

An Investigation into how Non-native Language Patterns Shape the Relationship Between Immigrants and Host Country Natives

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Abstract

Although social psychologists have made important strides towards understanding the effects of stigma on both individuals' behaviours and their relationships with non-stigmatized groups, language patterns within this domain have largely been ignored. This thesis aims to address this gap by investigating the role that language patterns play in shaping the relationship between native and non-native speakers against the backdrop of an increasingly relevant context in which communicators with diverse language backgrounds interact: Immigration. Drawing on both communication accommodation theory (CAT) and intergroup contact theory, I investigate the processes by which language styles influence perceptions of both individuals and the groups they represent, as well as attempt to determine how language-based categorizations affect those whose language style deviates from majority group norms. Across six studies, I take the perspective of native speakers and demonstrate that perceptions of communicators based on their language are not uniform but are determined by factors including the style of language used and the speaker's background. I then take the perspective of non-native speakers and, across two studies, show that negative perceptions of non-native accents can result in poorer interactions with the native speaking out-group as well as a reduced ability to comprehend and communicate in the host country's language. In sum, the eight studies presented in this thesis demonstrate that perceptions related to one's style of language can be detrimental to the relationship between native and non-native speakers and by extension host country natives and immigrants. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Overview

In his groundbreaking book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1954) theorized that humans are predisposed towards categorizing, and then prejudging, others based on social characteristics. In Chapter 2 of this book, which is aptly entitled ‘The Normality of Prejudgment,’ Allport argues that because it is impossible for humans to carefully consider all of the stimuli they are presented with on a daily basis, stereotyping is an essential cognitive shortcut. In other words, stereotyping exists because “orderly living depends on it” (Allport, 1954, p. 20). The idea that the basis of prejudice is a normal, everyday process has had a profound effect on the field of Social Psychology; social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and social cognitive perspectives more generally (Hamilton & Troiler, 1986) all acknowledge the role that social categorization plays in the way that prejudiced ideas are developed and maintained (Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005). Sixty years and thousands of studies later, scholars have established that the consequences of social categorization can be detrimental for not only the perpetrators and targets of the stereotypes that result, but for the relationship between the groups these individuals represent (Major & O’Brien, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

As Allport (1954) points out, one of the ways in which prejudiced ideas are formed is through language (*The Nature of Prejudice*, Chapter 11). Words literally divide people into groups and therefore contribute in a very basic way to categorization – or in Allport’s words, they “cut slices” through the human race. In addition to the labeling of socially significant categories, the ways in which we describe individuals can also affect how both the communicator and the target of descriptions are perceived. For example, there is a difference between describing someone who does not spend a lot of money as “stingy” versus “thrifty”

(Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977), and our choice of language when we describe targets communicates something to others about our motivations and goals (Douglas & Sutton, 2006). Even more subtle linguistic variations can amplify or attenuate stereotypic impressions, for example describing someone as “a homosexual” (i.e., the noun) elicits more stereotype consistent attributions than describing the person as “homosexual” (i.e., the adjective; Carnaghi et al., 2008). Beyond language itself, stereotypic perceptions can be further influenced by the way words are pronounced. For example, recent research has demonstrated that pronunciation, by way of the speaker’s accent, may be a stronger out-group cue than other markers of category membership, such as race (Kinzler, Shutts, DeJesus, & Spelke, 2009; Pietraszewski & Schwartz, 2014; Rakic, Steffens & Mummendey, 2011).

The power of language, and accents in particular, to influence perceptions of the communicator can be explained through broad evolutionary logic: Because language conveys a shared cultural backdrop that cannot be reliably assessed by other indicators (such as race), ancient humans likely developed a proclivity towards using speech patterns as means of assessing whether a stranger was an in-group member or a member of a potentially threatening out-group (Cosmides, Tooby, & Kurzban, 2003). Indeed, in recent work, hearing their native language spoken in a way that is consistent with in-group norms (i.e., native-like accent) rather than out-group norms (i.e., non-native like accent) had a profound effect on friendship preferences among children as young as five, and on trust levels among infants (Kinzler et al., 2009; Kinzler, Corriveau, & Harris, 2011; Shutts, Kinzler, McKee, & Spelke, 2009). During every day interactions, the way one speaks (i.e. their accent) plays an integral role in the way their social makeup is both created and maintained (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Neuliep & Speten-Hansen, 2013).

While one’s general use of language plays an influential role in the way that humans categorize one another, different speech patterns are likely to elicit different social categories.

Although the term ‘accent’ is imprecise – indeed, all speakers have some kind of accent – it is generally defined as any speech pattern that is more or less similar to the standard language of the local population (Giles, 1970; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Lippi-Green, 1997).

Accents are classified into one of three main groups. In the U.K. for example, accents may be regional (such as Cornish or London accents), foreign (referring to native English accents that are not British, such as American or Australian accents), or non-native (the accent of any speaker who has not spoken English since birth). While all of these speech patterns convey social information, non-native accents seem to elicit negative stereotypes beyond those of foreign or regional accents (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). For instance, while English speakers with standard accents tend to perceive *foreign* accented speakers as prestigious and friendly (Bayard & Green, 2005), and those with *regional* accents as lacking competence but as exemplifying warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Lippi-Green, 1997), speakers with *non-native* accents have been rated as less intelligent (Lindemann, 2003), less loyal (Edwards, 1982), less competent (Boyd, 2003), and less trustworthy (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010) than speakers with native accents.

Despite the recognized importance of language for social categorization and the overwhelming evidence that non-native speakers are particularly vulnerable to negative stereotypes (Fuertes, Gottdiener, Martin, Gilbert, & Giles, 2012), language style, beyond word use, has received limited attention in the prejudice and discrimination literature (for notable exceptions see Gluszek and Dovidio, 2010a; Lippi-Green, 1997; Rannut, 1994). Discrimination based on speaking with a non-native accent has been documented (Flowerdew, 2008; Frumkin, 2007; Hosoda, Nguyen, & Stone-Romero, 2012; Zhao, Ondrich, & Yinger, 2006), but the psychological processes behind these responses to non-native speakers have not received sufficient consideration. Indeed, to my knowledge, there has not been any systematic programme of research dedicated to investigating a) the factors that

contribute to perceivers' prejudice towards non-native speakers or b) how non-native speakers manage the prejudice they experience. Instead, research in this relatively young field has focused primarily on perceptions associated with specific accents (for example, comparing standard American English to English spoken with a Korean accent; Lindemann, 2003) rather than the factors that influence these perceptions, and research has rarely investigated the effect that language-based social categorization has on non-native speakers (for exceptions, see Derwing, 2003; Derwing & Rossiter, 2002; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Moyer, 2004).

The lack of research explicating the processes behind negative perceptions of non-native speakers is problematic, in particular because of the increasing number of interactions that are likely to occur between native and non-native speakers in most Western societies. With increased immigration and mobility across national boundaries, cultural diversity is becoming a norm in many places (Apfelbaum, Phillips, & Richeson, 2014). While this might increase pluralism in a global sense, at the more micro-level it also creates opportunities for direct cultural encounters, encounters that can be both positive and negative. The interactions that are occurring between individuals from varying backgrounds but who communicate in English are, perhaps, most relevant globally. Thanks in part to globalization and the pervasiveness of American culture, English has become the dominant language used in politics, commerce, defense, academia, the media, technology, and the internet (Phillipson, 2003). Consequently, more people are learning and communicating in English than ever before, with non-native speakers expected to outnumber native speakers of the language by 2060 (Crystal, 2003). It has therefore become increasingly important that researchers focus on the factors that both contribute to and derail successful exchanges between native and non-native speakers of English. Furthermore, while the existing research on accent perceptions has mostly focused on beliefs about non-native speakers of English, there is

evidence that the effects found within this domain are applicable to other linguistic contexts (e.g. Swedish; Boyd, 2003, German; Klink & Wagner, 1999, and Spanish; Tsalikis, Ortiz-Buonafina & LaTour, 1992). For these reasons, I focus the current research within an English-speaking context.

Immigration as a Context for Perceptions of Non-Native Speech

One factor that is likely to influence language-based categorizations is the environment in which speakers interact. Native and non-native speakers communicate within a variety of settings, from offices to hospitals, and have communication goals ranging from providing customer service to conveying scientific research. Each of these situations surely plays a unique role in shaping the expectations native speakers have of their communication partners' speech. Yet, one particularly influential element that is present to some extent in all of these interactional contexts is the issue of whether the speaker is an immigrant (i.e., to an English-speaking nation) or a national of some other country communicating in English for a specific purpose. For instance, a Briton on holiday in Turkey may appreciate a Turkish national communicating in English, even if they find the speaker's non-native accent difficult to understand. Yet, if the same conversation took place in the U.K., where a certain standard of English may be expected, the Briton may become frustrated with the Turkish national's strong accent and be more likely to form negative impressions of that speaker. Based on this logic, it is reasonable to assume that the expectations communicators have of others' speech patterns are likely to be higher when the exchange takes place in their home country as opposed to abroad. Hence, non-native speakers of the dominant language in the place where they live may be particularly susceptible to being negatively stereotyped based on of their patterns of speech.

One reason that non-native speech patterns tend to evoke negative perceptions from native speakers is that they introduce the possibility that the speaker is "an immigrant" – a

group that, in most countries, is generally disliked by the native population (Kessler & Freeman, 2005). In England and Wales, an estimated 7.5 million people (13% of the population) are foreign born (Office for National Statistics, 2013). Particularly since the end of the Second World War, the U.K. has opened its doors to immigrants from around the world. However, public support for the cultural diversity brought by immigration has dropped considerably over the past 15 years (Ben-David, 2009; Joppke, 2004). Indeed, results from a 2009 survey found that among white British respondents, 47% believed that immigration had damaged British society while 59% felt that immigrants had not made a positive contribution to Britain (BBC, 2009). In response to this climate of public opinion, the U.K. government has shifted away from promoting multiculturalism (i.e., a policy framework that values diversity; Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977), and in recent years has instead implemented policies that emphasize assimilation (Joppke, 2004). Assimilationist policies are characterized by the desire for immigrants to abandon their cultural identity and adopt the identity of their host country (Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). These policies can be problematic because they have been shown to fuel beliefs that the dominant group's culture is in some way superior (Verkuyten, 2011). As such, they may serve to exacerbate any negative attitudes towards immigrants that may already exist among many host country natives.

In order to meet expectations of assimilation, immigrants must “shed their previous markers of group identity and adopt those of the social whole” (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005, p. 227). As one of the most salient markers of group identity, language is almost certainly included in these criteria. Indeed, in an effort to promote assimilation into British life, the U.K. Home Office has, over the past decade, continued to toughen the English language requirement that incoming immigrants must meet (Joppke, 2004). For the majority of immigrants living in Britain (for whom English is not the primary language; Office of

National Statistics, 2013), policies that stress assimilation may be especially prejudicial: While learning and achieving *fluency* in English is a feasible goal for most non-English speaking immigrants, entirely losing markers of their native language (i.e. their non-native *accent*) is not. The general consensus among researchers investigating second language acquisition is that various developmental, cognitive, and socio-psychological factors make it nearly impossible to speak a non-native language with native-like pronunciation (Flege, Munro, & MacKay, 1995; Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2011; Moyer, 2004; Purcell & Suter, 1980). Hence, for non-English speaking immigrants living in the U.K., attempts to fully assimilate within the domain of language are likely to fail.

Research investigating the processes through which immigrants adapt to their host country has focused on a number of areas where immigrants experience change, including their cognition, identity, attitudes, beliefs, values, personality, and language (Berry, 1980). However, the focus on language has primarily centered on language acquisition, rather than how the context of immigration makes speech patterns a salient criteria for inclusion into the host country society. For instance, certain ideologies, such as that of assimilation, may increase host country natives' beliefs that immigrants should learn to communicate in a way that reflects native norms, and that this is not just desirable but also possible for them to do. The inevitable failure of non-native speakers to meet these unrealistic expectations may serve to fuel any negative perceptions natives have of both non-native speech patterns and of the immigrants that display them, intensifying the degree to which language is used as a basis for categorization, negative stereotyping, and discrimination. Given that worldwide migration is increasing at the same time that support for multiculturalism is decreasing in many countries (Green, 2007; Kessler & Freeman, 2005), it is important to consider how language shapes the relationship between native and non-native speakers against the backdrop of immigration. This issue is the focus of the current research.

Theoretical Framework of the Current Research

The aim of my PhD is to gain a broad understanding of the effect that language has on both sides of the immigration equation. My research takes a dual perspective: I examine the factors that influence native speakers' perceptions of communicators with non-native speech patterns as well as the way that non-native speakers attempt to manage these perceptions. I also explore how language-based categorizations influence relationships at two levels by investigating the effect of non-native language use on both interpersonal perceptions (i.e., of the speaker) and intergroup attitudes (i.e., of immigrants as a group). In particular, I consider whether exposure to one speaker with non-native speech patterns can affect host country natives' beliefs not only about that individual communicator, but also about immigrants overall. Finally, I investigate how immigrants are affected by natives' negative perceptions of non-native accents and how this in turn shapes the dynamic between these two groups. By the end of my third and final introduction chapter, I aim to have: a) developed a solid theoretical framework from which to investigate the role language plays in shaping the relationship between native and non-native speakers, and; b) identified important areas in this literature that need further attention.

To achieve these goals, I draw on theories that are pertinent to my research question: communication accommodation theory (CAT) and intergroup contact theory. Although both offer important insights into how perceptions based on language might be formed and managed in an intergroup context, each lacks at least one important element necessary to make it the sole theoretical approach of my investigation into the effects of language-based categorizations. For instance, while CAT offers a framework within which to understand how different language styles are perceived, its application to the communication exchange between native and non-native speakers has been limited (see Zuenglar, 1991). Likewise, although intergroup contact theory has proven effective in identifying the optimal conditions

to reduce prejudice towards out-group members (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and has made a significant contribution to understanding intergroup relations in the context of immigration, it has ignored how perceptions of the language used during exchanges between individuals from dominant and non-dominant groups can influence the outcomes of intergroup contact. By drawing on the relevant strengths of these two approaches, I aim to develop a comprehensive framework for investigating the effect of language on the relationship between immigrants and host country natives.

In the next chapter, I use CAT to explore how variations in an individual's communication style can shape how that speaker is then perceived. I draw on this particular theory because its focus on the socio-psychological factors that influence the communication exchange make it particularly effective for exploring the relationship between individuals and groups from linguistically diverse backgrounds (Gallois & Giles, 1998; Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). Importantly, CAT recognizes that language is an essential part of one's identity, and can be used to enhance the solidarity of the in-group while also excluding members of the out-group. Some examples of this phenomenon include Taiwan's shift to speaking the Taiwanese dialect (Southern Min) over Mandarin Chinese as a way to reclaim their identity from China in the 1990's and America's transformation of the English language to distinguish themselves from Britain in the early 1800s (Chuang, 2004; Strevens, 1992). Building on the idea that language is used to create and enhance group boundaries, I apply the concepts outlined by CAT (i.e. that communication is not a static act and is instead borne from the social context), to understand the socio-psychological parameters that contribute to how perceptions based on speech patterns are formed.

In Chapter 3, I turn my attention to the utility of intergroup contact theory for understanding the interactions that occur between native and non-native speakers. According to Allport (1954), contact between out-group members can reduce prejudice and improve

out-group attitudes when the interaction takes place in an environment marked by four conditions: Equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and institutional support. While all of these conditions have been shown to positively affect the contact experience (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the way language influences the conditions under which communicators with dissimilar speech patterns interact has been overlooked. To address this gap, I consider how natives' exposure to non-native speech patterns via contact with immigrants can undermine the potential for positive consequences of intergroup contact to result. Specifically, I argue that because non-native speech patterns are a powerful tool for (often negative) social categorizations, while also being difficult for native speakers to process, typical opportunities for contact with immigrants may serve to exacerbate negative attitudes that natives might have towards this out-group. In particular, I focus on the role that intergroup threat plays in this process. Both within the contact literature, and within social psychological research more generally, threat has emerged as an important input into intergroup attitudes (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In the current research, I consider how the attributes that natives attach to speakers with non-native accents might evoke perceptions of threat from immigrants as a group and the consequences that might follow from this.

By bridging the principles of both CAT and intergroup contact theory, I aim to develop a rationale for my investigation into how language influences interpersonal and intergroup relations from the perspective of both native and non-native speakers. It is important to note that this research takes place in the U.K., an English speaking country with increasingly high expectations of immigrants to assimilate (Joppke, 2004). However, the strong emphasis on multiculturalism that dominated immigration policy in the second half of the 20th century means that overall, when compared with other countries, the U.K.'s handling of diversity through its policies is considered to be moderate (Guimond et al., 2013). Hence,

although the U.K. is one of many places where native and non-native speakers interact, research conducted in Britain can likely be generalized to other contexts (Guimond et al., 2013; Kinzler, Dupoux, & Spelke, 2007). My hope is that by exploring the effect that language-based categorizations have on interpersonal and intergroup perceptions within the U.K. context, I will be able to contribute important theoretical and practical insights to the general debate on immigration.

Chapter 2: Non-native Speech, Language Accommodation, and Status

Most people are not surprised to hear that they use different language to communicate with their family than they do with their work colleagues. Nor are they surprised to hear that certain environments encourage specific ways of speaking. For instance, while an office setting might call for the use of formal language, a pub is generally a place where casual language prevails. Likewise, most people recognise differences in how they speak to friends versus authority figures, and that words come more easily when conversing with people well known to them as opposed to when interacting with strangers. Although varying one's language based on the characteristics of the listener, or to suit a particular environment, may seem mundane, it is an inherent part of the communication process (Higgins, 1981) and essential for effective communication (Fussell & Krauss, 1989).

The specific ways in which individuals modify their language has been found to depend on a number of factors. These factors can include the person's goal for the exchange (Echterhoff, Higgins, Kopietz, & Groll, 2008), existing status differences between partners (Gregory & Webster, 1996), and the identity the communicator wants to make salient (Chuang, 2004). For example, a professor who needs a student to conduct research may imitate phrases used by that student to send the message that they are both working towards a common goal. By accommodating her language to align with the communicative norms of the student, the professor is able to create a shared identity with the student as well as a sense of common ground (Echterhoff, Lang, Kramer, & Higgins, 2009). On the other hand, the professor may wish to highlight status differences that exist between herself and her student by using formal language in response to the student's casual language. By speaking in a way that deviates from the language used by the student, the professor increases psychological distance and makes differences between her own and the student's identities salient (Ball, Gallois, & Callan, 1989; Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988; Giles,

Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). In this way, the professor uses language to convey her goals for the communication exchange, influencing her relationship with the student in the process.

