# MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

## „Language attitudes. How accents affect perception of trustworthiness "

verfasst von

## Kseniia Panicheva

angestrebter akademischer Grad

## Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2015

# Table of contents

# List of figures

## List of tables

## Introduction

Although Language attitudes have been a topic of linguistic interest for several decades, they gained more close attention with the global spread of English. Being a powerful tool of communication, language also provides information about social position and personal characteristics of a speaker. The way an individual speaks, his or her accent, vocabulary and grammar choice influence listeners and provide cues about the speaker's personality and status. People can make judgements on the basis of accent alone, without any face-to-face contact.

Due to the increasing role of English on the international stage and the expansion of its use among non-native speakers, linguists started to investigate not only attitudes towards the native English accents, but to foreign ones as well (see Giles, 1970; McKenzie, 2008). Scholars all around the world are trying to find what accents are rated more positively if any at all.

Most of the studies, done in this area, measure language attitudes in two dimensions: status and solidarity. According to the prestige theory (Giles,1970), individuals with standard accent are perceived better than those with non-standard accent on the status dimension. However, non-standard-accented speakers get higher ratings on the solidarity dimension. This idea was supported by various research conducted all over the world with young and adult participants. In other words, despite of the growing usage of English as foreign language, the development and spread of ELF movement, English speakers still consider native accents more prestigious.

This study aims to make a step forward and to find if the attitudes, evoked by accents, influence the level of trust to the speaker. In the present research, trust will cover not only solidarity dimension, as it used to in the previous studies, but status dimension as well. This is possible due to the fact that people can be trusted not only because they are socially attractive and likable, but also because they seem to be intelligent and competent. Therefore, people may sound more trustworthy in some situation less in others. In order to find out if an accent can have effect on the speaker's trustworthiness, the study will involve three accents: standard British, Scottish and Russian, this way covering two dimensions - native vs non-native and standard vs non-standard.

The main foci of the thesis are the following: (1) overview of the existing literature on the topic; (2) to prove that accent is regarded as a cue for speaker's trustworthiness. In order to cover the second area I aim to answer the following questions:

1) Are the speakers with any particular accent (British, Russian or Scottish) trusted more than others?

2) What accent is perceived as more trustworthy – standard, non-standard or non-native?

3) Does the type of a speech act have an effect on the speaker's trustworthiness?

4) Does similarity of accents of the speaker and the listener increase the perceived trustworthiness of the speaker?

5) What social variables may influence an individual's trust to the speaker?

To examine the level of trust to the speakers of English with different accents, three types of statements were developed and recorded. The first group includes the information that is beyond the everyday knowledge of an average person, formulated as true or false statements. The second group consists of the evaluative statements, showing speaker's opinions about some objects and people that, however, cannot evoke any personal feelings or reminiscences from the listener, as the statements refer to the things not existing in reality. This way the listeners cannot base the answers on their own opinion but have to rely on the speaker. The third group is a list of predictions about the future. In all three situations, the participants can either believe the speaker or have an opinion different from presented.  I assume that if the speaker is rated high in status dimension, he will be trusted more saying facts and predictions, if the speaker is evaluated positively in solidarity dimension, he will be trusted more when shares his evaluative judgements.

Based on the accent prestige theory (Giles, 1970) claiming that the speakers of a standard language variety get higher prestige on status dimension, my hypothesis is that the speakers with BE accent will be trusted more eagerly with regard to their factual knowledge and experience, in other words when they provide some factual information or predictions. However, on the level of some evaluative judgements and personal opinions, individuals with non-standard accented English will sound more trustworthy as these speakers are evaluated better on solidarity dimension. Moreover,

taking in consideration the social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), according to which people tend to rate the speakers with the similar accent more positively, I hypothesize that Russian participants will trust the Russian speaker more than British and Scottish accented speakers.

The thesis consists of three chapters. Chapter I presents the theoretical base for studying attitudes and language attitudes. It explains the nature of these phenomena and how the definition of attitudes have been developing during the years. It also examines the way attitudes can be studied and measured. Chapter II is a review of existing research on language attitudes of different types including some classical studies and the most resent publications. The focus is on personal evaluations based on national, regional and international accents in English. Chapter III describes the study of the effect of three accents in English language on perception of trustworthiness and relation between attitudes to the accent and actual behaviour.

Language attitudes is a very important and timely topic as in the modern world, where English has become the universal language of international communication, people still can be judged and discriminated on the basis of their accents. Studying and discussing this issue may help society to realise and prevent the problem of discrimination.

# 1. Attitudes and language attitudes

## 1.1 Attitudes

### 1.1.1 Definition of attitude

The word ‚attitude' can be heard every day in different spheres of life. We can ask: "What is your attitude to politics" meaning "What do you think about politics?". Meriam-Webster dictionary (2015) gives several definition of "attitude", among them – "the way you think and feel about someone or something" and "a feeling or way of thinking that affects a person's behaviour".  In other words, "attitude is a term in common usage" (Baker, 1992:9).  Ajzen (2005:3) defines attitude as "disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event". One may conclude that attitudes can be positive or negative and they can influence our behaviour. People form attitudes to other people, places and objects around them, different spheres of social, political and private lives. If we know person's attitudes, we can explain their behaviour or predict some future actions.

However, decades of past research in the field of sociolinguistics discussing attitudes, searching for the appropriate definition and arguing over the nature of this notion, has made it evident that despite its everyday usage,  this term is not that simple but rather controversial (c.f. Fasold, 1984; Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2012) . Due to the complex nature of attitudes, a unique definition does not exist and researchers choose the one that fits better into their framework or try to explain the notion differently.

This section will present an overview of the ways attitudes are discussed in scientific literature and choose one the best fitting into the present study.

The definition of attitude depends on the framework in which scholars work. The main difference is made between mentalists and behaviourists.

An early definition of an attitude given by Allport (1935, quoted in Baker 1992: 11) explains the mentalists' approach:

a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.

In other words, attitudes are seen as internal states of the human mind that can be formed when a specific kind of stimulus has been presented and as a result, they cannot

be measured directly. The only way to study attitudes is to observe person's behaviour or by self-reports (Baker, 1992:16).

In the mentalists' point of view, attitudes are formed by three components: cognition (cognitive), evaluation (affective) and readiness for action (conative) (Baker 1992:11; Zwickl, 2002:10; Adjen 2005: 4-5). These three components are the foundation of attitude as shown in figure one. Three-component concept forms the base of the most contemporary studies.
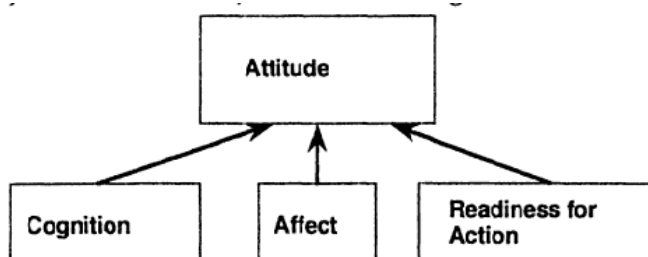


*Figure 1.  Three component model of an attitude (Baker 1992)*

According to this model, *cognition* is the individual perception of reality that creates various beliefs and ideas about the attitude object. For example, people believing that only standard varieties of English should be used and taught in educational institutions, may hold negative attitudes to non-standard language varieties.  This component is closely related to the second one - *affect*. It is an evaluative component responsible for emotional judgements and feelings, e.g. evaluating different language variants as beautiful or ugly, difficult or easy. If someone calls English beautiful, he probably, has a favourable attitude towards the language.  Although these two components may be connected, it is not always the case (Baker 1992: 12). For example, a person can demonstrate a positive attitude to a language variety or support some language policy in words, but think differently. Social surroundings tend to influence not only the way people think, but also to what extent it is possible to share opinions.

The third component, *readiness for action*, is a stated intention or plan to act in a certain way (Zwickl, 2002:10; Baker 1992: 13). For instance, a person with a positive attitude to the spread of English in the modern world may wish to raise a bilingual child. In other words, this belief assumes that attitudes are directly related to overt behaviour and as a result, if we know the attitudes of a person to some object we can predict his or her behaviour to it. However, expressed or internal attitudes do not always lead to a certain type of behaviour. One example, commonly used to illustrate the complicated

relations between attitude and behaviour was introduced by LaPiere in 1934 (in Edwards, 2011: 36). It provoked a wave of criticism stating that attitudes do not coincide with actual behaviour and it is not always possible to predict actions from attitudes and vice versa. Azjen and Fishbein (1980: 225) explain this discrepancy by the fact that people's behaviour tends to change in different contexts and is influenced by a variety of factors. Every single change can lead to a different reaction. Moreover, people can try to hide their attitudes on purpose, changing their behaviour to fit the norms of society or to react as expected in a given situation (Fasold, 1984). That is the reason why studying attitudes is such a complicated matter – every particular context may provoke different attitudes (see 1.1.1 for further discussion).

The three-component concept makes it possible to distinguish between 'attitudes' and some related terms, which are usually synonymous in everyday speech. Baker (1992:14) states that 'opinion', for example, lacks of affective component as opposed to 'attitude'. It is also expressed verbally while attitudes may be non-verbal.

The scholar also claims (ibid) that the definition and usage of terms 'ideology' and 'motivation' differ in various areas and sources. While, 'ideology' is commonly used to define a group's values or a broader outlook on life and society, 'attitudes' are projected onto particular target objects.

Azjen (2005:6) points to the similarities between attitude and trait, but underlines that attitudes have an evaluative nature and are focused on an external target. Thus, they can change rapidly. Personal traits, on the other hand, are directed at the individual's internal characteristics and are more stable.

The second perspective on attitudes was introduced by the followers of behaviourism. In contrast to mentalists with their three-component model, behaviourists see attitudes as single units. Fasold (1984:147) explains that according to this approach attitudes are viewed as responses to external stimuli. Therefore, the focus of study is on an individual's overt actions and on the way correspondents behave, as opposed to mentalists' interest in inner mental states. In order to study attitudes no self-reports or indirect assessments are required – they can be measured by observing an individual's behaviour.

Both approaches have their shortcomings. While the behaviourists' perspective allows getting some results through observing overt actions, it makes it challenging to predict

other behaviours by attitudes. The mentalist approach, on the other hand, assumes that attitudes lead to a certain type of behaviour and it may be possible to predict or explain this behaviour if one knows the attitudes. At the same time, this approach uses indirect assessment techniques that are difficult to apply and can be unreliable or biased. However, as Smit (1996:25) states, most researchers combine both concepts trying to create their own working definition of attitudes that will satisfy the needs of their studies. She (ibid) defines attitudes as:

> directly unobservable, complex, mental entities of variable strength that consist of cognitive, emotive, and conative components, and influence an individual's thinking, feeling and acting with regard to a referent, i.e. people, objects, issues, or situations.

In my thesis, I will use this definition as it fits the aims and methods of my research. I will observe indirectly how internal attitudes to accents influence people's actions. It was found out before that people tend to have different attitudes to people with standard and non-standard accents of English. This study aims to apply the results of the previous research and to investigate if the attitudes to language varieties coincide with trust people demonstrate to the speakers' with different accents in English.


## 1.1.2 Attitudes and behaviour

Nowadays attitudes are a central element for understanding persons' behaviour, but during many years, scholars have had diverse opinions on the relations between attitudes and behaviour. Some definitions of attitudes already imply that attitudes lead to some sort of action (e.g. Allport, 1935:810) and as a result, they can be used in order to explain and predict human's behaviour. Such tight interrelation was taken for granted and in early stages of research no real attempt was made to prove the opposite.

However, a famous study by LaPiere (1934) mentioned in a previous chapter provided food for thought. Knowing prejudiced attitudes to Chinese people in the USA, the researcher travelled around the country with a young Chinese couple, in order to see how they would be treated. The company visited 184 restaurants, 63 hotels and inns and were refused service in only one of them. Six months later the same establishments, in response to the scholar's question, stated that they would never serve a Chinese couple. Later on, in 1960s, a number of studies, aimed to find

connection between attitudes and behaviour, and came to the same disappointing results: attitudes were of little relevance to actual behaviour (discussed in Ajzen&Fishbein, 2005). The whole idea of using attitudes in order to explain some actions was criticized.

Baker (1992: 17) states that these criticism lead to the better understanding of attitudes. Firstly, it became clear that a single act of behaviour could not signal of a certain kind of attitude. This connection is more complex and depends on a number of personal and situational factors. That is why self-reports and observation of the patterns of behaviour are more effective. Secondly, it is important to remember about the level of generality of attitudes while measuring them. For example, intention to go to Edinburg and attitude to Scottish English represent different levels of generality so it would be wrong to try to find a deep relation between them. However, according to Gardner (1982:141) "any relationship between attitudes and behaviour have important implication". He gives an example (ibid) that one may find a relationship between favourable attitudes to French Canadian and achievements in learning French. Still other factors, like attitudes to school or relations with a teacher, may have influence and a holder of positive attitudes towards French will not learn the language.

Ajzen and Fishbein (1980, in Garrett, 2010:26-27) proposed a Theory of reasoned action that explains the conflict between attitudes and following behaviour. This theory see behavioural intentions like a step before attitudes turn into behaviour. Figure 2 presents the theory schematically.
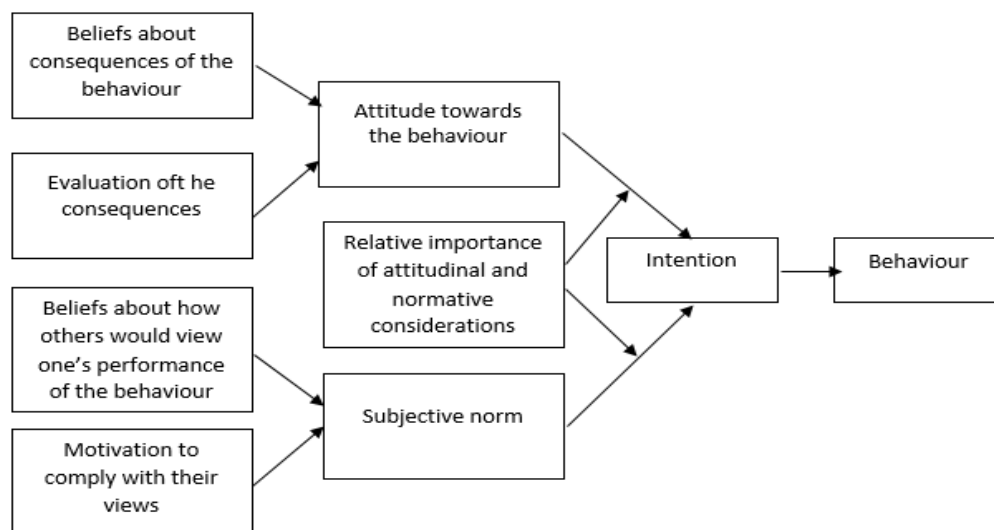


**Figure 2. Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980 in Garrett, 2010:27)**

8

This figure shows that behavioural intention is twofold. Firstly, an individual has an attitude towards the behaviour that is influenced by his beliefs about the consequences of behaviour and evaluation of these consequences. Secondly, there is a subjective norm influenced by the person's beliefs about how other people would evaluate his or her behaviour and motivation to comply with their views.

Garrett (2010: 26) provides an example of how this theory works in reality:

*Beliefs about consequences*: 'My speaking RP on the phone to Mrs Smith, who is inviting me to go to an interview for a job, will increase my chances of getting the job.'
*Evaluation*: 'I want this job, so this would be a good thing to do.'
*Normative beliefs*: 'my sister who is sitting here in the same room with me will mock my behaviour and call me a slimy posh prat for talking RP.'
*Motivation to comply with their expectation*: 'I don't want to end up like my sister. I need this job, and I'm not going to stick around here much longer anyway, especially if I get it.'
In other words, there is a long process preceding real behaviour that is why sometimes attitudes do not lead to actions.

Some scholars also distinguish between performing a behaviour like learning Spanish words and achieving a goal like speaking Spanish fluently (e.g. Ajzen&Fishberg, 2005). This difference may be important because attainment of a goal depends not only on person's intentions and attitudes but on some other factors as well. For example, one can have positive attitude to Spanish and learn new words and thus perform an action, but have problems with memory and be not able to remember these words for a long period of time and use them in speech. Consequently, while measuring the correlation between intentions and behaviour it is vital to be sure that an individual has control over all factors leading to the behaviour under investigation.

Another factor that may explain the disjuncture between attitudes and performance is so called 'moral hypocrisy' introduced by Batson and colleagues (1997). In their study 20 female participants were asked to choose between self-interest and interest of another person. They were offered to choose between a positive consequence task where each correct response brings a participant 30$ and a neutral consequence task that brings no reward and was described as a dull one. People had to choose a task for themselves and consequently assign another participant (who was told to be unaware

about the existing options) for the second option. After that, they had to complete a questionnaire and answer whether their choice could be called morally right. As a result, 16 participants out of 20 chose a positive consequence task for themselves, however, only one person found this action moral. That means that people can act against their beliefs and even realize that their actions are wrong.

To sum everything up, the relation between general attitudes and overt behaviour is very complicated. Nowadays scholars try to find the mean between two extremes – it was agreed that attitudes can explain and predict behaviour, but many factors should be considered and appropriate measures should be developed.


## 1.1.3 Evaluative Inconsistency

Despite a great number or studies failing to prove any role of attitudes in predicting behaviour towards the object of attitudes, the idea to explain this phenomenon was not abandoned. Scholars found various reasons, why the studies, denying an existing relation between general attitudes and specific actions, were invalid, and tried to develop better assessment techniques to prevent these inconsistences in future.

The study of LaPiere and some similar ones were criticized for low correspondence between attitudes and actions as the person performing the behaviour and providing verbal attitudes may not have been the same one (Dillehay, 1974). It was also noted that the direct assessment approach, used in early research, was rather unreliable because responses could be influenced by social norms and consequently be biased (see Ajzen&Fishberg, 2005:176). This type of inconsistency when a person's behavioural intentions contradict real actions is called *literal inconsistency* and it is opposed to *evaluative inconsistency* when subjects fail to behave in accordance with stated attitudes (ibid: 178). These types of inconsistency were explained in different way. For instance, Ajzen and Fishberg (2005) quote Thurstone (1931: 261–262) who states that people can hold similar attitudes to an object but their overt actions will not be the same. They give an example of two people having positive attitudes to the church, but one person expresses these attitudes by donating money and the second one by organizing church events. From the behavioural perspective, one person gives

money to the church and another does not, although both may hold similar attitudes and just express them differently.

Some research found that direct experience with the object of attitude influences attitude-behaviour relations as well. More precisely, attitudes based on personal experience are more predictive of behaviour than attitudes based on information received from other source (Fazio&Zanna, 1981 discussed in Ajzen&Fishberg 2005:180). For example, Regan and Fazio (1977) in order to investigate this issue, measured people's attitude to five types of intellectual puzzles. One group got the information about the puzzles and was shown some solved examples, while the second group had an opportunity to work on these puzzles. Attitudes were measured through interest expressed to each puzzle and behaviour during a 15-minutes 'free-play' on the problems. As a result, correlation between attitudes and behaviour was higher for those participants who had a direct experience with the puzzles before the test. However, it is difficult to construct a research in such a way that all subjects would have a direct experience with the object under investigation. For instance, for my study it would be time and labour consuming to find the participants that had previous experience with all three accents under investigation. Moreover, experience can be of different types – living in a country where the language variety is used, knowing a person with such an accent or probably, even watching films where these varieties can be heard and as a result, the evoked attitudes to accents may be of different nature.

In general, there is no strong and evident relation between a single action and general attitudes, although it would be wrong to deny it completely. So in order to increase the reliability and validity of research it is advised to observe a set of behaviours representative of the behavioural domain, but not just one action that can be influenced by a specific context and other factors (Ajzen&Fishberg 2005:181-182).

## 1.1.4 Factors influencing attitudes

As it was mentioned above, attitudes can be influenced by context or situation, in other words they can easily change. Some attitudes are more stable that others, but in general, they tend to transform with time.

In order to measure and interpret attitudes it is important to know what factors may influence and change them. Some of factors may be incorporated into a study or took into account in the form of extra-linguistic information, while others can be only kept in mind and used for later interpretation.

Baker (1992:98) underlines the importance of the historical approach in explaining language attitudes changes. It includes the influence of various policies, immigration, globalization and other political and social factors, changing over the years, on the construction of attitudes. This perspective is a global one aiming to explain the changes in attitudes of whole nationalities.

The second approach applied for explaining attitudes change is socio-psychological. It tends to pay more attention to attitudes of individuals or small groups. According to Baker (1992: 103-104) one of the factors that can have effect on attitudes change is a 'human model'. That is a person, highly respected or admired, whose words or behaviour can influence individual's attitudes. Parents, peers, teachers or some media figures can serve as a model.

Other attitude changes are due to the fact that all of persons' attitudes should be in harmony (Festinger, 1957 discussed in Baker 1992:104). When the attitudes are contradicting each other, we tend to change one of the attitudes to achieve internal consistency.

To summarize, attitudes are not stable units and even if a person shows some favourable or unfavourable attitudes at the moment, that does not mean that the situation will not change later. Different factors both social and personal influence our attitudes. Sometimes it is impossible to understand, and thus to study what factor is responsible for the formation of a particular attitude of a particular individual. More widely shared, national attitudes, can be understood and investigated with the help of historical approach.

## 1.2 Language attitudes
## 1.2.1 What are language attitudes?

Fishman's definition of language clearly explains why language can be regarded as a source of attitudes:

Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social status and personal relationships, a marker of situation and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community. (Fishman 1971, quoted in: Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian 1982; 2).

Language is not only a means of communication - it is a marker of social identity, status and ethnicity. Language can unite or divide people. Labov's study (1972) examined a group of speakers from Martha's Vineyard who switched from standard pronunciation to a conservative non-standard dialect to identify themselves as locals and distinguish from numerous tourists attracted to the island every summer. In other words, language is not just a linguistic phenomenon and our attitudes to it are based not only on its linguistic parameters and functions, but rather on its social role and status. As Smit (1996:8) claims: "We only form attitudes towards language because it reflects and embodies societal structures on various levels, from the national to the interpersonal ones."

The theory of language attitudes was based on the same one developed by psychologists and sociologists to explain general attitudes. Language attitudes include attitudes towards languages, spoken varieties and their speakers. Baker (1992:29) says that studies cover even a broader area and include various specific attitudes:

- Attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style;
- Attitude to learning a new language
- Attitude to a specific minority language
- Attitude to language groups, communities and minorities
- Attitude to language lessons
- Attitude to the uses of a specific language
- Attitude of parents to language learning
- Attitude to language preference

Garrett (2010:2) argues that people hold attitudes not only to language and varieties, but also to the more narrow levels e.g. spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation. He points to political speeches carefully created by specialists in order to influence the audience and aimed to evoke specific attitudes by using particular words and avoiding others. A good example of attitudes to grammar may be intolerance to double negatives in English. Cheshire (1999) finds it interesting

how polar attitudes to double negation are. Some people consider it ridiculous and grammatically wrong, others, on the contrary, rather elegant. She points to the fact that double negatives exist the majority of languages and are not seen illogical, while in modern Standard English they are a sign of lack of education and low social position (ibid). This way, a speaker should be very careful as even usage of particular words and grammatical structures may evoke various attitudes in the listener.

The present study is concerned with the area of attitudes to accents, more precisely to accented speakers. With the spread of English as international language or even as a Lingua Franca, this area has received much attention of sociolinguists. Without any doubt, study of attitudes to language is of great importance for society, as it provides knowledge not only about language varieties, but also about speakers and listeners that can be later embedded into language policies on governmental as well as local levels.

## 1.2.2 Classification of language attitudes.

Due to the complex nature of language attitudes, they were categorized differently depending on the scholars' views and foci of their research. This chapter will examine the main types of language attitudes introduced in the literature.

Schmied (1991: 164) distinguishes between "attitudes towards certain languages in general, or language stereotypes, attitudes towards specific sociolinguistic topics, or language beliefs, and attitudes towards particular language varieties." He says that language stereotypes are subconscious and cannot be always explained rationally unlike language beliefs. English is often attributed with such qualities as 'beautiful' or 'precise' for no evident reason, as this characteristics cannot be related to any real features of the language. In comparison, language beliefs can be supported by various kinds of arguments: national, communicative, personal or educational. Schmied (ibid: 168-170) gives such statement as 'Favouring English means neglecting an important aspect of national identity' as an example of national arguments or 'English is useful for getting a better job' for a personal argument. However, even if the participants of the my research have some language stereotypes or beliefs about English (and they certainly do), I do not plan to study them as the focus will be on the third group of attitudes – attitudes towards language varieties.

