

Banzai Hawaiiana? How do immigrants to paradise feel about accented Englishes?

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Introduction

As America's 50th State, Hawaii enjoys the reputation of being a diverse society. According to the 2019 census, the population consists of: Asian 37.6%, white 25.5%, Hispanic and Latinos 10.7%, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific islanders 10.1%, African American 2.2%, American Indian or Alaska Native 0.4%, and other races 13.5%. Out of 37.6%, almost half of the Asian Americans are Japanese Americans, who are my primary interest. This is because a lot of Japanese people immigrated almost 150 years ago, most of whom were sugar plantation workers. Also, they experienced extreme hardship during the WWII period, because they had been seen as an "enemy of America".

After WWII, Japanese-Americans have been playing important and crucial roles in the Hawaiian islands society. Many of them seem to work in professional jobs (e.g. politicians, lawyers, real estate agents, and doctors) and have a higher standard living than other 'minority' groups. Of course, now it is the 21st century, most descendants of native Japanese do not speak Japanese; they speak English, or slightly 'accented' English, which people think of as a part of *Hawaiiana*, Hawaiian culture.

One of the ways to study people's feelings is to elicit how people associate and think of other people, how people regard themselves, and whether people view 'accented Englishes' positively or negatively by using statistics. Since language and identity are closely tied up (Gumperz, 1982), it seems to be significant to attempt to

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study people's perception toward Asians – in short, the study of language attitudes.

Language attitudinal studies are useful ways to investigate people's feelings on varieties of language. Although there have been many research studies on Native speakers (NSs) of English by NSs, Nonnative Speakers of English (NNSs) by NSs and NNSs, attitudinal studies focusing on non-native Englishes have been much less documented. Therefore, it is desirable that these studies should be called for. Hawaii might represent the future of Japan, where more immigrants will be coming to settle and it will become a more diverse society. In order to cope with conflicts and negative feelings, which might be issues between or among minority groups, a study of language attitudes is essential.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first quantitative study of how NNSs evaluate varieties of NNSs of English in Hawaii.

Language Attitudes

Baker (1992), who summarizes language attitudinal studies developed by researchers, highlights three main reasons why attitude studies are important. First, in the life of language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in the sense of language restoration, preservation, decay, or death. Second, a survey of attitudes indicates current community thoughts and beliefs, preference and desires. Attitudinal surveys indicate social changing beliefs and the opportunities of success in policy implementation. Third, attitudinal continuity and proven utility is also important. This means that, within the discipline of education and psychology, it has stood the tests of time, theory and taste. Attitudinal studies have proven a valuable construct in theory and research, policy and practice.

Definitions of language attitude

According to Cargile and Giles (1997), it is widely recognized that attitudes include not only cognitively based reactions to an attitude-object, but also feelings about the attitude-object. Such a view traces back to the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) on the language attitudes of Anglophone and Francophone Canadians toward English and French. Gardner set up 'a socio educational model' of second language acquisition, and his definition of language attitude is still relevant. He defined that an attitude has cognitive, affective, and conative components and consists of an underlying psychological predisposition to act or evaluate behavior in a certain way (Gardner, 1985). Attitude is thus related to a person's values and beliefs and promotes or discourages the choices made in all realms of activity, whether academic or informal (McGroarty, 1996). In addition, Baker (1992) also recognizes three components of attitude, which include cognitive (e.g. thought and beliefs), affective (e.g. feelings to language) and conative (i.e. readiness for action) components. Considering those definitions developed by researchers, it seems pervasive that an attitude has cognitive, affective as well as conative properties.

A methodological review of early work on language attitudes

As many scholars (Bradac, 1990; Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac, 1994; Cargile and Giles, 1997) point out, research on language attitudes has a long history. It can be traced back to the 1930s (e.g. Bloomfield, 1933); however, modern language attitudinal studies began in the 1960s. Although there are various alternative methods for measuring language attitudes (Baker, 1992), three investigative techniques have been used to clarify people's attitudes to many sorts of language varieties (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982).

The first method is content analysis, where researchers compare various

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sources such as newspaper, government documents or broadcast media focusing on one particular topic. According to Cargile et al. (1994), a good illustration of content analysis is the study by Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971). Fishman et al. (1971) used the English language and Spanish language newspapers of New York to compare the treatment of the Puerto Rican ethnic group, language, and cultural concerns. However, as scholars develop various aspects of issues relating to language attitudes (e.g. accent, voice quality, speech rate, or lexical diversity), content analysis became limiting.

The second method is the direct method. That includes, for instance, interviews and questionnaires. People ask subjects directly what their attitudes are toward target languages or regional dialects, so that researchers can obtain real and specific comments. A good example is a well-known study by Labov (1966) of New Yorkers' speech, where subjects listened to recorded voices and were asked to judge which classes speakers were in. This method is still valid in sociolinguistics.

The third one is the 'speaker evaluation paradigm' (Ryan, Giles and Hewstone, 1988). In this method, subjects are asked to evaluate recorded voices, where speakers usually read aloud the same texts, without any background information about the recorded speakers. The evaluations include various items, for example, whether a target speaker is friendly or not, or whether participants feel comfortable with the speech or not, and others (e.g. Bayard, Weatherall, Gallois and Pittam, 2001). Speaker evaluation is thought to be quite valid "because other linguistic factors are supposedly controlled...considered to reflect the listeners' underlying attitudes toward the target language variety or behavior...and provides an indirect way to obtain language attitudes that is less sensitive to reflection and social desirability biases than are those reported in a questionnaire" (Cargile and Giles, 1997: 213). In addition, some researchers have developed a general speech instrument. This includes the Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale by Mulac (1975) and the Speech Evaluation Instrument by Zahn and Hopper (1985).