The way in which language is used during communication is a powerful force in shaping the relationship between individuals and groups. As in the example above, the professor manages her interpersonal relationship by using language as a means to either bond with or to distance herself from her student. For both parties, this experience may serve as a basis for future interactions, influencing the relationship between students and professors generally. However, these relationships may be adversely affected if the communicator's reasons for using a particular language style are misinterpreted. For instance, the idea that individuals freely modify their communicative behaviours to suit particular goals and interaction partners assumes that language can be accommodated at will. While this may be the case for native speakers, speakers who communicate in a non-native language may be unable to alter their speech patterns enough to accurately convey their goals for the communication exchange (Beebe & Giles, 1984; Takahashi, 1989) and effectively shape their relationship with their interaction partner. In the sections that follow, I argue that inaccurate attributions attached to this inability, as well as non-native accents' denotation of the speaker as low in status, make non-native speakers particularly vulnerable to negative categorizations based on their speech. Using the framework provided by communication accommodation theory, I begin by briefly reviewing how attributions based on communication behaviours are formed.

Attributions Based on Language

Communication accommodation theory (CAT, originally speech accommodation theory, or SAT; Giles, 1973) was developed to explain the socio-psychological parameters that guide people's motives for altering their style of communication during interactions with others. This theory is particularly useful for exploring the effect of language patterns on

interpersonal and intergroup relationships because of its focus on how communication styles affect perceptions of the communicator as well as attitudes towards their group (Gallois et al., 2005). To understand how these relationships are influenced by the communication exchange, CAT offers a framework in which to investigate the attributions that are attached to speakers based on the way they convey information. CAT focuses on three forms of adjustment that might occur in any communicative exchange: Convergence, divergence, and maintenance. Convergence (or, accommodation) is characterised by adapting one's communicative behaviours to that of one's communication partner, while divergence involves accentuating existing differences instead. Maintenance (which is generally grouped with divergence) occurs when the communicator maintains their communicative behaviours regardless of those exhibited by their communication partner (Giles, 1973). CAT also considers any communicative behaviour as having the potential to influence perceptions. These include, but are not limited to, phrases used, accented speech, placement of pauses, variations in speech rate, and level of eye contact (Gallois et al., 2005; Jones, Gallois, Callan, & Barker, 1999).

Importantly, whether communication behaviours are converged or diverged/maintained has implications for the way the communicator is perceived by their communication partner. CAT posits that the preference for others to use imitative behaviours (i.e., convergence) results in positive perceptions of those who do (Street & Giles, 1982). Indeed, compared to speakers perceived as diverging, converging communicators have been rated as more competent, warm, attractive, and cooperative (Gallois et al., 2005). One reason that these adjustment strategies have such a powerful influence on interpersonal perceptions is thought to be their ability to validate or invalidate one's communicative partner: Converged behaviours can increase the satisfaction and self-esteem of the accommodated partner while divergent behaviours can signal to the partner that their traits, actions, or social identity is being disrespected (Giles, Willemys, Gallois & Anderson, 2007). Furthermore,

convergent behaviour has also been found to be reinforced by the positive perceptions it evokes. For instance, research has demonstrated that being positively perceived for using converged communication can result in the communicator increasing their level of convergence during the interaction (Adank, Steward, Connell, & Wood, 2013), thereby reciprocally rewarding the original source of convergence. Thus the relationship between language accommodation and positive perceptions is likely to be circular.

However, positive evaluations of converged behaviour and negative evaluations of diverged behaviour are not absolute. These evaluations can also be influenced by perceptions of the communicator's intentions for using a particular strategy (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). To date, researchers have identified several moderators that attenuate the appeal of convergent communication and mitigate negative responses to communicators who diverge. For instance, positive evaluations of convergent communicators may depend on the behaviour being seen as authentic (versus superficial or strategic), while divergent behaviour may only result in negative evaluations if the behaviour is attributed to negative intent (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012; Giles et al., 2007; Simard, Taylor, & Giles, 1976). Consistent with this, Bradac and Mulac (1984) found that formal versions of a language were evaluated positively when attributed to the listener's desire to be polite but negatively when it was believed that the speaker aimed to be authoritative. Further, Giles and Williams (1994) showed that a communicator using patronizing language was perceived positively when they were perceived as caring about, rather than disapproving of their communication partner. Thus, the attributions that are made about one's accommodated (or divergent) language plays an important role in determining responses to it (Gallois et al., 2005; Giles, Mulac, Bradac, & Johnson, 1987).

Along these lines, CAT relies on broader attribution theory to explain the processes through which communicators are evaluated based on the direction of their communicative behaviour. According to attributional theories, individuals' evaluations of others depend on

how they perceive the motives and intentions behind their behaviours (Heider, 1958; Kelley, 1973). In addition to perceptions of the stability and controllability of the behaviour in question, a general premise of these theories is that motivations are either attributed to internal causes (i.e. the behaviour is due to a characteristic of the person's personality) or to external causes (i.e. the behaviour is the result of situational constraints). Although these attributions are influential in determining perceptions, the tendency individuals have to underestimate external causes and overestimate internal causes when evaluating others means that the attributions which inform evaluations are often inaccurate (Ross, 1977). Within the context of intergroup processes, these inaccuracies may be further exacerbated by perceivers' prejudice (Pettigrew, 1979). The tendency to attribute desired behaviours to internal causes and undesirable behaviours to external causes when they are performed by in-group members, while ascribing the same desired behaviour to an external cause and the same undesired behaviour an internal cause when it is performed by an out-group member, has received considerable empirical support, and is dubbed the 'ultimate attribution error' (Hewstone, 1990).

In my investigation of how the attributions attached to one's communication style can influence the relationship between host country natives and immigrants, I focus on the communicative behaviour that is likely most salient within this context: The speaker's accent. As explained in the previous chapter, non-native speech patterns mark the speaker as belonging to the generally disliked immigrant out-group, which may explain why non-native accents tend to be perceived negatively by host country natives (Cosmides et al., 2003; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). As such, natives may be inclined to make attribution errors during interactions with non-native speakers. Specifically, because non-native speech patterns are generally considered an undesirable out-group trait, their use may be credited to the communicator's unwillingness to converge rather than to the many external barriers faced

by non-native speakers who attempt to alter their accent. This attribution is both inaccurate and problematic. According to researchers in second language acquisition, most individuals are unable to speak a non-native language with native-like pronunciation for reasons that are beyond their control (Flege, Munro, & MacKay, 1995; Scovel, 2000). Yet, the erroneous belief that non-native speech patterns are due to a conscious choice made by the communicator may create the impression that non-native speakers are maliciously using diverged language. To further explore this idea, I review the obstacles faced by communicators who speak a non-native language and discuss whether native speakers are aware of these challenges.

Language Acquisition and Accent Retention

Although most individuals can become fluent in a foreign language, and even learn to pronounce words in a way that is similar to that of native speakers, it is extremely rare to fully eradicate the intonations of one's native language (Derwing & Munro, 2009). Reasons for the inability of non-native speakers to achieve native-like pronunciation have been the focus of a wealth of research within the field of neurolinguistics. Possibly the most influential of the theories that have emerged from this literature is the critical period hypothesis (Lenneberg, 1967; Penfield & Roberts, 1959). According to this idea, brain maturation limits the extent to which individuals can fully acquire a new language. This explains why speakers who are highly proficient in their learned language might still retain a non-native accent – simply, their native language acquisition occurred before a critical period of development was passed, after which further (non-native) language acquisition is limited. Decades of research support the premise that the chances of achieving native standards decline with age (Hakuta, Bialystok, & Wiley, 2003). However, research is conflicted regarding the exact age at which native-like pronunciation becomes unachievable: Evidence has ranged from children as young as five (Krashen, 1973) to teenagers of fifteen (Johnson &

Newport, 1989). Regardless, this research suggests that anyone who learns a language as an adult is unlikely to speak that language with the same pronunciations as a native speaker.

In addition to age, researchers have identified a number of factors that contribute to the retention of non-native speech patterns. These include developmental factors surrounding the speakers' arrival in the host country (Johnson & Newport, 1989), cognitive factors such as the ability to imitate sounds and encode new information (Purcell & Suter, 1980), and socioeconomic factors including the number of years spent in formal education (Hakuta et al., 2003). Furthermore, Derwing and Munro (2009) have demonstrated that the availability of native accent examples, academic aptitude, and the level of similarity between one's native language and their acquired language can all affect speech patterns. Socio-psychological factors may also play a role; for example, learner attitudes and the speaker's level of identification with their host country have both been shown to influence the speaker's accent strength (Gluszek et al., 2011; Moyer, 2007). However, given that native speakers are extremely attuned to detecting the slightest trace of foreign speech (Flege, 1984), even a second language learner who is highly identified with their host culture, and who has achieved fluency in that culture's language, will likely be categorized as a non-native speaker.

Despite the overwhelming evidence suggesting that native-like pronunciation is impossible for the vast majority of second language learners, native speakers may be unaware of the limited control that non-native speakers have over their accent. As Gluszek and Dovidio (2010a) point out, myths surrounding the changeability of accents are prevalent: most people have heard anecdotal stories of rare cases where individuals have transformed their speech patterns, and the entertainment industry is rife with examples of actors and actresses who successfully imitate foreign accents (Lippi-Green, 1997; Moyer, 2007). Furthermore, very few native English speakers are fluent in a second language, and therefore do not have any personal experience with altering their patterns of speech. In the U.K. for

instance, only 25% of British nationals can hold a conversation in a language other than English (British Council, 2013). Research has shown that briefly speaking a foreign language before evaluating a non-native speaker can reduce biases towards non-native speakers, suggesting that one reason native speakers discriminate against non-native speakers is because they cannot empathise with the struggle of communicating in a foreign language (Hansen, Rakic, & Steffens, 2014). Both of these factors – misconceptions regarding the ease with which accents can be altered and the limited experiences most British people have in this domain – are likely to contribute to the perception that an immigrant's non-native speech patterns are an intentional form of divergent language. This belief may help to explain, at least partially, why non-native accents have been shown to evoke the adverse reactions that many native speakers have towards non-native speakers.

The Role of Status

While the attributions triggered by non-native accents may contribute to natives' negative perceptions of non-native speakers, beliefs about the communicator's status may serve to justify these perceptions. According to CAT, because the person of lower status is in need of social approval, they should show deference to a communication partner of higher status by accommodating their speech (Giles et al., 1987). Research examining the effect of status on convergence supports this claim. By analyzing the low-frequency band of the voices of American talk show host Larry King and his guests, Gregory and Webster (1996) demonstrated that interviewees of lesser status converged towards Larry King's speech while Larry King accommodated guests who were in a position of higher status. Within an organizational setting, Hamers and Blanc (1989) similarly showed that foremen converged their language when speaking to managers as opposed to workers, and that the managers adopted the language style of higher managers as opposed to foreman. Evidence of the relationship between status and convergence has also been shown when one group is

dependent on the other economically. In Thailand, for instance, tourists from developed countries expend little, if any, energy learning Thai, while locals often become proficient in the various foreign languages of visiting tourists (Cohen & Cooper, 1986).

Typically, individuals strive to perceive members of the groups to which they belong, and the group itself, in more positive terms than they perceive members of relevant comparison out-groups (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, the degree to which positive perceptions are easily sustained depends on the position of the group within the social structure of the society in which they live. Within immigrant receiving countries, host country nationals have more power than immigrant groups since their population majority and established presence in the country make their culture more strongly embedded in the society's civic and political institutions (Geschke, Mummendey, Kessler, & Funke, 2010). Host country nationals also tend to embody 'normative' characteristics of that society. According to norm theory, norms are created from exemplars of particular groups (Kahneman & Miller, 1986). For instance, when asked to picture a British person, most people will imagine someone who is white, Christian, and English speaking, as these are characteristics traditionally associated with people of British descent. Conversely, it is unlikely that someone who is black or Muslim, for example, would be automatically associated with Britishness, even if they were born and raised in the U.K. Since non-normative characteristics are generally associated with low power and status (Bruckmuller & Abele, 2010), non-normative members of a society, such as immigrants, may be perceived as having lower power and status than normative members.

Research investigating perceptions of ethnic groups in Western societies demonstrates a clear hierarchy: Majority group members within these cultures perceive themselves and their allies (i.e. groups from Western European and North America) as occupying the highest status position, followed by Eastern and Southern Europeans, and

finally, those with non-European backgrounds (Berry, 2006). These patterns have also been observed in countries with stronger pro-diversity policies than the U.K., including Canada (Berry & Kralin, 1995) and New Zealand (Ward, Masgoret, & Leong, 1996), as well as across diverse populations within Europe (Van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud, & Hewstone, 1996). Further exacerbating the low status position of ethnic minorities are things that may mark them as “an immigrant,” such as speaking with a non-native accent. When assessing attitudes towards people of the same ethnic group, immigrants are generally perceived more negatively than those born and raised in the host country (Berry, 2006). Although there are several strategies that immigrants can employ to cope with their devalued position (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), attempts to join the high status group are most prevalent (Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher, & Haslam, 2012). Indeed, the popularity of skin lightening creams among Blacks, and blepharoplasty procedures among Asians, illustrates the relatively common, albeit extreme, measures that some minorities take to emulate the normative characteristics of high status groups (Rainwater-McClure, Reed, & Kramer, 2003). Beyond these extreme examples, there are also more mundane ways in which ethnic minorities might assimilate to the dominant culture in order to avoid, or refute, the devaluing perception by the majority that they are immigrants rather than full members of the dominant culture (e.g., eating dominant-culture foods: Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011).

While it is likely that host country nationals perceive themselves as higher in status than immigrants, it is not entirely clear how language fits into this equation. Because non-native speech patterns are a non-normative characteristic of the host country’s culture, and a salient marker that the speaker is foreign-born, it seems reasonable to assume that these will be associated with less power and prestige than native speech patterns. There is also a prevailing view among native and non-native speakers alike that native speech patterns represent the ideal way to speak the language and that non-native speech patterns are

somehow incorrect (Sweeney & Hua, 2010); native speakers tend to (unfairly) associate non-native speech patterns with an inability to wield the language fluently while non-native speakers spend thousands of pounds per year on accent reduction classes (Lindemann, 2002; Lippi-Green, 1997). Furthermore, because of their accent, many non-native speakers report experiencing systematic discrimination in their host countries (for a review, see Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a), suggesting that host country natives consider speech that deviates from native norms as a legitimate basis in which to deny certain rights or engage in particular forms of differential treatment. Hence, there is some evidence that language is likely a characteristic that can divide groups by status, with native speakers perceiving themselves as higher in status, and those with non-native speech patterns as lower in status, by virtue of the way they speak.

Because of the general tendency for low status group members to converge towards the communicative behaviours of those high in status, individuals who belong to groups that are – or perceive themselves to be – higher in status may come to expect a certain degree of accommodation from lower status others. Within the context of native and non-native speakers, this expectation may raise the standard of language that non-native speakers are expected to meet. Although I am not aware of any research that specifically investigates how native speakers perceive their status relative to non-native speakers, it is likely that British nationals believe their social position to be higher than that of most immigrant groups. This belief in the higher status of British nationals might, in turn, influence beliefs about which language style is most appropriate for immigrant groups to use. In other words, because social norms dictate that those with low status should converge to those high in status (Giles et al., 1987), natives may have high expectations of immigrants to converge. When this does not happen, natives may feel justified in their negative perceptions of these communicators.

Conclusion

To summarize, the negative perceptions that natives tend to have of non-native speakers may be a result of two processes: Inaccurate attributions for the use of speech that is considered divergent, and the raised expectation that non-native speakers (as the low status group) should converge. Importantly, each of these processes is likely to exacerbate the effects of the other. While the belief that non-native speech patterns are a consequence of an unwillingness to converge may lead to negative perceptions of the speaker, the inevitable failure of non-native speakers to converge may further serve to justify and perpetuate natives' negative responses to non-native speech. As a result, speakers who must communicate in a non-native language are vulnerable to being negatively categorized based on how they speak. However, these categorizations may not be limited to perceptions of the individual speaker. In the next chapter, I turn my discussion towards the effect that speech patterns have on intergroup relations and explore whether negative perceptions of a non-native speaker can also extend to attitudes towards that speaker's group. To make this bridge, I draw on the more general literature on intergroup contact and the relations between majority and minority groups.

Chapter 3: Contact Between Immigrants and Host Country Natives

As globalization increases, so have the number of interactions between those who speak a language natively and those who do not (Cheng, 1999). However, these interactions can have varying consequences for the relationship between immigrants and host country natives. While contact creates the opportunity to learn from and feel empathy for others, it can also result in misunderstandings and further exclusion (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008). What often determine this outcome are the emotions experienced by the individuals taking part in the exchange: When the contact experience is positive, prejudice can be reduced and out-group attitudes improved (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, if the experience is negative, out-group prejudice may be increased and negative attitudes exacerbated (Barlow et al., 2012). In this chapter, I focus on one emotion that previous research has identified as relevant when host country natives and immigrants interact: intergroup threat (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). To begin, I briefly review the relationship between intergroup contact and threat before discussing how exposure to non-native speech patterns can result in negative contact. I then explore how negative contact because of language can exacerbate threat from immigration. It is important to note that, because I review non-native speakers' perspectives in Chapter 6, I focus the current chapter on native speaker's perspectives.

Intergroup Contact and Threat: The Importance of Quality Interactions

The potential for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice and improve intergroup attitudes has long been an interest of researchers in the social sciences (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Though not the first theorist to promote contact as a means of improving the relationship between groups (see Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Williams, 1947), Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis remains the most influential statement of this perspective (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). One of the main premises of this theory is that

intergroup prejudice can be reduced if members of different groups are brought together under optimal conditions. These optimal conditions include groups having equal status, common goals, a willingness to cooperate with one another, as well as having broader institutional support for such contact (Allport, 1954).

Research on the contact hypothesis has shown that while Allport's conditions do facilitate contact, and do make positive out-group attitudes more likely (Brown & Hewstone, 2005), contact can still be successful if one or more of these conditions are absent. Rather than the presence or absence of optimal conditions, the one factor that has emerged as most important for contact's effects on prejudice is whether or not the interaction is associated with threat (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). On the one hand, contact between group members has been shown to diminish intergroup threat, thereby improving out-group attitudes (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003; Islam & Hewstone, 1993). However, sometimes contact can also have the reverse effect, resulting in higher perceptions of threat and more intense prejudice towards the out-group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stephan et al., 2002). Because contact has the potential to both promote and reduce perceptions of threat, it is important to consider the factors that determine whether threat is a likely consequence when members from different groups interact.

One reason for the effectiveness of Allport's conditions is that they make interactions more positive (Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007), and therefore less threatening. Unlike contact quantity (the frequency of out-group interactions), contact quality (the interaction's atmosphere) has been shown to consistently reduce threat perceptions between groups. For instance, natives who have frequent contact with immigrants may perceive the out-group's seemingly sizeable presence as a threat to their in-group's identity and/or resources (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Quillan, 1995). Yet, if natives develop friendships with immigrants instead (as opposed to less intimate relationships, such as being neighbours

or as work colleagues), they may be less likely to perceive immigrants as threatening on a group level (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997). Furthermore, while frequent contact alone may exacerbate threat when there has been a history of intergroup hostility (which may be likely within the context of immigration; Kessler & Freeman, 2005), the benefits reaped from quality interactions tend to remain (Tausch, Hewstone, Singh, Ghosh, & Biswas, 2004). Hence, for contact to be successful in improving intergroup relations, it is imperative that interactions between out-group members are high in quality and hence, low in threat.