Gardner (1985:40) classifies attitudes by their specificity/generality. He explains that "attitudes towards learning French" is specific as there is a clear object – 'learning French'. While "interest in foreign languages" is general as the object 'foreign language' is more general term than just one language (e.g. French) and secondly, there is no specific activity described. 'Interest in languages' can include various activities like learning or speaking languages. However, even specific attitudes are very complex and multi-dimensional.

Ajzen and Fishberg (2005:173) suggest distinguishing between two types of attitudes. The first type includes attitudes towards objects, groups, policies or events. The second group are attitudes towards a certain behaviour, e.g. visiting some place. Knowing person's attitudes towards behaviour can help to predict possible actions better than knowledge of attitudes towards an object. For example, a person may hold positive attitudes towards Rolex wristwatches, but never purchase them, as they are too expensive. On the other hand, positive attitude towards buying Rolex watch may indicate actual behaviour (Schiffman, 2013:252).

The classification of language attitudes helps to be more precise while studying them. For instance, knowledge, gained from the previous studies, about the attitudes towards accented speakers of English will help me to find whether these attitudes influence real behaviour.


### 1.2.3 Standardization and language attitudes

According to Garrett (2010:6) attitudes are influenced by the process of standardization. English like many other languages has standard varieties, e.g. Standard British or Standard American. Standard varieties are usually described in dictionaries and grammar books and are taught in the countries of the outer circle (Kachru, 1990). The norms are developed by authorities and spread through language policies, empowering one variety to be preferable to another. Moreover, as Deumert (2004:7) says "the structural properties and social prestige of standard languages are legitimized by a specific type of language ideology; a metalinguistically articulated belief that there is *one and only one* correct way of speaking". Milroy and Milroy (1999) call this 'ideology of the standard language', the main characteristics of which are

correctness, influence of authorities and the importance of social prestige. Garrett (2010:7) believes that in our everyday life we do not pay attention to this ideology but take for granted 'that such norms are simply a question of common sense'. However, he agrees that this notion of correctness turns standard varieties into prestigious ones. This usually leads to intolerance and even discrimination of other varieties that are seen as non-standard. This process in turn forms positive or negative attitudes in the minds of speakers. For example, Russian educational institutions use Standard British English as a model only rarely making some references to Standard American as these two varieties are described in details in grammars and hundreds of course books published every year. Other varieties are not presented in a classroom and as a result, when students get access to them later in their life they make comparison with the 'sample' from the text books and may conclude that these are not just varieties of the same language but some kind of deviation or norm violation, and consequently, form unfavourable attitudes. Although Hughes (2013:2) and his colleagues argue that 'correctness' of the language that learners hear is irrelevant to them as they struggle to understand the meaning, it still seems impossible to prevent formation of any attitudes, if even internal, that people do not realize themselves. For example, in my study Russian participant will listen to the statements with British and Scottish accents and mark them as true or false. It may be possible that they will find the speaker with British accent more trustworthy as this accent seems more standard for Russian listeners in comparison to a Scottish one and probably, they have more positive attitudes to it.

Moreover, in the process of standardization some rules are established artificially. Double negations, discussed in the previous section, were in common use before the eighteenth century, when grammarians proscribed their further usage in Standard English to avoid any possible ambiguity in written speech (Cheshire 1999:120). This way double negation is modern English became an object of negative attitudes and a marker of low social status.

Therefore, the existence of norms obtained during the process of standardization, makes it possible to evaluate the way individuals speak and conclude about the level of their education and social position. As a result, listeners may form attitudes towards the speakers based only on the language use. In this study, I aim to find out if

differences in attitudes to standard and non-standard English varieties may lead to behavioural changes with regard to the speakers.

## 1.2.4 Attitudes to accents

Since a current study is focused on attitudes to several English accents, it could be worth to give a definition of an accent and explain why people may judge about others by their accents.

Firstly, it is important to differentiate between dialect and accent. According to Hughes (2013:3) dialect is "a language variety distinguished form other varieties by differences of grammar and vocabulary." Therefore, Standard British and Scottish English are varieties of English. Accent is the manner of pronunciation and it is one of the parts that form dialects.

The present thesis will deal exclusively with accent, as it examines the same statements with the same grammar and vocabulary, different only in the manner of pronunciation. However, the attitudes evoked by these accents may refer to the dialects or even countries, as in the case of Russian accent.

Accent plays an important role in Britain, as it provides information on the speaker's origin, status, education and social position, as a result people may form their opinions and attitudes to the speaker without knowing him but just by the sound of his voice. As Ascherson (1994) observes:

For at least a century, accent in England has been two things: a vertical indicator about geographical origins, and a horizontal caste-mark separating "top people" from the rest. From this intersection between place and class has come much odious social farce and - in those parts of the British Isles where it was taken seriously -- a vast amount of unnecessary misery.

One of the most recognized accents is Received Pronunciation. Although it is used by around 3-5 % of the population in England (Trudgill 2002: 171-2, referred to in Hughes et al., 2013:4) RP is perceived as the most prestigious variety of English as being associated with the higher society and privileged education. Despite the fact that only a small part of native speakers uses it, it is extremely popular among foreigners and remains one of the main varieties taught in the countries of outer circle. Hughes (ibid, 2013:3) enlists several reasons for choosing RP as a model. Firstly, as this variety is

used mostly by very educated people of high social position, its main characteristics are 'correctness', 'high statues' and 'power'. Secondly, RP is used by newsreaders on television and radio, consequently it is the most widely understood variety and people, who speak it, can be easily understood in all parts of the UK. At last, as it was mentioned before, RP is thoroughly described and systematised that makes teaching and learning it rather uncomplicated even if a teacher is not a native speaker. British publishing houses, like Oxford University Press, are the main producers of teaching materials and they prescribe the rules that should be observed if a person want to speak 'a proper' English.

Speakers of RP are usually on the top of the social scale and their accent is 'non-regional' (Jones, 2001:11-113; Hughes et al, 2013:10). The higher is the social status of the speaker the closer is his pronunciation to RP. Hughes (ibid) presented the relationship between status and accent schematically in a form of a triangle with RP on the top and regional accents on the bottom:
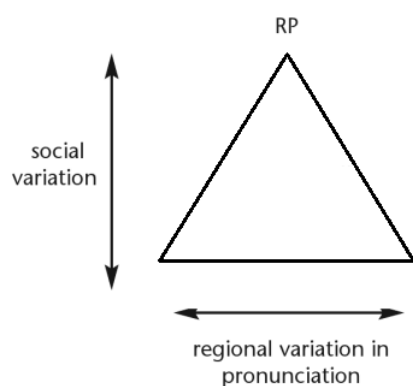


**Figure 3. The triangle model of relationship between status and accent (Hughes at al 2013:10)**

Interestingly, during her study of accents Jones (2001) found that persons speaking with some regional accent often feel intimidated in presence of RP speaker, as they realize that their pronunciation give clues to their social background and the level of education, even when their education is not bad at all. This categorization makes people feel insecure and may develop negative attitudes towards their own accent.

However, despite its prestige RP is often associated with affectation and snobbery, even if a speaker is a foreigner (Hughes, 2013:5). Especially strong this feeling is among the native speakers whose regional accent is very different from the standard. This may be the reason why language attitudes studies found that RP is rated lower in

solidarity dimension in comparison to some regional accents. Hughes (ibid) claims that these attitudes have led to the change of a modern Standard English and developing of a new variety, so called 'Estuary English' (term introduced by Rosewarne in 1984). This combination of RP and working-class English created a neutral variety that helped low class speakers to sound more prestigious and sophisticated and upper class speakers to appear lower in status and less posh. It aims to dissolve the social barrier between different layers of population as language stops to indicate the social status of the speaker. This new variety is characterised by shifts in pronunciation and intonation. Hughes and his colleagues (2013:6-7) observe the use of high-rising tone or 'up-talk' not only in questions, as it was before, but in statements as well. They disapprove the idea of the influence of Australian or New Zealand English, which have this feature, on young British people during trips and claim that the reason is much more complex, but not enough investigated.

To sum everything up, accent is an important marker of social status and person's own identity. Despite the decline of modern RP, there still exists a discrimination between the standard and regional accents and this fact leads to differences in attitudes towards these varieties. Moreover, an increasing popularity of English around the world gives rise to a variety of foreign accents that are also the objects of attitudes (see 2.1 for further discussion).

## 1.2.5 Measuring language attitudes

Since attitude is a very complex notion that cannot be easily measured, much attention was given to the development of the most appropriate methods of investigation. Due to various aims and data used in the studies of language attitudes, different research methods can be applied. The main two ways of measuring attitudes include direct and indirect methods. Both approaches as well as their advantages, disadvantages and limitations will be discussed in details below.

### 1.2.5.1 Direct methods

On the early stages of studying attitudes, the direct approach was very popular. Moreover, even nowadays some scholars prefer to ask individuals about their attitudes

to languages or accents directly or combine direct and indirect methods. In the direct approach, the participants are straightforwardly asked about their attitudes to different language varieties or to compare their variety, accent, pronunciation with some others, and then the results are summarized and discussed. This method is mostly used to discover attitudes to indigenous languages, to compare several dialects of one language or native and non-native accents (see e.g. Garrett, Bishop and Coupland, 2009; Crismore et. al., 1996; Tokumoto and Shibata, 2011). Direct questionnaires are often used in the early stage of the study to elicit individual overt attitudes before comparing them with the results obtained indirectly. This way it is possible to demonstrate the contradiction between the attitudes that people claim when asked, and what they really demonstrate during the experiment.

In order to understand individual attitudes, interviews and questionnaires or the combination of two can be applied.

Questionnaires may include open and closed questions. Opened questions give participants an opportunity to express themselves and to mention matters that the researcher could not conjecture himself. On the other hand, having too much freedom, participants may get distracted and it would be difficult to score such an answer (Fasold, 1984:152). In order to avoid such difficulties, closed questions are often used. They are created in a way that helps to only investigate the issues that the researcher is interested in and thus can be easily summarized and compared later, but they also restrict the participants too much. Using only closed questionnaires can lead to limited results as the researcher cannot always predict all the possibilities. Fasold (ibid) suggests to use open questions in a pilot test and on the bases of its results create a close-questioned questionnaire.

One of the most popular techniques used in questionnaires is an attitude scale or Likert scale. A researcher develops statements as 'Children should start learning English as early as possible' and participants can agree or disagree using a five-point scale (Baker, 1992:18)

*Strongly Agree*    *Agree*    *Neither Agree nor Disagree*    *Disagree*    *Strongly Disagree*

**Figure 4. A Likert scale**

Baker states that the benefit of this technique is multidimensionality (ibid). In other words different levels of attitudes can be measured separately, e.g. attitude to language, attitude to speakers or attitude to teaching this language at schools.

Another way is to use semantic differentiation technique created in the 1950s by psychologist Charles E. Osgood. In this method, participants are faced to a scale from zero to seven and a pair of bipolar adjectives like *beautiful-ugly* or *easy-difficult* (see figure 4). This way, respondents can rate the object of interest. The 0 position usually means "neutral," 1 means "slightly," 2 means "quite," and 3 is "extremely." The left side on the scale is generally positive and the right is generally negative.

**Learning English is**

**easy ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ difficult**

**Figure 5. A semantic differentiation scale**

Interviews are similar to questionnaires except participants do not need to write, as their answers to the questions are tape recorded. The benefit of an interview is that a researcher can ask open questions and guide the speaker in the right direction. However, they are very time consuming as usually only one participant can be interviewed at once (Fasold, 1984: 152).

However, it was proved that direct approach was not very reliable and unlikely to reveal real attitudes. Firstly, people tend to hide their real attitudes and tell things that are appropriate for the situation in order to present themselves in a better light (Baker, 1992:19; Fasold, 1984:147). Moreover, sometimes participants themselves are not aware of their attitudes and thus they are unable to share them with the researcher, although these unconscious internal attitudes are of great importance as they influence behaviour. At last, the researcher and the purpose of the research may affect participants and consequently their answers (Baker, ibid). The gender, age, ethnicity and verbal behaviour of the researcher may make the respondents to give an answer that will possibly please the interviewer or meet his expectations.


## 1.2.5.2 Indirect methods

In order to avoid the flaws of the direct methods and get results that are more reliable, indirect techniques were developed and used. Indirect method means that the

participants do not know what is being tested so they cannot hide their real attitudes. One of the most popular ways of measuring attitudes is matched-guise technique. It was introduced by Lambert and colleagues (1960). They (Lambert et al. 1960: 64) recommended to employ one speaker who is fluent in several languages or can produce different accents in which the researcher is interested. This person is tape-recorded reading the same passage of neutral content in different accents. The participants, who are unaware that the texts are recorded by one person, evaluate the personality of each guise after listening to the extracts the same way they would evaluate two or more different people. In order to rate the guises, a semantic evaluation scale with the pairs of opposite adjectives is used, e.g. *The speaker is intelligent___:___:___:___:___unintelligent* (Holmes, 2013:414). A speaker has to be rated by different parameters like education, intelligence, social-class. At the end, if different guises get different characteristics it is due to the language or accent they use. Many scholars stress that it is important to have only one speaker able to switch from one variety to another as different voice parameters, like timbre, pitch, intonation etc., can affect the listener (e.g. Gaies&Beebe, 1992:157; Hosoda et al. 2012:35). However, due to complexity of studies investigating not two accents but three or more, it became a common practice to employ several speakers with similar voice parameters, who are reading passages with their natural accents. Callan and his colleagues (1983:413) state that both methods have some shortcomings. In the first method, the researcher risks not to achieve a required similarity between voices and that may influence listeners' judgements. In the second, speakers may deliberately change their voice qualities in order to exaggerate the difference between the language varieties.

Matched-guise technique has been used to investigate different issues in the fields of sociolinguistics and pedagogy. This method helped to study learners' attitudes towards the language they learn and the speakers of the language, attitudes to dialects and indigenous languages, and attitudes to the speech of non-natives.

It is claimed that the matched-guise technique makes it difficult for participants to guess the real nature of the study and as a result it is a more efficient instrument "for evoking 'private' or 'uncensored' attitudes" towards a particular social group comparing to some other attitude rating scale techniques (Lambert et al, 1965 in Giles, 1970:213).

Moreover, results obtained with the help of the matched-guise technique can be valued not only for linguistics purposes but in everyday life as well. People working in different social spheres, like teachers, doctors etc. can be taught to avoid biased evaluations of their students and patients on the basis of their speech characteristics (Gaies, 1991: 158).

Despite its popularity, this technique gets some critique as well. Since this method requires the speakers to read one passage, they may be judges by the manner of reading, but not based on the language variety they use (Fasold, 1984:153). In order to avoid this bias, some researchers use a modification of the matched-guise technique, where the speakers do not read but discuss the same topic without saying the same thing (ibid). The topic is usually neutral in order to prevent evoking some attitudes towards the content of the speech instead of the accent. Fasold (1984: 154-155) also underlines an artificial nature of the matched-guise technique. Firstly, the listeners have to make evaluative judgements over the speaker by his/her voice only, what is a rare thing in the everyday life. Secondly, an evaluative set given to the participants makes them to judge people in a way that is not common for interpersonal communication. Scholars attempt to make their research more valid and use real speakers instead of tape recordings and put them in natural settings like university lecture or theatre (see Bourhis and Giles, 1976).

The current research uses a modified version of the matched-guise technique. Two speakers have been tape-recorded reading the same 24 statements - one with Russian accent and the second with British and Scottish. As the matter of interest is no more the attitudes to the speaker and language, but the way these attitudes may influence the behaviour, the usage of Likert scale would be inappropriate. Instead, the participants have to listen to the statements and, influenced by their inner attitudes to the accents, decide whether the statements are true or false.

## Conclusions of chapter one

As it can be seen, the nature of attitudes is perceived differently by mentalists and behaviourists. Most researchers take the mentalists approach and agree that an attitude consists of three components: cognition, affect and behaviour. It was also

agreed that attitudes and actions are related and if we know an individual's attitudes, we can predict his or her behaviour.

The theoretical base developed by social psychology was adopted and reconstructed by sociolinguists to fit more for studying language attitudes. Nevertheless, attitudes to language are very complex, as they include not only attitudes to different languages but also to various language varieties and accents, as well as attitudes towards using and learning languages, and attitudes towards the speakers. There exist various methods that make it possible to measure and study attitudes. Some are direct, when the researcher asks the participants about their attitudes to some object or action with the help of questionnaires or in an interview. Others are indirect and allow finding more inner attitudes without asking the participants about them explicitly. One of the most popular methods used for measuring language attitudes is the matched-guise technique. It is usually applied when the researcher wants to know about the attitudes to the speakers of different languages, varieties or accents. Numerous studies concluded that some language varieties are considered standard and as a result more prestigious than others.

The results of the studies of language attitudes are interesting and important not only for linguistics, but for the fields of education, medicine, law and some others where the way people talk may have impact on their status and success. The next chapter will discuss in details how speakers can be judged by their accents and how these judgements influence the behaviour of the listeners. It will also mention some other variables that can affect the speaker's evaluations along with accents.

## 2. Language attitudes research

Several decades of research produced a great number of studies in the area of language attitudes. Despite some contradicting views and mutually exclusive hypotheses, much work has been done and many reliable results were received. All together, they form a chain of investigations explaining many sociolinguistic issues, on the one hand, but also providing a solid base for future studies. As far as my thesis is based on the results of some earlier research, this chapter will present an overview of already existing scientific works and theories developed so far.

## 2.1. Accent Prestige and social identity theories

It is not in question anymore that prestige and language are tightly connected. It was already discussed above that some language varieties are evaluated higher than others due to some historical reasons. However, not only standard varieties can be characterized as prestigious.

Labov (1966) was studying changes in English language and effect of different social factors on language change. He investigated the factor of prestige and its involvement into language change. The scholar differentiated between *overt* and *covert* prestige. Overt prestige is attached to standard varieties and a dominant group of speakers with high social status. On the other hand, dialects and regional variants usually have covert prestige. They are markers of social identity and show belonging to some exclusive group.

Accent plays an important role in communication, as it may cause difficulties in understanding and, being the main marker of national identity or foreignness, can evoke various attitudes or stereotypes in listeners. It was proved, that accented speech takes longer to process than utterances of native speakers (e.g. Munro and Derwing, 1995). Krauta and Wulff note that "some factors cited as potentially having an effect on the perception of FAS [foreign accented speech] include the sex of the speaker; speaker's intelligibility, degree of accent and comprehensibility" (2013: 249). Accent prestige theory takes roots in 1970s when British social psychologist Howard Giles was investigating the influence of accents on perception of speakers' characteristics. Previous research was only interested in the notion of social prestige and concluded that the highest prestige had standard accents like RP, Scottish, Southern Irish and some foreign accents. On the second level, there were British regional accents. At last, the least prestigious group was made of industrial accents (Giles 1970:212). Giles (ibid) proposed that accent evaluation was rather based on three dimensions: 'aesthetic', 'communicative' and 'status'. According to him, the first dimension is connected with language melody and how pleasant or unpleasant it sounds for the listener. The second one denotes how comfortable or uncomfortable it would be to communicate with the holder of this accent and so it includes the notion of

intelligibility. The last one incorporates the amount of social prestige the accent under investigation is associated with.

Studies show that people use accent as a cue for personal characteristics and background of a speaker that can later shape their behaviour towards the accented person (Giles, 1970). According to the *accent prestige theory* people can be evaluated in two dimensions: status and solidarity (Giles, ibid). Status dimension is focused on intelligence, education, social class and success of the accented speaker. Solidarity involves such characteristics as speaker's friendliness, trustworthiness and kindness. Giles (1970) found that RP speakers are rated highly in solidarity dimension as more confident, intelligent, reliable and educated. However, they are rated lower than the speakers of regional dialects for friendliness and sociability. Later research of language attitudes involved many different accents of native and non-native speakers as well as participants from different countries and the theory of accent prestige was developed (Calan et al., 1983; Fuertes et al., 2002). It is concluded, that speakers of RP or other standard variety are rated higher in status dimension by native and non-native speakers. Nevertheless, solidarity dimension is more complex. Although native speakers with standard accent are evaluated higher by other native speakers, non-standard speakers give higher ratings to the accents closer to their own (discussed in Fuertes et al., 2002). Accent helps to categorize speakers into in-group and out-group members. Tajfel and Turner (1986) called this phenomenon *social identity theory.* According to this theory, individuals try to increase the prestige of their social group and thus rate the members of in-group more positively (Dragojevic & Giles, 2013; Mai and Hoffmann, 2011).

Scholars tried to explain this pattern by various factors. Firstly, as it was already discussed above, accent, especially in English language, is a marker of regional and social identity. In other words, a listener may predict the speaker's social status and as a result judge of his education and intelligence. Secondly, it was proved that so-called Similarity Effect plays an important role (cf Aune&Kikuchi, 1993). It says that people rate higher the speakers with the accent and voice characteristics similar to their own. Giles and Sassoon (1983 in Fuertes et al. 2002: 348) were investigating the attitudes of middle class standard-speaking listeners to standard and non-standard accents and discovered that they tend to agree more often with middle-class standard-accented speakers than with nonstandard-accented individuals from the working-class. The

scholars concluded that people are more easily persuaded by the speakers with the similar accent, as they come from the same background and have similar values and believes.

These theories were tested on native and non-native speakers of English. McKenzie (2008) conducted his study in Japan, where the University students were evaluating speakers of standard and non-standard varieties of UK and US English as well as Japanese English with different levels of accentedness. He came to the conclusion that on solidarity dimension the participants rated higher US speakers of standard and non-standard variety and Japanese speakers of English were least preferred. However in solidarity dimension, Japanese respondents found heavily-accented Japanese speaker to be the most attractive. The scholar explained this result by that fact that the students associate themselves mostly with heavily-accented English and thus see the speaker with such English a member of ingroup and as more socially attractive (ibid:75). He was not the first to indicate that the level of accentedness has influence on the speaker's perception. Garrett (2003) studying attitudes to English varieties in Wales found that the more 'Welsh' the speaker sounds the higher he is rated in solidarity dimension. Among native speakers of English the participants rated those speaking non-standard variety higher in solidarity dimension (McKenzie, 2008).

The present study will apply the results of the previous research and use the accent prestige theory in order to answer the question if attitudes to accented speakers have influence on trust to accented speakers. As far as speakers of standard varieties are assumed to be more competent and the speakers of regional varieties are seen as more likable, it may be concluded that they may be trusted more or less depending on the type of information they are saying. Probably, the speaker with British accent will be trusted more when saying some scientific facts and the speakers with Russian and Scottish accents will be seen as more trustworthy when they share their personal opinions.

The present thesis will also test the social identity theory on the example of non-native speakers of English whose accent does not imply their social status and background. It will try to find whether Russian listeners assume that Russian-accented speakers of English can be trusted more than the speakers with other accents. It may be possible reaction, because the speaker and the listeners will have similar accent indicating their nationality and which in turn may be a cue to similar attitudes, beliefs and tastes.

At last, it was discovered that context also plays an important role. Several studies proved that non-standard speakers are rated higher in informal situations, e.g. at home or at a bus stop, than in formal, such as educational institution (Callan et al., 1983; Ryan&Carranza, 1975). Although the current thesis does not distinguish between the situational contexts, as it was an online study, the statements in the quiz are of different content. Some of them are more academic and intend that the speaker has some specific knowledge, while others are of a more evaluative type, a matter of a taste. Therefore, the listener may trust the speaker because the latter seems to be either intelligent or just an honest and likable person.

## 2.2. Attitudes and accents recognition

Most of the studies done in the area of language attitudes take for granted that listeners should somehow recognize the accents presented to them even if they are not native speakers of English themselves. That may be the case, if the accents under research are widely used and known outside the native community like RP and SAE, or when the participants are students majoring in English, trained to differentiate at least between various standard accents (see Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck, and Smit 1997). However, some studies show that it is not always the case. Many listeners have difficulties with identifying even less widely known native varieties, like Australian English (see e.g. Zhang and Hu, 2008), let alone non-native accents.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that attitudes of the participants differ depending on whether they recognized the presented accent or not. For example, Yook and Lindemann (2013) concluded that listeners rated European-American and Korean English speakers higher and speakers of British and African-American Vernacular English lower when they were aware of their nationality. Smit (1995) was studying attitudes to Africaans English and found (p. 150) that whenever it was perceived as mother tongue English, it was evaluated higher. The same contradicting results got Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck, and Smit (1997)  two years later when the listeners rated one Austrian speaker higher, as believed him to be a NS in contrast to another Austrian speaker, whose accent was recognized correctly as non-native. It can be concluded, that listeners evaluate more positively, what they perceive as standard or native variety.