Speech Evaluation Instrument

According to Zahn and Hopper (1985), previous language attitudinal studies have employed 'Semantic differential technique' or 'Likert-scale' type items with few measures exhibiting consistent factors across different studies. It is against this background that Mulac (1975) and Zahn and Hopper (1985) created their speech evaluation instruments. Mulac (1975) developed the Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scales (SDAs), with factor analysis of speaker evaluations in a series of experiments. The scale has three dimensions: socio-intellectual status, aesthetic quality, and dynamism. The socio-intellectual status refers to items such as high socio-status/low socio-status, literate/illiterate, rich/poor, and white-collar/blue-collar. Aesthetic quality consists of items such as sweet/sour, pleasing/displeasing, nice/awful, and beautiful/ugly. Dynamism includes items such as strong/weak, active/passive, aggressive/unaggressive, and soft/loud. These items are evaluated by listeners on a seven-point scale, and the SDAs yields a consistent factor structure.

Zahn and Hopper (1985) also devised a comprehensible instrument according to the following procedure: first, items loaded from various research programs were identified and pooled. The initial items were 152. Thirty-one items were discarded, for they were not relevant to language attitudes (e.g. high-pitch or low-pitch), and the 121 items were reduced to 56 based on redundancy or similar items. Then, they carried out their experiment.

572 undergraduates were subjects; 294 students each heard one of four audio-taped speakers, each of whom spoke for two or three minutes; the remaining 278 students each heard one of 25 job interviews, each lasting 20 minutes. In those tapes, speakers spoke south-western varieties of American English. Each of the subjects was presented with the speech and then instructed to rate the speakers on the 56 semantic differential items, which were presented in randomized orders.

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The data were subjected to factor analysis, and three factors were rated obliquely. The final solution was based on 30 items. The three factors were labeled “Superiority”, “Attractiveness”, and “Dynamism”. Reliabilities were assessed, using Cronbach’s coefficient alpha, and each factor showed a result of more than 0.91, which means quite reliable. Their research also shows the consistency of the SDAs by Mulac (1975). The three factors were also found and most of the SDAs items loaded on one of the three factors.

Critics against the speaker evaluation

Speaker evaluation has been widely used to study language attitudes; however, Cargile and Giles (1997) and Giles and Coupland (1991) argue that four problematic aspects affect the speaker evaluation. First of all, intelligibility or comprehensibility is a key factor to determine listeners’ preferences. Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu and Shearman (2002) investigated the relationship between intelligibility and affective response towards American and foreign-accented English by American university undergraduates, most of whose native language is English. The researchers concluded that while American English is most preferred, intelligible foreign-accented speech resulted in a more positive attitude and affective response, compared to a foreign accent that was unintelligible. Orikasa (2016) explored the extent to which Japanese college students found different varieties of English (Chinese, Korean and American) to be intelligible and unintelligible. She concluded that American female and Vietnamese male were relatively unintelligible, and that the speech rate may be a contributor to comprehensibility.

Second, both the strength of a speakers’ accent and the fluency of his or her speech are important (Cargile and Giles, 1997). White and Liu (1991) showed that non-native speakers of both Chinese and American English who are less fluent are rated more negatively than native speakers who are fluent. Third, speech rate

influences listeners' evaluation. According to Munro and Derwing (1998), who elicited American undergraduates' impression of Mandarin speakers of English, suggested that participants evaluated the speech read slowly modified by a computer as more accented and less comprehensible than normal-rate speech, and that listeners preferred the faster speech. Fourth, and lastly, Cargile and Giles (1998) insisted that a message content should be an independent variable in the speaker evaluation by referring to their several associates' studies (Giles, Coupland, Henwood, Harriman and Coupland, 1992; Giles and Johnson, 1986; Johnson and Butty, 1982).

Though there are criticisms against speaker evaluation, and against language attitudes (e.g. Potter and Weatherall, 1987), as Baker (1992) states, the measurement of attitudes is unlikely to warrant one style of approach. Some might choose the 'Likert Scaling,' the 'matched guised' technique, or 'speaker evaluation,' while other researchers may choose and decide on different methods, according to their research topic or preference.

Language attitude studies

Attitudes towards native Englishes

Since so-called 'Kachruvian circles of English' (1985) was described, a number of research on language attitudes to 'native Englishes' seem to have been evaluated by natives themselves (e.g. Bayard, 1990; Bayard et al., 2001; Ray and Zahn, 1999) and by non-natives (e.g. Ladegaard, 1998; Matsuura, Chiba and Yamamoto, 1995). The research tends to show that "standard accented speakers are rated highly on traits related to competence, intelligence, and social status, whereas non-standard accented speakers are evaluated less favorably on these same traits, even by listeners who themselves speak with a non-standard accent" (Cargile and Giles, 1998; Kachru, 2005); their definition of 'standard' seems to be based on Englishes

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of 'core' countries. In fact, according to Bayard et al. (2001), who compared New Zealanders' attitudes to New Zealand English, Australian English, American English, and RP-type English, within 'native Englishes,' American English is rated highest. Compared with attitudes to non-native Englishes in general, it is safe to say that attitudes to native Englishes (particular, the North American variety) are more positive.