Within the context of immigration, exposure to non-native accents may undermine the quality of the contact experience. One reason for this is that the presence of a non-native accent marks the speaker as an immigrant, making them vulnerable to being categorized based on perceptions associated with this stigmatized identity (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). However, these categorizations are unlikely unless natives are exposed to non-native speech patterns in the first place, something that can only occur through contact with a non-native speaker. Said differently, it is through contact that opportunities for language-based categorizations occur. In addition, exposure to unfamiliar accents may disrupt the fluency of the interaction; compared to native speech patterns, non-native speech patterns may be more difficult for native speakers to comprehend, making the communication exchange during contact with these speakers more difficult (Major, Fitzmaurice, Bunta, & Balasubramanian, 2005). Hence, exposure to non-native speech patterns may affect the quality of the interaction and as such, the consequences that result from the contact experience. To further explore this idea, I use the next section to discuss how exposure to non-native accents can undermine intergroup contact via two processes: their potential to increase negative categorizations and their capacity to interfere with interactants' conversation.

Language as a Determinant of Contact's Quality

Because language has such a strong effect on social categorizations, exposure to non-native speech patterns may prevent natives from developing positive attitudes towards immigrants in response to otherwise positive contact. Several studies have demonstrated that language is one of the most powerful means by which people stereotype one another, having a stronger influence than race on perceptions of both the speaker and their group (Kinzler et al., 2009; Pietraszewski & Schwartz, 2014; Rakic et al., 2011). While some theorists propose that salient group boundaries are essential for contact to be successful (Brown & Hewstone, 2005), others argue that the success of intergroup contact depends on whether out-group categorizations can be dissolved and/or altered. According to Brewer and Miller (1998; Miller, 2002), contact is successful when the social categories that guide people's perceptions of the out-group become less salient (see also Pettigrew, 1998). Along similar lines, Gaertner and Dovidio (2002) have shown that positive consequences of contact will result when cognitive representations of the out-group are restructured in a way that emphasizes higher-level commonalities between groups. Although it is possible for the relationship between natives and immigrants to benefit from these processes (especially if cross-group friendships develop; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997), the spontaneous categorizations that natives tend to make when they are initially exposed to non-native speech patterns make it less likely that decategorization during contact will occur. As a result of this added hurdle, contact between natives and non-native speaking immigrants may be less likely to result in improvements to the relationship between these groups.

The difficulty that many natives experience when processing non-native speech patterns (Munro & Derwing, 1995) may further reduce contact's potential to improve out-group attitudes. Although there is some debate as to whether these difficulties are the result of prejudice or the actual need to expend additional cognitive resources (Rubin, 1992),

natives' inability to easily comprehend non-native accents can disrupt the communication exchange and undermine the contact experience. Indeed, research has shown that even small interruptions during conversations (e.g. pauses, brief silences) can damage solidarity between communication partners, trigger anxiety and disengagement from the contact experience, and exacerbate negative out-group attitudes (Koudenburg, Postmes, & Gordijn, 2011; Pearson et al., 2008; West & Bruckmuller, 2013). Research on accent perception also suggests that some of the negative associations attached to these accents (e.g. that non-native speakers are untrustworthy) may be the result of natives' frustration when interpreting non-native speech (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010). Hence, processing difficulties make the conditions in which natives and immigrants interact far from optimal, potentially rendering contact under these conditions more likely to result in negative out-group attitudes than in prejudice reduction, or at the very least undermining its otherwise positive potential.

The negative consequences that are likely to result from poor quality contact have important implications for the relationship between immigrants and host country natives. As Brown and Hewstone (2005) explain, to the extent that contact makes interactants aware of existing group differences, perceptions of the individual out-group member can generalize to overall beliefs about that member's group (see also Hewstone, 1996). Hence, because speech patterns are a salient and constantly present characteristic of group membership that can also undermine the communication exchange, impressions based on an individual speaker's language style may inform how host country natives perceive immigrants as a group. In the following sections, I explore one negative consequence of contact that may be particularly relevant within the context of immigration: intergroup threat (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). To do this, I review the intergroup threat literature before focusing on how exposure to non-native speech can evoke the belief that immigrants present a threat to host country natives. By investigating the way that non-native speech patterns evoke

feelings of threat within this context, I aim to create a framework in which to investigate how exposure to diverse language patterns affects the relationship between immigrants and host country natives on a group level.

Intergroup Threat: An Overview

Intergroup relationships are often characterized by intergroup threat. A well established predictor of out-group attitudes and in-group bias, intergroup threat is the feeling that results when an out-group's actions, beliefs or characteristics challenge the goals or security of the in-group (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Numerous studies have demonstrated that perceiving an out-group as a threat to the in-group – whether to their resources, value and esteem, or cultural practices – can activate negative attitudes towards that out-group and through this influence intergroup behaviours (e.g., Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2005; Tausch et al., 2007). Because intergroup threat plays a vital role in shaping intergroup attitudes, it is important to consider the concept of threat within the more specific context of immigration, a context where threat is also often a feature (Stephan et al., 2005). In the following section, I give an overview of some influential theories of intergroup threat and discuss their relevance for the relationship between immigrants and host country natives. I then review several factors that serve as antecedents of threat and moderators of threat's effects. Finally, I consider how beliefs about non-native speech patterns influence these parameters and exacerbate negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Theories of conflict and intergroup relations. Between 1949 and 1954, Muzafer Sherif and his colleagues conducted three field studies that would lay the foundation for over 60 years of research into intergroup processes (Platow & Hunter, 2012). Known collectively as 'the Boys' Camp studies,' these experiments involved manipulating competition between groups of boys (using activities that were supposedly part of a normal summer camp) with

the aim of investigating how intergroup attitudes and behaviours are shaped by the way groups relate to each other at some broader, structural, level (see Sherif & Sherif, 1969). Each study was comprised of three phases: In phase one, the experimenters observed that the boys assumed various roles within the group (as leaders and followers, for example) and that group norms emerged in the absence of competition. In the second phase, the groups were pitted against each other in a series of activities (e.g. baseball games, talent shows) in which they competed for valued prizes. Because each activity allowed for only one winner, the success of one group threatened the success of the other, resulting in feelings of animosity towards the opposing group. In phase 3, the experimenters orchestrated positive contact experiences between the groups (e.g. movie nights, setting up camp) in order to understand the conditions under which the intergroup hostility evoked by intergroup competition might be reduced (see Sherif, 1951; Sherif, White, & Harvey, 1955; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961).

Results of the Boys' Camp studies illustrate the powerful effect that the perception of out-group threat can have on both intergroup and intragroup relations (for a review, see Platow & Hunter, 2012). For instance, the intergroup context was shown to shape the relationship between in-group members: When out-group competition was introduced, the roles and norms established during phase one shifted dramatically and, for many of the boys, their identification with their respective group became so strong that their groups' goals became synonymous with their personal goals. Intergroup competition also had important consequences for intergroup relations: Sherif and colleagues demonstrated throughout their experiments that the threat of out-group success can result in negative perceptions of that group as well as increased identification with the in-group. Importantly, these experiments showed that while positive contact between group members was not in itself sufficient to alleviate intergroup hostility, intergroup relations were improved when the groups worked

together to achieve a common goal. Today, these lessons form the basis for current understandings of intergroup processes (Platow & Hunter, 2012).

Sherif and colleagues' finding that negative attitudes towards the out-group are driven by intergroup threat later developed into 'realistic group conflict theory' (Sherif & Sherif, 1969; LeVine & Campbell, 1972). While the theory has received a considerable amount of empirical support (Riek et al., 2006), its focus on competition for material resources (such as territory or money) while neglecting group rivalries over figurative ideals (such as cultural values or social status) has drawn criticism (Brewer & Brown, 1998). To address this limitation, Kinder and Sears (1981) sought an alternative explanation for intergroup prejudice within the context of race relations. Specifically, they suggested that white American's prejudice against blacks might be better understood in terms of a moralistic resentment towards them rather than by the fear that blacks present a direct source of competition. Thus, 'symbolic racism theory' was developed, which posits that threat stems from the perception of the out-group as violating important in-group values, (e.g. work ethic, obedience, or discipline; Kinder & Sears, 1981). Although the theory was designed to gain a more complete understanding of race relations in the United States, it has since been used to explain prejudice towards a number of groups, including people who are overweight (Crandall, 1994), homosexuals (Wynan & Snyder, 1997), and immigrants (Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003).

With the aim of incorporating the sources of threat into one comprehensive theory, Stephan and Stephan (1996, 2000) developed 'integrated threat theory,' or ITT. For a number of reasons, ITT offers a powerful framework in which to explore the influence of threat on the relationship between groups. First, it recognizes that threats due to competition (realistic threats) and those due to value conflicts (symbolic threats) are not mutually exclusive, but rather can simultaneously influence out-group attitudes (Riek et al., 2006; Aberson &

Gaffney, 2009). Second, ITT defines threat in more general terms: Realistic threat is described as any threat to the in-group's welfare (not just those related to resources that are scarce) while symbolic threat includes threats to any central in-group value. ITT also considers two additional predictors of out-group attitudes: Intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. Anxiety occurs when an individual's fear of interacting with an out-group member (due to the possibility of embarrassment or rejection) generates feelings of threat from that member's group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Negative stereotypes shape expectations regarding how the out-group will behave, also possibly evoking feelings of threat (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Although research has established that attitudes towards the out-group can be predicted by anxiety (Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the additional role of negative stereotypes in this process has been relatively unsubstantiated (Stephan et al., 2002).

Given its powerful impact on intergroup relations, it is unsurprising that threat has emerged as an important factor to consider within the context of immigration (Stephan et al., 2005). Furthermore, ITT has proved to be an effective framework for studying threat within this particular context (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). In the next section, I move on from reviewing theories and types of threat to discussing the relevance of this particular emotion for the relationship between immigrants and host country natives.

Intergroup Threat from Immigrants

One of the many challenges of moving to a new country is the widespread prejudice that immigrants are likely to face. At the root of these attitudes is the perception that immigrants pose fundamental threats to host country natives (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). For instance, to succeed in a new country, immigrants generally need to secure jobs and to access resources. At the same time, their varying backgrounds make cultural differences between themselves and host country natives inevitable (Stephan et al.,

2005). As a result, immigrants often face incompatible demands at both economic and socio-cultural levels. Economically, immigrants who are not successful may be looked upon as a drain on resources, while those who do reach a level of success are often perceived as having done so at the expense of natives. Socially, immigrants who successfully integrate may be seen as diluting or altering the host culture, and therefore threatening the positive distinctiveness of the dominant group, while those who maintain their cultural practices may also be perceived as a threat to the collective identity of the host country, for example by rejecting dominant cultural values (Esses et al., 2001).

Because immigrants both challenge dominant cultural practices (when they “fail” to assimilate) and pose a threat to the continued dominance of native groups (when they do assimilate but are seen to be “taking over”), immigrants may be particularly likely to trigger feelings of threat. These feelings of threat may be attenuated if the perceived preference of immigrants in relation to acculturation (e.g., assimilation versus integration) matches the dominant groups preferences (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In particular, when immigrants are perceived to value the dominant culture through the ways in which they engage with it, rather than valuing their own culture at the expense of the dominant group, threat is less likely (Zagefka, Tip, Gonzalez, Brown, & Cinnirella, 2012). One way in which natives may judge immigrants’ acculturation preferences, and the degree to which they value the dominant culture, is through their language. As discussed in the previous chapter, a strong accent may be interpreted as an unwillingness to converge, which may give the impression that immigrants do not value the host country culture or do not want to assimilate. Hence, language may feed into dominant group members’ feelings about whether or not immigrants are threatening.

Despite the fact that the majority of immigrants to the U.K. are non-native speakers (Office for National Statistics, 2013), and that non-native speech patterns tend to evoke

negative perceptions (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a), to my knowledge, the role language plays in shaping perceptions of immigrants as a threatening out-group has not been investigated. There is, however, some evidence that exposure to a non-native accent can influence attitudes towards immigrants as a group. In a study investigating prejudice against international students, Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern (2002) found that that the strongest predictors of natives' opinions of this group were their emotional responses to previous conversations with individual students. Opinions about international students were determined by perceptions of their language style: Feelings of discomfort, impatience, and frustration when communicating with international students resulted in more negative attitudes towards international students as a group. Rubin and Smith (1990) also found that negative perceptions of non-native speech patterns were responsible for as many as 40% of American undergraduates avoiding classes taught by international teaching assistants. Although these studies do not address threat as a process in determining language-based intergroup attitudes along side or in conjunction with more neutral difficulties of understanding, they do demonstrate that perceptions relating to an individual's speech can drive attitudes towards that person's entire group (Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002).

Based on the evidence described above, it seems plausible that the threat experienced by natives in relation to immigrants might, at least partly, be evoked by exposure to non-native speech patterns. Since non-native accents mark the speaker as an immigrant while also making group membership salient, it is possible that perceptions of non-native speech might translate to feelings of threat from immigrants as a group. To support my argument, I briefly review three determinants of intergroup threat identified by previous research – cultural dissimilarities, low out-group status, and high in-group identification – and discuss the potential non-native speech perceptions have to exacerbate the effects of each. My aim is to make the case that perceptions of non-native speech patterns might play a unique role in

shaping natives' perceptions of immigrants as threatening, which might in turn affect their attitudes towards immigrants as a group.

Language Exposure's Influence on Threat Determinants

The wide variety of ethnicities, religions, and cultures that immigrants represent are likely to play a role in how threatening immigrants are perceived to be. As Berry (2006) noted, immigrants' place within the social hierarchy of their host country generally corresponds with the amount of cultural similarities they share with host country natives. Similar immigrants tend to enjoy more prestige than dissimilar immigrants and, as a result, pose less of a threat to majority group members (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Rohmann, Piontkowski, & Randenborgh, 2008). Meanwhile, the perception of immigrants as dissimilar has been shown to result in an increase in natives' anti-immigrant attitudes and a decrease in their support for multiculturalism (Fasel, Green, & Sarrasin, 2013; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). One way to judge the extent of similarity between an immigrant and their host culture is by the immigrant's speech patterns. Unlike regional or foreign accents, non-native accents are a sign that the speaker does not share the same native language as the host country majority, a salient indicator of broader cultural dissimilarity. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that because non-native accents mark immigrants as dissimilar, exposure to these speech patterns (especially if they are considered unusual or difficult to understand) can evoke natives' perceptions of immigrants as threatening.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the non-native accents typical of immigrants on the lower rungs of a country's social hierarchy may also serve to mark these immigrants' low status position. Because threat has a stronger impact on group members when their relative status to the out-group is high as opposed to low (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2002), natives may be particularly threatened by immigrants when they are exposed to a characteristic signaling the latter's low status. Accordingly, non-native speech

patterns may evoke intergroup threat in two ways: Symbolic threat that results from the perception that the out-group's low status is a result of inferior values or beliefs (Stephan et al., 2005), and realistic threat that occurs when in-group members fear that low status groups will drain in-group resources (Riek et al., 2006). Furthermore, when a groups' high status is threatened, group members typically respond by engaging with forms of thinking that justify the status quo, and therefore defend their higher status position (e.g., Morrison, Fast, & Ybarra, 2009; Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). Hence, the low status attributions attached to non-native accents may serve to increase both realistic and symbolic threat from immigrants, as well as to exacerbate the negative attitudes natives have towards them.

Another influential antecedent of intergroup threat is group identification. In several studies, high identifiers have been shown to be more sensitive to threat than low identifiers (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Tausch et al., 2007; Riek et al., 2006). Reasons for this include the importance high identifiers tend to place on their group and the more rigid ideas they tend to have about their group's values. As a result, high identifiers are often particularly sensitive to the risk of out-group harm and more acutely aware of the group differences (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2002). Within the context of immigration, research suggests that natives who are highly identified with their nationality experience more threat from immigrants and display less support for multiculturalism and the rights of ethnic minorities (Verkuyten, 2009). Differences in the way that immigrants speak may intensify these links between identification and negative attitudes. Because language makes group boundaries salient, speech patterns that are typical of immigrants may trigger highly identified natives' desire to protect their group's interest. Reciprocally, though, the desire to preserve or protect one's group in the face of threat may increase identification (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). Supporting this argument, Neuliep and Speten-Hansen (2013) found that perceptions of non-native speakers compared to native speakers were more unfavourable when raters were high in

ethnocentrism. Hence, for all group members, but especially for those already highly identified, exposure to a non-native accent may result in higher levels of perceived threat and stronger anti-immigrant attitudes.

However, feelings of threat from interactions with speakers using diverse language patterns may not only be relevant for native speakers; non-native speakers are also likely to be adversely affected by natives' reactions to their accent. In the following sections, I briefly discuss the possibility that stereotype threat might result from feeling stigmatized based on one's speech as well as some of the strategies that non-native speakers might employ for coping with stigma based on their language patterns.

Language-Based Categorizations and Stereotype Threat

In 1963, Goffman (p. 3) defined stigma as a 'mark' that reduces its target 'from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one.' Since then, researchers have applied the concept of stigma to many traits that could potentially devalue a person within their specific social context. These traits can relate to a person's physical appearance, behaviour, or group membership, and may or may not be visible or controllable (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Yet, despite the diversity of characteristics to which stigma can be attached, researchers have consistently demonstrated that the overall experience of stigma can have detrimental effects on its targets. In addition to the negative stereotypes and discrimination described above, stigmatized individuals can experience low self-esteem (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), poorer interpersonal relationships (Jussim, Palumbo, Chatman, Madon & Smith, 2000), and stereotype-consistent behaviours (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Although the specific effects of language-based stigma have yet to be fully tested, it is likely similar to other stigmas regarding the emotional and psychological toll it takes on its targets.

One factor that may exacerbate the effects of stigma on the relationship between native and non-native speakers is stereotype threat. Stereotype threat occurs when the fear of

confirming negative stereotypes about one's group prevents maximum performance on stigma related tasks (Steele & Aronson, 1995). For example, awareness of negative stereotypes about women and maths can impair the performance of individual women taking a maths test relative to men (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999), and awareness of negative stereotypes about white men and athletic ability might impair white men's performance on tests of physical ability relative to black men (Stone, 2002). In the context of language, it seems equally plausible that awareness of negative stereotypes about non-native speech might interfere with the targeted individual's ability to communicate freely and effectively. In addition to confirming negative stereotypes about non-native speakers, a lessened ability to communicate may further damage relationships with native speakers, for example through increasing the occurrence of misunderstandings during interactions (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). For this reason, stereotype threat may be an important factor in determining how language-based stigma affects non-native speakers' interactions with native speakers.

Coping with Language-Based Stigma

The extent to which non-native speakers are affected by language-based stigma is likely to also depend on how they manage their stigmatized attribute. According to social identity theory, group members are motivated to achieve high self-esteem by distinguishing the groups they belong to from other groups in positive ways (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). To achieve this goal, members of stigmatized groups may employ various strategies to cope with stigma. If membership to the non-stigmatized group seems attainable, speakers may attempt to conceal their stigma in order to "pass" as a non-stigmatized group member (i.e., a strategy of social mobility). For non-native speakers, this may result in attempts to hide their accent by imitating native pronunciations and British phrases. By disassociating themselves from their stigmatized group in this way, the speaker tries to minimize their chances of

experiencing future discrimination while maximizing their potential to gain status

(Branscombe, Fernandez, Gomez, & Cronin, 2012).