Unfortunately, it would be impossible to find if the participants of my study identified the presented accents or not, as the records include a mix of all three accents. Thus, I will treat the accents as standard, non-standard and non-native without differentiating between the nationalities of the speakers, except for the cases when the listeners have the same nationality as the speaker e.g. both the speaker and the listener are Russian, so they can be expected to recognize the accent.

## 2.3. Language attitudes and gender

Since the connection between the speaker's accent and attitudes was found, it became of important concern for scholars whether some other extra-linguistic variables might influence the judgements as well.   Although many studies do not take into consideration any other factors having effect on attitudes except for accent, those who do, among others, name such variables as the participants' gender, age, nationality, first language, educational background and familiarity with other languages or accents. Nevertheless, the relation between the gender and language gets more attention in literature.

Firstly, when we hear person's voice, we immediately recognise the gender of the speaker. It happens due to some physiological differences between two genders and does not depend on the linguistic context of the speech. It was found, that women and men have different voice quality, e.g. women's pitch is higher and they produce more aspiration noise (Mendoza et al, 1996).  In other words, the speaker's sex is the most obvious parameter, the first one noticed during communication.

It was suggested that men and women have different attitudes towards language varieties. In his study in New York City Labov (1990) was investigated the relation between gender and social class features, and found that lower-class women tend to adopt a more prestigious language variant. At the same time, they use innovative language forms more frequently than men do, this way playing a more important role in language change. This tendency is closely connected with the notion of hypercorrection, when a low social group sees the language variant of a higher status group as a more prestigious one and adopts it in order to get some social advantage (Labov, 1966).  This finding was proved in a number of further studies. Angle and

Hesse-Biber (1981:449) called this phenomenon "Gender and Prestige preference theory". Wolfran (1969, in Angle and Hesse-Biber, 1981:451) concluded that women are more sensitive to "socially evaluative linguistic features". Linguists offer different explanations of this observation both psychological, like women are vainer than men or they have a need for self-adornment, and economic, such as a prestigious language variant gives better opportunities in marriage and work (discussed in Angle and Hesse-Biber, 1981:455).

This phenomenon has influence on females' attitudes to languages and language verieties. Due to women's preference of more prestigious language varieties, they tend to evaluate speakers with standard accent more positively than speakers with non-standard or non-native accent in status dimension (e.g. Brown et al., 1995; Calan et al., 1983). Moreover, females from ethnic minority groups speaking with non-standard accent downgrade speakers with the similar accent much more than males and even females speaking the standard variety do (Calan et al., 1983). The scholars explain such results by a lower status of women in minority groups and their desire to adopt a speaking manner of a majority group in order to assimilate and to seem to have a higher status.

In solidarity dimension men and women do not show significantly different evaluations, usually giving preference to speakers with the accent similar to their. However, these tendencies are not universal and apply only to a small number of characteristics offered in studies.

Coupland and Bishop (2007) in their study of 34 accents found that females usually evaluate all accents, even regional ones, except for their own more positively in solidarity and status dimensions in comparison to males. This is an interesting finding, because as the authors themselves note (ibid: 81), although women tend to adopt a more standard language variety, they afford more prestige and attractiveness to other regional varieties, but not to their own.

Some studies also pay attention to the possible influence of the speaker's sex on listeners (Calan et al., 1983). Overall, there was found no clear pattern in relations between the gender of the speaker and his/her evaluation. Kraut and Wulff (2013) stress that one separated variable cannot be responsible for favourable or unfavourable evaluation of the speaker - many factors should be considered

simultaneously. In their study (Kraut&Wulff:2013), they showed that male speakers at a low and intermediate level of proficiency in English were in general rated higher than female for degree of accent, comprehensibility and communicative abilities. Nevertheless, no difference between male and female speakers at the higher level of proficiency was found. Therefore, speaker's sex and proficiency level may correlate.

All these findings, except for the speakers' gender effect, will be applied in my research. I will try to find out whether male and female participants find some accented speakers more trustworthy than others and whether females evaluate all accents more positive than males do.

## 2.4. Language attitudes and Society

Although the problem of relations between attitudes and behaviour has been very challenging and even nowadays no unambiguous opinion exists, the study of language attitudes shows how perception of language varieties and accents may influence individuals' social interactions.

Research shows how speakers with non-standard or foreign accent may be socially disadvantaged or even discriminated in different settings – at work, at school or university, and any other place where social interaction is important and can be evaluated.

One of the areas where speakers with non-native accent may be evaluated and as a result treated unfavourably is work, mostly job interviews. In order to explain this problem, Stone-Romero and Stone (2007) constructed a model of stigmatization. According to them stigma is "a real or perceived deeply discrediting discrepancy between a person's virtual and actual social identities" (ibid: 129). They explain (ibid) that in a working situation, virtual social identity (VSI) include characteristics of an ideal candidate such as appearance, abilities, personality, attitudes and behaviours. On the other hand, actual social identity (ACI) is a way a real person is perceived by individuals. If a person has a foreign accent, he may be seen as not having all the characteristics of the ideal prototype. As a result, there appears a negative discrepancy between VSI and ACI of an individual leading to the applicant being stigmatized. Hosoda and colleagues (2012:349) mention that "one additional attribute of the VSIs

31

of a job applicants and/or incumbents is that that they should not have a foreign accent because it might affect performance negatively". It is considered that the speakers with standard accent tend to be judged as more suitable for high status jobs and foreign-accented speakers for low status jobs (e.g. Hopper and Williams, 1973; Kalin and Ryako, 1980).

Several studies aimed to find whether accent plays a crucial role during a job interview (e.g. Raki, Steffens and Mummendey, 2011; Stone-Romero, 2012; Hosoda and Nguyen, 2012; Deprez-Sims and Morris, 2010). They simulated job interview settings with the applicants speaking with different accents. The applicants were presented as having the same social and educational background, so they should be assumed to be equally intelligent. The participants, usually students, were to play the role of recruitment agents and decide whether the speakers were competent enough and had a chance to get a position they had applied for. All studies concluded that applicants with non-standard or non-native accent were rated less positively and were found to be less suitable for some managerial or high-status position. Moreover, in Stone-Romero's research (2012) fewer participants decided to hire Spanish accented individuals in comparison to speakers of American English.

Atkins (1993) conducted a study among real recruiters, who were to evaluate applicants speaking either Black or Appalachian English. The participants were not provided with the real speech samples, rather with different characteristics of these two non-standard varieties, e.g. an applicant is saying 'feesh' for 'fish' or 'he be there' for 'he is there'. As a result, all the applicants were rated negatively on the basis of their speech characteristics. In contrast, they were seen as trustworthy, sociable and interesting. Atkins (ibid) concluded that non-standard variety had negative effect on the results of job interview and suggested that studying Standard English at schools might help to solve this problem.

However, as it was shown before (see 1.1.1), attitudes and even behavioural intentions do not always lead to actual behaviour. So, even if an individual has some negative attitudes to the language variety of the applicant it does not mean that he or she will not be hired under any conditions, other factors may also be important.

Moreover, speaking a regional dialect may even bring some benefits. The social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), stating that we evaluate more positively speakers of

the varieties similar to our own, was proved by several studies in various fields. Mai and Hoffmann (2011) investigated the influence of the salespersons' regional dialect on the satisfaction of the real customers. They concluded that prestige of the dialect positively influenced buyers' satisfaction with the seller, but found no downgrading of the speakers with regional dialects. Moreover, similarity in the salesperson's and customer's dialect leads to the growing level of satisfaction with the company and enhances purchase intention. In other words, when the speech quality is good non-standard accent does not lead to the negative behaviour towards the speaker.

Another situation where language variety a person speaks plays an important role is doctor-patient encounter. According to the research, patient's accent can influence doctor's decision about the causes of disease and possible treatment. Fielding and Evered (1980:55) state that middle-class patients accept more easily that they have some sociopsychological problems while low-class patients tend to hide any symptoms of psychological nature and present only physical ones. As far as accent serves as a cue of the social status of the speakers, doctor can base his response and recommendations for the future treatment on this factor.

To summarize, language variety and accent play an important role in people's everyday life and interpersonal interaction. The way one talks influences how this person is judged by the other members of society and can evoke favourable or unfavourable attitudes, which in turn can lead to some kind of behaviour, influencing an accented person either positively or negatively.

## 2.5 Language attitudes in education

One of the most commonly observed settings while studying language attitudes are educational institutions, therefore, this section will discuss this question in details. Firstly, schools or universities are a convenient place for conducting research, as a great number of participants from different social circles and sometimes even of different nationalities are easily available at once. Secondly, the way people talk plays an important role there and may provoke biased attitudes to the speakers. At last, educational institutions is the main place where people learn languages and this experience forms their attitudes to language varieties, so the authorities should be

sensitive towards the students' attitudes and preferences while making language policies. Especially with the spread of English around the world, more and more people start to learn the language and it is not always possible or practical to employ only English native speakers as ESL or EFL teachers. However, students' attitudes towards the teacher's accent may influence their desire to learn language and their success.

Students tend to evaluate negatively teachers who have a foreign or non-standard accent. For example, during the attitudes study applying the matched-guise technique (Zhang and Hu, 2008), Chinese PhD and Master students evaluated Australian speaker as *understandable*, *intelligent* and *without accent,* but they still preferred to have BrE or AmE speaker as their EFL teacher. Therefore, even among the native speakers who are considered to have no accent by students, AmE and BrE speakers are still favoured in the academic situation as their language variant is seen as more standard and more prestigious. When have a choice, students choose native speakers of English more often than non-native speakers as a model, even if they evaluate the latter positively. Korean schoolchildren found the American-accented English guise more confident than the Korean-accented one and suggested that such teacher would use less Korean in class and focus more on fluency than on accuracy (Butler, 2007). As a result, they preferred to have an American-accented teacher. Native teachers are claimed to be a good model for improving pronunciation even if students are not intended to get rid of their national non-native accent (Buckingham, 2015:188-189). However, while listening to the non-standard native guise and non-native guise without a 'strong' accent, students often perceived the latter as NES and rated positively as well (ibid: 192).

Nevertheless, some studies show that accent is not the main factor influencing students' preference of one teacher towards another. Rubin and Smith (1990, in Rubin 1992:513) conducted their research among North American undergraduates. The respondents listened to two extracts from the lectures both read by a non-native speaker of English. However, one lecture was read with a strong accent and the other with a moderate accent. Although the students did not always distinguish between strong and moderate accent, their perception of the speaker's foreignness influenced their attitudes:

> Of greater significance, listeners' perceptions of the instructors' accent - whether accurate perceptions or not - were the strongest predictors of teacher

ratings. When students believed an instructor's accent to be "foreign," they simultaneously perceived him or her to be a poor teacher (Rubin, ibid).

The researchers proposed to educate students about the nature of non-native accents and expose them to non-native teaching assistants more often.

However, in his later paper 'Nonlanguage Factors Affecting Undergraduates' Judgments of Nonnative English-Speaking Teaching Assistants' Rubin (1992) argues that students' attitudes are based on ethnical stereotypes, but not only on the instructors' accent. In his study, 63 undergraduates of one of the American universities were listening to four short lectures recorded by one native speaker of standard American English. Each lecture was accompanied by a picture of a lecturer of either Asian or Caucasian ethnicity. Although the lectures were given by the same person speaking SAE, the participants facing the photo of Asian instructor evaluated her speech as non-standard and foreign. In other words, the students were influenced not by the real lecturer's pronunciation, but by her ethnicity and the stereotypes they had. Moreover, their perception affected negatively their listening comprehension score.

Although the results of this research are very interesting and rather shocking, my study will not be able to apply or check them, as it will not include any visual tracing like the speakers' photos. It is obvious that when listeners can see the speaker, they are influenced by a number of extra-linguistic factors but not only by the accent. The current study is going to be merely linguistic and investigate exceptionally the role of accent in the judgements of speaker's trustworthiness. Although an accent itself is a cue to the speaker's origin.

As the studies have shown, native and non-native students give preference to native English teachers, ideally, with the standard accent. They characterize such teachers as more confident in the use of English and a better model for improving speaking skills and pronunciation. However, when the students are unaware of the teacher's origin they have positive attitudes to non-native speakers with mild accent.


## 2.4. The concept of trust and trustworthiness

As far as this thesis is concerned with the concept of trustworthiness, it seems appropriate to discuss this common but still complex notion.

McKnight and Chervany (2001:29-30) underline the complexity of the term ‚trust'. It has as many definitions (around 17) in the dictionaries as other vague terms like "love". Therefore, it could be difficult to create one definition that would cover all the aspects this word conveys in the everyday use and remain clear. Trust can be defined differently according to the taken perspective. Trust is seen as "a state of favourable expectation regarding other people's actions and intentions" (Möllering, 2011:404). Moreover, it is an "incorporation of risk into the decision or whether or not to engage in the action" (Coleman, 1990: 91 in Torsello, 2008: 96). In other words, trust is a relation between two subjects (a trustor and trustee) concerning some object or action, and it involves some level of risk.

Most of sociologists agree that there exist two levels of trust: the first one, made of 'the intentions, perceptions, predispositions or so-called moral variables', constructs the notion of *trustworthiness* and the second, related to 'the actual social interactions', is the action of *trust* (Torsello, 2008: 96).

Although the level of trust is influenced by a variety of factors such as the speaker's familiarity, facial expression, behaviour pattern (e.g. Campellone et al., 2013; Kegan and Rubenstein, 1973), according to various sociolinguistic research accent also plays an important role. As reported by the Accent prestige theory, accented speakers are rated in two dimensions: status and solidarity. The former includes such characteristics as intelligence, education, social class and success, the latter - friendliness, trustworthiness and kindness. It was found that speakers with the accent similar to the listeners' are called more trustworthy even if they are non-native speakers of the language under investigation (Dragojevic and Giles, 2014; Calan et al., 1983).

Nevertheless, as it was already discussed, the concepts of trustworthiness and trust are more complicated. The speaker may be trusted because he is seen as an expert or well-educated person and thus highly rated in the dimension of status or he may seem to be a very likable person who cannot tell lie, and as a result, evaluated positively in the dimension of solidarity. For example, Corriveau and colleagues (2013) conducted a study among children aged 3-5 and made a conclusion that children trust native speakers of English more than accented speakers because they found the former cleverer.

Moreover, above the accent some other factors may influence the level of trustworthiness of the speaker. One of them is the word choice. Seiter, Larsen and Skinner (1998:22) stress the importance of avoiding vocabulary that evoke negative stereotypes. According to their study on how four different types of language about people with disabilities affect the way the speaker is perceived, it is vital to choose appropriate words. They produced four scenarios where people with disabilities were described as normal (e.g. children with disabilities), heroic (e.g. special children), disabled (e.g. handicapped children), or pathetic (e.g. children with abnormalities). The scholars concluded that communicators who presented disabled people as pathetic were found to be less trustworthy than those who described them as normal, heroic or even disabled.

In order to avoid biased results in my study, I will try not to use any words that may sound offensive or incorrect. The word choice in the statements should be neutral, although the level of impact may vary from person to person. On the other hand, some topics, like politics or social rights, may be provoking as such.

The present research will apply the results of the previous studies on language attitudes and trust, and try to find whether an accent and the topic of utterance influence the level of trust people show to unknown native and non-native speakers.


## Conclusions of chapter two

Language attitudes, more precisely attitudes to language varieties, accents and speakers, have been widely discussed and investigated. During the last decades, the main focus has been on the attitudes to the accented speakers of English. Most scholars employ *the accent prestige theory* developed by Giles in 1970s according to which the speakers of standard varieties are rated better in status dimension and the speakers of regional varieties in solidarity dimension.

Another interesting theory presented by sociolinguists is *the social identity theory* that states that individuals evaluate more positively speakers with the accent similar to theirs. It is based on the assumption that a similar accent indicates a similar social or regional background what increases a possibility that the speaker has the same believes and views as the listener. That can be beneficial in many spheres, like trade or

politics, where the speaker needs to be liked and trusted by the local community. Sometimes an accent serves as a marker of social identity and creates a distinction between 'them' and 'us' uniting people. In general, researchers claim that attitudes evoked by accents can be rather influential in different spheres where the speaker has to socialize, like at work or in the hospital.

Although language attitudes studies seldom investigate actual behaviour of the participants towards the accented speakers, it was concluded that native speakers have a beneficial position in educational settings, as most of the students would prefer to have a teacher with a native standard accent. At the same time, it was found that many listeners are unable to differentiate between the native and non-native but proficient speaker and rate both equally positively. As a result, some scholars underline that nativeness is not that important as proficiency in language and ability to speak clearly and comprehensively. However, it would be wrong to deny a prestige that Standard English and, as a result, its speakers have in the world. It is especially true in the countries of the third circle, where native speakers serve as a model for language learners.

At the same time, other extra linguistic variables like gender, nationality, familiarity with the investigated accent were found to be of great importance, although not always considered by researchers.

At last, this chapter presented different views on the concept of trustworthiness. It was shown that this concept is complex and can be a characteristic from both status and solidarity dimensions. Although, previous studies have found that speakers with regional accents are rated as more trustworthy, they have not differentiate between different types of trust treating it as only a part of the solidarity dimension. Moreover, there was no attempt to investigate how the speakers' estimated trustworthiness influences actual actions of others towards them. That will be the focus of the research presented in the next chapter.

## 3. Research design
### 3.1. Research methodology

As it was already discussed in section 1.2.5 in modern language attitudes studies a variety of research methods and techniques is used, however, the most usual one is the matched-guised technique. Very often, it is combined with questionnaires (e.g in Smit 1995) which helps to collect data that are more diverse and show attitudes from the different perspectives. In the matched-guised technique the researcher asks the participants to listen to some recorded texts in several accents and to rate the speakers with the help of an evaluative scale (see 1.2.5 for details).

Although my study was inspired by research done with the help of the matched-guised technique, it does not employ it in the usual way. The aim of the study is not to find attitudes towards the accents in English, because it has been already done before, but to find out whether these attitudes can influence behaviour. That is why it is not sufficient to use the match-guised technique in way in which it is traditionally employed. The test used for this study includes 24 statements of three types: facts, predictions and evaluative judgements with British, Scottish and Russian accents, but instead of an evaluative scale, my test asks the participants to fill out a questionnaire that has a form of a quiz, in which they have to identify the statements as 'true' or 'false'.

I regard such an indirect method the most appropriate for measuring attitudes, as it prevents participants from consciously misrepresenting their real attitudes. The questionnaire has a form of a quiz in order to rule out the possibility that participants will regard the speakers as liars who try to deceive the audience on purpose. When people listen to the questions of a knowledge quiz, they do not think that the person who reads the tasks lies to them, but they may wonder whether he or she knows the answer to the question that the listeners are not sure about themselves. In such a case, they may tend to evaluate the speaker by the competence or personal attractiveness they attribute to him/her and the most prominent cue they have is the accent of the speaker. I assume that the listeners may try to find some hint on whether the statement is true or false in the speaker's accent, as we tend to use social cues, like facial expression, vocal tone, body language etc., in everyday communication in order to understand other person's state, intentions and behaviours (Zaki, 2013). This is especially so in stressful situations under the time pressure when a person does not

have time to think thoroughly and has to rely on intuition. In the present study, the only available social cue will be the accent because using the matched-guised technique diminishes the influence of any vocal characteristics except for the accent.

Hence, like many other studies, also the present one uses different accents to evoke listeners' attitudes but also aims to study the influence of attitudes on behaviour by asking participants to make the quiz while listening to the recorded statements.


## 3.2 Research questions

The aim of this study is to examine whether accents in English influence the perceived trustworthiness of the speaker.

The research questions are:

1) to find out if the speakers with any particular accent (British, Russian or Scottish) are trusted more than others;

2) to find out what accent is perceived as more trustworthy – standard, non-standard or non-native;

3) to test if the type of a speech act has an effect on the trustworthiness attributed to the speaker performing it.;

4) to examine if the similarity between the accents of the speaker and the listener increases the perceived trustworthiness of the speaker;

5) to find out what social variables may influence an individual's trust in the speaker.

According to the accent prestige theory (Giles, 1970), speakers with the standard accent (or RP) are evaluated as more educated and intelligent and speakers with regional or non-native accents as more honest and trustworthy. However, as it was already discussed before (see 2.4) the concept of trustworthiness is more complex. We either trust in the competence of a person and therefore be inclined to believe him/her, OR we can trust in a person because we find him/her likeable and be therefore inclined to share his/her beliefs and preferences. In other words, trustworthiness fits both dimensions: status and solidarity.

As a result, if we adopt the results of the previous studies of the attitudes to accents and combine them with the complex nature of the notion 'trustworthiness' it would seem to follow that the speakers of standard English will be trusted more when they talk on topics that require knowledge and competence. However, the speakers with non-native or non-standard accent will be trusted more in a personal, or social sense (i.e. on the dimension of commonality rather than status), and this will become relevant when personal opinions, evaluations and preferences are talked about.

The social identity theory (Tajfel &Turner, 1986), on the other hand, says that listeners rate speakers higher if they have a similar accent. To the extent that an accent is the marker of social and national identity, similar accents of the interlocutors assume that they have the same nationality, educational or social background. As a result they will be inclined to assimilate to one another in terms of values and outlook on life. It may therefore appear as if speakers are trusted more by listeners that have the same accents.

Based on the previous research and on the points just outlined, this study made the following predictions:

1) the speaker with the Standard British accent will be trusted more when reading facts and predictions;

2) the speakers with Russian and Scottish accent will be trusted more when reading evaluative judgements;

3) the Russian speaker will be trusted more by Russian listeners.

By answering my research questions, I aim to find out whether attitudes to accented speakers discovered in previous studies influence the listeners' behaviour, more precisely whether accent can be responsible for believing or not believing the speaker's words. I suppose that it can, when the listener is under time pressure and does not have enough knowledge or experience to rely upon. In such a situation accent may be a cue of the speaker's educational background or nationality that can give a hint whether the speaker is competent enough or has similar attitudes and believes and can be trusted.

## 3.3. The design of the quiz

As mentioned above, my study is based on the previous language attitudes research conducted with the help of the matched-guides technique. In order to advance the research programme they pursue, and to take it one step further, so to speak, I recorded 24 statements that could be either true or false and a questionnaire where the listener could mark their answers.

The statements were recorded in three accents: standard British, Scottish and Russian. It helps to cover two dimensions: standard accent vs non-standard and native vs non-native. After all 24 statements were recorded three times, they were divided into three parts to make three separate tests. Each test included the same statements but read with different accents, e.g. statement X in the first test was read with British accent, in the second with Scottish and in the third with Russian. It is important to have the same statements because the content can play a huge role and influence listeners as well.

The statements presented in the quiz can be divided into four categories: factual information, predictions, evaluative judgements and control statements. The first group includes 6 statements representing facts:

1. Silver has a higher melting point than Gold.
2. The tibia is the second longest bone in the human body.
3. The famous physicist Albert Einstein never won a Nobel Prize.
4. Mercury is the hottest planet in the Solar System.
5. The monotreme lays eggs but is still a mammal.
6. There is no exception to the rule that insects have six legs.

Half of the statements (number 2, 5 and 6) is true the other half is false. The aim of this group is to ask for some information that is not obvious and is difficult to remember in a short period of time. Otherwise, if the statement is evidently true or false and the listener is sure about the answer, the accent of the speaker will not play an important role.

The second group consists of six prediction about the future:

1. An Ebola vaccine will be discovered within the next two years.
2. The next president of the United States is probably going to be Hilary Clinton.

42

3. People will be able to prevent environmental disasters in future.
4. It is likely that inflation will rise in Europe in 2015.
5. Same-sex marriage will never be legal in Russia.
6. Humanity will discover extra-terrestrial life-forms at one point in the future.

These statements do not have a clear 'yes/no' answer, as they are long-term predictions whose outcome depends on many factors. It is unlikely that the listeners will have strong views or convictions about the probability of the events so their assessment of the truth of the predictions may be influenced by their attitude to the speakers' accents. For example, they may be inclined to regard predictions as correct, because they judge the speaker as competent.