Attitudinal studies focusing on non-native Englishes, however, are not often documented. Most attitudinal studies dealing with non-native Englishes are a combined type, where listeners evaluate both native Englishes and non-native Englishes, perhaps because researchers wish to show a significant result. Indeed, there are a smaller number of language attitude studies concerning non-native Englishes and foreign accented speech of English only, probably because of the prevailing ideology that non-natives are regarded as less important. Recent attention, however, has been paid to World Englishes, and particular English varieties as a second or as a foreign language, partly because linguists claim that all languages are equal, and partly because there is increasingly a greater number of non-native speakers of English than native speakers.

Attitudes towards non-native Englishes and foreign accented Englishes

Cargile and Giles (1998) report that previous studies show that Americans evaluated Spanish-accented (Bradac and Wisengarver, 1984; Ryan and Caranza, 1975), Appalachian-accented (Luhman, 1990) and Afro-American vernacular-accented (Johnson and Butty, 1982) English negatively on status traits, though they are equally liked with standard American English. German-accented (Ryan and Bulik, 1982), Norwegian-accented and Italian-accented speech (Mulac, Hanley and Prigge, 1974) are evaluated negatively not only on status traits but also on favorable traits. In contrast, British (Stewart, Ryan and Giles, 1985) and Malaysian (Gill,

1994) accented English speakers have status traits, but do not have favorable traits.

Two language attitudinal studies show slightly different results. Garret (1992) elicited the language attitudes of both native speakers of English, who come from different regions in the U.K., and a small number of non-native speakers, who have European other than French and Spanish, to French- and Spanish-accented English. In general, according to Garret, NSs were more tolerant of both French- and Spanish-accented English than NNSs were. Specifically, there is a significant difference in 'likeability' between NSs and NNSs. Also, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002) examined the preference of Spanish undergraduates to native English teachers or non-native English teachers. The questionnaire showed that Spanish students want to have a class with native English speakers or a combination of native plus non-native teachers rather than with non-natives. Additionally, Magen (1998), though she does not investigate language attitudes, deals with native speakers' perception of foreign accented speech at a phonological level. She showed that American listeners are sensitive to syllable structure factors, final /s/ deletion, consonant manner, and lexical and phrasal stress, but were not sensitive to voicing differences. The consistent result by native English speakers toward non-native Englishes is negative and non-native speakers are also negative about their Englishes, though there is much less research in this area.

Attitudes towards Hawaiian accented English and Creole

Schwartz (2018) gave a presentation that in Hawaii, Hawaiian Creole, widely used in colloquial situations in the islands, is "viewed as fine for causal situations but not for formal situations". Her study is how teachers in Hawaii think of pidgin and creole. Although there are some statistical flaws, she provides interesting qualitative data (i.e. open ended questionnaires). It suggests that school teachers use Hawaiian Creole for "understanding, rapport or support".

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Ohama et al (2000) also investigated this theme. Ohama and her team statistically compared Standard English and Hawaiian Creole English and their results were consistent with the result that Standard English is preferred in general, but in Dynamism trait, Hawaiian Creole is favored.

Language Attitudes towards Japanese-accented English

What attitudes exist towards Japanese-accented English? Cargile and Giles (1998) did a study involving American undergraduates, who identified themselves as Anglo, and their perception of Japanese-accented varieties of American English. They set up two types of variables. First, they used four types of Japanese English (Standard American, moderate Japanese accented, heavy Japanese accented and dysfluent Japanese). Second, they arranged message contents (aggressive and non-aggressive). The findings are that Japanese-accented English tend to be disliked regardless of their degree of accented English, that the Japanese are rather respected in term of social status by Americans but are not dynamic (e.g. the degree of diligence and confidence).

Takeshita (1993) elicited images of the English language, particular countries, and Japanese English among Japanese female freshmen in Tokyo. She distributed a questionnaire, on which undergraduates can freely write words and phrases. Her findings can be highlighted on three points. The first is that young female students associate English with the United States, followed by the U.K., Australia and Canada (New Zealand did not appear on the questionnaire response). The second point is the tendency for students to remember their experience of English in high school. The last point is that they regard Japanese English as an 'inferior' type of English. Although her research is uncontrolled, it is valuable in that it is a rare example that shows how Japanese young women perceive English at the beginning of the 1990s.

Chiba and Matsuura (1995) attempted to see the language attitudes or preference of both Japanese prospective teachers, who were undergraduates in a teacher training course, and American prospective teachers, who were graduate students seeking degrees in English teaching. Their purpose was to show Japanese students' attitudes in comparison to American graduates. Their semantic differential based questionnaire result indicated that Japanese undergraduates negatively regard non-native English (though readers do not know which varieties are in question) particularly in pronunciation, that they are more strict of 'erroneous' production than Americans, and that they had a strong preference for native English over non-native English.

Matsuura, Chiba and Yamamoto (1994), in turn, used the speaker evaluation technique to investigate language attitudes towards non-native Englishes. 92 Japanese undergraduate students listened to recorded voices and evaluated seven speakers (American, Bangladeshi, Chinese Malay, Hong Konger, Malay, Micronesian and Sri Lankan) on a questionnaire, which provided ten non-factor analyzed items (e.g. clear/unclear, intelligent/unintelligent) on a seven-point scale. Mean scores of non-native varieties and of a native variety were compared, and they concluded that Japanese attitudes towards non-native varieties were negative. There are, however, many methodological flaws in their study. The first point is about inconsistency, in evaluators' backgrounds. Seventeen of 92 participants have lived outside Japan more than in Japan, and this seems to affect speaker evaluations. Second is the unequal ratio of one native speaker of English to six non-native speakers. In this respect, the mean scores of non-natives (the scores were calculated all together, not respectively) and of one native seem invalid. Also, as a third point, speakers' genders are not described. Fourth, questionnaire items were not factor analyzed and it is impossible to guess why the ten items were chosen. Lastly, although speakers read aloud the same text, which was not described, readers do not know whether the speakers' rate of speech was controlled or not.