If attempts to mask a stigmatized attribute fail, or if boundaries between groups seem impermeable, individuals may instead increase their identification with the stigmatized group to which they belong. In this case, positive self-esteem is achieved by taking pride in one's group's ability to cope with and overcome challenges (Branscombe et al., 2012). However, when group boundaries appear to be fixed and impermeable, perceptions of the legitimacy of apparent intergroup differences also play a role in determining individual responses. When status differences between groups seem legitimate, then stigmatized group members may attempt to change the way their group is seen by others, for example by emphasizing its positive virtues while also accepting its weaknesses (i.e. social creativity). However, when differences are perceived as illegitimate, stigmatized group members may attempt to directly challenge the status quo through some form of collective action (i.e. social competition; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Haslam, 2004).

While each of these three strategies – social mobility, social creativity, social competition – can buffer the individual from the negative self-esteem that might otherwise result from stigma, research suggests that the strategy of joining the non-stigmatized group (i.e., social mobility) is generally preferred. Strategies that necessitate stronger group identification with the stigmatized group (i.e., social creativity and competition) are only typically employed when prior attempts to join the non-stigmatized group have failed (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, Van Laar, & Tropp, 2012; Ramos et al., 2012). This order of preference is particularly prevalent when individuals are generally motivated to assimilate, something that is likely to be the case among non-native speakers within a host society. On the basis of the above theory, I generally expected that non-native speakers would perceive joining the non-stigmatized native speaking outgroup to be possible (i.e. that intergroup boundaries are

permeable) and, reflecting this mode of thinking, to also believe that any status differences between these two groups are legitimate. Accordingly, any failure to speak without an accent will be attributed to failure of the individual and perceived negatively in accordance with the evaluative status quo.

There is some evidence for this pattern of thought in prior research among non-native speakers. Inherent within the very act of conversing in a non-native language is at least a minimal desire to assimilate towards native speech patterns: To communicate in a foreign country, a speaker must be able to pronounce words in a way that can be understood. Although native-like pronunciation may be practically impossible for most speakers, many still consider this to be the ideal way to speak (Sweeny & Hua, 2010). Hence, non-native speakers often strive to speak a non-native language as closely to the native standard as possible, with many believing they will eventually eliminate their non-native accent completely (Derwing, 2003). Indeed, the popularity of accent reduction classes demonstrates not only that many non-native speakers perceive their accent as a negative trait that needs to be abolished, but also that native-like pronunciation is theoretically possible, even if it practically is not (Lippi-Green, 1997). This suggests that non-native speakers may perceive entry into the non-stigmatized group as achievable once they speak with native sounding speech patterns. When they fail to master this and stigma results, they may blame themselves and perceive the negative consequences they face (including their low status) as justified.

As a result of perceiving intergroup status differences as legitimate and intergroup boundaries as permeable, non-native speakers are likely to manage stigma by attempting to join the higher status native-speaking out-group. However, since social interactions generally require people to speak in a dynamic and spontaneous way, entirely concealing one's accent in the presence of others is unrealistic (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). Instead, non-native speakers may attempt to blend in with their native speaking counterparts by accommodating

their speech patterns to match those of their communication partner. It should be noted that the practice of adjusting speech patterns is not limited to non-native speakers: Language accommodation - including both converging and diverging speech patterns - has been documented within a variety of contexts, including conversations with children and people in authority (Horton & Spieler, 2007), and is used to achieve a multitude of goals, such as creating a common ground with the listener (Fussell & Krauss, 1989), managing status relations (Gregory & Webster, 1996), and making salient certain social identities (Gallois et al., 2006). As a fundamental part of the communication process (Higgins, 1981) speech accommodation may be a readily available strategy to mask one's stigmatized speech patterns. As such, it can be used by non-native speakers to minimize their accent and blend in with the non-stigmatized out-group.

Whether or not imitating native speech patterns is an effective way to manage language-based stigma is, however, unclear. According to communication accommodation theory (CAT), speakers who converge their language to match that of their communication partner are likely to be perceived more positively and are more able to create a connection with their listener compared to speakers whose speech patterns diverge (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Groll, 2005; Giles, 1970). Yet, for non-native speakers, achieving these benefits depends on their actual ability to sound native – something that for most is an impossible task (Moyer, 2004). As a result, attempts by non-native speakers to sound native may fail. In addition to the negative perceptions that typically accompany divergent speech, research has shown that failed attempts by individuals to hide their stigma can result in opinions of them as untrustworthy, resulting in social isolation and further damage to the person's self-esteem (Letkemann, 2002). Hence, to the extent that non-native speakers attempt, but fail, to perfectly imitate native speech patterns, attempts to manage language-based stigma in this way may ironically result in less positive perceptions from native speakers.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have drawn on intergroup contact theory to understand interactions between dominant cultural groups and immigrant minorities. In so doing, I have highlighted the importance of threat processes to understanding when such interactions are constructive or destructive for intergroup attitudes. I have also tried to highlight the role that language might play in triggering such feelings and therefore determining the outcomes of contact with individual immigrants. Specifically, I have argued that non-native speech patterns may make group membership especially salient during intergroup interactions. In addition, accented speech is likely to mark immigrants as both culturally dissimilar and lower in status. These combined factors are likely to evoke perceptions of threat from immigrants, particularly for natives who are highly identified with their national in-group. Finally, I have briefly discussed the possibility for non-native speakers to be affected by language-based categorizations, both in terms of threat experienced and the strategies employed for managing these perceptions. Hence, it may be important to consider the influence that language has on threat perceptions, especially since these threats may result in poorer quality interactions between native and non-native speakers. Testing the relationship between exposure to non-native speech patterns and threat is one of the aims of the present thesis. Before introducing in the subsequent chapters the empirical work directed toward this aim, in the final section of this chapter I outline the overall structure of this thesis.

Thesis Structure

Across the previous three chapters, I have proposed that language perceptions play a vital role in shaping the relationship between host country natives and immigrants. To support this premise, I outlined several processes whereby language is likely to influence natives' perceptions of both individual non-native speakers and immigrants as a group. In the previous chapter, drawing on communication accommodation theory, I focused on

interpersonal perceptions and suggested that the negative attitudes natives tend to have of non-native speakers may be the result of the attributions that are made for non-native speech. Specifically, I suggested that non-native accents mark the speaker as low in status. Because higher status typically results in accommodating communication, native speakers are likely to expect accommodation from non-native speakers. Partly in response to these heightened expectations, and partly as a result of unrealistic beliefs about the ability to accommodate one's speech, accented speech is likely to be attributed to negative internal causes (e.g., a lack of effort or willingness) rather than the various cognitive factors that limit the abilities of non-native speakers to use native pronunciations. This is likely to further fuel negative intergroup perceptions. In the current chapter, I turned my attention to broader work on intergroup relations. Specifically, I drew on the contact literature and the associated integrated theory of threat to consider processes that might colour interactions between native and non-native speakers. Here I argued that non-native speech makes categories more salient during interaction and marks the speaker as a member of a potentially stigmatized group, but also that non-native speech can disrupt the fluency of interaction and comprehension of non-native speakers. I also suggested that non-native speakers may be adversely affected by native speakers' perceptions of their accent, resulting in stereotype threat and failed attempts to be accommodated. All of these processes can feed into feelings of threat during intergroup interactions, and threat in turn can undermine the positive potential of contact and instead trigger more negative intergroup attitudes. By linking the literature on non-native accent perceptions, attributions, and intergroup threat, these chapters presented a rationale for investigating the way that non-native speech perceptions affect the relationship between host country natives and immigrants.

The aim of this PhD is to empirically test these processes. Across two chapters, I present six studies in which I test the attributions that native speakers attach to non-native

speech patterns before exploring whether these perceptions can extend to attitudes towards immigrants as a group. To do this, I begin by exposing British nationals to text that is written in American English (Chapter 4). Although American spelling and grammar is a native form of the English language, the fact that it is non-native to the U.K. allows me explore the basis on which negative attributions are formed; that is, whether these attributions are evoked by perceiving non-native communication patterns as divergent or as out-right incorrect. Next, I focus explicitly on the role status plays in determining responses to non-native spoken language (Chapter 5). Here, I investigate natives' impressions of a speaker, and their opinion of immigrants generally, after hearing that speaker communicates with a non-native accent that is considered to be strong or weak. I also manipulate out-group status in this chapter to explore its effect on natives' expectations of immigrants' speech patterns. Because I am interested in these effects within the context of immigration, the user of non-British patterns of speech across all of these studies is described to participants as currently in the U.K. but as having been born and raised somewhere else.

However, this PhD is not only concerned with how perceptions of non-native speech patterns affect the way that host country nationals perceive immigrants. In two studies, I consider the impact that natives' perceptions of non-native speech patterns have on non-native speakers who live in the U.K. (Chapter 6). Specifically, I introduce the concept of language-based stigma, and propose that it is likely to evoke responses that are typical of other forms of stigma (e.g. stereotype threat). I also propose that non-native speakers are inclined to manage feeling stigmatized based on their accent by attempting to accommodate their speech patterns towards British norms. To empirically test these ideas, I manipulate language-based stigma and exploring its effect across four indicators: a) interpersonal perceptions of a British national, b) perceived threat from British people generally, c) the strategies that are used by non-native speakers to cope with language-based stigma, and d)

the effectiveness of these strategies in buffering against stigma's effects. By taking the perspective of both native and non-native speakers, this thesis offers a well-rounded picture of the role that language perceptions play in shaping interpersonal and intergroup relations between native and non-native speakers. Both practical and theoretical implications of this work, as well as its limitations and some directions for further research are outlined in a discussion chapter at the end (Chapter 7).

Chapter 4: Exploring how Written Language Affects Interpersonal Perceptions and Intergroup Attitudes within the Context of Immigration

We have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, language.

Oscar Wilde (The Canterville Ghost, 1887)

Previous research has established that native English speakers tend to perceive non-native speech patterns in negative ways (for a review, see Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). However, the exact psychological processes behind these effects remain unclear. For instance, negative perceptions may stem from the idea that non-native speech patterns are incorrect and therefore serve as an indicator that the communicator is uneducated or unintelligent. Equally, however, negative perceptions could result from non-native speech marking the target as “other” and potentially threatening (Gallois et al., 2005). In addition to offering these competing explanations, previous research investigating attitudes towards non-native patterns of speech has used spoken language, with speakers varying in age, nationality, accent strength and acoustic properties. All of the latter exist independently of whether the speaker is native or non-native to the language (Allen, Miller, & DeSteno, 2003), but can nonetheless also affect target evaluations. Hence, the methodology used in previous work may obscure precise explanations for the negative perceptions that non-native speech patterns seem to elicit.

In the current chapter, I aim to compensate for these limitations by making use of non-vocal aspects of language, namely the spelling and grammatical differences that exist between British English (BE) and American English (AE). Focusing on distinct versions of written language, rather than spoken language, has two advantages. First, written language makes it possible to control for variations in age, gender and nationality, as well as any acoustic differences between speakers. Second, both of these versions of English are non-

native in certain contexts (i.e. AE is non-native in Britain while BE is non-native in the U.S.) but are recognised as correct forms of English. Hence, any differences in perceptions based on a communicator's use of a particular form can be attributed to their group membership, and not to the perception that their use of language is incorrect, and thereby the communicator is unintelligent. By using two distinct but correct versions of a language in their written form, I aim to more precisely identify the influence of non-native language on how individuals are perceived.

In addition to addressing gaps in previous research, I am interested in whether the effects of exposure to non-native speech extend beyond evaluations of the communicator and also influence perceptions of the communicator's group. Like any non-native speech pattern, both AE and BE (depending on the context in which they are used) are salient indicators that the user is an immigrant, or at least not a member of the local population (Derwing & Munro, 2009). Because previous research has demonstrated that contact with an out-group member can impact attitudes between groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), perceptions based on language may also have implications for how immigrants are perceived by host country natives. Using distinct versions of English in which one of the communicators is an immigrant provides a context in which to explore whether foreign speech patterns can incite negative perceptions and feelings of threat towards immigrants more generally. Hence, in addition to exploring the link between non-native speech patterns and interpersonal perceptions, I investigate how language can impact the relationship between immigrants and host country natives (i.e., intergroup perceptions).

A Brief History: British English versus American English

It is often said that the U.S. and the U.K. are “two nations separated by a common language.” Although the idea seems to have originated with Wilde, the quotation’s author is heavily disputed. Some sources point to former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill while others credit playwright George Bernard Shaw (Esar & Bentley, 1951; Knowles, 1999; O’Conner & Kellerman, 2009). Other possible contenders include the academic Bertrand Russell, who stated that “it is a misfortune for Anglo-American friendship that the two countries are supposed to have a common language” (Russell, 1944), and the poet Dylan Thomas, who claimed that “European writers and scholars in America are up against the barrier of a common language” (Porter, 2011). More than likely, all of these individuals expressed this opinion, which has been imitated and refined continually to the present day.

Regardless of who coined the phrase, a likely reason for the idea’s tenacity is the truth behind it. Despite increased globalization, vast differences in pronunciation, grammar, and spelling still exist between BE and AE. Examples of these differences include the omission of the letter “u” in AE (color vs. colour) and the preference within BE to use the letter “s” instead of “z” (realise vs. realize). Grammatically, differences are subtle; in AE it is appropriate to state that Susanne is *in the* hospital while in the U.K. Susanne would be described as *in* hospital. Other dissimilarities, such as the use of entirely different words, are more apparent. To describe paid time off of work, for instance, the appropriate word in the U.K. is “holiday” while in the U.S. this would be described as a “vacation.”

Reasons for these differences are embedded in the relationship history between the U.K. and the U.S. and are reflective of each country’s individual identity (see Strevens, 1992). While English was only spoken in England before 1600, expansion of the British Empire over the following 150 years resulted in the language being spread worldwide. However, as British settlements began forming their own identities, they also started adapting

their use of the English language. By the time the American colonies had declared their independence from Britain in 1776, their version of English had become distinct from the British version. Importantly, these linguistic differences, though often small, became a source of great pride for the new country because they reflected their identity as an independent nation and distinguished them from Britain (Mencken, 1921; Strevens, 1992). In fact, support for American nationalism and cultural independence was a primary motivator for author Noah Webster's work transforming the English language through his influential books and dictionaries (Kendall, 2010). Thus the evolution of these language differences is embedded in the historical relations between these two groups.

Today, AE rivals BE in terms of its influence around the world. As the U.S. has become increasingly powerful over the past century, so has the popularity of AE (McArthur, 2002; Nye, 1990). Importantly, AE, along with BE, form the foundation from which additional versions of English are based: The English spoken in Canada, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines are derived from the American version while other varieties, including the English spoken in Australia, parts of Africa, and the Caribbean take their basis from the British version (Strevens, 1992). Although the U.S. and the U.K. are now close allies whose relationship has been described as "unparalleled" among major world powers (Wither, 2006), the popularity of AE has been known to outrage defenders of BE who argue for the preservation of the language's original form (Engel, 2011).

Expectations of Accommodation

Like all speech patterns that are considered to be non-native, how BE and AE are perceived largely depends on the contexts in which they are used. Arguably, the most important factors that influence the attributions that are attached to the use of non-native language include the communicator's nationality and the situation in which the exchange takes place. For instance, a British national visiting the U.S. is unlikely to have negative

perceptions of an American using AE because, in this context, AE is both native and expected. However, if during their trip that same British national came across another British national using AE, inferences about that person might be different (perhaps regarding that person's identity as British). Yet an American who interacts with these two British nationals may have different perceptions altogether based on the fact that one uses BE and the other uses AE; the BE speaker may be assumed to be a tourist and the AE speaker a resident of the U.S. These perceptions are likely influenced again by the fact that the interactions occur on American soil (as opposed to taking place in the U.K.)

I assume that the reason nationality and environment impact how non-native speech patterns are interpreted is at least partly due to expectations of accommodation. According to CAT (Giles, 1973), communicators who accommodate their style of language are perceived more positively than communicators whose language patterns diverge. Furthermore, the perception that non-native speakers are low in status (see Chapter 2) make them particularly vulnerable to the expectation that they should accommodate towards the language of native speakers (and not the other way around). Hence, while it is generally accepted that British communicators use BE and American communicators use AE, there may be expectations that individuals who immigrate from one country to the other should adapt their language patterns towards the communicative norms of the host country.

The Current Paradigm

Because I am interested in the processes behind the negative perceptions generally associated with non-native language, I created a paradigm in which participants would be likely to expect that the communicator should have integrated towards the norms of the host country. As part of the paradigm, I asked British nationals to read a story written in either BE or AE that they were told was written by an American writer. In order to create a situation where expectations of accommodation would be high, participants were told the writer, while

being born in the U.S., had been living in the U.K. for the last 15 years and had recently been granted British citizenship. I then measured participants' perceptions of the story's author (i.e., interpersonal perceptions) as well as their perceptions of all non-British people living in Britain (i.e., intergroup perceptions). By taking advantage of the idea that the writer should accommodate her language towards British norms, I explore attitudes towards a target who uses a correct, but non-native (to British participants), form of English (AE as opposed to BE), and investigate whether these attitudes generalise to perceptions of the writer's group (all non-British people living in the U.K.).

Study 1

In the first study, I test whether British nationals perceive an American writer who has immigrated to the U.K. differently depending on whether she uses BE or AE. Because using BE would demonstrate that she has accommodated her language style to the host society, and thereby signal her membership to the British in-group (Gallois et al., 2005), I expect BE to elicit more positive attitudes and more perceived similarity to the writer than AE. I also expect British nationals to rate the writer's language style as more appropriate when it aligns with their communicative norms (BE) as opposed to the norms of an out-group (AE).

To investigate whether language can influence perceptions of the communicator's status and power within a society, I use Fiske et al.'s (2002) stereotype content model (SCM). According to SCM, competence is the status relevant dimension of person perception while warmth is the alternative, non-status relevant dimension. Based on my assumption that British nationals perceive themselves as higher in status than communicators using non-native language, I expect that when the writer aligns her language style with the norms of the British in-group (uses BE) she will be rated as more competent than when she uses AE. However, because the supposed incompetence of linguistic out-groups is generally offset by

the stereotype that they are warm (Fiske et al., 2002; Ruscher, 2001), I expect the writer to be rated as warmer when she uses non-native language (AE) as opposed to native language (BE).

I also test whether perceptions of an individual based on their language use can impact intergroup relations more generally. Because individual experiences with an out-group member can influence attitudes towards that person's group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), I expect that the writer's language style will have implications for the way British nationals perceive all immigrants living in Britain. Seeing as the writer is an immigrant who has spent a substantial amount of time in the U.K., I assume that British nationals will have some expectation that she should have accommodated her language style towards British norms (use BE). Whether or not she meets these expectations are likely to have repercussions for attitudes towards immigrants generally. Because accommodating her language would show deference to the British in-group, I expect that when the writer uses language typical of in-group norms (BE), participants will feel more positively towards all immigrants living in the U.K. than when she uses language typical of out-group norms (AE).