The third group is made of statements that cannot be true or false as they express evaluative judgements that do not refer to real object but to fictitious ones that were created for the purpose of this study:

1. The most attractive city in Borgmenia is Al Fasul.
2. The service in the Budapest Excelsior is a catastrophe.
3. Tom Wilkinson is a very nice guy.
4. 'Crazy Nanny' is Barry Smith's best novel.
5. Fizzly Grizzly Soda tastes slightly better than Pepsi.
6. It's not fun to live in Sponville.

Since, the listeners will not know that these places and people do not exist they may rather think that they are not familiar with them. This way the participants may have to rely on the speakers' opinion and they may be more likely to do so the more trustworthy (in either of the senses described above) they assume the speaker to be.

The last group includes control statements that can be identified as true or false:

1. It is important to respect other cultures. [TRUE]
2. All people are lazy and indifferent. [FALSE].
3. Child abuse is a terrible thing. [TRUE]
4. Elizabeth II reigns in the UK. [TRUE]
5. "The Big Apple" is a nickname for New York City. [TRUE]
6. The Eiffel Tower was destroyed in the terror attacks in 2002. [FALSE].

Their purpose is to check the validity of the answers and whether the participants were really listening to the quiz questions attentively. Responses to these statements were not included in the final analyses, but when some of the participants gave wrong answers to all or most of these questions, their questionnaires were be excluded.

The first and the second group of statements require some knowledge from the listener. I assume that if the listener does not have enough competence to give a confident answer, he or she may use the speaker's accent as a cue. In this situation, if the listener agrees with the speaker that means that the speaker is seen as trustworthy and competent.

For answering the third group of statements, the listeners does not need to have any special knowledge. However, as the subjects mentioned in the statements are not familiar to the participants, they may rely on the speaker's opinion. If the statements in this category will be marked as 'true', that means that the speakers are found to be trustworthy and socially attractive.

The relation between the number of chosen 'true' and 'false' options on these two groups of questions will show whether the listeners make difference between the accents while processing different types of information. If statements presented in some accent will get more positive answers in comparison to others it could be concluded, that some accented speakers are trusted more than others and these attitudes influence people's behaviour. Due to the distinction made between the types of information presented in the statements, it will be possible to say if the speakers with some accents are found more competent or more socially attractive.

The questionnaire includes two sections: (1) a quiz with 24 'true' or 'false' options and (2) personal data. The statements are not written in the quiz – the participants can only hear them and tick one of two answers: true or false. The written version of the quiz is not offered to the listeners in order to ensure that the answer to each question is given immediately after the statement is heard but not before or much later, what can be the case when the script is available. This way it can be assumed that the speaker's accent plays a part in the participants' decision-making.

After answering 24 questions the participants are asked to give such personal information as their gender, age, nationality, home language, degree, and experience of

living abroad for more than 3 months. They are not allowed to skip any of these questions.

The variables age and gender will be considered during analyses as possible factors that may explain a person's attitudes. Nationality, home language and experience of living abroad gives information on whether participants are familiar with British, Russian or Scottish accents. It was claimed that familiarity with the accent positively influences speakers' evaluation. Although it can be suggested that all speakers of English are familiar with the standard British accent, it may be the case that personal experience of living in Great Britain has an effect on the answers of the participants.

As far as the test involves listening, I added the last question on the sound quality. The participants have to choose an option on the scale between 'good, I could hear all the statements' to 'bad, I could not hear most of the statements'. This question helps to exclude the questionnaires of people who have some problems with their loudspeakers or are in a noisy place and cannot give reliable answers.

The whole procedure of listening and ticking the right answer should take around 5-6 minutes depending on how fast the respondents complete the information in the second part. A short questionnaire should stimulate possible respondents for participation.

## 3.4. Participants

As it was already mentioned before, online questionnaire does not let the researcher to control the sample representativeness. Although it is possible to distribute questionnaires in such a way that can ensure participation of the desirable layers of population. My aim was to get English-speaking participants of three groups: native speakers of English, speakers of English as foreign language and Russian native speakers. In order to make sure that all three groups will be present in the study, I shared the questionnaire on Russian as well as international websites and social networks. As a result, all three groups of speakers have participated in the quiz and the diagram 1 shows the percentage ratio of native, non-native and Russian speakers of English.

45
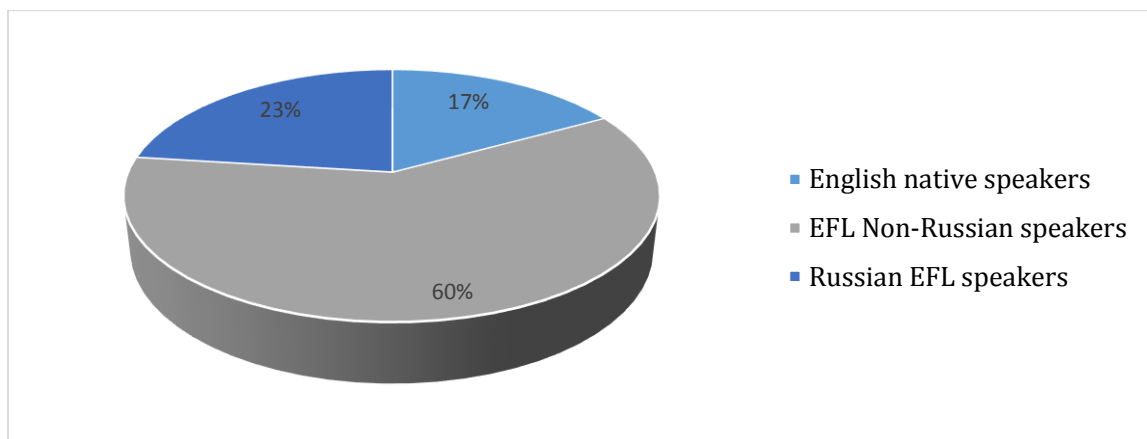
**Figure 6. Respondents' language background.**

The main part of the participants is formed by non-native speakers of English. However, that reflects the reality, as the number of EFL speakers in the world is greater than the number of English native-speakers (Mastin, 2011), so it can be said that the sample is rather representative in terms of participants' use of English.

The same tendency is remained among male and female participants (see diagram 2) what is important for the research as it aims to study the effect of gender on language attitudes.
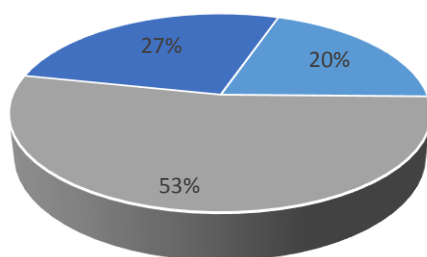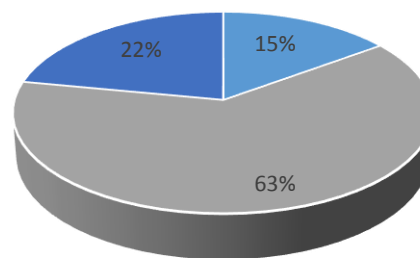


**Figure 7. Language background of male and female respondents**

In general, the data is unbalanced in terms of gender ratio as the percentage of female participants is larger than of male. This may be due to the fact that many respondents are students of the English department of Vienna University, which has the larger proportion of females. However, as far as the number of male and female participants

proved to be statistically sufficient for my analyses, the skewed ratio should not be a problem.

## 3.5. Speakers

The matched-guise technique requires that all guises should be recorded by one speaker. It aims to prevent judgements based not on the accent but on the vocal characteristics of the speakers. Nevertheless, recent studies investigating a large number of various standard, regional and non-native accents face difficulties in finding one speaker who can plausibly reproduce many accents.

Also in my case, it was impossible to find a speaker who was able to imitate convincingly all three accents used in this study. Therefore, I employed two separate speakers, one representing Russian accent and the second British and Scottish. Both speakers are female, from a middle-class background, between 20 and 25 years of age.

Speaker I is a Russian majoring in English linguistics. She has also travelled to the USA several times, having spent 12 months there overall. As a result, she has a clear pronunciation with a mild Russian accent and some features of American English, like postvocalic "r", or a specific pronunciation of some words, e.g. *twenty* as \\'twɛni\\. The reason for involving the speaker with a linguistic background is that choosing a person who is not trained in English so well and has a strong Russian accent could lead to the problems in understanding the statements, as they are short and taken out of context. As a result, the speaker could arouse negative attitudes for being unintelligible.

Speaker II is a British from London. She has never lived outside the UK for a long period of time. In her everyday life she speaks so-called mainstream RP (Wells, 1982), but she can also reproduce a Scottish accent.

Both speakers have similar pleasant voices without any language or speech disorders. However, as I did not have an opportunity to compare voice qualities with the help of any special equipment, the influence of personal vocal characteristics on the test results cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, as it was already mentioned, using several speakers in this kind of studies is a common practice and no inconsistency in results was found.

## 3.6. Piloting the survey

After having designed the draft questionnaire, I conducted a pilot test. The purpose of piloting was to check if the design of the questionnaire worked in practice and how much time it would take to complete it. I also intended to find out if my future participants would have any problems with understanding the accents and if the gap between the statements was enough to give an answer but not too long to start overthinking it.

The participants of the pilot study were 15 students of the English department in the University of Vienna. I have chosen students of linguistics on purpose because people trained in language study can give a productive feedback and some recommendations on how to improve the questionnaire.

In my initial test, I had four types of statements: facts, evaluative judgements, predictions, and control statements. In contrast to the final version, evaluative judgements in the pilot test were describing some real people, places and objects, e.g. "Madrid is a wonderful city!". The participants said that while identifying such statements as 'true' or 'false' they were guided by their attitudes towards these things or people but not towards the accents. One of the students suggested changing the content of the statements so that nobody knew the objects described by the speakers and thus had no attitudes to them. This recommendation was taken into consideration and applied in the final test.

Some of the respondents complained that they could not understand some speakers because of the accent or speech tempo. They also noted that the intonation of some speakers was leading them to a certain answer. In order to avoid such problems during the data collection I changed one speaker who got the main number of complaints and asked all the speakers to read a little slower and less emotionally. At the same time, as their goal was to sound naturally they could not speak too slowly.

In general, I received a positive feedback on the structure of the questionnaire. The instructions were clear and there was enough time to answer the questions. It also did not take long to complete the survey, around 5 minutes.

I can conclude that the pilot study was successful as it not only helped to improve my questionnaire but the gathered data also demonstrated a clear pattern substantiating my hypotheses.


## 3.7. Advantages and disadvantages of online surveys

The decision to conduct an online study was made for several reasons. Firstly, this allowed to involve participants of various age and nationalities in contrast to questioning students at some local university or school. Another benefit of online surveys is an opportunity to make all questions compulsory for answering, so no tests were incomplete due to participants' unwillingness to answer or inattentiveness. If a participant skipped some questions, he or she was reminded to complete them at the end. What is more important, as I aimed to study whether Russian respondents trust the Russian speaker more than other accented speakers, it was necessary to make sure that a sufficient part of the participants were Russian. It would be almost impossible goal to archive by asking random people to do the test. The online questionnaire was posted in Russian social networks and they provided required participants.

Apart from Russian websites, the links to each of three tests were shared via international social networks and on language forums, in order to make them available to a greater number of English speakers. Moreover, people sent the links to their friends and it did not take so much effort to find a required number of participants of 100 people for each test. I suppose, having a sufficient amount of time one can get as many respondents as needed.

Nevertheless, I cannot say that organizing online surveys is less time consuming than working on a traditional one. It took much time to find an appropriate website that allowed creating and publishing online surveys with attached audio files. It is also more challenging to control a number of participants if there is more than one survey requiring the same number of respondents. A positive moment is that a researcher does not need to have social contacts at some institutions or companies, and does not steal studying or working time of the people asking them to do the task. They can participate in their free time and only if they want.

On the negative side, it is almost impossible to control age and gender distribution, as well as occupation, social status or any other extra linguistic information about the participants. Therefore, if a study intends to check the influence of any social factors on the results, as in my case, there is no guarantee that at the end there will be a compatible number of respondents with these characteristics. Although, if a sample with some special parameters in needed, like only native speakers or only English teachers, it is possible to state it as a requirement for participation.

Despite all the shortcomings, I decided that using an online survey for the purpose of my study would be more beneficial than using a traditional paper one.

In general, I was pleasantly surprised at how responsive people were. Some participants even commented on the procedure and problems they had or just left a feedback. I suppose, it is possible to pilot study online as well, people can give some valuable recommendations.

## 3.8. Procedure

To ensure that the respondents have an adequate level of proficiency in English, I asked to participate only those whose level of English is upper-intermediate and above.

Before the start of the quiz the participants were informed that, it was a part of the master research and participation was anonymous.  In order to prepare the respondents, the introductory paragraph of the test also included the information that they would listen to the statements in English and had to reply very quickly using their intuition if they did not know the answer. Since the research uses the indirect approach, the respondents did not know the aim of the study but thought that it was a knowledge quiz. That distracted their attention from the accents and made it possible to get unbiased results.

The participants were asked to listen to the recording only once and while listening identify 24 statements as true or false. After the listening, they had to fill in some personal details like their age and gender. At the end of the test, it was asked to leave a contact e-mail if they want the results of the test, however, as far as all the participants knew that they were taking part in a master research, not everybody left the electronic

address. Those who did will be sent letters with the explanations of the aims of the test and answers to the questions that have the answers.

One participant could make only one test out of three. The tests were being spread gradually during the month in order to control the number of participants and get an equal sample in all three tests at the end.

As a result, after excluding the invalid questionnaires I got 266 participants. It is a little less than was intended but due to some time restrictions it was impossible to continue data collection.

## 3.9. Data analysis

Firstly, the data were reviewed and all information not related to the further analysis was deleted. For example, the control statements were recorded only to check if the participants were attentive while listening and whether they could understand the statements. The responses to these statements were not valuable for the final analysis as, knowing the exact answer, participants were not influenced by the attitudes to the accents. For the same reason I removed the second control question on the sound quality.

The remained data were analysed statistically in the programme R Studio in order to find out if there exists any relation between the accents of the speakers and the responds given by the participants of my test. The answers to the questions were coded in order to prepare the data for analysis. The data were summarised and the frequencies of positive and negative answers for each statement were calculated. In order to answer my research questions the 2×2 and 2×3 contingency tables were created. As far as my data are nominal, the most appropriate statistical method was a chi-squared test. It was used as a test of independence to compare frequencies of one nominal variable, in my case three accents, for different values of a second nominal variable, a number of answers 'true' or 'false'. I also tested if there were any significant correlation between the accents and the number of 'true'/'false' responses as well as the effect of extra linguistic variables on the answers. In order to find any significant results and to test the hypotheses, the p-value was set to p≤ 0.05. All results smaller

than 0.05 indicate that the difference in responses is significant and should be taken into account.

# 4. Results

## 4.1. Correlation between the speakers' accents and the participants' responses

My first research question was to find out whether the speakers with any particular English accent are trusted more that the speakers with other accents. I have started my analysis by calculating the number of 'true' and 'false' answers given by the participants to the statements recorded with the British English accent (BE), Scottish English accent (SE) and Russian English accent (RE). Table 1 summarized the final numbers.

**Table 1. Number of 'true' 'false' responses according to the accents**

|      | TRUE | FALSE |
|------|------|-------|
| BE   | 771  | 825   |
| SE   | 709  | 887   |
| RE   | 732  | 864   |

Overall, 1596 responses were given to the statements in each accent. As it can be seen, the respondents were answering 'false' more often than 'true' to all three accented speakers, although the difference is not impressive. Diagram 3 demonstrates the same results in percentage.
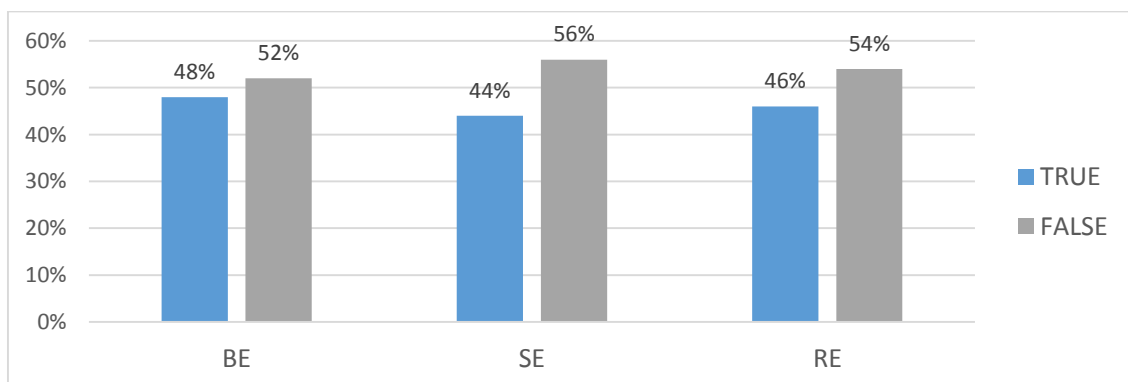


**Figure 8. Percentage of 'true' 'false' responses according to the accents**

It is interesting, that the participants had difficulties in trusting all the speakers, but as far as the aim of the thesis is to find out which accent is trusted more, the discussion will be around the answers marked as 'true'. Although according to the numbers BE speakers are trusted more than SE and RE, these results are not significant (p-value=0.08) and the diagram shows that the difference in responses makes only 2-4%.

As a result, it may be concluded that certain effects of the accents are not visible when one looks at the complete data set at once, while they do become clearer when one looks at smaller subsets individually. The relation between the accents of the speaker and his perceived trustworthiness may be more complex and depend on multitude of other factors. The following sections will discuss the influence of different kinds of social variables on the responses.


### 4.1.1. Effect of the different types of statements

In this section, I aim to find out whether the type of statement can have influence on the responses of the participants. Some research that differentiated between the contexts in which accented speakers were put, found that guises with standard accent were rated higher in academic and formal setting while guises with non-standard accents got more positive feedback in informal situations.  This finding are closely connected with the fact that standard varieties are usually rated higher in status dimension and non-standard varieties in solidarity dimension (cf McKenizie, 2008). Speakers of standard varieties are perceived to be more competent and intelligent while speakers of non-standard varieties are described as more socially attractive.

The questionnaire used for this study included three types of statements: facts, predictions and evaluative judgements. Based on the results of the previous studies, which argue that speakers with standard accent are rated higher in competence dimension and speakers with regional and non-native accents in solidarity dimension, two hypotheses were formulated: (1) the speaker with BE accent will be trusted more when saying factual statements; (2) the speakers with RE and SE accents will be trusted more when saying predictions and evaluative judgements.

### 4.1.1. 1. Factual Information

The first category that will be analysed includes 6 statements presenting some facts that can be proved or rejected. Overall, there were given 532 responses to these statements in each accent. Table 2 shows that all three guises received more negative responses than positive. Despite my expectations, the respondents agreed with the facts said in SE more often than with BE. Moreover, BE guise received the least number of positive answers. However, the difference between the values is very small and these results are not statistically significant (p-value = 0.6).

Table 2. Number of 'true' /'false' answers to the factual statements in three accents

|  | TRUE | FALSE |
|---|---|---|
| BE | 234 | 298 |
| SE | 248 | 284 |
| RE | 236 | 296 |

Diagram 4 presents the same results in percentages. It can be seen that BE speaker was trusted only 3% more than RE and SE and this difference is not significant.
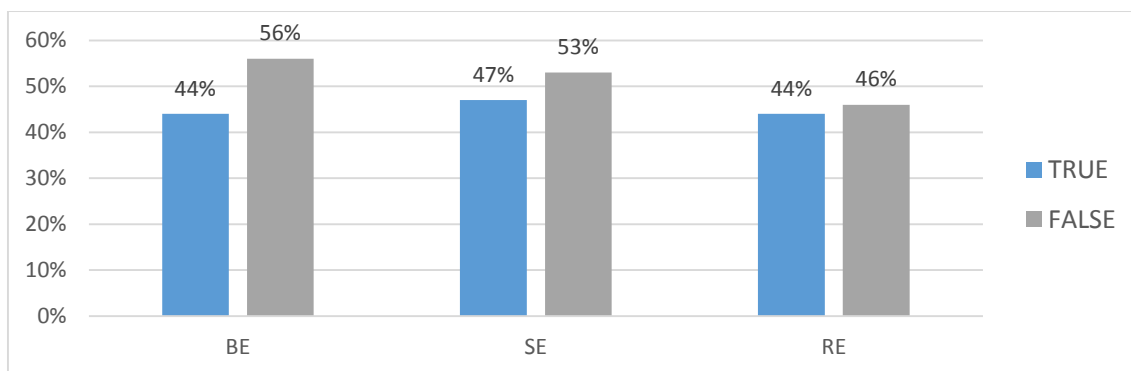


Figure 9. Percentage of 'true' 'false' answers to the factual statements in three accents

As a result, my hypothesis that BE speakers will be trusted more is not proved, as there is no correlation between the speakers' accent and the participants' reaction to the factual statements. The effect of the accents on the answers of the participants to the facts is not clear.

## 4.1.1.2. Evaluative judgements

The second category under analysis includes six statements that reflect personal opinions of the speakers. These statements cannot be true or false as they present subjective evaluation of various places, people and things. In order to prevent listeners from answers based on their personal experience but not on the accent of the speaker, the statements were describing the objects and people that do not exist in real life, consequently, the participants could not use their knowledge to evaluate them and had to rely on the speakers' opinion.

I assume that as far as the speakers with non-native and non-standard accents are usually rated higher in solidarity dimension (Fuertes et al., 2002), they will be found more likable and should be trusted more when produce evaluative judgements.

Table 3 shows the number of 'true' and 'false' answers received by BE, SE and RE speakers saying evaluative information.

**Table 3. Number of 'true' 'false' answers to the EJ in three accents**

|      | TRUE | FALSE |
|------|------|-------|
| BE   | 233  | 301   |
| SE   | 185  | 347   |
| RE   | 207  | 323   |

Similar to the statements containing facts, the respondents agreed to the speakers much more rarely than disagreed. However, while this difference is not significant for the facts, in the EJ it is drastic. For example, the EJ in SE were called 'false' almost twice more often than 'true'. Diagram 5 shows the same data in percentage and the difference between the answers can be seen more clearly.
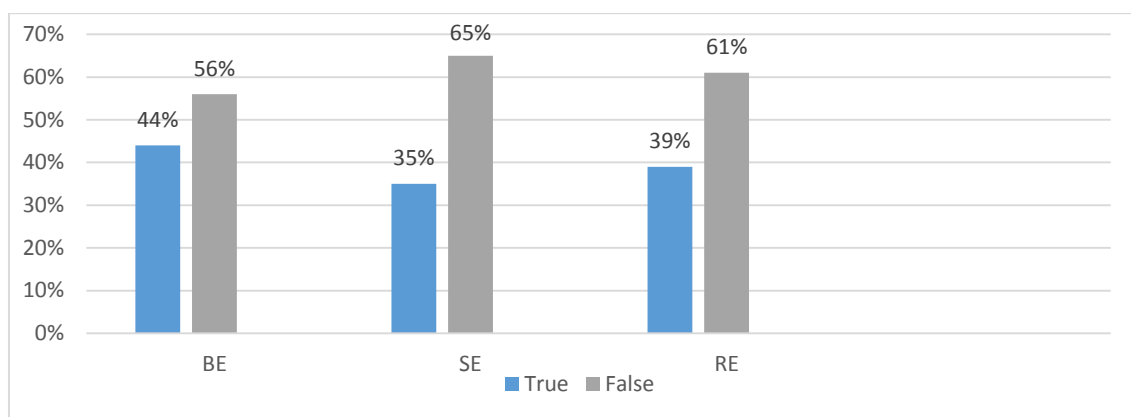
**Figure 10. Percentage of 'true' 'false' answers to the EJ in three accents**

Interestingly, in contrast to previous studies and expected results, the most trustworthy guise seems to be BE, then goes RE and the last is SE.

The difference in the numbers of positive and negative answers is found to be statistically significant (p=0.01) but weak (φ= 0.07). As a result, it can be concluded that there is a relation between the accents and the listeners' responses to the EJ. Speakers with standard accent speakers are trusted more than speakers with non-standard accents when they say EJ.