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Chiba, Matsuura and Yamamoto (1995) continued their language attitude study towards English 'accents' by using the same technique with different speakers. Participants evaluated nine male speakers on the same questionnaire used in the previous study (Matsuura, Chiba and Yamamoto, 1994). Three speakers were native speakers of English (two Americans, one British) and the other six were non-native speakers (three Japanese, one Hong Konger, one Malaysian and one Sri Lankan). The result was the same: the Japanese students responded more positively to native speakers' accents than to non-native speakers. The study also has the same methodological flaws stated for Matsuura, Chiba and Yamamoto (1994). In the 1994 and 1995 studies, investigators also wished to see the relationship of both instrumental motivation and affective attachments in language attitudes. In spite of overall ambiguous findings due most likely to methodological flaws, a consistent finding is that the Japanese strongly prefer native English (American) to non-native Englishes.

Osawa (2004) compared Japanese college students' responses to Asian varieties of English, which includes Filipino, Indian, Japanese, and Korean Englishes. Participants were instructed to listen to these speech samples, and answer 30 items, each of which has 6 scale, on the questionnaire for each speaker. The result is that whereas Indian and Filipino speakers were evaluated highly, the Japanese female speaker was rated relatively positively on 'Superiority' and 'Dynamism' traits, which means that the Japanese speaker sounds a socially respected and energetic person.

Tokumoto and Shibata (2011) examined, through self assessment, the attitudes of English learners from three Asian congruities (Japan, South Korea, and Malaysia). The results suggest that their responses depend on the educational goals and environments of each country. Malaysian students have confidence in their own variety, while Japanese and Korean students consider their own pronunciation unintelligible to some extent, particularly Japanese students showing negative

attitudes toward their Japanese accented speech.

The few language attitudinal studies regarding how NNSs perceive non-native varieties of English have been described in this section. It is worthwhile, then, to investigate this issue further. How do the immigrants in Hawaii view or evaluate non-native speakers? Are there any differences in evaluation for different non-native English varieties, particularly among Asian-accented Englishes? These questions are of importance in considering the current ideology of English in Hawaii. The next chapter explains the method used to elicit the Japanese language attitudes towards Asian-accented Englishes.

Methodology

In order to address the research questions outlined in introduction, qualitative data was collected based on a speaker evaluation questionnaire. A fair judgment of the language attitude of non-native speakers toward Asian-accented English speech can be made. This section explains about the speaker evaluation questionnaire and the procedure for the research.

Speaker Evaluation Method

Zahn and Hopper (1985) states that previous language attitudinal studies have employed ‘Semantic differential technique’ or ‘Likert-scale’ type items with few measures exhibiting consistent factors across different studies. Again, it is against this background that Mulac (1975) and Zahn and Hopper (1985) created their speech evaluation instruments. Both of their instruments are factor-analyzed, and their statistical analysis shows that the reliability is quite high (Cargile and Giles, 1998; Zahn and Hopper, 1985), and since then, a number of scholars employ their instrument as a basis.

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Baker (1992), who summarizes previous language attitude studies, states that the measurement of attitudes is unlikely to warrant one style of approach. Some might choose the 'Likert Scaling,' the 'matched guised' technique, or 'speaker evaluation,' while other researchers may choose and decide on different methods, according to their research topic or preference. It seems that speaker evaluation method is an objective and valid way to elicit language attitudes as long as it is statistically supported.

Though there are criticisms against speaker evaluation and against language attitudes (e.g. Potter and Weatherall, 1987), I will employ a series of questionnaire I had created for my previous study (Osawa, 2004). My questionnaire has 30 item question, each of which is factor analyzed, can be categorized three factors: 'Superiority' (or Status), 'Attractiveness', and 'Dynamism'. However, participants had to listen to eight speakers and answer 30 items for each speaker consecutively. Probably due to their fatigue, statistical data showed little statistical validity for some items (i.e. some items have *ns*). Cargiles (2002), anticipating this point, only chose 8 items, all of which are consistently factor loaded. The items, 'Superiority' (Status) and 'Attractiveness' scales, demonstrated surprising reliability (Cronbach's alpha equaled 0.79 and 0.82 respectively).

Therefore, in this study, I have selected only 8 items; the Superiority items ('intelligent'-'unintelligent', 'rich'-'poor', 'upper class'-'lower class', and 'educated'-'uneducated') and Attractiveness items ('kind'-'unkind', 'sweet'-'sour', 'likeable'-'unlikeable', 'friendly'-'unfriendly'). Each item has 6 scales to evaluate.

Before the actual speaker evaluation questionnaire, basic personal information (e.g. age, and sex) is elicited so that it would be useful to deal with the data statistically. This questionnaire is Part 1 (Questions 1 to 5; hereafter, Q1 to Q5), collects basic personal information as in the following:

Q1. Nationality: _____ Q2. Language(s) you speak: _____

Q3. I have lived in Hawaii for: _____ years _____ months.

