, indicating a likelihood that the participants strongly disagreed with the inclusion of such traits. Additionally, another factor in support of the notion that these participants were more tolerant of accent variation in English can be seen in a remark made by P1, who illustrated that there simply was not enough information to make certain judgements about speakers based on voice and accent alone.

Another important aspect was the notion of comprehensibility as it applies to language attitudes. Dragojevic et al (2017) illustrate that foreign accented speakers are rated more negatively the heavier their accent. Most participants commented specifically on comprehensibility during the interview process, some remarking that the ability to comprehend had considerable weight on their perceptions of speech. However, the general consensus appeared to be that a less comprehensible accent would not incur harsh judgements upon the speaker themselves but consideration of the level of English held by the speaker and perhaps a necessary change in participant approach, teaching or otherwise. For example, P4 stated in her first impressions that all the speakers were 'clear and articulate' and P1 confirms that she could 'understand them all'. Most participants approached this issue as a language teacher would or explained that as long as an accent was comprehensible it would not be criticized. In effect, so long as an accent does not disrupt the fluency of communication then there is no reason for it to be rated lower on either status or solidarity traits. This is directly comparable to the studies by Rubin and Smith (1990) and Rubin (1992) who illustrated a case where further knowledge about the speaker is not necessary in order to make certain judgements (found in Giles and Rakic, 2014). This can be seen in the results of this study, which illustrate that foreign accents are rated favourably when they are considered comprehensible by the listener.

5.2. Limitations of the study

An obvious limitation of this study lies in the sample size and the fact that there were only 11 participants in total out of the anticipated 25-30 that would have allowed for more inferential analysis and the ability to perform parametric tests using SPSS. In effect, any future reproductions of this study would be better performed during periods within the school semester that are not busy with exams in order to encourage greater participation from teachers.

One of the main limitations of this study was the way in which the Likert scales were formulated so that the adjectives included both positive and negative traits and participants were asked to rate 1-5 in terms of applicability (i.e. if they answered 1 then they disagreed with a certain adjective as it applied to an accent). In effect, a sliding scale from positive to negative would have been more appropriate than an agreement scale. For example, had the scale gone from friendly to unfriendly then it would have been a much simpler task to ascertain positive versus negative reactions to certain adjectives and all ratings would have belonged to the same group. What occurred in the results from this study were ratings where a 1 given for a negative adjective indicated a positive attitude and a 1 given on a positive adjective indicated a negative attitude. In order to compare positive versus negative attitudes with other variables such as status and solidarity and native versus non-native, ratings given for negative adjectives had to be mirror flipped (a 1 became a 5 and a 2 became a 4) in order to fit with the rest of the data.

However, the issue with the mirror flip was that it automatically equates a 1 given for incompetent to a 5 given for competent. This makes necessary yet not necessarily accurate assumptions about responses triggered by certain words. For example, a participant could have potentially given a rating of 4 instead of 5 if the scale were from positive to negative and the key word was competent. Additionally, a word like incompetent has a higher chance of triggering stronger reactions than competent, a speaker may not at all seem incompetent, but this does not comparatively make them 100% competent.

For the purpose of distribution, the mirror flip was a necessary step in the data processing in order for the data to be the same throughout. However, given the smaller scope of this research, the purpose of the data was to stimulate further insights into the relationship between prolonged contact and language attitudes, rather than conclusive support for the initial research question. It is hoped that future studies will amend some of these limitations.

6. Conclusion

Due to the scale of this study, there is no conclusive evidence to either support or deny the idea that prolonged contact within an international community such as the American School might contribute to more tolerant language attitudes in teachers. Though the teachers themselves claim to have more tolerance towards different speakers, from teacher testimony alone there appear to be multiple factors which contribute to their apparent lack of bias or prejudice. All of the participants in this study attested to having some kind of prolonged international exposure, whether through travelling, living abroad, teaching in general or teaching in an international school, and there is no evidence, save their own individual testimonies, which could ascertain which factor carries the most salience.

In effect, it can be concluded that teachers at the American school of the Hague do, in fact, demonstrate tolerant language attitudes and, whether this is a result of their time at the school surrounded by a multitude of languages and cultures or experience prior to teaching, it all appears to result from contact. From the results of this study, it can be tentatively put forth that extensive international exposure does indeed contribute to tolerance in rater's language attitudes.

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Appendix A.

Comprehensibility in Spoken Englishes

Please answer all questions below as truthfully and spontaneously as possible.

1. **How many years have you been teaching at ASH?**

2. **How many years have you been teaching at International schools?**

3. **How do you identify with regards to nationality? (You may write more than one if applicable)**

4. **What is/are your first language/s?**

5. **How many languages do you speak other than your first? Please list them in order of acquisition.**

6. **Do you consider yourself to be a native or non-native speaker of English?**
   Mark only one oval.
   - ◯ Native
   - ◯ Non-native

7. **Please explain your answer to the previous question.**

Comprehensibility

Please listen to each of the six recordings (no more than twice each) and answer the following questions. The number mentioned in the instructions of each question corresponds to the number of the recording

8. **Regarding recording 1, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Educated					
Confident					
Incompetent					
understandable					
Assertive					
Unambitious					
Wealthy					
Authoritative					
Intelligent					
Very accented					

9. **Regarding recording 1, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Lazy					
Humorous					
Friendly					
Loyal					
Polite					
Sincere					
Easy going					
Annoying					
Hard working					
Condescending					

10. **Regarding recording 2, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Wealthy					
Unambitious					
Intelligent					
Authoritative					
Very accented					
understandable					
Educated					
Incompetent					
Assertive					
confident					

11. **Regarding recording 2, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Easy going					
Lazy					
Annoying					
Hardworking					
Humorous					
Condescending					
Loyal					
Sincere					
Polite					
Friendly					

12. **Regarding recording 3, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Educated					
Confident					
Incompetent					
Authoritative					
Assertive					
Unambitious					
understandable					
Very accented					
Wealthy					
Intelligent					

13. **Regarding recording 3, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Polite					
Humorous					
Loyal					
Condescending					
Sincere					
Hardworking					
Lazy					
Easy going					
Annoying					
Friendly					

14. **Regarding recording 4, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Assertive					
Confident					
Incompetent					
Wealthy					
Unambitious					
Intelligent					
Understandable					
Very accented					
Authoritative					
Educated					

15. **Regarding recording 4, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Humorous					
Condescending					
Loyal					
Polite					
Sincere					
Annoying					
Easy going					
Lazy					
Friendly					
Hardworking					

16. **Regarding recording 5, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Assertive					
Wealthy					
Intelligent					
Incompetent					
Very accented					
Unambitious					
Understandable					
Educated					
Authoritative					
Confident					

17. **Regarding recording 5, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Annoying					
Humorous					
Condescending					
Lazy					
Friendly					
Loyal					
Polite					
Sincere					
Hardworking					
Easy going					

18. **Regarding recording 6, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Incompetent					
Very accented					
Educated					
Wealthy					
Understandable					
Intelligent					
Assertive					
Confident					
Authoritative					
Unambitious					

19. **Regarding recording 6, please rate what you heard on a scale of 1-5, 1 being disagree completely and 5 being agree completely.**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Hardworking					
Condescending					
Humorous					
Loyal					
Lazy					
Annoying					
Friendly					
Polite					
Sincere					
Easy going					