## 4.1.1.3. Predictions

The last group of statements includes six predictions about the future. This is an interesting category because we can react to predictions on the basis of our knowledge about the present situation and how we expect it to develop, but on the other hand, we cannot know for sure. Predictions presented in the questionnaire included some political, scientific and social information widely discussed in media and personal interactions. This category is somehow in-between facts and personal judgements. Predictions are based on evidences and can be proved or rejected with the help of valid arguments but as far as all people have different models of the same events, different predictions concerning the same situations can be made. If a prediction fits persons' model of event they agree with it. However, not sufficient knowledge about the topic can be the reason for being easily influenced by the interlocutor that the listener finds trustworthy and as a result to accept his or her point of view. I suppose that people can accept somebody's predictions because they believe that the speaker is competent enough and has some valid arguments to prove these predictions while they

themselves do not obtain this knowledge. Therefore, in terms of attitudes this category can also be a part of the status dimension.

In this study, I aim to find out whether a speaker's accent may be the reason to trust or mistrust his/her predictions. As far previous studies concluded that the speakers with standard accent are rated as more competent (Giles, 1970), I made the hypothesis that the BE guise will be trusted more than the SE and RE guises when makes some predictions.

As it can be seen in table 4, in contrast to the factual statements and the evaluative judgements that received more negative than positive responses, the participants found predictions in all accents 'true' more often than 'false'.

**Table 4. Number of 'true' 'false' answers to the predictions in three accents**

|      | TRUE | FALSE |
|------|------|-------|
| BE   | 304  | 228   |
| SE   | 276  | 256   |
| RE   | 289  | 243   |

The diagram shows that predictions said with BE, SE and RE accents got only 57%, 52% and 54% of positive responses respectively.
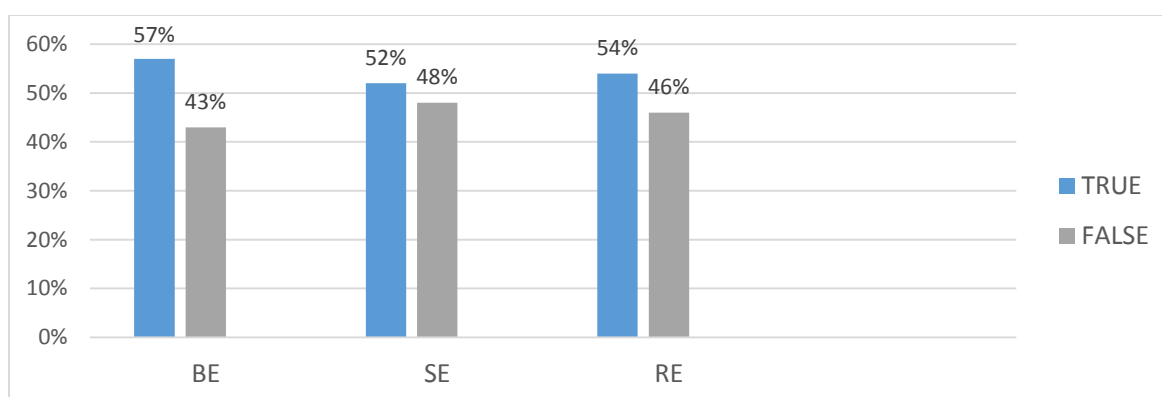


**Figure 11. Percentage of 'true' and 'false' answers to the predictions in three accents**

The most trustworthy guise, according to the answers, is BE, followed by the RE and SE guises. However, the results are not statistically significant ($p=0.2$) and the test shows that there is no correlation between the accent of the speaker and the answers given to the predictions. That means that my hypothesis cannot be proved and BE guise is not more trustworthy as the accents did not influence the participants' responses.

Nevertheless, the participants tend to trust speakers more often when they give predictions than when they say some facts or evaluative judgements.

## 4.1.2. Discussion and conclusions

Sections 4.1. and 4.2. aimed to answer the question if there was any correlation between the accent of the speaker and trust to their words. The speakers were saying the same three types of statements with British English accent, Scottish accent and Russian accent. It was found that there is no correlation between the accents and the answers of the participants to the statements, as a result no accented speaker seems to be more trustworthy than others. Moreover, the listeners tend to mistrust all the speakers.

In terms of different types of statements that were uttered, the respondents did not demonstrate any preference while reacting to facts and predictions – they trusted all accented speakers in the same way. Regarding evaluative judgements, more positive answers were given to the BE guise, indicating that the participants trusted this speaker the most.

The hypotheses, stated before the experiment, were not proved. British speaker was not trusted more in status dimension and Scottish and Russian guises were not found more trustworthy in solidarity dimension. On the contrary, the participants trusted BE guise saying evaluative judgements more than all other guises, so BE speaker was perceived as more trustworthy in solidarity dimension.

## 4.2. Effect of extra linguistic variables on reaction to accented speech

Various studies demonstrated that attitudes to accented speech could be influenced by other factors like participants' age, gender, nationality, first language, education, social background or familiarity with the accents under investigation. In order to understand the nature of language attitudes, different variables should be considered.

In the following sections, I will investigate whether gender and home language of the participants have influenced their trust to the accented speakers.

## 4.2.1. Differences across genders

## 4.2.1.1. Correlation between respondents' gender and reaction to accented speech

It was found (see 2.3) that female speakers are more sensitive in terms of social prestige and they prefer to adopt a more prestigious language variant if possible. Moreover, they tend to rate speakers of standard or more prestigious variety higher in status dimension than speakers of non-native or non-standard varieties (cf Brown et al.,1995; Calan et al., 1983). Coupland and Bishop (2007: 85) found that females usually evaluate all accents less negatively in both dimensions in comparison to males.

Firstly, this section aims to find out if male and female participants trust any accented guise more often than others. Table 5 shows that in general, tendency to mistrust all speakers is kept by the participants of both genders.

**Table 5. Number of positive and negative responses to all three accents for two genders**

|  | BE | | RE | | SE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | True | False | True | False | True | False |
| **Male** | 218 | 253 | 200 | 265 | 203 | 258 |
| **Female** | 523 | 561 | 506 | 565 | 479 | 605 |

As far as there is an unbalanced ratio of male and female participants, it would be better to study data in percentage. Figure 12 shows that females trusted BE and RE guises slightly more often when compared to man, although this difference is not statistically significant (p=0.5 and p=0.1 respectively). Concerning the SE guise, male and female respondents were in concord and trusted it in 44% of cases.
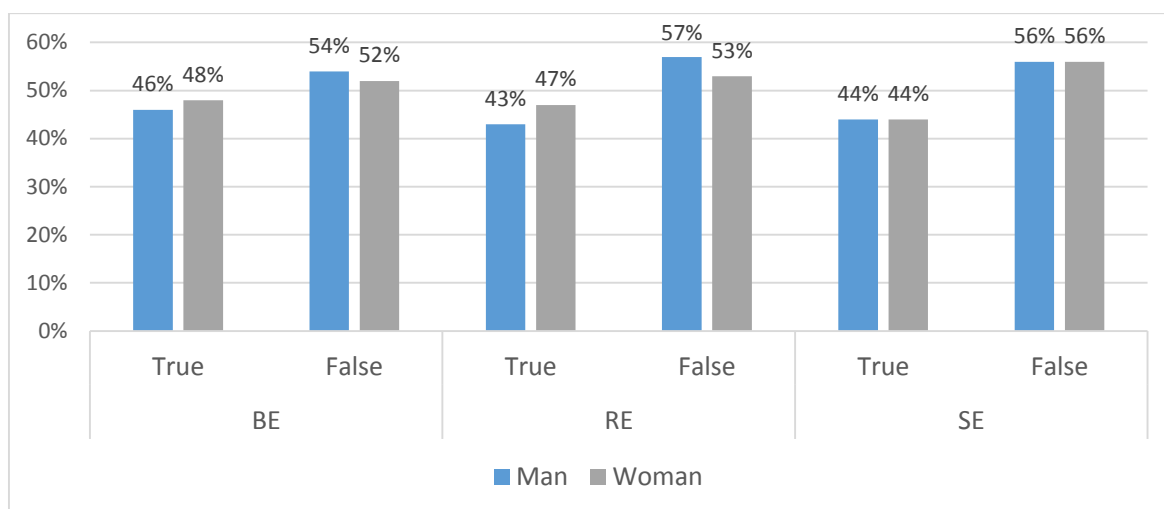
**Figure 12. Percentage of positive and negative responses to all three accents for two genders**

As a result, it can be concluded that the listeners' gender did not have an obvious effect on perception of speakers' trustworthiness. However, this relation may be more complex, as people's attitudes to accented speakers depend on their social role and contextual situation. Male and female participants may trust speakers with some accents more or less, depending on what they are saying. The next section will present some findings on this matter.

### 4.2.1.2. Correlation between respondents' gender and their reaction to different types of statements in three accents

The previous section showed that neither men nor women found any accented guise more trustworthy than others. Nevertheless, as it was already mentioned, previous studies concluded that female rated standard and prestigious language varieties higher than men did only in status dimension. In my study, a more prestigious accent has BE guise, so probably, female participants should trust it more in status dimension. This section will include three parts describing the findings concerning facts, predictions and evaluative judgements and their relation to the participants' gender.

#### 4.2.1.2.1. Facts

This category is responsible for the status dimension. I assume that if there is any relation between gender and trust to other speakers, female respondents would trust BE guise saying facts more than other guises.

It can be seen in table 6 that similarly to the previous findings both men and women responded negatively to the statements in all accents more often.

**Table 6. Number of positive and negative answers to factual statements in different accents**

| | BE | | SE | | RE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | True | False | True | False | True | False |
| **Male** | 64 | 91 | 72 | 84 | 69 | 87 |
| **Female** | 162 | 194 | 164 | 192 | 160 | 196 |

In order to compare responses of male and female participants, numbers should be converted into percentage as female respondents make the majority of the sample. Figure 13 presents the percentage of negative and positive responses given by male and female participants to the factual statements recorded with three accents.
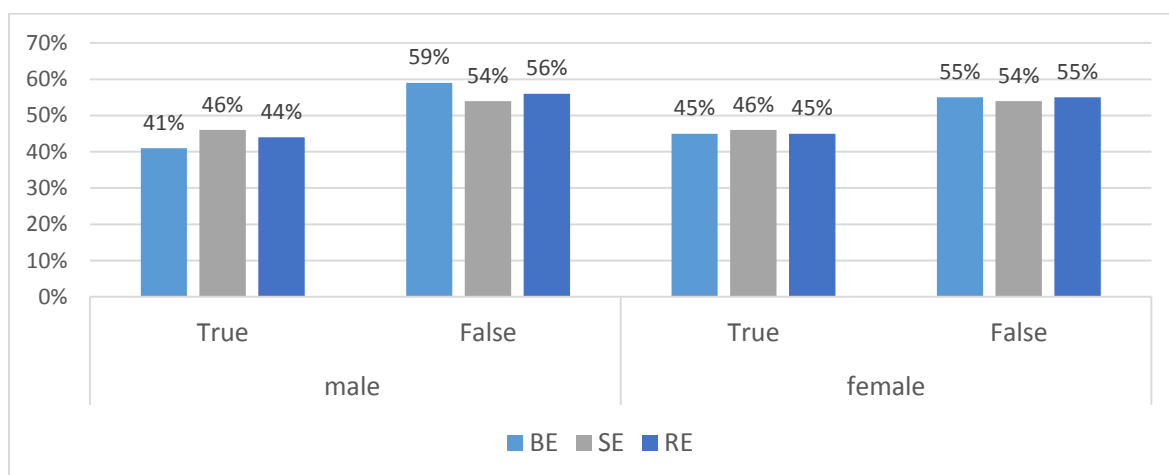


**Figure 13. Percentage of positive and negative answers to the factual statements in BE, SE and RE for two genders**

The results have not supported my initial hypothesis that female would give preference to the BE accent in the status dimension, as in fact, female respondents trusted SE guise rather than other guises. If we consider only BE facts, the diagram shows female trusted speaker with BE accent more often than male. However, this difference makes only 4% and it is not significant enough to make such a conclusion (p=0.4).

Taking about other accents, according to the diagram male and female participants gave the same number of positive answers to the statements read by SE guise (p=1). The results for RE are also not significantly different, there is only 1% more females than males who agreed to the facts in RE (p=0.9).

61

It can be concluded, that participants' gender have not influenced their answers in category 'facts'. My hypothesis that women would prefer a more prestigious BE accent should be rejected and there is no correlation between concord the gender and responses to the accented speech.

Interestingly, according to the numbers, male and female respondents found SE guise the most trustworthy, despite a common belief that standard language varieties are rated better in the solidarity dimension. The SE guise received 46% of positive responses from both genders in comparison to 44% (45% by female) given to the RE guise and 41% (45% by female) to the BE guise. Although it is interesting that male participants tend to mistrust RE guise more than others, while female do not make any clear difference between the accents, unfortunately, these numbers are not statistically significant (p=0.3 for male; p=0.7 for female).

To sum it up, the participants' gender had no influence on their responses to the factual statements read in three accents. Moreover, neither men nor women did not trust any guise more than others. There is no correlation between the participants' gender and their trust to accented speakers presenting some facts.

Nevertheless, 'facts' is not the single category that is responsible for status dimension in this study. There are also predictions that fit the same dimension. The findings on this category will be presented in the next section.

## 4.2.1.2.2. Predictions

This category is a part of status dimension and it was already discussed in section 4.1.1.3.**,** people can agree to predictions said by others if the speaker seems to be competent in the topic under discussion. Very often, an accent is used as marker of social and educational background. As a result the participants are expected to trust a standard BE guise more often than non-standard SE and RE guises. Moreover females, who have preference to a more prestigious language variant, should agree to the BE speaker more often than to the SE and RE ones. On the other hand, this category is tricky, as people with strong model of events presented in the predictions, may give answer irrespective of the speakers' accents.

Table 7 summarizes the answers given by male and female participants in terms of accents. In contrast to the group of facts where both genders answered negatively more often than positively, in this category the participants tend to agree to all speakers more than disagree.

**Table 7. Number of positive and negative answers to the predictions in BE, SE and RE for two genders**

|  | BE | | SE | | RE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | True | False | True | False | True | False |
| **Male** | 85 | 71 | 85 | 71 | 78 | 78 |
| **Female** | 209 | 147 | 182 | 174 | 192 | 158 |

As far as the number of male and female respondents is incomparable, it would be better to study percentage ratio. The diagram below shows that males trusted BE and SE guises more than RE (54% and 50% of positive answers respectively). Female participants found the BE speaker more trustworthy than SE and RE (59%, 51% and 56%). Talking about men's answers, although they demonstrated preference to BE and SE, the difference in the number of answers is not significant (p=0.6) and it can be concluded that male participants trusted all accented speakers equally.
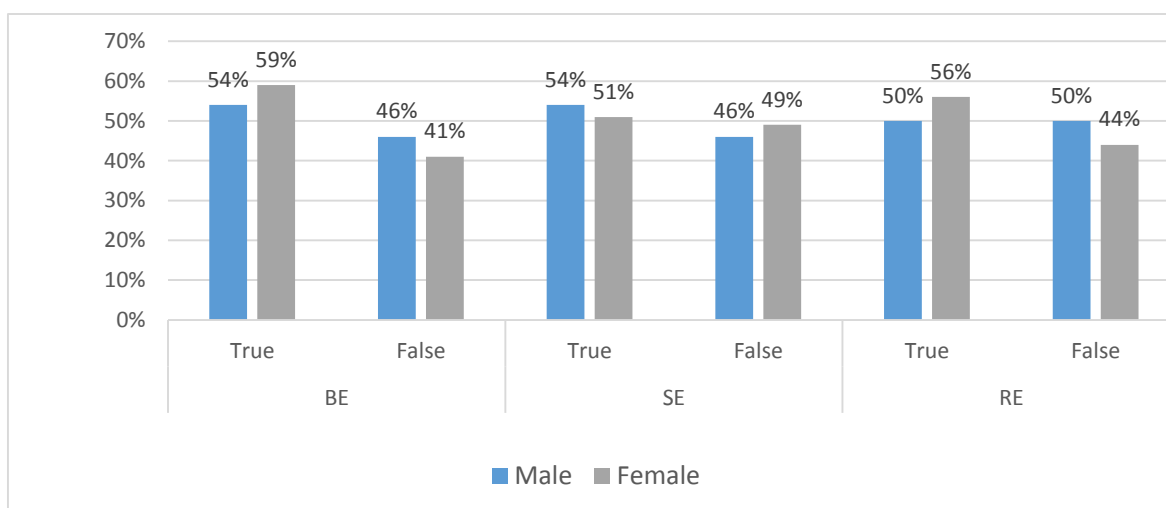


**Figure 14. Percentage of positive and negative answers to the predictions in BE, SE and RE for two genders**

 Female respondents agreed with the BE guise significantly more often than with the SE guise (p=0.05) proving my hypothesis that females will trust BE speaker more

than other accented speakers. However, the difference in answers to the statements in BE compared with RE as well as between RE and SE is not significant at all (p=0.4; p=0.2). So women demonstrated more trust to the standard variety than to non-standard, but not more in comparison to non-native.

Comparing male and female respondents, although, according to the diagram, the percentage of positive answers given by female to BE and RE guises is higher than those given by males and the percentage of positive answers given to the SE guise is lower, these differences are not yielding for significant results (see table 1.4. in appendix for p-values). Therefore, there was not observed any evident correlation between the gender of the informants and their trust to accented speakers saying predictions.

To conclude, taking in consideration that two categories 'facts' and 'predictions' form the status dimension, there was found no gender difference in the perception of speakers' trustworthiness among the participants in this dimension. Nevertheless, females trusted predictions said by the speaker with standard accent more than by the speaker with non-standard accent. It partly proves my hypothesis, that female respondents will find BE more trustworthy in status dimension.

### 4.2.1.2.3. Evaluative judgements

Along with the status dimension, the solidarity dimension plays an important role in language attitudes studies. This category includes personal characteristics of the speakers like 'honest', 'trustworthy', 'attractive' and 'likable'. Usually, speakers of non-standard language varieties are rated higher in this dimension, however, no difference in evaluations given by male and female participants was found.

In my study, I received interesting but rather controversial results (see 4.1.1.2.), because my participants found BE guise more trustworthy than SE and RE guises in the solidarity dimension. In this section, I aim to find out if male and female participants will demonstrate any difference in their trust to the accented speakers in terms of their social attractiveness.

The results presented in table 8 show the number of positive and negative answers given by male and female participants to the the EJ read with BE, SE and RE accents.

**Table 8. Number of positive and negative answers to the EJ in 3 accents for two genders**

| | BE | | SE | | RE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | True | False | True | False | True | False |
| **Male** | 69 | 90 | 49 | 110 | 53 | 106 |
| **Female** | 159 | 197 | 133 | 223 | 148 | 208 |

The table demonstrates a clear tendency of both genders to disagree with the speakers. In order to compare the results, the numbers were transferred into percentage and presented in figure 15.
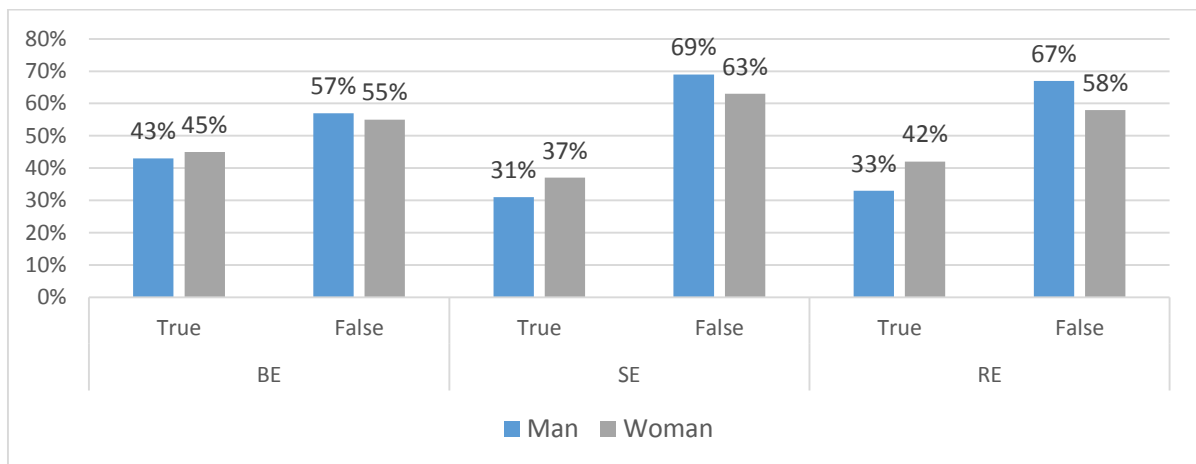


**Figure 15. Percentage of positive and negative answers to the EJ in 3 accents for two genders**

The diagram shows that male as well as female participants trusted the BE speaker the most and the SE speaker the least. This rating is proved to be statistically significant for men (p=0.03) but not for women.

Comparing the number of positive answers given by male and female participants, it can be seen that females are in general more positive about all accents. Female respondents, in comparison to male, trusted BE speaker 3% more often, SE speaker 6% more often and RE speaker 9% more often, but these results are not statistically significant (see table 1.4. for p-values).

## 4.2.2. Summary and discussions

According to previous studies, female participants tend to rate prestigious accents higher than regional and non-native accents and in general, evaluate all accents more positive comparing to men. These findings were partly proved in this study, as females trusted BE guise more in predictions but did not make difference among speakers while listening to facts. On the contrary, males did not trust any accented speaker more than others in the status dimension, but found the BE guise the most trustworthy in solidarity dimension. That is an interesting result, because usually speakers of non-standard varieties are perceived as more likable.

Speaking about the gender effect, although in some cases female respondents were more positive in their evaluations of all guises than male participants were, e.g. in their reaction to the facts and evaluative judgements, these differences were not statistically significant.

Interestingly, both genders mistrusted all accented guises in two categories out of three. Only responses given to the EJ were positive more often than negative.

Although, gender is a very important variable that may have effect of the listeners' evaluation of speakers, it is not the only one. Another factor that may influence respondents' reaction is their home language. The next section will discuss the effect of the participants' home language on their perception of speakers' trustworthiness.

## 4.3. Differences across speakers with different home languages

Home language is a very influential factor as according to the *social identity theory* listeners rate speakers with the accents similar to their own higher because they try to rise the prestige of their social group or see speakers as the member of in-group with similar beliefs and values (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2013; Fuertes et al., 2002 for further discussion).

In order to study the influence of home language on perception of trustworthiness, all participants were be divided into three groups: English native speakers (NS), non-native speakers of English (NNS) and Russian native speakers (RS). It would be impossible to study the effect of every home language of each participant as there are

too many languages and the ratio of them is imbalanced. Nevertheless, I tried to check the effect of the social identity theory on the example of Russian participants. I make a hypothesis that Russian native speakers will trust RE guise more than two other guises. I do not assume that native speakers of English will trust BE or SE guises more, because there are too many native accents in English and it cannot be taken for granted that the accents of the participants are similar ones to the guises'.

## 4.3.1. Respondents' home language and reaction to accented speech

In this section, I aim to find out if NSs, NNSs and RSs differ in the level of trust to any accented guise.

Table 9 presents the number of positive and negative answers to the statements with British English accent (BE), Scottish accent (SE) and Russian accent (RE). It is interesting to note that while NSs and NNSs mistrusted all the guises, RSs agreed to BE and RE speakers more often than disagreed.

**Table 9. Number of positive and negative answers of NS, NNS and RS participants to statements in three accents**

|  | BE accent | | SE accent | | RE accent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | **True** | **False** | **True** | **False** | **True** | **False** |
| **NS** | 126 | 138 | 120 | 144 | 105 | 159 |
| **%** | 48% | 52% | 45% | 55% | 40% | 60% |
| **NNS** | 443 | 517 | 412 | 548 | 439 | 530 |
| **%** | 46% | 54% | 43% | 57% | 46% | 54% |
| **RS** | 202 | 176 | 181 | 197 | 192 | 186 |
| **%** | 53% | 47% | 47% | 53% | 51% | 49% |

According to the data from columns one and two, RSs reacted positively to BE guise more often than two other groups of the participants. After employing a statistical test, it was found that the difference in numbers is significant only for the pair NNS/RS (p=0.01) so it can be concluded that RSs consider BE guise to be more trustworthy than NNSs did.

Columns three and four of the table show the results for SE guise. It can be seen that RS participants again trusted speaker more than NSs and NNSs. However, these results are not significant and it means that there is no correlation between the home language of the participants and their responses to SE accented speech.