Q4. Age (please circle): 10-19 20-29 30-39 40-49
 50-59 60-69 70-79 over 80

Q5. Sex: (please circle): Male / Female

After completing Part 1 of the questionnaire, participants listened to the audio-recorded digital files of Asian-accented English speakers recorded in a recording studio at International Christian University. The Asian-accented speakers are described in the next section, Speech Samples. Participants listened to the same speech read by different speakers whose play order was randomized and balanced according to gender (i.e. female-male-female-male), and then they evaluated each speaker on Part 2 of the questionnaire (see Appendix 1). One practice voice, which was read by a computer, was played so that participants could understand the procedure before the four voices were played. Participants were instructed to fill in the questionnaire according to their impression of the speech samples as the audio files were being played. The original seven-point scale was adapted to a six-point scale to avoid a neutral evaluation on the center scale (four points), which could mean neither good nor bad.

Research Questions

My primary research questions are:

1. How non-native speakers of English regard Asian accented Englishes in Hawaii.
2. How the evaluations of other Asian-accented Englishes (In this study, Filipino accented English only) are made in comparison with those of the Japanese.

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To do this, I have created a questionnaire form, which is already statistically proven, to elicit language attitudes. The reason why I chose Filipino accented English is that Filipino-American is the second biggest minority in Asian American group (10.7% out of 37.6%) in Hawaii.

Also, I have two types of accented English recorded voice samples (male and female), both of which are speed and contents controlled. The samples are the ones that I had used in my previous study (Osawa, 2004). Participants are instructed to listen to these speech samples, and answer the 8 items, each of which has 6 scale, on the questionnaire for each speaker. Part 2 of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix.

Participants

ESL learners at McKinley Adult School in Honolulu, Hawaii, voluntarily participated this experiment. Of the 55 participants (29 females / 26 males), all of them provided valid responses. The learners take 'English learning Acquisition' (ELA) course for 3 months. The level of participants is 'Advanced', the highest level. There are 3 levels ('Basic', 'Intermediate', and 'Advanced') in the school. All of them are immigrants who come from different countries, most of whom are from Asia. The 55 participants come from: Japan (15), South Korea (12), China (10), France (5), Vietnam (3), Taiwan (3), Russia (3), Columbia (1), Lithuania (1), Spain (1), and Thailand (1). Although most of them are in their 20s and 30s, the age range of the participants is from 21 to 68 years old, with the average age being 35.21.

55 people, listened to four accented speakers (Japanese and Filipino, male and female, respectively). After that, the participants evaluated each speaker on the designed questionnaire.

Speech samples

Speakers (female and male) from Japan, and the Philippines had been recorded for the speech samples. Speakers were encouraged to read the prepared text to be explained in another section as naturally as possible. Although the situation of English is different in each country (i.e. English is used as an official language in the Philippines, but not in Japan), both are considered to be non-native English speakers with Asian-accented English speech.

Speakers who were chosen had never lived outside their native country for more than one year and were under the age of 25. All are students from International Christian University, and their ages range from 18 to 25 (as described below). Speakers were asked to read aloud the text in around 30 seconds. The time range they achieved is between 29 to 32 seconds. Since the recording was done in a recording studio, the voice quality was quite high; that is, there was no background noise.

The Filipino female is from Manila and is 21 years old. She had never been abroad before coming to Japan and had been in Japan for just two weeks at the time of the recording. The Filipino male is from Dumaguete City and is 19 years old. He had never been abroad before he came to Japan and had also been in Tokyo for just two weeks at the time of the recording.

The Japanese female is from Kagoshima prefecture and is 20 years old. She has been in Japan all her life except for a study abroad experience in New Zealand for three months. The Japanese male is from Kyoto prefecture and is 18 years old. He has also been to New Zealand for three months, but has otherwise lived in Japan all his life.

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Speech text and phonological features

The text used was created to be as ‘neutral’ as possible in that it does not contain political or racial issues affecting listeners’ evaluation as advised by Bayard (2001). I have adapted the text used by Bayard (2001: 26) to elicit each Asian speakers’ accent by the following procedure: I have checked each Asian-accented English features at the phonological level, with reference to Jenkins (2000), and have made a ‘country-by-country’ word list to determine the distinctive pronunciation for each variety of English. Then I have picked some words to elicit the characteristic feature for each nation. For instance, most Asian English speakers do not distinguish /l/ and /r/ (or find them difficult to pronounce), and Koreans tend to pronounce /p/ instead of /f/. The text was designed with such particular words, and consists of 104 words as follows:

Hi Mom, how are you? I am very fine and enjoy my school life. I had three classes today, but one of them was bad. The teacher told us to write a report about today’s topic, but I was sleeping. So, I asked my friend about it and she said we had to submit it by tomorrow! When my class was over, I went to a big shopping center nearby and bought a new coat there. Well, I must stop here. Although it is three AM, I must go back to my desk to finish the assignment right now. Take care, Leo / Lisa

Final Word List

On the basis of idiosyncratic phonological features for each speaker from Asian countries, I made up the text presented above, using the following words: ask / bad / big / bought / coat / desk / fine / here / life / think / three / over / right / sleeping / so / stop / told / very / was.

Results & Discussion

The purpose of this study is to measure the language attitude of NNSs of English regarding Japanese and Filipino accented Englishes in the state of Hawaii. The focus of this study is to compare their evaluations toward the Asian Englishes on two factor-analyzed traits (i.e. superiority and attractiveness). The data were collected from the speaker evaluation questionnaire described in Methodology. This part explains the results of the quantitative statistical data.

The main effects of accent and gender

Participants' evaluation scores were calculated for each trait, 'superiority' and 'attractiveness'. The main effects of independent variables (i.e. speakers' accent and gender) were analyzed through the use of two-way ANOVA.