One particularly relevant driver of intergroup attitudes is experiences of intergroup threat (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Hence, I also investigate whether non-native speech patterns can impact British nationals' perception that the immigrant out-group is threatening to in-group resources and culture. Because immigrants tend to be associated with diminished resources and cultural changes (Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Esses et al., 2001), I expect British nationals who are exposed to non-native speech patterns (AE) by someone who has supposedly joined the British in-group will report more symbolic and realistic threat from immigrants than those exposed to native patterns of speech (BE). In addition, because previous research has demonstrated that threat can influence overall attitudes towards out-groups (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Riek et al., 2006; Tausch et al., 2007) I expect threat to mediate the relationship between language style and attitudes towards immigrants.

Method

Participants and Design

Sixty participants completed the study online. Participants ranged from 18 to 48 years old ($M = 22.37$, $SD = 4.90$) and included 20 males and 40 females. All identified themselves as British and reported English as their native language.

Participants were recruited from a list of individuals who had volunteered to receive email notifications of studies running within the School of Psychology. An advertisement was sent to everyone on this list inviting them to participate in a study that aimed to understand how the general public perceives the marketing of books and other literary works. Participants were told that they would be asked to read a short passage from a story and then answer questions regarding their perceptions of the story as well as the story's author. As an incentive, participants were offered the chance to enter a prize draw for one of five £20 gift vouchers.

The study used a between-subjects design with two experimental conditions (BE vs. AE). Participants were allocated to one of the conditions randomly. Main dependent variables included participants' perception of the language used in the story as appropriate, perceived similarity to the author, and general evaluations of her. In the second half of the questionnaire, participants were told that researchers were interested in their opinions of various social issues and that they had been "randomly" allocated the issue of immigration. Dependent variables in this part of the study included participants' feelings of realistic and symbolic threat from non-British people living in the U.K. as well as their attitudes towards immigrants in general.

Materials and Procedure

After clicking on the link, participants were asked to read a brief profile about Sophia Phillips, who they were told was the story's author. According to the profile, the author was born and educated in the U.S but has been living in the U.K for the past 15 years, having recently been granted U.K. citizenship. The profile also stated that she had been writing since she was a child, had received an M.A. in Creative Writing from a U.K. university, and hoped to publish her first novel in the near future. Participants were also told that the passage they were about to read had been entered into a local creative writing contest with the author's permission.

Participants were then randomly assigned to read a passage from the story in either BE or AE. Language was manipulated by using different spellings for applicable words and by adapting grammar to align with the norms of each country. The following sentence is an example of how language was manipulated throughout the text. Manipulated words and phrases are italicized with the British version in brackets next to the American version.

“Charlotte changed out of her *pajamas(pyjamas)*, grabbed her purse and headed out (*of*) the door. The weather outside was cold and *gray(grey)*. As her eyes scanned the many cars and *busses(buses)* that *make up the streets of (pass through)* Plymouth, she thought about how the lack of *color(colour)* outside seemed to accurately match her mood.”

Measures. After reading the passage, participants were asked to begin the questionnaire. Unless otherwise indicated, participants gave their responses using a single Likert-type response scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Responses to all items within each scale were averaged to form a single scale score.

First, participants were asked whether they perceived the language used in the story as appropriate. Four items measured language perception ($\alpha = .69$), including “The writing in

this story is clear,” “The author uses correct grammar (spelling) throughout this text.”

Participants then completed measures assessing their perception of the story’s author. Six items measured perceived similarity to the author ($\alpha = .96$), including “Sophia seems very similar to me,” and “I feel that Sophia and I would have much in common.” A further six items measured participants’ general attitudes toward the author ($\alpha = .75$), including “Sophia seems like someone I would typically become friends with,” and “I’d be happy to have Sophia as my neighbour.” Finally, to assess stereotypes associated with the author, participants were asked to rate from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely) the extent to which the author seemed to possess characteristics associated with warmth and competence.

Characteristics used to assess warmth were tolerant, warm, sincere, and being good-natured ($\alpha = .83$). Characteristics used to measure competence included competent, confident, intelligent and independent ($\alpha = .67$; Fiske et al., 2002).

In the second half of the questionnaire, participants were asked their opinions about various immigration issues. Participants were told that I was interested in a range of social issues and that immigration was one of many issues they could have been assigned. In reality all participants were assigned to this issue. They were also told that for the purpose of this questionnaire, immigration refers to all non-British people living in the U.K. regardless of whether or not the person is from an E.U. country.

Realistic threat was measured using four items adapted from a scale created by Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, and Polifroni (2008). Examples of items used in this scale included the following: “Education benefits non-British people over British people more than it should” and “Many companies believe that people from other countries are more qualified than British people” ($\alpha = .75$). Eight items measuring symbolic threat were adapted from a scale created by Stephen, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999) and included statements such as “Immigration from outside of the U.K is undermining British culture” and “British culture is

changing because of non-British people who live in the U.K.” ($\alpha = .74$). Finally, participants were asked to indicate from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely) how much they respect and feel warmth toward immigrants living in the U.K. These two items were highly correlated, $r(60) = .755, p < .001$, and were average to form a scale measuring general attitudes toward immigrants.

Results

Independent samples t-tests were used to explore the effect of language on the dependent variables. All means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4.1; correlations between variables are presented in Table 4.2.

Language Perceptions

Consistent with the intent of the manipulation, participants who read the story in BE perceived the language style used as more appropriate than participants who read the story in AE, $t(57) = 3.01, p = .004, d = .78$.

Interpersonal Perceptions

My prediction that language use would influence personal evaluations of the author was supported. Participants who read the story in BE felt more similar to the author than participants who read the story in AE, $t(57) = 3.06, p = .003, d = .79$, and had more positive attitudes toward the author than participants who read the story in AE, $t(58) = 2.48, p = .016, d = .65$. The results also revealed that participants who read the story in BE rated the author as more competent than participants who read the story in AE, $t(57) = 2.07, p = .043, d = .55$, although there was no difference on rated warmth, $t(55) = .98, p = .331$.

Intergroup Attitudes

The expectation that language use would influence the threat participants felt from immigrants living in the U.K. was partially supported. Participants who read the story in AE

reported more realistic threat than participants in the BE condition, $t(58) = 2.03$, $p = .047$, $d = .52$, but not more symbolic threat, $t(57) = .40$, $p = .693$. Compared to the AE condition, participants in the BE condition also felt slightly more positive towards immigrants overall, $t(58) = 1.98$, $p = .052$, $d = .51$.

Mediation

To test my prediction that threat would mediate the effect of language style on attitudes towards immigrants, a bootstrapping analysis was conducted (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The analysis revealed an indirect effect whereby realistic threat mediated the effect of language style on attitudes towards non-British people living in the U.K, $CI_{95} = -.6940, -.0031$. In short, participants exposed to non-accommodated language (AE) reported more realistic threat from immigrants and this indirectly resulted in more negative attitudes towards them compared to participants exposed to accommodate language (BE).

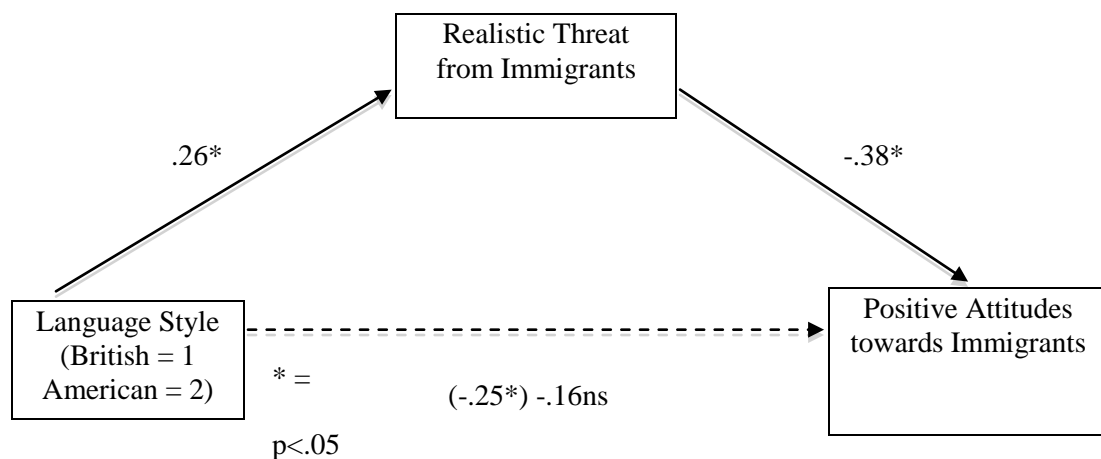


Figure 4.1. Indirect effect of realistic threat on positive attitudes towards immigrants. Note: this figure reports standardized coefficients.

Table 4.1

Means Table for the Effect of Language Style on the Dependent Variables

	Language Style				<i>t</i>
	British		American		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Language Appropriate	4.84	1.05	3.97	1.18	3.01*
Similarity	3.47	1.29	2.54	1.04	3.06*
Pos. Attitude (Author)	4.51	.79	4.01	.75	2.48*
Competence	4.72	.95	4.28	.61	2.07*
Warmth	4.89	.81	4.68	.80	.981
Realistic Threat	2.74	1.03	3.33	1.09	2.03*
Symbolic Threat	3.68	.88	3.78	.91	.693
Pos. Attitude (Immigrants)	4.92	1.15	4.23	1.50	1.92*

Note. * = $p < .05$

Table 4.2

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	Language Perception	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Similarity	.338**						
2. Pos. Attitude (Author)	.582**	.488**					
3. Competence	.544**	.386**	.615**				
4. Warmth	.378**	-.017	.350**	.425**			
5. Real Threat	-.039	-.071	-.163	-.203	.026		
6. Sym Threat	.030	.184	-.005	.006	-.075	.569**	
7. Pos. Attitude (Immigrants)	.070	-.051	.063	.003	.122	-.416**	-.434**

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Discussion

The results supported most of the hypotheses. As predicted, BE was rated as more appropriate than AE and resulted in greater perceived similarity to the communicator and more positive evaluations of her. Hence, although participants were made aware that the author's origins were as an out-group national, and although the use of AE is "correct" for that group, participants nonetheless appeared more accepting of her when her language was consistent with British norms. These broad evaluations were also reflected in more fine-grained attributions of competence, but not warmth, to the author. Hence, when the author's language signaled her accommodation to the British in-group, British participants rated her on traits typically associated with high status (Fiske et al., 2002). This result is consistent with my reasoning that, relative to members of the non-native out-group, British participants perceive themselves to be the high status group. However, my prediction that participants who read the story in AE would rate the author as warm, and hence, along traits generally associated with low status individuals (Fiske et al., 2002) was not supported, perhaps because the story alone (and the absence of any direct communication with the writer) was not perceived as an indicator of the writer's warmth. Indeed, perceptions of the writer as warm were high in both language conditions, and slightly higher when the writer used BE rather than AE.

Perhaps more interestingly, the effects of non-native speech patterns (AE) extended beyond evaluations of the specific communicator and also coloured feelings toward and evaluations of immigrants as a group. Participants exposed to non-accommodated language (AE) reported experiencing more realistic threat from immigrants and expressed less positive attitudes about this group than participants exposed to accommodated language (BE). Moreover, realistic threat mediated the relationship between language style and attitudes, suggesting that feelings of threat can not only be impacted by language directly, but can

influence how groups are subsequently perceived. Surprisingly, there was no effect of language style on symbolic threat. One reason for this might be due to the items in this scale potentially being more likely to elicit socially desirable responses (i.e. “Immigration is undermining British culture”).

Although the current study offers compelling evidence of the importance of language for both interpersonal and intergroup perceptions, it does not allow me to disregard the theory that negative perceptions based on language stem from the idea that non-native speech patterns are simply “incorrect.” That is, although AE and BE are both technically legitimate versions of English, it is not clear whether British nationals consider AE and BE as equal in their correctness. It would seem important to know whether the effects observed in this study stemmed from exposure to specifically non-accommodating language or whether they are the result of exposure to merely incorrect language.

Study 2

In Study 2, I investigate whether the effects observed previously stem from non-accommodating versus incorrect language. This is an important distinction to make because if participants who read the story in AE perceive the writer’s language style as incorrect, their negative evaluations may have originated from the belief that the writer is unable to use language properly and is therefore unintelligent. However, if these participants recognised the writer as using a version of English that is correct but distinct from their own then their negative perceptions provide evidence for the theory that non-native patterns of speech are disliked because they signal something about the communicator’s allegiance to the out-group versus the in-group.

To disentangle this aspect of how different speech patterns might be interpreted, I added a third language condition to the current study. As well as being randomly allocated to read the story in BE or AE, participants in Study 2 could also be assigned to read the story in

Incorrect English (IE), containing language riddled with spelling mistakes and grammatical errors. If the writer's use of IE and AE are perceived differently, then I can be confident that AE is not simply considered an incorrect form of the English language and that the effects of being exposed to AE stem from more than negative evaluations of incorrectness. Exactly where IE is likely to sit in relation to BE, however, is less clear. On one hand, if the writer's use of AE is perceived to signal her unwillingness to accommodate towards British norms, then an immigrant using AE may be even less desirable to British participants than an immigrant who simply does not know how to write (i.e., uses IE). Hence, compared to AE, the use of IE might encourage more positive perceptions of the writer and her group as well as less threat towards immigrants generally. Based on this logic, one could predict that accommodated language (BE) would elicit the most positive responses, followed by IE and finally AE.

However, I am doubtful that exposure to non-native speech patterns (AE) are automatically perceived negatively by everyone. Inevitably, some participants will make allowances for the writer's American upbringing and/or will welcome the diversity her speech patterns bring to the in-group. Perceptions associated with writing that contains mistakes, on the other hand, are less ambiguous: An immigrant making spelling and grammatical errors is likely to be viewed as uneducated or stupid, and therefore has the potential to lower in-group standards. Hence, the individual consequences that the use of IE and AE has for the in-group raises the question of whether lowering the standards of the in-group (through the use of IE) is considered more or less desirable than changing them (through the use of AE). Because the U.S is a high status and friendly out-group to the U.K. (McArthur, 2002; Nye, 1990), I expect that IE will result in the most negative interpersonal and intergroup perceptions. Differences between BE and AE are likely to mirror the results of Study 1, with participants exposed to accommodated language (BE) perceiving the writer

and her group more positively than participants exposed to non-accommodated language (AE).

In order to better understand the attributes attached to these language styles, I also examined whether participants perceive the writer as having control over her patterns of speech. My logic is that, if the writer is perceived as having made a conscious choice not to accommodate her language (use AE), then her perceived unwillingness to use the in-group's language style may have driven the negative attitudes elicited by AE in Study 1. Furthermore, assessing how much control the writer is perceived to have when she uses IE as opposed to AE will help to explain their impact on interpersonal and intergroup perceptions. Therefore, I added two dependent variables to the current study aimed at investigating attributions of a communicator's control over their language. One of these variables measures the perception that the writer is *able* to change her language and the other measures the perception of the writer as *willing* to change her language.

My predictions of participants' perceptions of the author's ability and willingness to change are based on my assumption that the writer's length of time in the U.K. will result in the expectation that she should have accommodated her language towards British norms (use BE). If expectations are met and participants read the story in BE, then these measures will seem irrelevant and their ratings meaningless. However, if the author has retained her American speech patterns despite her time living in the U.K., participants who read the story in AE may feel she has made the choice to adhere to the norms of her native country. Participants who read the story in IE, however, may take into account the writer's effort to produce a story despite her lack of writing skills, and evaluate her as keen but also inept. Hence, I predict that participants in the IE condition will perceive the author as the most willing, but the least able to change her style of language while participants in the AE condition will perceive the author as least willing but the most able to make changes.

Method

Participants and Design

Seventy-eight participants, ranging in age from 18 to 62 years old ($M = 27.92$, $SD = 10.98$) completed the study online. Participants included 17 males and 60 females. One participant did not provide this information. All were native English speakers and identified themselves as British.

Participants were recruited from a list of volunteers who had signed up to receive email notifications alerting them to studies running within the School of Psychology. Because this list changes every year, it was different from the list used in the previous study. However, the advertisement used to recruit participants as well as the prize draw offered as an incentive was identical to Study 1.

The study was a between subjects design with three experimental conditions (BE vs. AE vs. IE). Participants were allocated to one of the conditions randomly. Main dependent variables included participants' perception of the appropriateness of the story's language, as well as their attitudes and impressions of the story's author. Dependent variables investigating intergroup perceptions included realistic threat, symbolic threat, and participants' overall attitudes towards immigrants living in the U.K.

Materials and Procedure

After agreeing to participate in the study, participants were asked to read the profile of an author. As in Study 1, the profile stated that the author was born in the U.S., had been living in the U.K. for the past 15 years, and had been recently been granted U.K. citizenship. However, in order for the IE condition to make sense in this context, the author's ambition for writing was more modest: There was no mention of her aim to publish or her ambition to become a writer. Instead, participants were told that the author enjoys writing in her spare time, along with taking classes in yoga and pottery. In addition, instead of reading that she

had received her MA in Creative Writing (Study 1), participants read that her degree was in Business Administration. Finally, participants were told that her story had been written for a creative writing workshop (as opposed to a creative writing competition as in Study 1).

After reading the profile, participants were randomly assigned to read the story excerpt in BE, AE or IE. The BE and the AE conditions were manipulated in the same way as in Study 1. For the IE condition, typos and grammatical errors were added to the BE version of the story excerpt. The following is an example of how the text was manipulated to be incorrect (spelling and grammatical mistakes are italicised):

“First, she had to call the doctor and make sure her husband had cancelled *there* son’s appointment to be *imunised* on Saturday...there was simply no way they were going to make that appointment now. She made a mental note *to be sorry* to the receptionist when she called.”

Measures. After reading the text, participants began the questionnaire. As in Study 1, all responses were given on 7-point scales appropriate to the question being asked. Scores from each item were averaged to form a reliable scale.

To measure participants’ perception of the author’s language as appropriate, 5 items were used ($\alpha = .77$). Four of these were identical to those used in Study 1 and the fifth was added to increase the scale’s reliability: “The author demonstrates good writing skills.” Four items were used to measure participants’ perception that the author is able to change the way she writes ($\alpha = .58$), including “The author is able to improve her language” and “The author could write differently if she wanted to.” A further four items assessed participants’ perception of the author as willing to change her writing style ($\alpha = .81$), for example “The author doesn’t want to adapt her writing to the expectations of the audience” and “The author is unwilling to change her way of writing” (recoded). To explore further the relationship between participants’ perceptions of the author’s willingness to change relative to their ability to actually do so, I created a new variable by subtracting the perception of the author

as able to change from the perception of the author as willing to change. Lower scores on this variable indicated that participants perceived the author as more able than willing to change her style of language.

Items measuring interpersonal perceptions were identical to those used in Study 1. Six items measured participants' perception of similarity to the author ($\alpha = .92$) while an additional six items measured participants' general attitude towards the author ($\alpha = .75$). Four items measured participants' evaluations of the author as competent ($\alpha = .78$) while four items measured their perception of her as warm ($\alpha = .77$).