At last, columns five and six deal with the responses to the statements read by the RE speaker. Again, the results take the same pattern – RE participants trusted RE speaker more than other participants did. The test proved that statistically relevant difference was obtained (p=0.02) and it is possible to conclude that Russian speakers found RE accent more trustworthy than NS and NNE speakers did.

In order to check if the *social identity theory* can be applied to this kind of experiment, the answers of Russian participant should be studied. This hypothesis cannot be true, as the table shows that the number of positive answers given by Russian respondents to RE guise is smaller than to BE guise. They agreed to BE in 53% of cases and 2% less to RE speaker. According to the statistical test, these results are not significant, so it cannot be concluded that RSs trusted BE guise more than others.

To conclude, the data analysis shows that there is a tendency for the speakers with Russian accents to trust BE and RE guises more in comparison to other speakers. Unfortunately, the results of the experiment were unable to prove the hypothesis that RE participants will find RE guise more trustworthy than other guises. There is no significant difference in the number of positive answers to all three accented speakers.

In the next section participants' reaction to BE, SE and RE guises saying different type of statements will be studied separately in order to find out if respondents' home language and the type of the statement have effect on their trust to accented speakers.

## 4.3.2. Respondents' home language and their reaction to different types of statements in three accents

### 4.3.2.1. Facts

The first category under examination is factual information said by all three guises. The distribution of the answers to the statements is presented in table 10. Except for the RSs reaction to BE facts, in all other cases the participants tend to mistrust the speakers.

**Table 10. Number of positive and negative answers to the facts in BE, SE, RE accents**

|  | BE accent | | SE accent | | RE accent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | true | false | true | false | true | false |
| **NS** | 39 | 49 | 47 | 41 | 31 | 57 |
| **NNS** | 131 | 189 | 142 | 178 | 149 | 171 |
| **RS** | 66 | 60 | 61 | 65 | 56 | 70 |

The table shows that NSs answered 'true' to the statements in SE most often and in RE the least, NNSs, on the contrary, reacted to RE accent most positively and to BE least positively. RSs agreed to the facts in BE more than in other accents. Among all these results the only significant is the one for the NSs (p= 0.02). Therefore, it can be concluded that while listening to factual information native speakers found SE guise the most trustworthy. Despite the expectation, Russian participants did not trust RE accent the most, moreover, they did not make any difference between the accents at all.

In order to compare all three accents to each other, figure 16 summarizes the findings in percentage. It shows the ratio of answers to the facts presented by the BE, SE and RE guises.
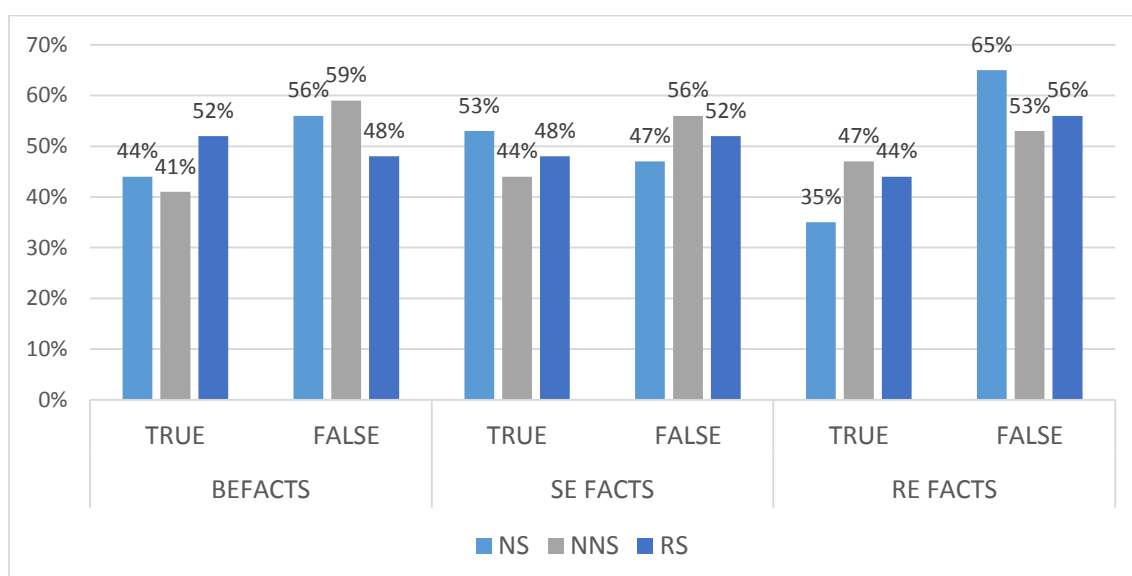


**Figure 16. Percentage of positive and negative answers to the facts in three accents**

The results are rather diverse: Russian speakers answered more positively to BE guise, English native speakers to SE guise and non-native speakers of English to RE guise.

Statistical test shows that the only significant correlation is between the answers of NNS and RS to BE facts (p=0.03). It can be concluded that RSs trusted BE guise saying facts more than NNSs did.

## 4.3.2.2. Predictions.

The next category that will be discussed is predictions. This section will investigate if NSs, NNSs and RSs trust any accented guise saying predictions more than others, and if there is any correlation between the home language of the participants and their answers. As it can be seen from table 11, except for NSs responses to SE speaker's statements, all three guises were trusted more than mistrusted,

**Table 11. Number of positive and negative answers to predictions in BE, SE, RE accents**

|  | BE accent | | SE accent | | RE accent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | **True** | **False** | **True** | **False** | **True** | **False** |
| **NS** | 49 | 39 | 37 | 51 | 51 | 37 |
| **NNS** | 181 | 139 | 167 | 153 | 169 | 151 |
| **RS** | 76 | 50 | 72 | 54 | 70 | 56 |

Taking in consideration the number of positive answers as presented in the table, one can conclude that NSs agreed more to predictions said with RE accent while NNSs and RSs tend to agree to BE accent. However, statistically significant is only the result for NS – they found predictions of RE guise more trustworthy than ones of SE guise.

In order to find if there is any influence of home language of the answers the results were summarized in figure 17. It shows the ratio of 'true' and 'false' answers given by all three groups of participant to the predictions said with BE, SE and RE accents.
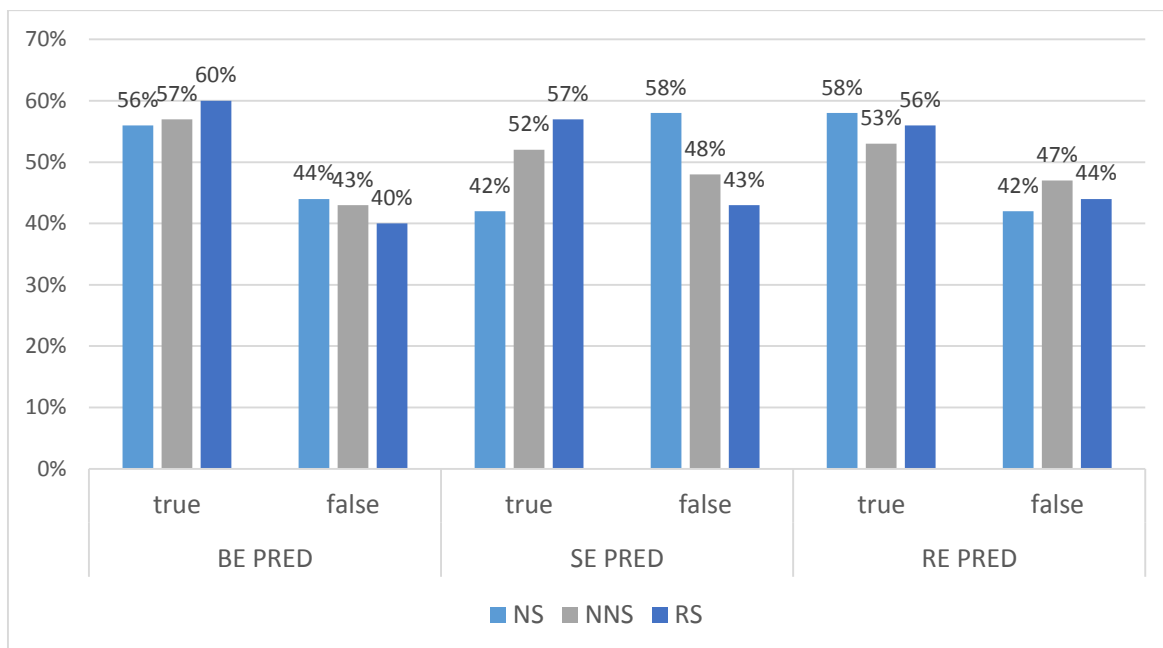
**Figure 17. Percentage of positive and negative answers to predictions in BE, SE, RE accents**

According to the diagram, predictions in BE and SE got more positive answers from RSs and predictions with BE accent from NSs. However, no difference except for NSs and RSs responses to SE (p=0.04) proved to be statistically significant. It may indicate that Russian participants found SE guise more trustworthy than NS participants did while, concerning other accents, there exists no correlation between the respondents' home language and their trust to the speakers.

## 4.3.2.3. Evaluative Judgements

The last category that will be examined is evaluative judgements. As it was already mentioned, in contrast to two previous categories, this one belongs to the solidarity dimension. Table 12 summarized the results obtained for the EJ in three accents from the native-speakers of English, non-native speakers and Russian participants. The results reveal a familiar pattern with the majority of negative responses given to all guises, except for the Russian participants' answers to the RE guise. Interestingly, it can be said that NSs and NNSs mistrusted SE and RE guises in this regard, as the number of positive answers was sometimes twice smaller than negative, e.g. NSs agreed to EJ with Russian accent only in 26% of cases in contrast to 74% of disagreement.

**Table 12. Number of positive and negative answers to the evaluative judgements in three accents**

|  | BE EJ | | SE EJ | | RE EJ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | **True** | **False** | **True** | **False** | **True** | **False** |
| **NS** | 38 | 50 | 36 | 52 | 23 | 65 |
| **NNS** | 131 | 189 | 103 | 217 | 121 | 208 |
| **RS** | 60 | 66 | 48 | 78 | 66 | 60 |

Regarding the answers of the NSs, they agreed more often to the BE guise than to the other two and these difference was proved to be significant (p=0.03). Similarly, NNSs give significantly more positive answers to the speaker with BE accent comparing to the speaker with SE accent (p=0.02). RSs reacted to the EJ completely different, they demonstrated most agreement with the RE guise and gave her significantly more positive responses than to the SE speaker (p=0.03). In case of EJ the *social identity theory* was partly proved as Russian participants found speaker with similar accent more trustworthy than the speaker with non-standard accent.

Figure 18 illustrates differences in responses related to the home languages of the participants in percentage.
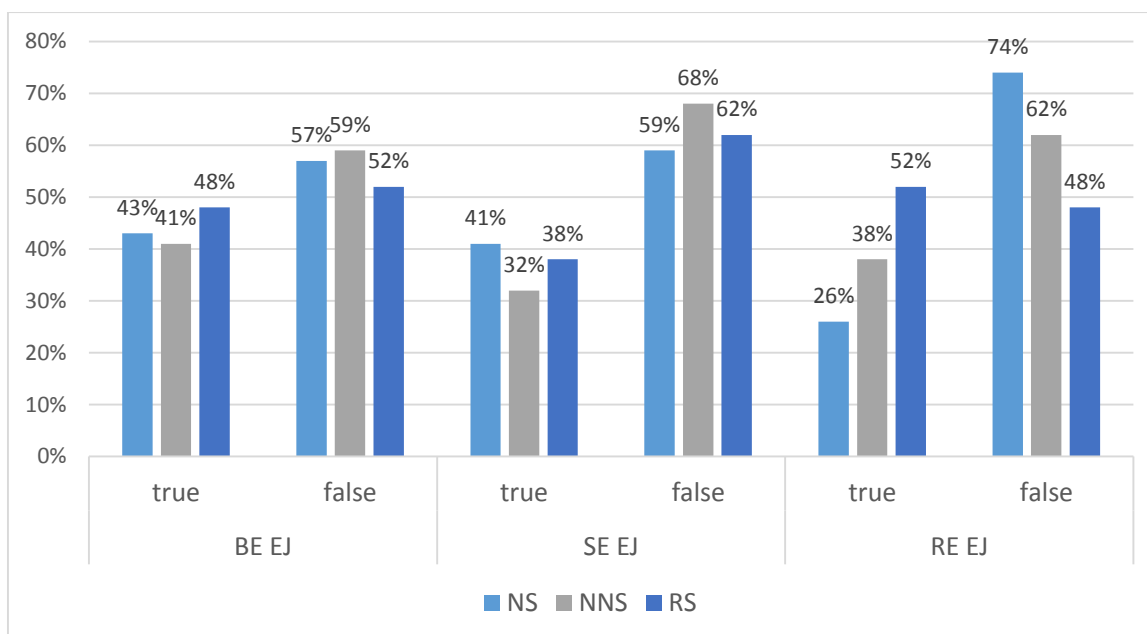


**Figure 18. Percentage of positive and negative answers to the evaluative judgements in BE, SE, RE accents**

Looking at the diagram one may observe a strong correlation between the participants' home language and their responses to RE EJs and it is statistically significant (p=0.00).

Russian participants found RE guise saying predictions more trustworthy than native speakers and non-native of English did. Moreover, NSs found RE guise extremely untrustworthy, they gave it twice less positive responses than RSs did. For other accents, no effect of participants' home language was found.

### 4.3.3. Summary and discussions

The aim of this section was to investigate if the participants' home language has an effect on their responses to the statements in different accents.

Al participants were divided into three groups: native speakers of English, non-native speakers of English (excluding Russians) and Russian native speakers. Interestingly, NSs and NNSs mistrusted all the guises as they disagreed to them more than agreed. On the contrary, RSs agreed to BE and RE guises more often.

Talking about BE guise, RSs trusted it more in comparison to NNSs but not more than NSs did. For SE guise there is no correlation between the home language of the participants and their responses - NSs, NNSs and RSs gave almost the same number of positive responses to the speaker with the Scottish accent. At last, RE guise was found the most trustworthy by RSs in comparison to NSs and NNSs. The results reveal an interesting pattern – RSs trusted BE and RE accented guises more than other participants did. It can be easy to explain why Russian speaker was found the most trustworthy by Russian participants, as it is a familiar accent for them and it is similar to their own, while for other participants it is an unknown non-native accent.

Moving on to the different types of statement, which were representing two dimensions: solidarity and status, it can be seen that the pattern of answers here is rather twisted. For most of the cases there is no correlation between the home language of the participants and their trust to the accented speakers, but when some correlation can be found, it is rather controversial. Native speakers consider facts in SE to be the most trustworthy, but predictions with Russian accent more trustworthy than with Scottish. It contradicts the results of some previous studies when native speakers rated standard varieties of English the highest. Probably, it can be explained by the fact that Scottish English can be also considered a standard variety of English, e.g. Wilkinson (1965) suggested that Scottish is 'first class' accent and it has the same

prestige as RP and SA. It is unusual that native speakers trusted predictions said with non-native accent more than with native.

For the evaluative judgements, the results are less surprising, as native and non-native speakers trusted BE the most and Russian speakers found RE guise the most trustworthy. In contrast to some previous studies, the speaker of non-standard variety was not found more trustworthy than the speaker of the standard one. The fact Russian participants found speaker with Russian accent more trustworthy than the speaker with non-standard accent partly proves the *social identity theory* and at the same time shows the the status of BE in the country, as they trusted the Russian speaker not more than the British one.

If all three groups of participants are compared to each other, it can be concluded that Russian speakers tend to trust facts in BE accent more than non-native speakers did, predictions in SE more than native speakers of English did, and evaluative judgements in RE more than two other groups of participants. For other accents, no significant results were received. It is interesting, that Russian respondents trusted predictions in SE more than native speakers of English did, because Scottish is not a popular accent in Russian and it could have been expected that they would be more suspicious about the speakers with this accent in status dimension in comparison to native speakers who are more familiar to Scottish accent. Talking about Russian speakers' trust to BE facts, which is higher in comparison to other participants, it is not surprising, because British English is a dominating variant of English taught as the second language in Russia, so it is highly rated and is always associated with some kind of competence. Probably, in other European countries, the citizens of which formed the main part of the participants of the questionnaire, BE is being substituted by AE, so BE is losing its status.


### 4.4. Gender and home language

As various studies have found out, language attitudes are more complicated than they are often considered to be. Although accent was proved to have an immense effect on the listeners', it would be wrong to claim that one accent has the same influence on all speakers. It was already discussed in the previous sections, gender and home language

of the listeners could be influential social variables. In real life, people differ by more than one parameter, so it can be a reason for existence of various language attitudes. In the next section, I aim to find out if combination of two variables – gender and home language - has effect on the listeners' trust to the accented speakers. This part will include three sections discussing native speakers of English, non-native speakers of English and Russian native speakers of both genders separately.

## 4.4.1. Native speakers

This section will discuss if male and female native speakers of English (NS) differ in their trust to three accented speakers. It will examine their answers to three types of statements said with British (BE), Scottish (SE) and Russian (RE) accents.

The fist type of statements is facts. As figure 19 shows, both male and female participants found SE the most trustworthy. Although for males this difference is not significant, it is for females (p=0.03). It can be concluded that male native speakers did not differentiate between the accents in this category, while female native speakers trusted SE the most.
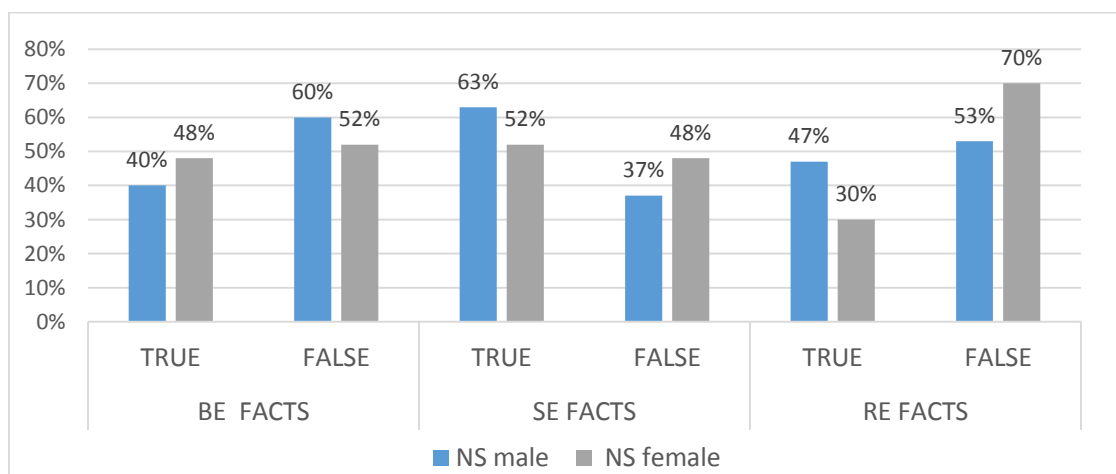


**Figure 19. Percentage of positive and negative answers of native speakers to facts**

Moving on to predictions, figure 20 shows that male participants gave more positive answers to RE guise in comparison to BE and SE guises. However, no statistical difference was achieved. Female native speakers agreed mostly to BE guise and this difference yields statistically significant results (p=0.05). It means that while males

does not show any preference to any particular accent, females see BE guise as the most trustworthy.
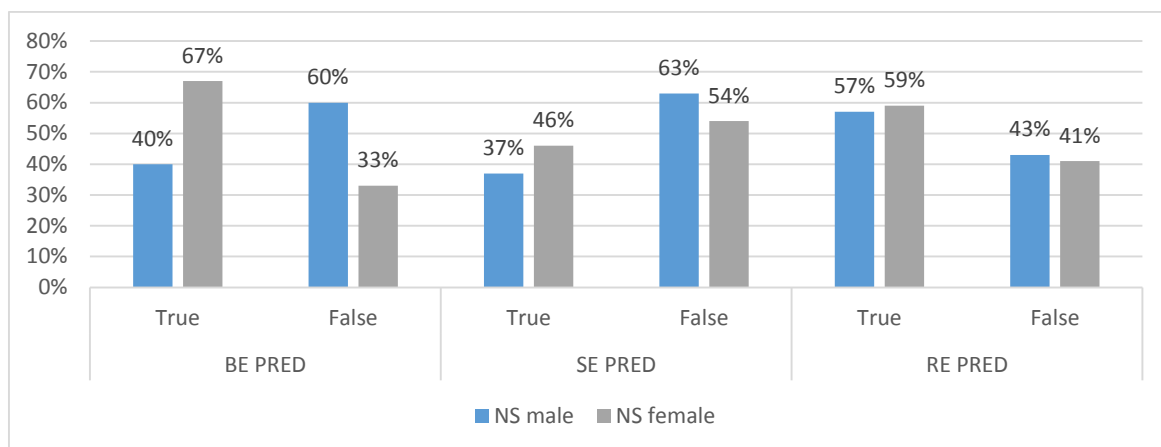


**Figure 20. Percentage of positive and negative answers of native speakers to predictions**

Comparing male participants to female ones, the diagram shows a statistically significant difference for prediction with BE accent (p=0.03) where females trusted BE guise much more than males did. For other accents, no striking difference was observed.

At last, regarding evaluative judgements, as it can be seen from figure 21, male and female participants considered the statements said by SE guise to be more trustworthy than said by other guises. This difference in answers did not reach significant results for females, but was proved significant for males. It can be concluded that female native speakers trust the same all accents when listening to EJ while male native speakers show more trust to SE accent.
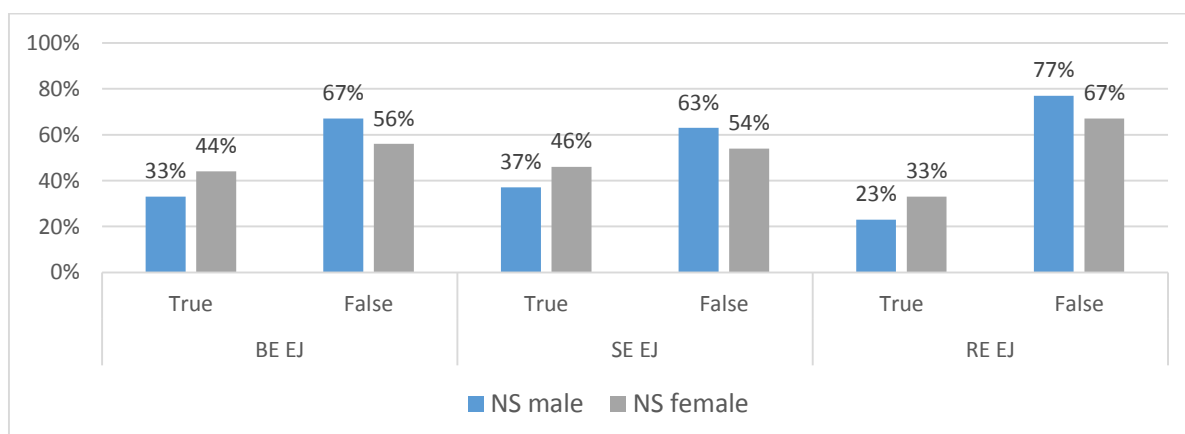


**Figure 21. Percentage of positive and negative answers of native speakers to epy evaluative judgements**

A close look at the results reveals that female participants agreed to all three accented guises more in comparison to male respondents, but no statistically significant results were reached. Consequently, there is no gender effect on the answers of native speakers to the evaluative judgements said with BE, SE and RE accents.

## 4.4.2. Non-native speakers

This section will present the results for native speakers' reaction to different types of statements in three accents of English and compare male participants to female ones.

Figure 22 17 shows the reaction of non-native speakers of both genders to factual information. Male participants agreed more to the RE guise while female demonstrated slight preference to the SE accent, but no statistical significance was reached.