The first thing is about interaction between speaker's accent and gender. In each trait, the interaction is not significant: the effect of interaction for Superiority is $F(1, 216) = 3.87, p < ns$, Attractiveness, $F(1, 216) = 1.02, p < ns$.

The statistical analysis was done by sub-scale respectively. The ANOVA showed significant effects of the speaker's accent for Superiority, $F(1, 216) = 4.43, p < .05$, and Attractiveness, $F(1, 216) = 11.14, p < .01$.

There was not a significant effect of gender for superiority, $F(1, 216) = 1.48, ns$, but there was a significance for attractiveness trait, $F(1, 216) = 3.96, p < .05$.

Two series of comparisons for each trait: The 'Superiority' trait

Based on those significant effects, two series of comparisons for each sub-scale respectively (i.e. superiority, attractiveness) were made. Figure 1 shows the mean superiority ratings on each questionnaire item for each Asian-accented speaker .

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There are 4 questionnaire items for 'Superiority': 'intelligent'-'unintelligent', 'rich'-'poor', 'upper class'-'lower class', and 'educated'-'uneducated'.

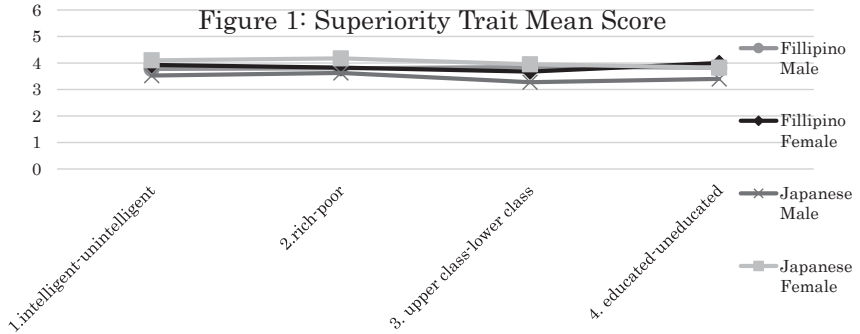


Figure 1: Figure 1, and Figure 2 display each questionnaire item for the respective sub-scale with the maximum score possible as 6.00.

With regard to Figure 1, the first important point to mention is that the Japanese female speaker is judged as the most superior speaker based on all questionnaire items. The second point is that the Japanese male speaker seems to have the lowest ranking. As a whole, female speakers are judged more positively than male speakers.

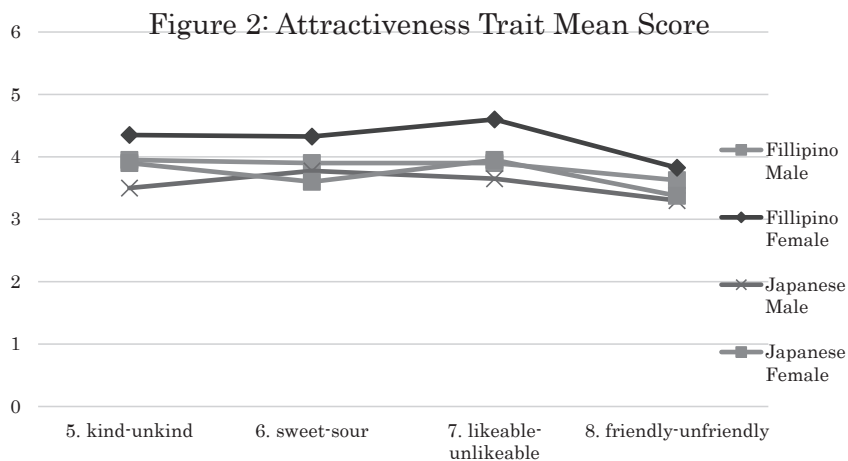
The 'Attractiveness' trait

Figure 2: Figure 2 displays the mean attractiveness of each questionnaire item. The 'Attractiveness' trait has 4 items: 'kind'-'unkind', 'sweet'-'sour', 'likeable'-'unlikeable', 'friendly'-'unfriendly'.

In the attractiveness trait, the Filipino female speaker is judged as the most attractive speaker, though she is evaluated almost the same as other speakers on item 8 (friendly-unfriendly). The Filipino male is evaluated as the second most attractive speaker, except on item (likeable-unlikeable). The Japanese female speaker is evaluated the third highest on item 6 (sweet-sour). The least favorable speaker is the Japanese male speaker except on item 6.

The whole result: mean scores and standard deviation

Table 1 shows the mean scores and standard deviation for both Asian-accented speaker in terms of 'Superiority,' and 'Attractiveness'. On superiority, the Japanese female speaker is ranked number one followed by the Filipino female speaker, the

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Filipino male speaker, and the Japanese male speaker in descending order. Again, for attractiveness, the Filipino male speaker is in the first place followed by the Filipino female speaker, the Japanese female speaker, and the Japanese male speaker.

	Superiority			Attractiveness		
	RANKING	MEAN	SD	RANKING	MEAN	SD
Filipino Female	2	3.86	1.16	2	3.84	0.94
Filipino Male	3	3.81	1.27	1	4.28	1.15
Japanese Female	1	4.01	1.18	3	3.70	1.16
Japanese Male	4	3.46	0.92	4	3.56	1.19

Table 1: The ranking, whole mean scores and standard deviation

The ranking shows that the Filipino male is the most favorable speaker in terms of all traits. The Japanese male speaker is evaluated as the least favorable speaker on both Superiority and Attractiveness, though the Japanese female speaker is judged most positively on the Superiority traits. The Filipino male is favored the most in terms of attractiveness.