As in Study 1, participants were asked to give their opinions on a "randomly" assigned social issue, which in all cases was the issue of immigration. Participants were told that for the purposes of the questionnaire, the word "immigrant" referred to all non-British people living in the U.K.

Items measuring feelings of threat from immigrants were also identical to those used in Study 1. Four items assessed participants' feelings of realistic threat ($\alpha = .78$) and eight items measured reports of symbolic threat ($\alpha = .84$). Two items (warmth and respect) were used to measure participants' attitudes towards immigrants overall ($r(77) = .613, p < .001$).

Results

Variable means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4.3 and variable intercorrelations are presented in Table 4.4. A series of univariate ANOVAs explored the effect of the language manipulation on the dependent variables.

Language Perceptions

Consistent with the intention of the manipulation, there was a significant effect of language style on the perceived appropriateness of the language used, $F(2,75) = 34.87, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .48$. Participants who read the story in BE perceived the language as more appropriate than participants who read the story in AE, $F(1,75) = 9.51, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .11$,

and participants who read the story in AE perceived the language as more appropriate than participants who read the story in IE, $F(1,75) = 26.83, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .26$.

I also explored the effects of the language manipulation on perceptions of the author's ability and willingness to change. There was a significant effect of language on participants' perception of the author as *able* to change the way she writes, $F(2, 75) = 3.15, p = .049, \eta_p^2 = .08$. Participants who read the story in AE perceived the writer as most able to change her language. The difference between the AE condition and the BE condition was significant, $F(1,75) = 6.16, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .08$, with the IE condition falling in between, but not significantly different from either the AE condition, $F(1,75) = 2.47, p = .120$, or the BE condition, $F(1,75) = .83, p = .366$.

There was also a significant effect of language on participants' perception of the author as *willing* to change her writing, $F(2,75) = 3.18, p = .047, \eta_p^2 = .08$. Participants who read the story in IE perceived the writer as marginally more willing to change her language style than participants who read the story in AE, $F(1,75) = 3.04, p = .085, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and as significantly more willing to change than participants who read the story in BE, $F(1,75) = 6.00, p = .017, \eta_p^2 = .07$. The difference between the AE condition and the BE condition was non-significant, $F(1,75) = .50, p = .483$.

To understand better these effects on perceived willingness and ability to change, I examined the discrepancy score based on the difference between these indices. In this analysis, the main effect of language style was marginally significant, $F(2,75) = 2.83, p = .065, \eta_p^2 = .07$. Participants who read the story in AE perceived the author as less willing than able to change compared to participants who read the story in IE, $F(1,75) = 5.66, p = .020, \eta_p^2 = .07$. However, AE and BE conditions did not differ significantly, $F(1,75) = 1.32, p = .255$, and there was also no difference between the BE condition and IE condition, $F(1,75) = 1.52, p = .222$.

Interpersonal Perceptions

Despite these significant effects on the author's motives and abilities, my expectation that language style would impact on participants' more general evaluations of the author was not supported. Contrary to Study 1, there were no significant differences between participants who read the story in BE, AE or IE on their perceived similarity with the author, $F(2,75) = 1.47, p = .236$, or their general attitudes towards her, $F(2,75) = 1.11, p = .334$. There were also no significant differences between the language participants were exposed to and their perception of the author as either competent, $F(2,75) = .97, p = .385$, or warm, $F(2,75) = .43, p = .654$.

Intergroup Attitudes

The results also revealed no significant effects of language on perceptions of immigrants living in the U.K. Contrary to my predictions, there were no effects of language style on either realistic threat, $F(2,75) = .26, p = .772$, symbolic threat, $F(2,75) = 1.28, p = .283$, or overall attitudes towards immigrants living in Britain, $F(2, 74) = .58, p = .565$.

Table 4.3

Means Table for the Effect of Language Style on the Dependent Variables

	Language Style						<i>F</i>
	British		American		Incorrect		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Language Perception	4.61 ^a	.96	3.82 ^b	.88	2.49 ^c	.94	34.87*
Able to Change	4.80 ^a	.72	5.38 ^b	.96	5.01	.81	3.51*
Willing to Change	3.98 ^a	.71	4.08 ^a	1.16	4.53 ^b	.87	3.18*
Able vs. Willing+	-.90	1.01	-1.30 ^a	1.45	-.48 ^b	1.21	2.83 [^]
Similarity	2.88	.99	3.19	1.23	3.43	1.21	1.47
Pos. Attitude (Author)	3.99	.755	4.29	.96	4.30	.82	1.11
Competence	4.98	.90	4.81	.99	4.63	.87	.967
Warmth	4.64	.78	4.73	.76	4.52	.93	.427
Realistic Threat	2.54	1.14	2.33	1.04	2.54	1.45	.260
Symbolic Threat	4.00	1.06	3.52	1.01	3.78	1.17	1.28
Pos. Attitude (Immigrants)	4.76	1.08	4.96	1.14	5.10	1.15	.576

Note. * = $p < .05$, [^] = $p < .10$

Note. Cells with different subscripts indicate significant differences ($p < .05$)

+ = Lower scores indicate that the author was perceived as more able than willing to change her writing

Table 4.4

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	Language Perception	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Able	-.093									
2. Willing	-.160	.035								
3. Able vs. Will	-.058	-.653**	.734**							
4. Similarity	.059	.062	.302**	.187						
5. Attitudes (Author)	.046	.083	.291**	.164	.541**					
6. Competence	.404**	-.042	-.072	-.026	.160	.297**				
7. Warmth	.293**	.030	.035	.006	.105	.297**	.578*			
8. Real Threat	.083	-.114	-.148	-.034	-.033	-.023	.090	-.028		
9. Sym Threat	.072	.090	-.162	-.182	-.162	-.075	-.056	-.047	.690**	
10. Attitudes (Immigrants)	-.079	.053	.050	.002	.208	.208	-.018	.063	-.524**	-.523**

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Discussion

The results of this study are mixed. On the one hand, they provide further insight into how participants interpret different versions of English. The results show that AE was considered more appropriate than IE but less appropriate than BE. Hence, while AE is perceived as distinct from English that is clearly wrong, it was not considered comparable to the version of English considered normative in Britain (BE). Participants also appeared to attribute different amounts of control based on the writer's patterns of speech. Compared to those who read the story in IE, participants in the AE condition perceived the writer as significantly more able to change her patterns of speech, but less willing to do so relative to

her ability. This supports my assumption that unlike IE, whose user was perceived as having little control over her speech patterns, an American immigrant using AE is thought to be demonstrating a lack of willingness to accommodate towards the communicative norms of the host nation.

Despite these insights into how AE is perceived, the expectation that this should have evaluative consequences for the communicator and for intergroup perceptions more generally was not supported, and the patterns observed in Study 1 were not replicated. On closer inspection, however, it seems possible that the background information given to participants in Study 2 may have diminished the capacity for the effects observed in Study 1 to again emerge. Because of the additional IE condition in this study, I chose to downplay the author's previous experience as a writer to make her spelling and grammatical mistakes seem more believable: Instead of being told that she held an MA in Creative Writing, aimed to publish a novel, and had entered her story into a competition, participants in Study 2 were told that the writer had a postgraduate degree in a field unrelated to writing, only wrote for fun, and had written her story as part of a creative writing workshop. Hence, the profile of the author that was used in Study 2 was significantly different than the profile used in Study 1.

It also seems likely that these varying depictions of the writer's previous experience may have influenced participants' expectations about her use of language. Specifically, her extensive writing background outlined in Study 1 may have given the impression that she is an expert while her lack of experience in Study 2 may have encouraged the perception of her as an amateur. Because an expert has knowledge within an area while an amateur is only beginning to learn a skill, it follows that expectations of someone with expertise would be higher than those of a novice. These high expectations in Study 1 may have made participants more attuned to the writer's language and more judgemental of it. In Study 2, however, the writer's lack of experience likely encouraged a more forgiving attitude towards

her writing skills, making participants less likely to make judgments based on her patterns of speech. Because the effects of language appear to differ based on the writer's level of expertise, it would be beneficial to conduct a further study and manipulate expertise directly and orthogonal to language use.

Study 3

In Study 3, I experimentally manipulated the writer's speech patterns as well as her level of expertise in an attempt to replicate both the results of Study 1 (in the context of an expert) and the results of Study 2 (in the context of an amateur). More specifically, I predict that when the writer is perceived as an expert (Study 1), participants exposed to non-accommodated language (AE) will report more negative interpersonal and intergroup perceptions than participants exposed to accommodated language (BE). Because I expect that the potential to lower in-group standards (through the use of IE) will be perceived as more detrimental to the in-group than the potential to change them (through the use of AE), I expect participants exposed to IE to have the most negative perceptions of the writer and her group. However, when the writer is considered an amateur (Study 2), I predict that there will be no effect of speech patterns on participants' perceptions.

I also test whether the level of control the writer is perceived to have over her speech patterns differ based on her language style and status. I aim to replicate the results of Study 2, and therefore predict that participants who read the story in AE will perceive the writer as able but unwilling to change her language while participants who read the story in IE will perceive the writer as willing to change but unable. Participants who read the story in BE will be unlikely to see the author as needing to change, making their ratings inconsequential. Although I expect that there will be an effect of speech patterns on attributes of control when the author is an amateur, I expect the discrepancy between the ability and willingness to change to be more prominent when the author is described as having previous writing

experience. Hence, when the author is presented as an expert, participants who read the story in IE will perceive the author as more willing than able to change while participants who read the story in AE will perceive the author as more able to change than willing.

The perception of the author as most able but least willing to change her language when she used AE supports the idea that an American immigrant using AE is perceived as unwilling to accommodate towards British communicative norms. As an extension of this, I am interested in whether non-accommodated language encourages the perception that the writer is unwilling to accommodate other aspects of her life. Based on the attributions of control seen in Study 2, I predict that when the writer retains the communicative norms of her home country (AE), she will be perceived as less assimilated to British culture than if she uses speech patterns that are consistent with British norms (BE). Because language is a salient indicator of identity (Gallois et al., 2005), I also expect that participants exposed to BE (AE) will perceive the writer as more identified with Britain (U.S.) than with the U.S. (Britain). Since IE is neither British nor American, ratings from participants in this condition are inconsequential. Furthermore, I expect that any effects of speech patterns on perceptions of the writer's identity and perceived level of assimilation to be more prominent in the expert status condition, when language is more likely to be used to form impressions.

Finally, I explore whether the style of language British nationals are exposed to can impact their tolerance towards non-British versions of English. Unlike my other dependent variables, which explore perceptions of either the writer or her group, investigating the role of speech patterns on language tolerance involves measuring opinions about speech patterns generally. The reason for including a variable that extends beyond interpersonal and intergroup perceptions is to test whether exposure to certain patterns of speech can impact expectations associated with non-native versions of English. By exploring this relationship, I

aim to gain insight into the processes through which negative perceptions of non-native speech patterns are perpetuated.

To investigate how speech patterns impact general ideas about language, I use Jhally and Lewis' (1992) theory of Enlightened Racism. According to this perspective, negatively stereotyped out-group members who engage in behaviours perceived as positive but atypical can undermine the perception of barriers faced by that group (Jhally & Lewis, 1992; see also Valentino & Brader, 2011). Because host country natives may be aware that assimilation by immigrants is not automatic (Paxton & Mughan, 2006), an immigrant who uses flawless normative language (BE) is engaging in a behaviour likely perceived as both positive and atypical. Hence, an American immigrant who uses BE may encourage the perception that changing one's speech patterns is easily done, and by implication that intergroup boundaries are relatively permeable. To the extent that this does occur, exposure to an immigrant using BE might make participants less tolerant than when exposed to non-British versions of English. Therefore, I expect that within both status conditions, participants who read the story in BE will feel less tolerant towards non-British forms of English than participants who read the story in either AE or IE.

Method

Participants and Design

One hundred and seventy-two British nationals whose native language was English took part in the study online. Participants consisted of 43 males and 127 females (2 unspecified) ranging from 18 to 33 years old ($M = 19.04$, $SD = 1.78$). While all were recruited via email, some had volunteered to receive emails advertising studies running within the School of Psychology and others were first-year Psychology students. Participants recruited from the volunteer list-serve were entered into a prize draw as an incentive to take part while first-year students were offered credit towards their course.

The study was a 3 x 2 between-subjects design with language style (BE vs. AE vs. IE) and author status (Expert vs. Amateur) as independent variables. Participants were assigned to each condition randomly. Dependent variables fell into one of the following three categories: Perceptions of the language used in the story, perceptions of the story's author, and perceptions associated with non-British people living in the U.K.

Materials and Procedure

After clicking on the link to the study, participants were presented with the author's profile. Like the previous two studies, participants were told that the writer was born in the U.S., had been living in the U.K for the past 15 years, and had recently been granted British citizenship. In the expert status condition, participants were given the same information about the author's writing experience as participants in Study 1: They were told that she had earned an MA in Creative Writing, that she hoped to publish her first novel in the near future, and that the story they were about to read had been entered into a creative writing contest. In the amateur status condition, participants read a profile identical to the one used in Study 2: These participants were told that the author enjoyed writing for fun (along with yoga and pottery), had received an MSc in Business Administration, and that her story had been written during a creative writing workshop. Participants were then randomly assigned to read the story excerpt in BE, AE or IE. Language style was manipulated in the same way as in Study 2.

Measures. After reading the story, participants began the questionnaire. All responses were given on the same 7-point scales appropriate to the question being asked. Scores from each set of items were averaged to form a reliable scale.

Items used to measure participants' perception of the appropriateness of the story's language ($\alpha = .87$) as well as their perception of the author as willing to change her writing style ($\alpha = .79$) and as able to change her writing style ($\alpha = .54$) were identical to those used in

Study 2. As in the previous study, I was particularly interested in how participants perceived the difference between the author's ability to change her language and her willingness to do so. To measure this, I subtracted the variable measuring the perception of the author as *able* to change from the variable measuring the perception of the author as *willing* to change to calculate a new variable measuring the difference between ability and willingness. Lower scores on this variable indicated that participants perceived the writer as more able than willing to change her language.

I also included six items measuring participants' tolerance towards non-British forms of English ($\alpha = .83$). Higher scores on this measure indicated higher levels of tolerance. Examples of this scale included "British spelling is the only correct way of spelling words in English" (recoded) and "While in the U.K. only British spelling should be used" (recoded).

To assess perceptions of the story's author, I used the same scales used in the previous two studies. Six items measured similarity ($\alpha = .95$), six items measured general attitudes ($\alpha = .82$), and perceived competence ($\alpha = .77$) and warmth ($\alpha = .73$) were measured by four items each. However, I also included additional scales to assess participants' perception of the author as assimilated to British culture and as identified with Britain. Five items measured the perception that the author had assimilated to British culture ($\alpha = .73$): Participants were asked to rate how likely it was from 1 (not likely at all) to 7 (very likely) that the author engaged in "typical" British behaviours such as "queuing patiently" and "making a proper cup of tea."

To measure perceptions of the author's identity, two items were used to create an identity scale. In two separate items, participants were asked to rate how important it is to the author to be British and to be American ($r(170) = .068, p = .378$). Because I was interested in the extent to which the author is seen as more strongly identified with Britain than with the U.S. (and the other way around), I subtracted the American identity measure from the British

identity measure to create a new variable measuring the relative extent of the author's perceived identification as British and as American. Positive scores on this variable indicated that participants perceived the author as identified more as British than as American while negative scores indicated that the author was seen as identifying more as American than as British.

To measure threat from non-British people living in the U.K., I expanded the scales used in the previous two studies. Instead of four items, I used 9 items to measure participant's reports of realistic threat ($\alpha = .86$). Examples of additional items that were added include: "Non-British people living in the U.K. have increased the tax burden on British people" and "Non-British people have more economic power than they deserve in this country." Because of feedback from participants that the wording used to measure symbolic threat in the previous studies were too arduous, I decided to simplify the scale and used six items to measure symbolic threat ($\alpha = .72$). I dropped two of the longer items and replaced them with shorter, more context-relevant items. For example, the item "The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most British people" was replaced with "The English language has been diluted because of foreign influences." Finally, to measure attitudes towards immigrants I asked participants to indicate from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely) how much they felt warmth, resentment (recoded) and dislike (recoded) toward non-British people living in the U.K ($\alpha = .77$).

Results

A series of univariate ANOVAs explored the effect of the language and status manipulation on the dependent variables. Variable means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4.5 and variable intercorrelations are presented in Table 4.6.

Language Perceptions

Consistent with the intention of the manipulation, and with the previous studies, results revealed a main effect of language style on perceptions of language appropriateness, $F(2,155) = 110.03, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .59$. Specifically, participants who read the story in BE perceived the language as more appropriate than participants who read the story in AE, $F(1,155) = 5.33, p = .022, \eta_p^2 = .03$, and participants who read the story in AE perceived the language as more appropriate than participants who read the story in IE, $F(1,155) = 128.35, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .45$. The difference between the BE condition and the IE condition was also significant, $F(1,155) = 193.26, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .60$. There was no main effect of status on perceived language appropriateness, $F(1,15) = 2.17, p = .143$, and no interaction between the factors, $F(2,155) = .926, p = .398$. There were also no significant main or interactive effects of the variables on either perceived ability or perceived willingness of the author to change her language, $F_s(2,163) < 1.11, p > .332$, nor were there significant main or interactive effects of the discrepancy score, $F_s(2,163) < .872, p = .420$.

Although there were also no main effects of either language style, $F(2,161) = .18, p = .836$, or status, $F(1,161) = .12, p = .733$, on participants' tolerance of divergent forms of English, the interaction between these variables was close to significant, $F(2,161) = 2.91, p = .057, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Decomposing this interaction revealed no effects of language style in either the expert status condition, $F(2,161) = 1.66, p = .194$, or the amateur status condition, $F(2,161) = 1.44, p = .241$. Instead, the interaction was driven by participants in the BE condition: Participants who read the story in BE expressed more tolerance for divergent forms of English when the author was presented as an amateur than when the author was presented as an expert, $F(1,161) = 4.75, p = .031, \eta_p^2 = .03$. The only other comparison to approach significance was the difference between the BE condition and the AE condition in the expert condition, $F(2,161) = 1.66, p = .075, \eta_p^2 = .02$.

Summary. These results demonstrate that perceptions of appropriateness vary depending on the version of English used. Once again, BE was considered the most appropriate form of English, followed by AE and finally IE. However, despite my predictions, there was no effect of language style or of status on perceptions of the author as willing to change, able to change, or on the discrepancy between these measures. Finally, those who read the story in BE reported a higher tolerance for non-British versions of English when the author was presented as an amateur compared to when the author was presented as an expert.

Interpersonal Perceptions

I predicted that when the author is presented as an expert, participants who read the story in BE would perceive more similarities and have more positive attitudes towards her than participants who read the story in AE. This prediction was not supported. Regarding similarity, although there was a main effect of language style, $F(2,161) = 3.65, p = .028, \eta_p^2 = .04$, this effect was driven by the IE condition. Participants in the IE condition perceived less similarity to the author than participants in either the BE condition, $F(1,161) = 6.70, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = .04$, or the AE condition, $F(1,161) = 3.91, p = .050, \eta_p^2 = .02$, with no difference between the BE and AE conditions, $F(1,161) = .331, p = .566$. There was no further effect of status, $F(1,161) = 1.68, p = .197$, and no interaction between the variables, $F(2,161) = .60, p = .550$.