Depending on the gender of informants, there is no striking difference in answers and although females give more positive answers to BE and SE guise than males did the difference was not proved to be statistically significant. As a result, there is no correlation between gender and non-native speakers' answers to the facts said with different accents.
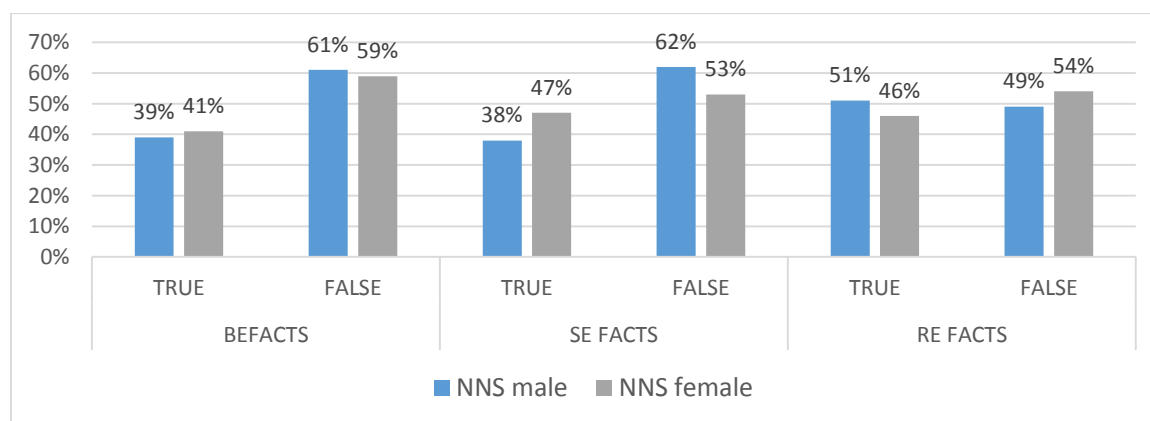


**Figure 22. Percentage of positive and negative answers of non-native speakers to facts**

Moving on to prediction, Figure 23 18 illustrates the difference in answers of non-native speakers of both genders.

As one can observe, male respondents tend to agree to SE guise more than to the other guises, while females found BE predictions to be true more often. However, the differences in answers to various accents was not enough to be statistically significant.

That means that neither male nor female participants trusted any accented guise more than others while listening to the predictions.

Comparing answers given by male respondents to female responses, it can be seen that males agreed to all guises except for RE one more than females did, but not enough for these results to be significant. It can be concluded that there is no correlation between the gender of non-native speakers and their answers to the predictions in 3 accents.
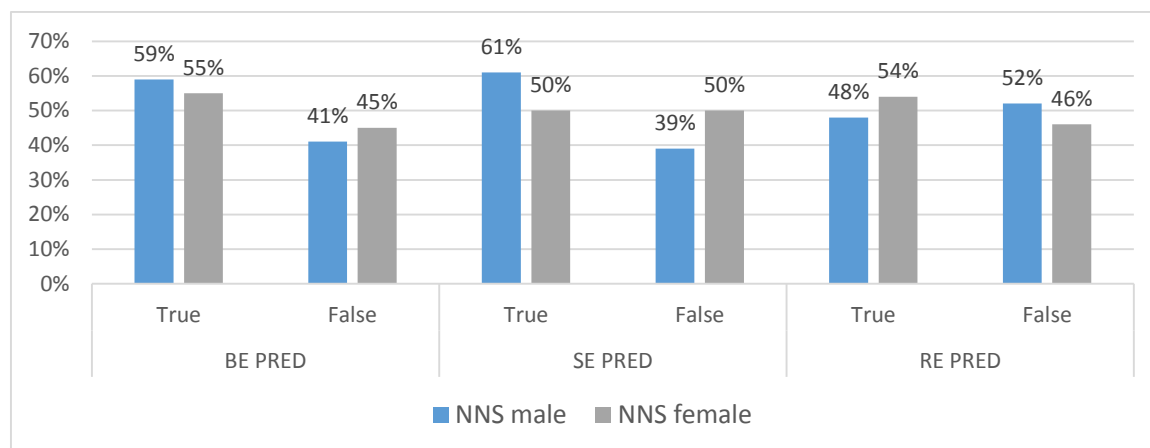


**Figure 23. Percentage of positive and negative answers of non-native speakers to the predictions**

Finally, the results presented in figure 24 illustrates the answers of non-native speakers of English to the evaluative judgements in three accents. A strong correlation between the answers of male participant to different accented guises can be observed (p=0.04) and according to the diagram males trusted the speaker with SE accent more than other speakers. For female participants no significant results were found, they trust all speakers the same.
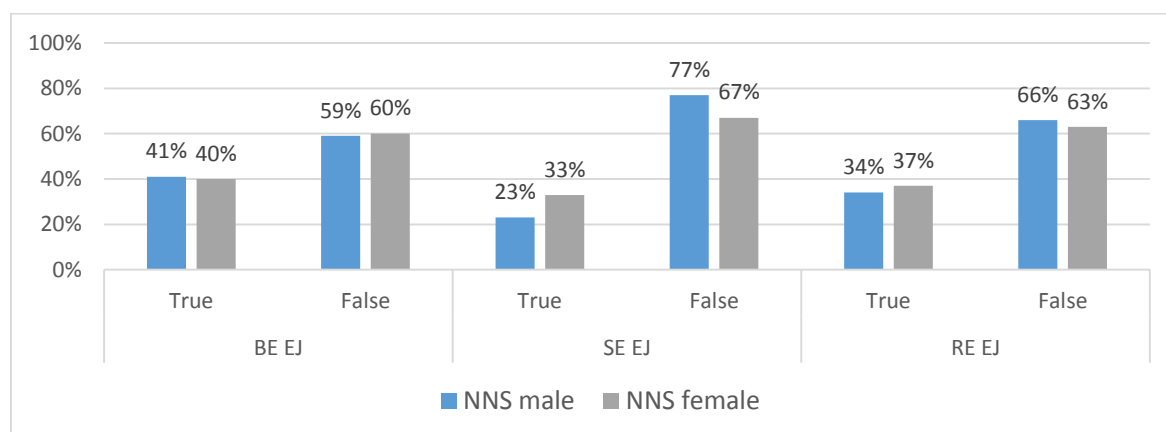


**Figure 24. Percentage of positive and negative answers of non-native speakers to the evaluative judgements**

Speaking about the gender effect, the answers given by males do not show any striking difference from the answers given by females. Therefore, there exist no correlation between the gender of non-native participants and their responses to the evaluative judgements in three accents.

### 4.4.3. Russian native speakers

This section will discuss the last group of speakers participated in the study – native speakers of Russian language. The discussion will be around Russian male and female participants and their trust to three accented guises.

To start with, figure 25 illustrates the pattern of answers of both male and female respondents to the facts. One can notice that male participants gave more positive answers to SE guise than to all other guises. Females, on the contrary, preferred to agree to BE speaker. At the same time, the difference in the answers was not enough to be statistically significant, what indicates that there is no accent that sounds more trustworthy for Russian speakers.

Comparing male participants to female ones, one may observe a strong correlation between gender and reaction to the RE guise (p=0.03). Females trusted Russian speaker 20% more than males did. Therefore, there is a gender effect on Russian speakers' answers to the factual information.
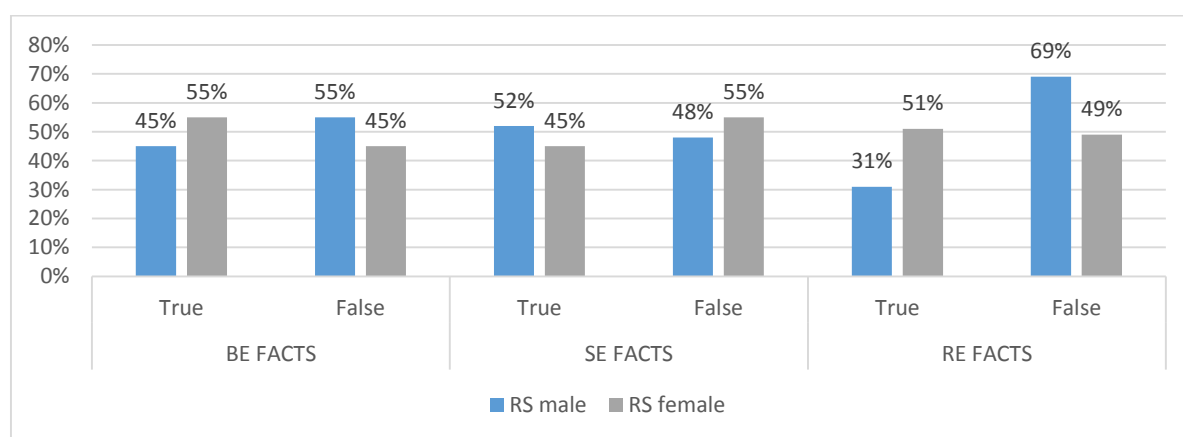


**Figure 25. Percentage of positive and negative answers of Russian speakers to the facts**

Figure 26 presents the findings regards the responses of Russian participants to the predictions. Concerning male respondents, they tend to agree to BE speaker more than to the other speakers, although the number of positive answers given to SE guise is only 2% less. Female participants as well showed a slight preference to BE accent. However,

the difference in answers of males and females is not so drastic and cannot reach statistical significance.

In terms of gender effect, one can observe a tendency for females to trust all speakers more than males. This tendency was not proved by statistical test and such conclusion cannot be made.
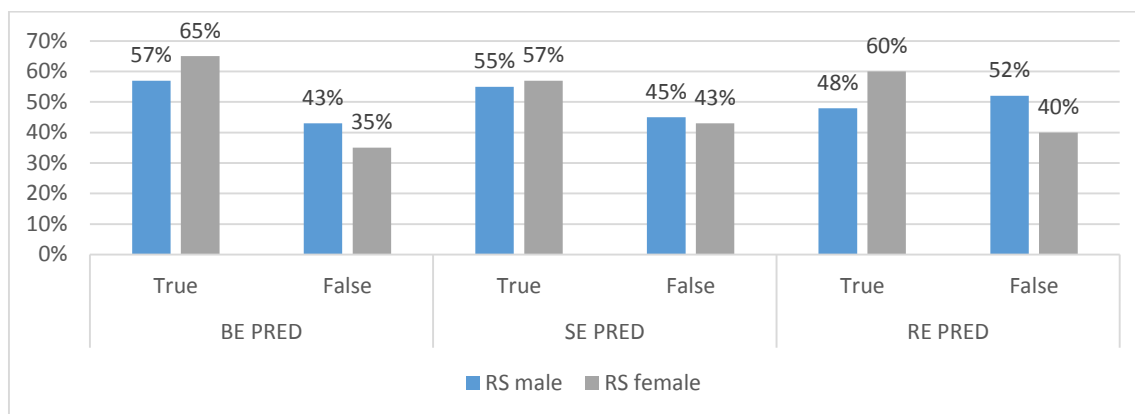


**Figure 26. Percentage of positive and negative answers of Russian speakers to the predictions**

The final category that will be examined in this section is evaluative judgements. Figure 27 shows that males agreed to BE guise more often than to other guises, but the results of the statistical tests found this difference not significant. Consequently, male participants did not consider any accented speaker to be more trustworthy than others. The same thing is true for the female participants - although they reacted to SE guise more positively, it was not enough to yield for statistical significance.

Moving on to the gender effect, it was found that despite females trusted all speakers more than males did, it is not statistically relevant. That means that for Russian speakers no correlation between gender and answers to predictions was observed.
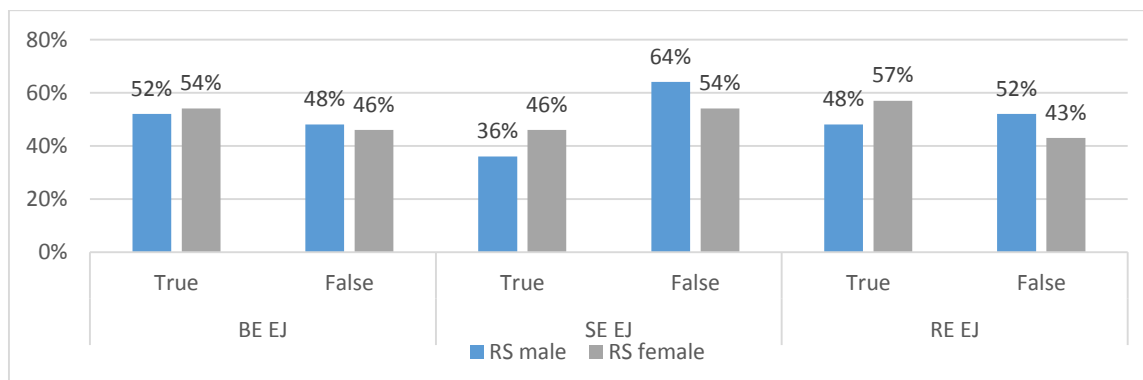


**Figure 27. Percentage of positive and negative answers of Russian speakers to the evaluative judgements**

### 4.4.4. Summary and discussions

This section aimed find out if a combination of two variables – gender and participants' home language - can have effect on participants' trust to accented speakers. It was concluded that correlation between the gender of English native speakers, EFL speakers and Russian speakers and their responses to various types of statements is very complex. There was found no effect of participants' gender and home language on their answers to predictions – all respondents trusted accented speakers the same. The same results were obtained for the answers of non-native speakers and native speakers of both genders to facts – they did not trust any particular speaker more than others.

Interestingly, Russian females trusted facts with RE accent more than Russian males did. Probably, for Russian females belonging of the speaker to the ingroup is more important than for males. For other participants no difference in answers to the facts between males and females was found. Considering the results relating to the evaluative judgements, this category appeared to be the most significant in terms of gender effect. Male native speakers and non-native speakers of English trusted SE guise more than other guises. This finding supports the results of the previous studies that speakers of non-standard variety are rated higher in solidarity dimension (e.g. McKenzie, 2008).

At the same time, other conclusions made in the previous research of language attitudes did not find support in the current study. The speaker of standard variety was not trusted more in status dimension. That is unusual, because for Russian participants BE is definitely a more prestigious variety associated with knowledge and competence. In addition, female participants, except for Russians, did not find any speakers more trustworthy in comparison to males. Female respondents did not trust the speaker of standard variety of English more than other speakers, in fact they did not differentiate among the speakers at all. It can be concluded that for female participants accent is not an important factor that can influence their trust to the speaker.

## 5. Conclusion

This study aimed to find out if there is a correlation between the accent of the speaker and his/her perceived trustworthiness. The study employed three accented guises speaking English with standard, non-standard and non-native accents. The concept of trust was considered to have two-fold nature and be able to cover both dimensions – status and solidarity. In order to find out if listeners' trust to the speakers depends on the dimension, three types of statements were introduced: facts and predictions that were responsible for the status dimension and evaluative judgements that formed the solidarity dimension. The study also took in consideration social variables that were found to be influential factors in previous research – gender and home language of the participants.

In terms of the first research question - if speakers with any particular accent (British, Russian or Scottish) are trusted more than others, and if so then what accent is perceived as the most trustworthy, it was found that the participants of this study did not trust any particular accented speaker significantly more than others. Interestingly, they even mistrusted the speakers as there were given more negative responses to the statements than positive.

Secondly, after testing if the topic of a speech act has effect on perceived trustworthiness of the speakers, rather unexpected results were received. In the status dimension no accented speaker was trusted evidently more or less than others – all participants gave around the same number of positive responses to the facts and predictions in all three accents. As a result, my initial hypothesis that BE guise will be trusted more in the status dimension, for being the speaker of a standard and more prestigious variety and associated with some kind of competence, was not proved. Moving to the solidarity dimension, it was observed that the BE guise was found the most trustworthy. This result contradicts the accent prestige theory (Giles, 1970) according to which speakers of non-standard varieties are rated higher in solidarity dimension. Although according to this theory native speakers of English rate standard variant higher in both dimensions, English native speakers formed the smallest part of the participants of the current study so they were unable to skew the results. Nevertheless, the influence of the home languages was investigated as well.

In order to find if the home languages of the participants influenced their answers, all the respondents were divided into three groups: English native speakers, EFL speakers (excluding Russians) and Russian EFL speakers. The results were rather contradicting. While in their answers to the facts, native speakers of English demonstrated more trust to non-standard accent, their reaction to the predictions indicated that they trusted Russian speaker more. In other words, although facts and predictions belong to the status dimension, English speakers treated them differently but they never trusted the speaker of the standard variety more than of non-standard. Russians and other EFL speakers did not see any accented speaker as more trustworthy in status dimension. It may mean that either attitudes do not influence behaviour in the way it can be expected from the results of the previous studies as people rely on their knowledge more than on the accent of the speaker or that the participants of this study hold some other attitudes to the accented speakers.

Talking about evaluative judgements and solidarity dimension, results here partly proved the social identity theory that claims that people rate higher the speakers with the accent similar to theirs. It was the case for English native speakers who trusted British guise the most, and for Russian participants who found Russian guise more trustworthy than the Scottish one and trusted it more than other groups of participants did. On the other hand, Russians did not differentiate between British and Russian accents in this category. It may mean that the role of British English in Russia is very high or that theory of social identity does not work when people have to make a real decision rather than just evaluate the speaker. As a result, listeners' familiarity with the accent but not a speaker's belonging to the in-group would rather influence their choice. The same conclusion may be made since EFL speakers trusted the BE guise more than other guises in solidarity dimension. Probably, they preferred to trust this speaker as she had the accent they hear more often, while Scottish and Russian accents are not so popular in their home countries.

Among other social variables that were often mentioned in previous studies, participants' gender used to be the most influential. Therefore, this study also checked if there is any gender effect on the answers of the respondents. In other research it was found that females are more eager to evaluate standard varieties higher than non-standard and that in general they are more generous in their rates in comparison to

males. These findings were partly proved in the present study because female participants trusted BE guise more than SE but at the same time not more than RE. Male respondents agreed more to the speaker with British accent. There was found no difference in answers of male in comparison to females, so it cannot be stated that females trusted the speakers more or less than males. As a result, gender has some effect on the answers but the pattern is rather complicated.

To sum it up, the study shows that relation between attitudes and behaviour are rather complicated and as it was stated by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980, in Garrett, 2010:26-27) there is a long process preceding actual behaviour and as a result saying that someone seems to be trustworthy does not mean that this person will be trusted in reality. Other factors may also play role, e.g. while agreeing or disagreeing to the facts and predictions people may tend to rely more on their own knowledge even if they are not sure about the answers. It can be illustrated by one statement that was used in the questionnaire "There is no exception to the rule that insects have 6 legs" which is true but most of the listeners disagreed with the statements disregard of the accents it was said with. So, listeners own conceptual model may be more important when they make a decision than the fact that they see the speaker as trustworthy or not. At the same time, when listeners do not have any knowledge about the topic at all, as it was in the evaluative judgements presented in the questionnaire, accent may play a role. According to the results, people tend to trust a speaker with a more familiar accent, this way Russian participants trusted Russian and British speakers the most while English native speakers and EFL speakers tend to trust only British guise. Scottish accent was found less trustworthy in this category, probably, because it was less familiar to the participants.

In order to improve the results of the study, it can be suggested to make it in two steps: firstly to find out participant's attitudes to the accents and then to study if they will coincide with their real behaviour. This way it may be more reliable as it will not be taken for granted that the listeners should hold some kind of attitudes to the accented speakers according to the results of some previous studies, while in reality they may have absolutely different attitudes.

# 6. List of literature

Agheyisi, R. N. and Fishman, J. A. 1970. "Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches". *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12 (5), 137-157

Ajzen, I. 2005. *Attitudes, personality and behaviour*. (2nd edition) Berkshire: Open University Press.

Ajzen I, Fishbein, M. 1980. *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Ajzen, I., Fishbein, M. 2005. "The influence of attitudes on behaviour". In D. Albarracín, B. T. Johnson, M. P. Zanna (eds.). *The handbook of attitudes.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 173-221.

Allport, G.W. 1935. "Attitudes". In C. Murchison (ed.). *Springer Handbook of social psychology*. Worcester, Mass: Clark University Press.

Angle, J. and Hesse-Biber S. 1981. "Gender and prestige preference in language". *Sex Roles* 7 (4), 449-461.

Ascherson, N. 1994. "Britain's Crumbling Ruling Class is Losing the Accent of Authority." *Independent on Sunday* 10(June-July). http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/ ascherson.htm

Atkins C. P. 1993. "Do Employment Recruiters Discriminate on the Basis of Nonstandard Dialect?" *Journal of Employment Counseling* 30 (3), 108-118.

Aune, R.K., Kikuchi T. 1993. „Effects of Language Intensity Similarity on Perceptions of Credibility Relational Attributions, and Persuasion". *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 12(3), 224-238.

Baker C. 1992. Attitudes and Language. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bartram, B. 2006. "An examination of perceptions of parental influence on attitudes to language learning". *Educational Research* 48(2), 211-22.

Bouchard R. L, Giles H. 1982. Attitudes towards Language Variations. Social and Applied Contexts, London: Edward Arnold.

Bourhis R., Giles H. 1976. "The language of cooperation in Wales: a field study". *Language sciences* 42, 13-16.

Buckingham L. 2015. "Recognising English accents in the community: Omani students' accent preferences and perceptions of nativeness." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 36(2), 182-197.

Butler Y. G. 2007. "How Are Nonnative-English-Speaking Teachers Perceived by Young Learners". *TESOL Quarterly* 41, 731–755.

Callan, V. J., Gallois, C., Forbes, P. A. 1983. "Evaluative reactions to accented English: Ethnicity, sex role, and context". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 14, 407–426.

Cheshire J. 1998. "Double negatives are illogical". In Bauer, Laurie and Trudgill (eds). *Language Myths*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 113-122.

Corriveau K. H., Kinzler K. D., Harris P. L. 2013. "Accuracy Trumps Accent in Children's Endorsement of Object Labels". *Developmental Psychology* 49 (3), 470–479.

Crismore A., Ngeow Y., Soo K. 1996. "Attitudes toward English in Malaysia". *World Englishes* 15 (3), 319-335.

Deprez-Sims A., Morris S. B. 2010. "Accents in the workplace: Their effects during a job interview". *International Journal of Psychology* 45 (6), 417–426.

Deumert A. 2004. Language Standardization and Language Change: The Dynamics of Cape Dutch. Amsterdam:  John Benjamins Publishing.

Dillehay R. C. 1973. "On the irrelevance of the classical negative evidence concerning the effect of attitudes on behavior". *American Psychologist* 28(10), 887-891.

Dragojevic M., Giles H. 2014. "The Reference Frame Effect: An Intergroup Perspective on Language Attitudes". *Human Communication Research* 40, 91–111.

Edwards J. 2011. *Challenges in the Social Life of Language*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fasold R. 1984. *The sociolinguistics of society.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fazio R.H., Zanna M.P. 1978. "On the predictive validity of attitudes: The role s of direct experience and confidence". *Journal of Personality* 46, 228–243

Festinger L 1957. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Fishman, J. A. 1968. "Sociolinguistics and the language problems of the developing countries". I*nternational Social Science Journal* 20(2), 211.

Fuertes, Jairo N. ; Potere, Jodi C. ; Ramirez, Karen Y. ; Fuertes, Jairo N. 2002. "Effects of speech accents on interpersonal evaluations: Implications for counseling practice and research". *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 8(4), 346-356.

Gardner, R.C. 1982. "Language attitudes and language learning". In E. Bouchard Ryan & H. Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes towards language variation*. London: Edward Arnold, 132-147.

Garrett P. 2010. Attitudes to Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett P., Bishop H., Coupland N. 2009. "Diasporic ethnolinguistic subjectives: Patagonia, North America and Wales". *International journal of the sociology of language* 195, 173-199.

Gaies, S., Beebe, J. D. 1991. „The matched-guise technique for measuring attitudes and their implications for language education: a critical assessment". In E. Sadtono (Ed.), *Language Acquisition and the Second/Foreign Classroom.*

Giles, H. 1970. "Evaluative reactions to accents". *Educational Review* 22, 211-227.

Giles, H., Sassoon, C. 1983. "The effect of speaker's accent, social class background and message style on British listeners' social judgements". *Language & Communication* 3(3), 305-313.

Hiraga, Y. 2005. "British attitudes towards six varieties of English in the USA and Britain". *World Englishes* 24, 289-308

Holmes J. 2013. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* NY: Routledge.

Hopper R., Williams F. 1973. "Speech characteristics and employability". *Speech Monographs*, 40(4), 296-302.

Hosoda M., Nguyen L. T. 2012. "The effect of Hispanic accents on employment decisions". *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 27(4), 347-364.

Hughes A, Trudgill P., Dominic W. 2013. *English Accents and Dialects: An Introduction to Social and Regional*. NY: Routledge.

Jones K. W. 2001. *Accent on Privilege: English Identities and Anglophilia in the U.S.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Kalin R., Rayko D. 1980. The social significance of speech in the job interview. In Clair R., Giles H. (eds). *The social and psychological contexts of language*. NJ: Erlbaum, 39-50

Krauta R., Wulff S. 2013. "Foreign-accented speech perception ratings: a multifactorial case study". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34(3), 249-263.