Table 2 displays the ranking of total mean scores for all traits. As Table 2 shows, in the first place is the Filipino male speaker followed by the Japanese female speaker, the Filipino female speaker, and the Japanese male speaker. In general, both Filipino speakers and the Japanese female speaker are more highly evaluated than the Japanese male speaker.

RANKING	Nationality	Total Mean Score
1	Filipino M	8.09
2	Japanese F	7.71
3	Filipino F	7.70
4	Japanese M	7.02

Table 2: The ranking order and total mean score

ESL partially excels over EILL: the speaker evaluation

As the statistical evidence showed, Filipino accented speakers (or English as a second language, ESL, users) were evaluated more positively than Japanese accented speakers (English as an international link language, EILL, users). However, it is surprising that in terms of 'superiority,' for immigrants in Hawaii, the Japanese female speaker was superior to Filipino speakers, and the Japanese male speaker. This might result from the participants regarding Japanese English as one of the standard Englishes in the tropical islands. Both Japanese speakers had a distinctive Japanese English accent. Though participants were not informed which varieties of English were present at the time of evaluation in order to avoid bias, two of the interviewees were able to guess the speakers to be Japanese. Regarding the 'attractiveness' trait, the Filipino speakers were more attractive than the Japanese speakers. Also, it should be noted that the Japanese female speaker had close ratings to the Filipino speakers.

The results for superiority and attractiveness are partially consistent with the findings of Cargile and Giles (1998) who examined the language attitudes of American undergraduates to Japanese-accented English. For immigrants in Hawaii, too, Japanese English (male speaker) is also neither superior nor attractive.

Interpreting the statistical data

The results seem to indicate that there is a linguistic hierarchy among non-native varieties of English for the immigrants. Seeing the mean scores of each questionnaire item presented in Figures 1 and 2, and the mean scores evaluated overall shown in Table 1, the Filipino accented speakers were rated more positively than the Japanese accented speakers.

Contrary to initial predictions, the evaluation of Japanese accented speakers

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was partly higher than the Filipino accented speakers. As stated above, though overall the Filipino speakers had higher ratings than the Japanese accented English speakers, the Japanese female accented English speaker had almost the same, or higher evaluation as the Filipino speakers on superiority traits. However, the Japanese male speaker suffers from the lowest 'superiority' and 'attractiveness'. It should be noted that there was not a significant effect of gender for superiority, but for attractiveness.

In general, Japanese female speaker is perceived as a 'rich', 'upper-class' person, whereas Japanese men are thought to be 'poor', and 'uneducated'. Gender does not have effect on superiority evaluation, but has some effect on whether the speaker is attractive or not.

There seem to be complex factors for this result; it seems to me that Japanese Americans have successfully immigrated, mingled and mixed in the Hawaiian island society. In addition, the participants have probably many chances to encounter rich female tourists from Japan.

Japanese accented English as a Hawaiiana? And the future inequality?

As Cargile and Giles (1998) claim, with reference to previous language attitude studies, native Englishes are evaluated higher than non-native Englishes. The result of this study is partly consistent with Matsuura, Chiba and Yamamoto (1994) and Chiba and Matsuura (1995), who indicated that Japanese students evaluated native speakers of English much more positively than non-native Englishes. Native varieties of English were not investigated in my research, because it is not my purpose. It is generally assumed that native Englishes are regarded more positively than non-native Englishes. According to the follow-up interviews, there is a relatively strong preference toward native English accents. For the immigrants to the US, the 'standard' is obviously American English; they evaluated favorably

speakers with a similar accent. Here, it is easy to conclude that the immigrants suffer from the English ideology: people in “periphery” countries have to accept core countries’ norms. Considering the data that Japanese female speaker is evaluated almost as positively as Filipinos, it indicates that the immigrants have identified Japanese accented English as one variety of English, moreover, as a part of *Hawaiiana*.

In terms of the future perspective, the fact that Filipino speakers were evaluated more positively than Japanese speakers suggests that second language users perform better than foreign language users. If so, the concept of ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ that Phillipson (1992) described can also be applied inside the periphery. The periphery includes two types of countries: one is a country where English is “successfully transplanted” (ESL) and another is a country where English is an international link language (EILL), having lower status. People in EILL countries may suffer from an inequality imposed by people in the ‘core’ and even in another ‘periphery’.

Language for women: gender ideology

This study confirmed the effect of accent and gender on speaker evaluations, specifically ‘Attractiveness’. Female speakers were evaluated much more positively. Morizumi (2001), who investigated gender issues in language learning in the Japanese context with statistical evidence and intensive interviews, states that females are perceived more positively than males in language learning. For example, she states that Tokyo *Gaikokugo Daigaku* (University of Tokyo of Foreign Studies) is not happy with their overwhelming number of female students. Attached with such a gender ideology is the view that ‘women study language and literature, men study technology and science,’ and people associate language with women as their evaluation of women’s linguistic ability is higher than of men. My study

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certainly showed the same results on attractiveness in terms of gender; women are more favorable than men.

Conclusion

A summary of findings

The study of language attitudes reveals people's thoughts and beliefs. This study of Asian-accented English speakers clarified the attitudes of immigrants in Oahu, Hawaii. Filipino speakers were rated as being more attractive than Japanese speakers, but Japanese English was as superior as Filipino English. Additionally, the Japanese male speaker was neither superior nor attractive.