The analysis of general attitudes towards the author revealed a similar pattern: Neither the main effect of status nor the interaction between language style and status was significant, $F_s < 1.87, p_s > .157$, but there was a marginally significant main effect of language style, $F(2,166) = 2.81, p = .063, \eta_p^2 = .03$. The latter was again driven by the IE condition. Participants who read the story in IE reported less positive attitudes towards the author than participants in the BE condition, $F(1,166) = 4.59, p = .034, \eta_p^2 = .03$, and than

participants in the AE condition, $F(1,166) = 3.82, p = .052, \eta_p^2 = .02$. There was no difference between the BE and AE conditions, $F(1,166) = .03, p = .872$.

When perceptions of competence were examined, there was also a significant main effect of language style, $F(2,166) = 8.55, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$, which was again due to IE resulting in reduced perceptions of competence relative to BE, $F(1,166) = 13.00, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$, and AE, $F(1,166) = 12.67, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$. The difference between the BE and AE conditions was non-significant, $F(1,166) = .00, p = .990$. Although there was no main effect of status on competence, $F(1,166) = 2.02, p = .157$, there was a significant interaction between the factors, $F(2,166) = 4.40, p = .014, \eta_p^2 = .05$.

Decomposing this interaction revealed a main effect of language style on competence ratings when the author was presented as an expert, $F(2,166) = 8.79, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.10$. Participants in the AE condition perceived the author as marginally more competent than participants in the BE condition, $p = .054$, and as significantly more competent than participants in the IE condition, $p < .001$. The difference between the BE condition and the IE condition was also significant, $p = .021$. Thus, surprisingly, an out-group expert who did not accommodate their language was perceived as most competent. The effect of language style on competence ratings was also significant in the amateur status condition, $F(2,166) = 4.06, p = .019, \eta_p^2 = .05$. The pattern in this condition was the reverse of the expert condition: Participants in the BE condition perceived the author as marginally more competent than participants in the AE condition, $p = .056$, and as significantly more competent than participants in the IE condition, $p = .006$. The difference between the AE condition and the IE condition was non-significant, $p = .407$. Hence, perhaps more intuitively, the amateur who did accommodate was perceived as more competent than the amateur who either did not or who used incorrect language.

With respect to warmth, there was also a significant main effect of language style, $F(2,163) = 3.19, p = .044, \eta_p^2 = .038$, which was again driven by the IE condition.

Participants in the IE condition perceived the author as less warm than participants in the BE condition, $F(1,163) = 5.09, p = .025, \eta_p^2 = .03$, and than participants in the AE condition, $F(1,163) = 4.48, p = .036, \eta_p^2 = .03$, with no difference between the final two conditions, $F(1,163) = .01, p = .937$. There was no further effect of status on warmth, $F(1,163) = .276, p = .60$, and no interaction between language style and status, $F(2,163) = 1.02, p = .361$.

The analysis on perceptions of the author's identity also revealed a significant effect of language, $F(2,164) = 3.50, p = .032, \eta_p^2 = .04$. As expected, participants who read the story in BE perceived the author as identifying more with Britain than with the U.S. compared to participants in the AE condition who perceived her as identifying almost equally with both nationalities, $F(1,164) = 4.20, p = .042, \eta_p^2 = .03$. Participants who read the story in IE, however, perceived the author as identifying more with the U.S. than Britain. The difference between the BE condition and the IE condition was significant, $F(1,164) = 6.08, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .04$, whereas the difference between the IE and AE conditions was not, $F(1,164) = .16, p = .694$. There was no further effect of status, $F(1,164) = .30, p = .588$, and no interaction between language style and status, $F(2,164) = .33, p = .717$.

Finally, there was no main effect of either language style, $F(2,162) = 1.24, p = .294$, or status, $F(1,162) = 1.84, p = .177$, on participants' perception of the author as assimilated to British culture and no interaction between these factors, $F(2,162) = 1.59, p = .206$. Because I predicted that any effects of language on assimilation would be more prominent when the author was an expert, I tested for the effect of language style within each status condition separately. This revealed no effect of language style when the author was presented as an amateur, $F(2,162) = .01, p = .989$, but as predicted, a marginally significant effect when the author was presented as an expert, $F(2,162) = 2.88, p = .059, \eta_p^2 = .03$. Within the expert

status condition, participants in the BE condition perceived the author as significantly more assimilated than participants in the AE condition, $p = .022$, and as marginally more assimilated than participants in the IE condition, $p = .090$, with no difference between the last two conditions, $p = .549$.

Summary. Despite my predictions, I was unable to replicate the effects of language style on interpersonal perceptions seen in Study 1; there were no differences between the BE and the AE conditions on perceptions of shared similarities with the author or on general attitudes towards her, nor were there differences between these two conditions on perceptions of the author as warm. However, there was a significant interaction between language style and status on perceptions of the author as competent. Participants in the amateur status condition perceived the author as more competent when she used BE than when she used AE while surprisingly, in the expert status condition, participants perceived the author as more competent when she used AE as opposed to BE. As expected, participants in the IE condition had the most negative perceptions of the author on all of the interpersonal perception variables.

Language style also had an impact on perceptions of the author's identity and level of assimilation. Participants who read the story in BE perceived the author as more identified with Britain compared to participants who read the story in either AE or IE. Participants in the BE condition also perceived the author as more assimilated to British culture compared to the other two conditions, but only when the author was presented as an expert.

Intergroup Attitudes

As expected, the analysis of realistic threat revealed a significant main effect of language style, $F(2,162) = 4.28$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Participants in the IE condition reported feeling the most threatened by immigrants to the U.K.: The difference between the IE condition and the BE condition was significant, $F(1,162) = 8.15$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, whereas

the difference between the IE and AE conditions was not, $F(1,162) = .72, p = .399$. The difference between the BE condition and the AE condition, however, was significant with participants in the AE condition reporting more threat than those in the BE condition, $F(1,162) = 3.89, p = .050, \eta_p^2 = .02$. There was also a marginally significant effect of status on this variable, $F(1,162) = 3.62, p = .059, \eta_p^2 = .02$: When the author was presented as an amateur, participants felt more threat from non-British people living in the U.K than when the author was presented as an expert.

Although the interaction between language style and status on realistic threat was not significant, $F(2,162) = 1.85, p = .161, \eta_p^2 = .02$, given the prediction I nonetheless explored the effect of language within each status condition. This revealed that the main effect of language was significant when the author was presented as an expert, $F(2,162) = 5.81, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .07$, but not when the author was presented as an amateur, $F(2,162) = 4.31, p = .651$. Within the expert condition, participants in the IE condition reporting experiencing the most threat: The difference between the IE condition and the BE condition was significant, $p = .004$, whereas the difference between the IE condition and the AE condition was not, $p = .154$. Participants in the AE condition also reported slightly more threat than those in the BE condition, $p = .058$.

The main effect of language style was also significant on participants' reports of symbolic threat, $F(2,164) = 6.51, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .07$. Similar to realistic threat, participants in the IE condition reported more threat than participants in the BE condition, $F(1,164) = 12.94, p < .001$, and than participants in the AE condition, $F(2,164) = 4.15, p = .043, \eta_p^2 = .03$. However, the difference between the BE and AE conditions was non-significant, $F(1,164) = 2.30, p = .131$. There was no further effect of status, $F(1,164) = 1.87, p = .174$, and no interaction between language style and status on symbolic threat, $F(2,164) = .05, p = .950$.

Finally, the analysis of attitudes towards immigrants living in the U.K. revealed a marginally significant effect of language style, $F(2,164) = 2.84, p = .054, \eta_p^2 = .04$. As expected, participants in the BE condition expressed the most positive attitudes: The difference between the BE and IE conditions was significant, $F(1,164) = 5.84, p = .017, \eta_p^2 = .03$, whereas the difference between the BE and the AE conditions was not significant, $F(1,164) = .82, p = .368$. The difference between the AE and IE conditions was also not significant, $F(1,164) = 2.21, p = .139$. There was no further effect of status, $F(1,164) = 2.56, p = .104, \eta_p^2 = .03$, and no interaction between language style and status, $F(2,164) = 1.22, p = .297$.

Although the interaction was not significant, to explore the hypothesis, I ran pairwise comparisons to further test the effect of language within each of the status conditions. This revealed a marginally significant effect of language style on attitudes in the expert status condition, $F(2,164) = 2.80, p = .064, \eta_p^2 = .03$: Participants in the BE condition had marginally more positive attitudes than participants in the AE condition, $p = .079$, and significantly more positive attitudes than those in the IE condition, $p = .027$. The difference between the AE and the IE condition was not significant, $p = .649$. Like in Study 2, there was no effect of language style on attitudes towards immigrants when the author was presented as an amateur, $F(2,164) = 1.46, p = .236$.

Summary. Participants in the BE condition reported less realistic and symbolic threat and more positive attitudes towards immigrants living in the U.K. while participants in the IE condition reported the most threat and the least positive attitudes towards immigrants. As expected, these effects were more prominent when the author was presented as an expert as opposed to an amateur.

Table 4.5

Means Table for the Effect of Language Style and Status

	Language Style Main Effect			Expert Status			Amateur Status				
	BE	AE	IE	BE	AE	IE	Total	BE	AE	IE	Total
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>
Language Percep	4.91(.93)^a	4.48(1.03)^b	2.37(.92)^c	4.66(1.02) ^d	4.48(.93) ^d	2.29(.95) ^c	3.78(1.46)	5.16(.78) ^f	4.48(1.12) ^g	2.45(.90) ^h	3.91(1.48)
Able Change	4.84(.80)	4.97(.70)	4.87(.85)	4.79(.83)	5.00(.68)	5.06(.91)	4.95(.81)	4.88(.78)	4.93(.73)	4.68(.77)	4.83(.76)
Willing Change	4.11(.70)	4.13(1.03)	4.27(.89)	4.10(.64)	4.02(1.11)	4.35(1.08)	4.15(.95)	4.13(.77)	4.23(.96)	4.21(.68)	4.19(.80)
Able – Willing*	-.72(1.05)	-.86(1.23)	-.55(1.16)	-.69(1.04)	-.98(1.43)	-.65(1.32)	-.78(1.26)	-.75(1.09)	-.74(.99)	-.47(1.03)	-.65(1.03)
Similarity	3.24(1.19)^a	3.13(1.03)^a	2.73(.91)^b	3.08(1.24)	3.15(1.06) ^c	2.55(.93) ^d	2.94(1.11)	3.40(1.13)	3.10(1.04)	2.90(.87)	3.13(1.03)
Pos Attitude (Author)	4.27(.84)^a	4.24(.92)	3.94(.74)^b	4.21(.89)	4.42(1.00) ^c	3.82(.83) ^d	4.15(.93)	4.33(.79)	4.08(.83)	4.06(.63)	4.16(.75)
Competence	4.75(1.00)^a	4.75(.91)^a	4.15(.88)^b	4.48(1.13) ^c	4.95(.82) ^c	3.93(.87) ^d	4.45(1.03)	5.03(.76) ^{ef}	4.56(.96)	4.36(.86) ^e	4.65(.90)
Warmth	4.71(.82)^a	4.70(.63)^a	4.41(.71)^b	4.63(.85)	4.79(.76) ^c	4.32(.69) ^d	4.58(.79)	4.79(.80)	4.62(.45)	4.50(.72)	4.64(.68)
Identity **	.72(1.78)^a	-.05(2.24)^b	-.21(2.01)^b	.86(1.53)	-.15(2.18)	.00(2.39)	.25(2.08)	.59(2.01)	.04(2.33)	-.41(1.57)	.07(2.01)
Assimilated	2.60(1.46)	2.27(.80)	2.35(.99)	2.92(1.72) ^a	2.24(.89) ^b	2.41(1.00)	2.53(1.29)	2.26(1.04) ^{bc}	2.31(.70)	2.30(.99)	2.29(.92)
Realistic Threat	2.42(.88)^a	2.80(1.06)^b	2.96(1.03)^b	2.13(.87) ^c	2.63(1.01)	3.00(1.10) ^d	2.58(1.05)⁺	2.74(.79) ^{de}	2.98(1.10)	2.91(.98)	2.88(.96)⁺
Symbolic Threat	3.30(.83)^a	3.58(1.03)^a	3.95(.99)^b	3.18(.82) ^c	3.47(.82)	3.88(.98) ^d	3.50(.91)	3.43(.85) ^e	3.69(1.21)	4.02(1.02) ^f	3.72(1.05)
Pos Attitude (Immigrants)	5.89(.87)^a	5.72(.97)	5.44(1.10)^b	6.14(.73) ^c	5.69(1.01)	5.57(1.16) ^d	5.81(1.00)	5.62(.94) ^{de}	5.74(.96)	5.31(1.03)	5.55(.98)

Note. Cells with different subscripts indicate significant differences ($p < .05$)

* = Lower scores indicate that the author was perceived as more able than willing to change her writing

** = Higher scores indicate that the author was perceived as more identified with Britain than with the U.S.

Table 4.6

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	Language Perception	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Able to Change	-.085												
2. Willing to Change	.002	.046											
3. Willing - Able	.048	-.636**	.742**										
4. Similarity	.357**	.044	.152	.086									
5. Pos. Attitudes (Author)	.308**	.067	.240**	.131	.454**								
6. Competence	.545**	.021	.056	.008	.350**	.411**							
7. Warmth	.321**	-.002	.032	.016	.262**	.370**	.472**						
8. Identity	.156	.031	.123	.076	.180*	.013	.092	-.020					
9. Assimilated	.031	-.084	.011	.067	-.145	-.123	-.086	-.184*	.094				
10. Tolerance	-.148	.009	-.240**	-.226**	-.087	-.181*	-.286**	-.140	-.090	-.019			
11. Realistic Threat	-.035	-.109	-.098	-.001	.122	-.094	-.075	-.110	-.126	-.194*	.189**		
12. Symbolic Threat	-.138	-.006	-.131	-.103	-.013	-.103	-.062	-.058	-.127	-.193*	.309*	.629**	
13. Pos. Attitudes (Immigrants)	.088	.118	.184*	.070	-.005	.174*	.145	.166*	.098	.164*	-.234*	-.697**	-.506**

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Discussion

The results of the current study provide further evidence that the perceived appropriateness of language varies depending on the version of English participants are exposed to. Like the previous two studies, BE was considered more appropriate than AE while AE was considered more appropriate than IE. Yet, unlike in Study 2, there was no effect of language on participants' perceptions of the author as willing and as able to change her language style, suggesting that this effect may be unstable.

However, the results do suggest that language style may influence perceptions of the writer's group membership and identity. As expected, participants who read the story in BE perceived the writer as more identified with Britain than with the U.S. compared to participants who read the story in AE. Contributing to prior work showing that speech patterns are used by communicators to signal group membership (Gallois et al., 2005), this result demonstrates that the communicator's identity can also be interpreted from their use of language. These inferences may be particularly important because if non-native speech patterns are seen to signal the communicator's allegiance to their home country as opposed to their host country, users of non-native language could find it difficult to be considered full members of the British in-group, regardless of their objective status (e.g., citizenship).

Beyond inferences of identity, language style in combination with status, shaped participants' assumptions about how assimilated the writer was to British culture. When the author was presented as an expert, participants who read the story in BE perceived her as more assimilated than participants who read the story in AE. Interestingly, there was no similar inference that was drawn from language when the author was presented as an amateur. Because having expertise implies a certain level of knowledge about a subject, participants may assume that an expert writer is able to make informed decisions about her craft. Hence, an expert writer who uses AE despite immigrating to the U.K. may be perceived as

intentionally renouncing British norms. This suggests that if the use of non-native language is perceived as a conscious decision, language may serve to reinforce the non-native communicator's status as an out-group member.

However, when considering the role of language in determining immigrants' relationship with the in-group, BE may not always be desirable. In line with the Enlightened Racism perspective (Jhally & Lewis, 1992), I predicted that participants exposed to BE would become less tolerant of non-British forms of English than participants exposed to AE. This pattern was broadly apparent. In the expert condition, there was a marginally significant difference between a writer who used BE versus AE, with tolerance of linguistic variation lower in response to the former than the latter. Also driving this effect was the difference between experts and amateurs who used BE: Those who were told that the author was an amateur reported more tolerance of linguistic variation than those told the author was an expert.

As Jhally and Lewis (1992) explain, when an out-group member engages in a desirable yet non-stereotypical behaviour, perceptions of the barriers faced by that group may be underestimated. Although any immigrant using BE fits this description, the belief that it is easy for non-British people to use the prototypical version of English (BE) was only relevant in situations where expectations of the communicator's language was likely to be high. When this was the case (in the expert status condition), participants had less tolerance for alternative versions of English. Hence, while an immigrant perceived as choosing to accommodate her language may benefit from being seen as more identified with Britain and more assimilated with the culture, they may also be shifting the criteria by which other immigrants are judged and making it more difficult for other non-native speakers who are not perceived as using accommodated language to gain acceptance.

Despite my prediction that language style would impact perceptions of the writer particularly in the expert status condition, I was unable to replicate the effects on similarity and interpersonal evaluations that were observed in Study 1. In comparison, the expectation that incorrect language (IE) would elicit the most negative responses to the writer was supported across all measures. The only exception to this pattern was on attributions of competence to the author, for which there was a significant interaction between language style and author status. When the author was presented as an amateur, participants who read the story in BE rated her as more competent than participants who read the story in AE. When the author was presented as an expert, however, this pattern reversed and participants rated her as more competent when she used AE as opposed to BE.

One explanation for the higher competence rating when the writer used AE may lie within my participant sample. Because more participants were needed for the current study's design, I recruited outside of my usual participant pool and included first-year psychology students. However, these students may have been accustomed to experts using American speech patterns: Most of the textbooks and journal articles they use are written in AE, which could have encouraged the perception that an expert using this particular language style is competent. In the amateur status condition, however, results were in line with my prediction, with participants rating the author as most competent when she used BE. Hence, when the author was perceived as lacking knowledge and experience in writing it may have seemed particularly impressive that she had accommodated her language towards the version of English participants deem to be the most appropriate (BE).

Finally, my prediction that participants would report the most threat and the least positive attitudes when the writer used IE was supported. Coupled with the result that these participants had the most negative interpersonal perceptions, they provide evidence that the potential to lower in-group standards is considered more detrimental to the in-group than the

potential to change them. The difference between BE and AE on intergroup perceptions were nonetheless consistent with the results of Study 1 and Study 2: When the author was presented as an expert, participants perceived less realistic threat and more positive attitudes towards non-British people living in the U.K when she used BE as opposed to AE. There were no effects of language style when the author was presented as an amateur. These results substantiate the notion that exposure to non-native language can influence perceptions of immigrants overall, but that this effect may be contingent on the perception that the author is making a choice to use language that does not align with host country norms.