Labov, W. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Labov, W. 1990. "The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change". *Language Variation and Change* 2, 205-254.

Lambert W. E., Hodgson R. C., Gardner R. C., Fillenbaum S. 1960. „Evaluational reactions to spoken languages ". *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60(1), 44-51.

Mai R., Hoffmann S. 2011. "Four Positive Effects of a Salesperson's Regional Dialect in Services Selling". *Journal of Service Research*, 14(4), 460-474.

Mastin, Luke. 2011. "Who Speaks English?" http://www.thehistoryofenglish.com/ history_today.html (6 June, 2015).

Mendoza E., Valencia N., Muñoz J., Trujillo H. 1996. "Differences in voice quality between men and women: Use of the long-term average spectrum (LTAS)". *Journal of Voice* 10(1), 59–66.

*Meriam-Webster dictionary*. 2015. Merriam-Webster, Incorporated. http://www.merriam-webster.com/

Moyer A. 2007. "Do Language Attitudes Determine Accent? A Study of Bilinguals in the USA." *Journal of Multilingual And Multicultural Development* 28 (6), 502-518.

Möllering G. 2011. "The Nature of Trust: From Georg Simmel to a Theory of Expectation, Interpretation and Suspension". *Sociology* 35(2), 403-420.

Mundo J. M., Derwing T.M. 1995. "Processing time, accent and comprehensibility in the perception of foreign and native-accented speech". *Language and Speech* 38(3), 289-306.

Regan D. T., Fazio R .H. 1977. "On the consistency between attitudes and behavior: Look to the method of attitude formation". *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 13, 28–45.

Rosseel L., Geeraerts D., Speelman D. 2014. "Auditory affective priming: Exploring new methods to measure attitudes to language varieties".  Methods in Dialectology. Groningen: Netherlands, 11-15 August 2014.

Speelman D., Spruyt A., Impe L., Geeraerts, D. 2013. "Language attitudes revisited: Auditory affective priming". *Journal of Pragmatics* 52, 83-92.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. 1986. "The social identity theory of inter-group behaviour". In S. Worchel and L. W. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tokumoto M., Shibata M. 2011. "Asian varieties of English: Attitudes towards pronunciation". *World Englishes* 30(3), 392–408.

Torsello, D. 2008. "Action speaks louder than words? Trust, Trustworthiness and Social Transformation in Slovakia". *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 17(1), 96-118.

Trudgill P. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Raki T., Steffens M.C., Mummendey A. 2011. "When it matters how you pronounce it: The

influence of regional accents on job interview outcome". *British Journal of Psychology* 102, 868–883.

Rubin D. L. 1992. "Nonlanguage factors affecting undergraduates' judgements of non-native English-speaking teaching assistants".  *Research in Higher Education*, 33(4), 511-531.

Seiter J.S., Larsen J., Skinner J. 1998. ""Handicapped" or "Handi-capable?": The Effects of Language about Persons with Disabilities on Perceptions of Source Credibility and Persuasiveness". *Communication Reports* 11(1), 21-31.

Schiffman L., O'Cass A., Paladino A., Carlson J. 2013. *Consumer Behaviour*. New York: Pearson Higher Education.

Yook C., Lindemann S. 2013. "The role of speaker identification in Korean university students' attitudes towards five varieties of English". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34(3), 279-296.

Zaki, J. 2013. "Cue Integration: A Common Framework for Social Cognition and Physical Perception". *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 8: 296-312.

Zhang, W., & Hu, G. 2008. "Research note: second language learners' attitudes towards English varieties". *Language Awareness* 17, 342-347.

Zwickl S. 2002. *Language attitudes, ethnic identity and dialect use across the Northern Ireland border: Armagh and Monaghan*. Belfast: Clo Ollscoil na Banriona.

# 6. Appendix

## 6.1. Abstract

This thesis examines the effect of various accents in English on perception of trustworthiness. According to previous research (Giles, 1970; Garrett et al. 2003), people tend to rate speakers with standard accents higher in the status dimension because they see such speakers as more competent and intelligent. On the other hand, speakers with regional accents get better evaluation in the solidarity dimension for being more likable. Moreover, a speaker's belonging to the in-group also plays a role. Informants have more positive attitudes to the people with the accents similar to their own. All these findings were considered in the present study.

The study employed three accents – standard British, Scottish and Russian and aimed to find out if attitudes to these accents may have effect on the actual behaviour of the listeners, more precisely, on their trust to the speakers. It was assumed that the concept of trust is two-fold. The participants may be inclined to trust a speaker because they judge him/her as competent. Alternatively, they may tend to agree with a speaker if they perceive his/her accent as likeable. As a result, twenty-four statements, recorded in three accents, covered two dimensions: status and solidarity. The respondents had the task to listen to the statements and to identify them as 'true' or 'false'.

The findings of the present study reveal little similarity with the previous research. The effect of the accents were not obvious when the whole sample was analysed. However, when other variables, like the gender and the home language of the participants were included, it became clear that although the accents had effect on perception of speakers' trustworthiness, this relation was very complicated.

Contrary to the accent prestige theory of Giles (1970) the respondents did not trust the speaker with the standard accent more than the speakers with the non-standard accents in the status dimension. Moreover, English native speakers tended to agree to the statements said with the non-standard accents more often. In the solidarity dimension, Russian EFL speakers trusted Russian and British guises the most. While other EFL speakers and English native speakers found the British guise the most trustworthy.

In terms of the gender effect, the findings had a very complicated pattern. Female participants tended to trust British and Russian guises more often while males demonstrated the most agreement with the British speakers. On the other hand, no obvious correlation between the both genders and their reactions to the statements was found.

## 6.2. Zusammenfassung

Diese Diplomarbeit untersucht die Wirkung von verschiedenen Akzenten in Englisch auf der Wahrnehmung der Zuverlässigkeit. Gemäß vorherigen Forschungen (Giles, 1970; Garrett u. a. 2003), neigen die Menschen auf der einen Seite dazu, Personen die mit Standardakzenten sprechen diese höher in der Statusdimension einzuschätzen. Personen mit einem derartigen Akzent werden somit folglich entsprechend fähiger und intelligenter gesehen. Andererseits werden Personen mit Regionalakzenten hinsichtlich der Bewertung in der Solidaritätsdimensionen Besserung sympathischer eingestuft. Außerdem spielt die Zugehörigkeit eines Sprechers zur sogenannten „in-group" eine Rolle. Informanten haben positivere Einstellungen gegenüber den Leuten mit ähnlichen Akzenten. Alle diese Forschungsergebnisse wurden in der vorliegenden Studie berücksichtigt und einbezogen.

Die Studie behandelt drei Akzenttypen - Standard britisch, schottisch und russisch und Ziel darauf ab herauszufinden, ob Einstellungen gegenüber gewissen Aktzenten einen Effekt auf das Vertrauen der Zuhörer gegenüber den Sprechern haben. Es wurde angenommen, dass das Konzept des Vertrauens zweifach ist. Die Teilnehmer können dazu neigen, einem Sprecher zu vertrauen, weil sie diesen als fähig beurteilen. Alternativ können sie dazu neigen, mit einem Sprecher übereinzustimmen, wenn sie seinen/ihren Akzent als sympathisch wahrnehmen. Infolgedessen haben vierundzwanzig Behauptungen, die in drei Akzenten aufgezeichnet worden sind, zwei Dimensionen abgedeckt: Status und Solidarität. Die Befragten hatten die Aufgabe, den Behauptungen zuzuhören und sie als 'wahr' oder 'falsch' zu identifizieren.

Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Studie zeigen wenig Ähnlichkeit mit den vorherigen Forschungsergebnissen. Die angenommene Wirkung der Akzente war nicht erkennbar, als der gesamte Datensatz analysiert wurde. Jedoch, als andere Variablen, wie das Geschlecht und die Muttersprache der Teilnehmer berücksichtigt wurden, hat sich gezeigt, dass der Akzent Auswirkungen auf die Wahrnehmung der Zuverlässigkeit von Sprechern hatte. Allerdings ist dieser Zusammenhang sehr kompliziert.

Entgegen der Akzentprestigetheorie von Giles (1970) haben die Befragten den Sprechern mit dem Standardakzent nicht mehr anvertraut als diejenigen mit den Sonderakzenten in Bezug auf die Statusdimension. Außerdem haben englische Muttersprachler häufiger dazu tendiert, den Behauptungen zuzustimmen, die von Sprechern mit den Sonderakzenten gelesen wurden. In der Solidaritätsdimension

haben russische EFL Sprecher russischen und britischen akzentuierten Personen am häufigsten vertraut. Während andere EFL Sprecher und englische Muttersprachler die britischen akzentuierten als vertrauenswürdigste gefunden haben.

In Bezug auf die Geschlechterwirkung hatten die Ergebnisse ein sehr kompliziertes Muster. Weibliche Teilnehmer haben dazu geneigt, britischen und russischen Aktzenten öfter zu vertrauen, während Männer die größte Eintracht mit den britischen Sprechern demonstriert haben. Andererseits konnte keine erkennbare und signifikante Korrelation zwischen den Geschlechtern und ihren Reaktionen auf die Behauptungen nachgewiesen werden.

**6.3. Questionnaire**

**Are you a fast thinker?**

You will participate in a quiz with 24 questions. The quiz checks if you can make fast decisions about the truth/probability of statements spoken in English.
It takes about 5-6 minutes**.**
Listen to the statements. Mark each statement as '**true'** if you agree with the speaker or **'false'** if you disagree. Please, do not skip any statements; when you are not sure, use your intuition. You will hear each statement only once and they will succeed one another at a fast rate.
**Good luck and thank you!**

**Instructions:**
Play the audio file **once** and answer the questions while listening.
Do NOT stop the track!
Please, make sure that you are **not** in a noisy room or use **earphones.**

---

*2. Statement 1

     ○    True

     ○    False

*3. Statement 2

     ○    True

     ○    False

[Questions 4-25 include Statements 3-24]

*26. Your gender

     ○    Male

     ○    Female

*27. Your nationality

*28. What is your home language?

*29. What other languages can you speak somewhat fluently (B2-C2)

*30. Your age

- ○ 15-19
- ○ 20-30
- ○ 31-40
- ○ 41-50
- ○ 50+

*31. Your highest degree

- ○ Bachelor
- ○ Master
- ○ Doctor
- ○ Other (specify)
- ○ No degree

*32. Have you lived abroad for longer than 3 months? If yes, where?

*33. Was the sound quality good enough?

- ○ Yes, I heard clearly all the statements.
- ○ I heard most of them, but had problems with 1-3 statements.
- ○ No, I could not hear half of the statements clearly.
- ○ No, I had problmes with all the statements.

34. If you are interested in results, please, write your e-mail here.

*it is not required

### 6.4. List of statements

1. "The Big Apple" is a nickname for New York City.
2. Silver has a higher melting point than Gold.
3. The tibia is the second longest bone in the human body.
4. The famous physicist Albert Einstein never won a Nobel Prize.
5. The most attractive city in Borgmenia is Al Fasul.
6. The Eiffel Tower was destroyed in the terror attacks in 2002.
7. The service in the Budapest Excelsior is a catastrophe.
8. Tom Wilkinson is a very nice guy.
9. An Ebola vaccine will be discovered within the next two years.
10. Elizabeth II reigns in the
11. The next president of the United States is probably going to be Hilary Clinton.
12. People will be able to prevent environmental disasters in future.
13. The monotreme lays eggs but is still a mammal.
14. There is no exception to the rule that insects have 6 legs.
15. Mercury is the hottest planet in the Solar System.
16. It is important to respect other cultures.
17. It is likely that inflation will rise in Europe in 2015.
18. Same-sex marriage will never be legal in Russia.
19. Humanity will discover extra-terrestrial life-forms at one point in the future.
20. All people are lazy and indifferent.
21. 'Crazy Nanny' is Barry Smith's best novel.
22. Fizzly Grizzly Soda tastes slightly better than Pepsi.
23. It's not fun to live in Sponville.
24. Child abuse is a terrible thing.

## 6.5. List of p-values

**Table 13. List of p-values**

\*BE-British English accent; SE –Scottish English accent; RE –Russian English accent;

NS –English native speakers; NNS – non-native speakers of English; RS – Russian native speakers; F – Facts; P- Predictions; EJ – Evaluative Judgements

|  | p-value | ϕ |
|---|---|---|
| **1. Speakers' Accent/Participants' home language** | | |
| BE NS/NNS/RS* | 0,055 | |
| BE NS/NNS | 0,69 | |
| BE NS/RS | 0.17 | |
| BE NNS/RS | **0,019** | 0.064 |
| SE NS/NNS/RS* | 0.2437 | |
| SE NNS/RS | 0.1129 | |
| SE NS/RS | 0.59 | |
| SE NS/NNS | 0.50 | |
| RE NS/NNS/RS* | **0.02074** | 0.06 |
| RE NS/NNS | 0.1248 | |
| RE NS/RS | **0.007** | 0.1 |
| RE NNS/RS | 0.07957 | |
| **2. Participants' home language/speakers' accent/type of statement** | | |
| NS BEF/SEF/REF | 0.05249 | |
| NS BEF/SEF | 0.2912 | |
| NS BEF/REF | 0.281 | |
| NS SEF/REF | **0.02284** | 0.17 |
| NNS BEF/SEF/REF | 0.3519 | |
| NNS SEF/REF | 0.6339 | |
| NNS BEF/SEF | 0.4242 | |
| NNS BEF/REF | 0.1755 | |
| RS BEF/SEF/REF | 0.4518 | |
| RS BEF/REF | 0.2566 | |
| RS BEF/SEF | 0.6143 | |
| RS SEF/REF | 0.6134 | |
| NS BEP/SEP/REP | 0.0735 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NS BEP/SEP | 0.0971 | |
| NS BEP/REP | 0.879 | |
| NS SEP/REP | **0.05** | 0.14 |
| NNS BEP/SEP/REP | 0.4863 | |
| NNS BEP/SEP | 0.3022 | |
| NNS BEP/REP | 0.3824 | |
| NNS SEP/REP | 0.9369 | |
| | | |
| RS BEP/SEP/REP | 0.7383 | |
| RS BEP/SEP | 0.7011 | |
| RS BEP/REP | 0.5235 | |
| RS SEP/REP | 0.8989 | |
| | | |
| NS EJBE/EJSE/EJRE | **0.0390** | 0.15 |
| NS EJBE/EJSE | 0.8786 | |
| NS EJBE/EJRE | **0.02659** | 0.1 |
| NS EJSE/EJRE | **0.05** | 0.1 |
| | | |
| NNS EJBE/EJSE/EJRE | 0.07131 | |
| NNS EJBE/EJSE | **0.02669** | 0.08 |
| NNS EJBE/EJRE | 0.3142 | |
| NNS EJSE/EJRE | 0.2513 | |
| | | |
| RS EJBE/EJSE/EJRE | 0.06832 | |
| RS EJBE/EJSE | 0.1614 | |
| RS EJBE/EJRE | 0.5287 | |
| RS EJSE/EJRE | **0.03143** | 0.1 |
| | | |
| 3. Accent/ Type of statement/home language | | |
| | | |
| BE F NS/NNS/RS | 0.09068 | |
| BE F NS/NNS | 0.6544 | |
| BE F NS/RS | 0.3068 | |
| BE F NNS/RS | 0.**03706** | 0.09 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SE F NS/NNS/RS | 0.2 | |
| SE F NS/NNS | 0.1662 | |
| SE F NS/RS | 0.5616 | |
| SE F NNS/RS | 0.5058 | |
| | | |
| RE F NS/NNS/RS | 0.1653 | |
| RE F NS/NNS | 0.0758 | |
| RE F NS/RS | 0.2265 | |
| RE F NNS/RS | 0.7653 | |
| | | |
| BE P NS/NNS/RS | 0.7283 | |
| BE P NS/NNS | 0.9791 | |
| BE P NS/RS | 0.5919 | |
| BE P NNS/RS | 0.5378 | |
| | | |
| SE P NS/NNS/RS | 0.0902 | |
| SE P NS/NNS | 0.1176 | |
| SE P NS/RS | **0.0418** | |
| SE P NNS/RS | 0.4013 | |
| | | |
| RE P NS/NNS/RS | 0.6574 | |
| RE P NS/NNS | 0.4616 | |
| RE P NS/RS | 0.4616 | |
| RE P NNS/RS | 0.6763 | |
| | | |
| BE EJ NS/NNS/RS | 0.4379 | |
| BE EJ NS/NNS | 0.7977 | |
| BE EJ NS/RS | 0.6159 | |
| BE EJ NNS/RS | 0.239 | |
| | | |
| SE EJ NS/NNS/RS | 0.2239 | |
| SE EJ NS/NNS | 0.161 | |
| SE EJ NS/RS | 0.785 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SE EJ NNS/RS | 0.282 | |
| | | |
| RE EJ NS/NNS/RS | **0.00028** | 0.4 |
| RE EJ NS/NNS | 0.08209 | |
| RE EJ NS/RS | **0.00022** | 0.4616 |
| RE EJ NNS/RS | 0.00349 | 0.1 |
| | | |
| Female Predictions BE/SE | **0.0502** | 0.07 |
| Female Predictions BE/RE | 0.4387 | |
| Female Predictions SE/RE | 0.2584 | |
| | | |
| Male EJ BE/SE/RE | **0.04675** | 0.12 |
| Male EJ BE/SE | **0.02742** | 0.37 |
| Male EJ BE/RE | 0.08367 | |
| Male EJ SE/RE | 0.7185 | |
| | | |
| Female EJ BE/SE/RE | 0.1388 | |
| Female EJ BE/SE | 0.0568 | |
| Female EJ BE/RE | 0.4492 | |
| Female EJ SE/RE | 0.2831 | |
| 4. Gender/home language/accent/type of statement | | |
| Male NS Facts BE/SE/RE | 0.1767 | |
| Male NS Facts BE/SE | 0.1211 | |
| Male NS Facts BE/RE | 0.7945 | |
| Male NS Facts SE/RE | 0.2993 | |
| | | |
| Male NNS Facts BE/SE/RE | 0.1161 | |
| Male NNS Facts BE/SE | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Male NNS Facts BE/RE | 0.1579 | |
| Male NNS Facts SE/RE | 0.1161 | |
| | | |
| Male RS Facts BE/SE/RE | 0.1298 | |
| Male RS Facts BE/SE | 0.6624 | |
| Male RS Facts BE/RE | 0.2613 | |
| Male RS Facts SE/RE | 0.0766 | |
| | | |
| Male NS Predictions BE/SE/RE | 0.2478 | |
| Male NS Predictions BE/SE | 1 | |
| Male NS Predictions BE/RE | 0.3014 | |
| Male NS Predictions SE/RE | 0.1957 | |
| | | |
| Male NNS Predictions BE/SE/RE | 0.1833 | |
| Male NNS Predictions BE/SE | 0.8735 | |
| Male NNS Predictions BE/RE | 0.2107 | |
| Male NNS Predictions SE/RE | 0.117 | |
| | | |
| Male RS Predictions BE/SE/RE | 0.6608 | |
| Male RS Predictions BE/SE | 1 | |
| Male RS Predictions BE/RE | 0.6608 | |
| Male RS Predictions SE/RE | 0.6624 | |
| | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Male NS EJ BE/SE/RE | 0.5097 | |
| Male NS EJ BE/SE | 1 | |
| Male NS EJ BE/RE | 0.5667 | |
| Male NS EJ SE/RE | 0.398 | |
| | | |
| Male NNS EJ BE/SE/RE | **0.0429** | 0,2 |
| Male NNS EJ BE/SE | **0.0194** | 0,2 |
| Male NNS EJ BE/RE | 0.4207 | |
| Male NNS EJ SE/RE | 0.1671 | |
| | | |
| Male RS EJ BE/SE/RE | 0.2867 | |
| Male RS  EJ BE/SE | 0.1873 | |
| Male RS EJ BE/RE | 0.8273 | |
| Male RS EJ SE/RE | 0.376 | |
| | | |
| Female NS Facts BE/SE/RE | **0.044** | 2 |
| Female NS Facts BE/SE | 0.8474 | |
| Female NS Facts BE/RE | 0.0756 | |
| Female NS Facts SE/RE | **0.03122** | 0.2 |
| | | |
| Female NNS Facts BE/SE/RE | 0.425 | |
| Female NNS Facts BE/SE | 0.2614 | |
| Female NNS Facts BE/RE | 0.3488 | |
| Female NNS Facts SE/RE | 0.9258 | |
| | | |
| Female RS Facts BE/SE/RE | 0.4419 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Female RS Facts BE/SE | 0.2684 | |
| Female RS Facts BE/RE | 0.7514 | |
| Female RS Facts SE/RE | 0.5268 | |
| | | |
| Female NS Predictions BE/SE/RE | 0.09558 | |
| Female NS Predictions BE/SE | **0.05** | 0.2 |
| Female NS Predictions BE/RE | 0.55 | |
| Female NS Predictions SE/RE | 0.2475 | |
| | | |
| Female NNS Predictions BE/SE/RE | 0.7687 | |
| Female NNS Predictions BE/SE | 0.5315 | |
| Female NNS Predictions BE/RE | 0.8521 | |
| Female NNS Predictions SE/RE | 0.7269 | |
| | | |
| Female RS Predictions BE/SE/RE | 0.6128 | |
| Female RS Predictions BE/SE | 0.4172 | |
| Female RS Predictions BE/RE | 0.6242 | |
| Female RS Predictions SE/RE | 0.8724 | |
| | | |
| Female NS EJ BE/SE/RE | 0.3347 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Female NS EJ BE/SE | 1 | |
| Female NS EJ BE/RE | 0.323 | |
| Female NS EJ SE/RE | 0.2382 | |
| | | |
| Female NNS EJ BE/SE/RE | 0.2625 | |
| Female NNS EJ BE/SE | 0.1254 | |
| Female NNS EJ BE/RE | 0.4011 | |
| Female NNS EJ SE/RE | 0.5371 | |
| | | |
| Female RS EJ BE/SE/RE | 0.1934 | |
| Female RS EJ BE/SE | 0.1128 | |
| Female RS EJ BE/RE | 0.7186 | |
| Female RS EJ SE/RE | 0.266 | |
| | | |
| 5. Male&Female/home language/type of statement/accent | | |
| MF NS BEF | 0.6240 | |
| MF NS SEF | 0.4317 | |
| MF NS REF | 0.1856 | |
| | | |
| MF NS BEP | **0.0326** | |
| MF NS SEP | 0.5323 | |
| MF NS REP | 0.8174 | |
| | | |
| MF NS BEJ | 0.4460 | |
| MF NS SEJ | 0.5323 | |
| MF NS REJ | 0.4768 | |
| | | |
| MF NNS BEF | 0.8617 | |
| MF NNS SEF | 0.2145 | |
| MF NNS REF | 0.4632 | |
| | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MF NNS BEP | 0.6905 | |
| MF NNS SEP | 0.3257 | |
| MF NNS REP | 0.3920 | |
| | | |
| MF NNS BEJ | 0.9894 | |
| MF NNS SEJ | 0.0676 | |
| MF NNS REJ | 0.6206 | |
| | | |
| MF RS BEF | 0.3053 | |
| MF RS SEF | 0.4380 | |
| MF RS REF | **0.0320** | |
| | | |
| MF RS BEP | 0.3949 | |
| MF RS SEP | 0.7719 | |
| MF RS REP | 0.1908 | |
| | | |
| MF RS BEJ | 0.8449 | |
| MF RS SEJ | 0.2992 | |
| MF RS REJ | 0.3279 | |
| | | |

## 6.6. Curriculum Vitae

**PERSONAL DATA**

| | |
|---|---|
| Name: | Kseniia Panicheva |
| Date of birth: | 30.08.1988 |
| Place of birth: | Cherepovets, Russia |
| Nationality: | Russian |
| E-Mail address: | kspanicheva@hotmail.com |

**EDUCATION**

| | |
|---|---|
| 2005-2010 | Cherepovets State University. English Philology |
| 2012-2015 | University of Vienna. English Language and Linguistics. MA |

**WORKING EXPERIENCE**

| | |
|---|---|
| 2010-2012 | English teacher, secondary school Cherepovets, Russia |
| 12. 2010-05.2011 | English teacher, language course for children Cherepovets, Russia |

**LANGUAGES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Russian | Mother tongue |
| English | Excellent |
| German | Good |
| Spanish | Basic |