This study also confirmed the effect of gender. Females were evaluated more favorably than males, but it was found that the gender factor did not work on the superiority trait. In the follow-up interviews with one Japanese national and Korean one, the influence of American English ideology could be seen. They regarded English as belonging to native speakers of English, but admit that there are many immigrants in Hawaii, so the ownership of English is vague. After addressing the limitations of this study, implications for further research on language attitudes will be discussed in terms of education and ideology, and the future prospect for Asia.

Limitations of the present study

This paper intended to investigate one of the fields of Sociolinguistics, which deal with language attitudes of Non-native speakers of English toward Asian English varieties. Quantitative data show that their attitudes towards non-native Englishes are less negative as a whole than expected, though US immigrants appear to have some attachment to American English.

However, the study has some limitations. One is about the speech samples of the Asian Englishes. Although there were conditions for choosing the samples, the selection depended on my subjective judgment. In selecting speech samples, the decision should have been made by a number of people. The second limitation relates to the sampling of participants. They may not be 'average' immigrants. Since participants in this study were volunteers, their attitudes towards the speaker evaluation depended on individual motivation. Those who were interested may be more serious in completing the survey than those who were not. In spite of these limitations, generalizations can be made based on this study.

Suggestions for education and ideology

In the follow-up interviews, all participants mentioned American English exposure. Though the degree of exposure to American English for immigrants is in question (they use their mother tongue at home), the fact that all interviewees mentioned the influence of American English and its culture is natural. In order to enhance English language proficiency without depending on one single language norm, it is essential for educators to accept various kinds of English varieties.

The preference of native speakers of English is pervasive and leads to inequality. Honna (1999) states that it is misleading to assume only native Englishes are 'correct' and that Japanese (non-natives) ought to accept non-native Englishes. Being conscious of 'correctness' severely discourages English learners from speaking or using English, and consequently, results in lower motivation. Since attitudes and motivation play an essential role in language learning (Gardner, 1985), changing negative attitudes to positive ones would be effective. Thus, it is essential to raise language awareness, that is, to know the language situation and to think about languages metalinguistically, to decrease susceptibility to language ideology.

English teachers should allocate time in their syllabus to teach World

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Englishes or to deal with such topics in language classrooms, beyond an introductory level. Until now, as one interviewee said, teachers in her country (Korea) just introduced different pronunciation or grammar of English varieties. English varieties were treated as side issues of English language learning. In order to raise the language perception of World Englishes, teachers have to deal with the topic more actively to increase the recognition of World Englishes. Recognizing the World English phenomenon, the fact that different and various types of English are actually used may lead students to realize that their own English can be also one variety of the Englishes. This leads to a reconstruction of their identity and to increasing confidence; consequently, higher motivation to learn and use English will be the result.

Language attitudinal studies: future directions

Language attitudinal studies are similar to marketing research. Just as marketing research utilizes customers' opinions or evaluation of products to make better products, according to Baker (1992), language attitude studies also investigate the community thoughts and beliefs periodically and make a society better.

There is a number of language attitude research of non-native speakers of English evaluated by Americans as described in literature review probably because Americans need to do such studies in a multi-racial country. The reason why there are few attitude studies of non-native varieties of English evaluated by non-native speakers is that non-native Englishes have been neglected for years in spite of the spread of English around the world. Thus, it is also necessary to investigate non-native speakers' attitudes to non-native Englishes.

As far as I know, this is the first study on how immigrants in the 'Rainbow State' evaluate Asian accented English speakers according to factor traits. I hope

that my study will contribute to the relatively new dimension of language attitudes of non-native speakers of English and that such attitudinal studies of non-native Englishes will increase in the future. Since there will be more non-native speakers of English in the future and the spread of English makes nations worldwide multi-lingual and multi-cultural, the importance of non-native speakers of English will increase in Hawaii and worldwide.

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Appendix

Speaker Evaluation Questionnaire

You will listen to the voices of 4 recorded speakers. Each person reads aloud the same text for 30 seconds. Please evaluate each speaker, and circle the number on the 6-point scale for each description as you are listening to the speaker's voice. There are 8 items. Please complete all the items. Please do not go back to revise your answer. Just follow your hunch! Relax and enjoy the questionnaire!

Direction: Please circle the number on the scale that corresponds to your impression of 4 speakers.

No. Description

Speaker 1

1	Unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	Intelligent
2	Uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	Educated
3	Lower Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	Upper Class
4	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	Rich
5	Sour	1	2	3	4	5	6	Sweet
6	Unkind	1	2	3	4	5	6	Kind
7	Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Friendly
8	Inconsiderate	1	2	3	4	5	6	Considerate

Speaker 2

1	Unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	Intelligent
2	Uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	Educated
3	Lower Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	Upper Class
4	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	Rich
5	Sour	1	2	3	4	5	6	Sweet
6	Unkind	1	2	3	4	5	6	Kind
7	Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Friendly
8	Inconsiderate	1	2	3	4	5	6	Considerate

Speaker 3

1	Unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	Intelligent
2	Uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	Educated
3	Lower Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	Upper Class
4	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	Rich
5	Sour	1	2	3	4	5	6	Sweet
6	Unkind	1	2	3	4	5	6	Kind
7	Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Friendly
8	Inconsiderate	1	2	3	4	5	6	Considerate

Speaker 4

1	Unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	Intelligent
2	Uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	Educated
3	Lower Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	Upper Class
4	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	Rich
5	Sour	1	2	3	4	5	6	Sweet
6	Unkind	1	2	3	4	5	6	Kind
7	Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Friendly
8	Inconsiderate	1	2	3	4	5	6	Considerate

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