General Discussion

In three studies, I investigated how different versions of written English impact on perceptions of both the communicator and the group they represent. Consistent with previous research suggesting that language contains social information that is used to form impressions (Gallois et al., 2005; Giles, 1973), my results demonstrate that the attributes attached to BE, AE, and IE are distinct and result in varying beliefs about the communicator. My results are also consistent with the tenets of communication accommodation theory in that accommodated language (BE) was generally perceived more positively than non-accommodated language (AE). However, the current research expands on this previous work by comparing non-native speech patterns (AE) to language that is simply wrong (IE). While the use of IE raises its own set of issues for the communicator, the responses it drew were markedly distinct from those connected to AE. Although we can not completely discount the possibility that these differences were due to different degrees of perceived correctness (AE may have been seen as less correct than IE), these results offer some support for the idea that negative perceptions of non-native speech result from the communicator being marked as an out-group member. In future research, it would be beneficial to clarify these perceptions by using qualitative analysis to investigate precisely how BE speakers perceive AE.

Along with theoretical implications regarding how various speech patterns are interpreted, these studies provide practical insight into how language can impact on the relationship between immigrants and host country natives. Importantly, results suggest that communicators using non-native speech patterns may be perceived as less identified with their host country and as less assimilated to the host culture. These findings are problematic for immigrants living in linguistic cultures different to their own as they suggest that the use of non-native speech patterns may be a contributing factor in their exclusion from broader society. Furthermore, although the participants in these studies were aware that the writer had grown up in a country well known for using a different version of English than what is typically used in their own, participants nonetheless reported more realistic threat and less positive attitudes towards a wider group of people (i.e. *all* non-British people living in the U.K.) when they believed one writer had retained the speech patterns of her home country (AE). Hence, regardless of the communicator's background, non-native language may have a negative impact on the dominant group members' relationship with immigrants in their society.

Because I had presumed that non-accommodated language would be particularly relevant to symbolic threats as these pertain to culture, I was surprised that there were no differences between BE and AE on this variable in any of the studies. One reason for this may be that expressing realistic threat is considered more socially acceptable than expressing symbolic threat. Within the media for example, there are often discussions of non-British people's rights to government benefits but it is widely considered taboo to criticise cultural or religious diversity. Therefore, it may seem more acceptable to express intolerance to out-group members on the basis of them taking up a proportion of the in-group's resources than to express intolerance to alternative cultural values and practices. Alternatively, threatened

reactions to particular forms of language may be more pronounced in societies that are more explicitly assimilationist than the UK.

My results also provide some evidence that status is inferred from the communicator's speech patterns, particularly with regards to ratings of the writer as competent. However, it was the perceptions already associated with the author's status that seemed to influence the extent to which speech patterns were used to form impressions. Across all three studies, the author's language played a more prominent role in shaping participants' perceptions when she was believed to have previous experience with writing (expert status) than when she was understood to be learning the craft (amateur status). I attributed these differences to the belief that an expert writer has more control over her speech patterns than an amateur one, deepening the expectations participants already had that, as an immigrant, the author *should* accommodate towards host country communicative norms. However, the idea that there are distinct expectations of accommodation based on the communicator's professional status and their immigration status is something that should be tested further in future research.

In a world that is increasingly globalised, the results of the current studies not only have particular relevance, but could also have important implications for the many interactions that occur between communicators who use diverse styles of language. Although using distinct versions of written English provides a useful context for testing speech patterns' impact on interpersonal and intergroup perceptions, it also limits the extent to which I can generalise the results of my studies. Language is an important part of British culture, with many British nationals feeling that their version of English is endangered by the prevalence of "Americanisms" within their language (Engel, 2011). Hence, whether speech patterns inform judgements to a similar degree in contexts where language is not so valued remains to be seen. Furthermore, while I am unaware of any research pertaining to the changeability of

speech patterns that are written, they are arguably more easily accommodated than speech patterns that are spoken. Hence, particularly regarding the influence of status, future research should investigate whether there is more leniency attached to non-native language that is spoken (versus written) and whether similar effects occur when host country natives are exposed to non-native accents.

Chapter 5: Examining the Effects of Spoken Language on Interpersonal Perceptions and Intergroup Attitudes

In the previous empirical chapter, I demonstrated that perceptions of both communicators and the groups they represent can be adversely affected by their use of non-native language styles. Although studies 1-3 offer compelling evidence for the importance of language for both interpersonal perceptions and intergroup attitudes, my use of written language to test these effects limits how much these results can be generalized. For instance, a writer's spelling and grammar may be perceived as relatively easy to change, encouraging the perception that the use of non-native language within this context is a conscious act of defiance. This, coupled with the fact that the previous three studies were designed to increase expectations of accommodation (the American writer was both a U.K. citizen and living in U.K.), means these studies may have been overly sensitive to detecting the negative effects associated with non-native language. Generally, texts that use non-native language patterns are written or published in the country where that language style is commonly used. Hence, in real-world settings, readers may be aware that the intended audience was that of an out-group, making them unlikely to expect accommodation. Therefore, perceptions associated with written language may not be relevant to the every-day interactions that occur between native and non-native speakers.

In the current chapter, I aim to compensate for these limitations by using spoken language to investigate the effect of language on perceptions of the individual and the group. For two reasons it may be more valuable to use spoken (rather than written) language to determine how language affects social perceptions. First, as immigration to English-speaking countries continues to rise (Phillipson, 2003), native speakers are more regularly exposed to non-native accents, making the consequences of using non-native spoken language increasingly relevant to the relationship between immigrants and host country natives.

Second, research has demonstrated that it is nearly impossible for second-language learners to speak with native like pronunciation (Moyer, 2004). While it is unclear whether native speakers are accurately informed about this obstacle that communicators who speak a non-native language face (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a), non-native speech patterns may be perceived as less changeable than non-native writing styles. Hence, by focusing on spoken language, I explore a situation where expectations of accommodation may be less salient, thereby aiming to gain a well-rounded understanding of how speech patterns affect interpersonal perceptions and intergroup attitudes.

In the next three studies, I investigate the role of non-native spoken language on perceptions of both the speaker and the group she represents (non-British people living in the U.K.). I use a paradigm in which participants listen to a brief speech by a young woman named Sophia, who speaks with either a weak non-native accent (more similar to British speech patterns) or a strong non-native accent (less similar to British speech patterns), before measuring their impressions of her and their opinions on various immigration issues. In order to minimize expectations of accommodation and create a more realistic scenario in which native speakers are confronted with non-native language, participants are not told how long Sophia has been in the U.K. (they are only told that she has recently arrived in Exeter). Using this paradigm, I attempt to replicate previous research showing that speakers with weak accents are preferred to speakers with strong accents (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996) and explore whether these perceptions can be extended to intergroup attitudes (Study 4). I then consider whether perceptions based on speech patterns can be further influenced by the status of the speaker's country of origin (Study 5). Finally, I explore the role of status further and refine my manipulation by describing the speaker's national identity using a country unfamiliar to participants (Study 6).

Pilot Study A: Identification of Accents

In the three studies that follow, participants are randomly allocated to listen to one of two voice recordings: a non-native speaker with a weak accent or a non-native speaker with a strong accent. To obtain these materials, I recorded fifteen non-native English speakers, representing nine different countries, reading a passage out-loud. My aim was to identify two voices considered similarly likeable, with accent strengths considerably different, and where the speakers' national identity would be difficult to place. Voices from both male and female speakers were recorded but only speakers of the same gender were compared with one another. Twenty-seven British psychology students listened to each recording in a randomised order in exchange for course credit.

Speakers were asked to read three paragraphs describing the journey from London to Exeter. Because I wanted participants' perceptions of the speaker to be based solely on their accent, the text was written to be mundane and to reveal nothing about the speaker's background. The following sentence is an example of the recordings' content:

“I packed up all of my bags and went to London Paddington where my train was meant to arrive. Unfortunately, the train was over an hour late! When it finally did arrive, I was happy to get a seat. It took about two and a half hours to get to Exeter St. David’s ”

After each recording, students were asked to rate how likeable they found each voice from 1 (very unlikeable) to 7 (very likeable) and the strength of each speaker's accent from 1 (no accent) to 7 (very strong accent). To measure perceptions of the speakers' nationality, students were asked in two separate items to rate the likelihood that the speaker was from Western Europe and from Eastern Europe¹. After the first four participants inquired about the difference between these two places, I changed the question asking them instead to rate how

¹ In order to control for large differences in other social categories (such as race, religion or culture), I kept the speaker's nationality within Europe.

likely it was from 1 (highly unlikely) to 7 (highly likely) that the speaker was from the Netherlands and from Poland. The Netherlands was chosen to represent Western Europe because of its peaceful history with the U.K. while Poland was chosen to represent Eastern Europe because, unlike other Eastern European countries, it is likely familiar to students because of the large number of Polish immigrants living in the U.K.

Two recordings from female speakers met the criteria outlined above. There were no differences² between Voice5 and Voice11 on ratings of likeability, $t(26) = .772, p = .447$, however, Voice5's accent was rated as significantly weaker ($M = 3.78, SD = .97$) than Voice11's ($M = 5.82, SD = .83; t(26) = 10.80, p < .001$). To assess ambiguity of national origin, participants' estimates of how likely the speaker was from the Netherlands and from Poland was compared for each voice separately. Both for Voice5 and Voice11, results yielded a non-significant difference (Voice5: $t(26) = 1.46, p = .157$; Voice11: $t(26) = 1.06, p = .297$) – participants perceived each speaker as equally likely to be from the Netherlands as from Poland. Scores of likelihood ratings were then compared between the two recordings. Again, differences in perceived national origin between Voice5 and Voice11 were not significant (Poland: $t(26) = 1.51, p = .143$; The Netherlands: $t(26) = 1.52, p = .140$) – participants did not see either of these voices as more likely originating from the Netherlands or from Poland than the other. Thus, Voices 5 and 11³ met the set criteria and were used in the main studies as the weak and strong accent respectively.

Study 4

In Study 4, I test whether native speakers' perceptions of a non-native speaker differ depending on whether her accent is weak or strong. Because previous research has demonstrated that weak accents tend to elicit more positive responses from native speakers

² The relatively small sample size ($N = 27$) makes it possible that the study lacked sufficient power to pick up on any differences there may have been between the two recordings on the non-significant results (e.g. likeability). However, we felt that because my criteria was met and that further testing would have been too time consuming for the scope of this PhD, the recordings that emerged from this pilot were sufficient.

³ The speaker of Voice5 was from Romania while the speaker of Voice11 was from Armenia.

than strong ones (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996), I expect participants exposed to the weak accent to have more positive attitudes towards the speaker and to perceive more similarities with her than participants exposed to the strong accent. Based on research suggesting that linguistic out-groups tend to rate low on dimensions of competence and high on dimensions of warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Ruscher, 2001), I also expect participants to rate the speaker as higher in competence when her accent is more similar to in-group norms (weak as opposed to strong) but as higher in warmth when her accent is a more definitive mark of her out-group membership (strong as opposed to weak).

Further to replicating previous research showing that accent strength can influence interpersonal perceptions, I investigate whether impressions of a speaker that are based on language can extend to perceptions of that speaker's group. As in the previous chapter, I am interested in whether exposure to non-native language used by one communicator can affect attitudes towards and incite feelings of threat from the diverse out-group that this speaker represents (i.e. all non-British people living in the U.K.). Since accents that are fairly similar to native speaking norms may be perceived as having been accommodated, I expect that exposure to a weak accent is unlikely to result in negative feelings towards the non-native speaker's group. Accents considered more deviant, however, likely mark the speaker as an out-group member who has not accommodated to native speaking norms, making group differences and the potential for intergroup competition salient. Based on this, I expect that non-native speakers exposed to the strong accent will experience more realistic and symbolic threat from immigrants and have less positive attitudes towards them compared to speakers exposed to the weak accent.

Method

Participants and Design

Sixty-eight British students took part in the study in exchange for their choice of either course credit or £5. All were recruited via an email advertisement calling for participants to take part in a study investigating interpersonal perceptions. Participants included 31 males and 37 females, and ranged in age from 18 to 55 years old ($M = 20.98$, $SD = 6.38$). All reported English as their native language.

The study used a between-subjects design with two experimental conditions (strong accent vs. weak accent). Participants were allocated to one of these two conditions randomly. Main dependent variables included participants' perceived similarity to the speaker and general evaluations of her. In the second half of the questionnaire, participants were told that researchers were interested in their opinion of various social issues and that they had been "randomly" allocated the issue of immigration. Dependent variables from this part of the study included participants' feelings of realistic and symbolic threat from non-British people living in the U.K. as well as their attitudes towards immigrants in general.

Materials and Procedure

After arriving to the lab, participants were told they would be listening to a brief recording from Sophia, who had recently arrived in Exeter. They were also told that they would be asked to answer a series of questions based on their impressions of Sophia followed by questions assessing their opinions on a social issue chosen at random. After agreeing to take part, participants were randomly allocated to listen to the recording of Voice5 (weak accent condition) or Voice11 (strong accent condition).

Measures. After listening to the recording, participants were asked to begin the questionnaire. Unless otherwise indicated, participants gave their responses using a single

Likert-type response scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Responses to all items within each scale were averaged to form a single scale score.

First, participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of the speaker. Six items measured perceived similarity to the speaker ($\alpha = .91$), e.g. “Sophia seems very similar to me,” and “I feel that Sophia and I would have much in common” while a further three items measured their overall attitudes towards her ($\alpha = .60$), e.g. “Sophia seems like someone I would typically become friends with,” and “Sophia does not seem like someone who would fit in with my circle of friends” (recoded). To assess stereotypes associated with the author, participants were asked to rate from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely) the extent to which the author seemed to possess characteristics associated with warmth and competence. Four items measured warmth (warm, tolerant, sincere and being good natured; $\alpha = .78$) while an additional four items assessed competence (competent, confident, intelligent and independent; $\alpha = .70$; Fiske et al., 2002).

In the second half of the questionnaire, participants were asked their opinions of various immigration issues. Participants were told that I was interested in a range of social issues and that immigration was one of many subjects they could have been assigned. In reality, all participants were assigned to this issue. They were also told that for the purpose of this questionnaire, immigration refers to all non-British people living in the U.K. regardless of whether or not they are from a country with E.U. membership.

Fourteen items adapted from previously tested scales (Maddux et al., 2008; Stephan et al., 1999) were used to measure realistic threat ($\alpha = .87$). Example items included “Non-British people have more economic power than they deserve in this country” and “Non-British people should be eligible for the same healthcare benefits received by British people” (recoded). Four items measured symbolic threat ($\alpha = .74$) and were adapted from a scale created by Stephen et al., (1999). Items in this scale included “British culture is changing because of non-British people who live in the U.K.” and “Immigration from outside of the

U.K. is undermining British culture.” Finally, to measure out-group attitudes, participants were asked to indicate from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely) the extent to which they feel various different sentiments towards immigrants. Five items were used in this scale ($\alpha = .87$) including respect and dislike (recoded).

Once the study was completed, participants were fully debriefed and thanked.

Results

Independent samples t-tests were used to explore the effect of accent strength on the dependent variables. All means and standard deviations are presented in Table 5.1 while correlations between variables are presented in Table 5.2.

Interpersonal Perceptions

Results revealed little support for my expectation that the strength of the speaker's accent would influence participants' perceptions of her. There was no effect of accent strength on perceptions of similarity, $t(66) = .48, p = .633$, or on overall attitudes towards the speaker, $t(66) = .20, p = .839$. However, participants exposed to strong accent rated the speaker as more warm than those exposed to the weak accent, $t(65) = 3.61, p = .001, d = .89$. There were no differences in rated competence, $t(66) = .04, p = .966$.

Intergroup Attitudes

Despite my prediction that the weak accent would result in more positive attitudes towards immigrants and less feelings of threat than the strong accent, there was no effect of accent strength on either attitudes towards non-British people living in the U.K., $t(66) = 1.01, p = .317$, or on realistic threat, $t(65) = .08, p = .941$. However, my results did reveal an effect of accent strength on symbolic threat: Those exposed to the strong accent reported more symbolic threat from immigrants compared to those exposed to the weak accent, $t(66) = 2.13, p = .037, d = .52$.

Table 5.1

Means Table for the Effect of Accent Strength on the Dependent Variables

	Accent Strength				<i>t</i>
	Weak		Strong		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Similarity	3.88	1.03	4.00	1.16	.480
Pos. Attitude – (Speaker)	4.95	.87	4.90	1.09	.204
Competence	5.72	.73	5.71	.69	.043
Warmth	4.80	.89	5.50	.69	3.61*
Realistic Threat	2.72	.97	2.74	.87	.074
Symbolic Threat	4.25	1.20	4.86	1.16	2.13*
Pos. Attitude – (Immigrants)	5.84	.98	5.59	.99	1.01

Note. *= $p < .05$

Table 5.2

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	Similarity	1	2	3	4	5
1. Pos. Attitudes (Speaker)	.314**					
2. Competence	-.268*	.158				
3. Warmth	.165	.359**	.371**			
4. Realistic Threat	-.106	-.279*	.018	-.181		
5. Symbolic Threat	-.053	-.169	.023	.101	.531**	
6. Pos. Attitudes (Immigrants)	.020	.192	.033	.115	-.601**	-.428**

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Discussion

The results of Study 4 are mixed. On the one hand, accent strength did not impact participants' overall attitudes towards the speaker, their perceptions of her as similar, or their ratings of her as competent. Likewise, there were no differences between participants exposed to the weak accent and those exposed to the strong accent on general attitudes towards immigrants or on feelings of realistic threat from this group. However, the speaker was rated as more warm when her accent was strong as opposed to weak, which is consistent with previous research showing that speakers with accents considered more non-normative tend to be perceived as low in status (Hosoda & Stone-Romero, 2012). Participants exposed to the strong accent also reported more symbolic threat from non-British people living in the U.K., suggesting that exposure to one communicator whose speech patterns are considerably different from those of native speakers can incite the perception that all immigrants present a threat to British culture. Hence, while several of my predictions were not supported, this study provides evidence that a speaker's accent strength can go beyond affecting interpersonal perceptions and influence attitudes towards the group that speaker represents. Indeed, accent strength seems to affect these interpersonal and intergroup outcomes in opposite directions: on the one hand resulting in perceptions of Sophia as warm, on the other triggering perceptions of immigrants as symbolically threatening.

Although this study suggests that accent strength can affect interpersonal perceptions and intergroup attitudes to some extent, the paradigm used may have had low ecological validity in terms of representing a native speaker's typical encounter with a non-native speaker. In particular, participants were not told the speaker's nationality, information that is generally sought out when non-native speech patterns are detected and which may play a key role in determining perceptions of the speaker (Lippi-Green, 1997). The fact that participants had limited information on which to base their judgments may explain why many of my dependent variables remained unaffected by the language manipulation. For instance, the

degree to which accent strength evokes positive feelings towards the speaker and her group may depend on where that speaker is from. In other words, native speakers may not perceive non-native speakers as a homogenous group, with perceptions based on non-native speech patterns are likely framed by intergroup relations. Hence, while this study contributes to the accent perception literature by demonstrating some effects of accent strength on interpersonal and intergroup relations (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996), future research should consider how information about the speaker's background could further influence these effects.

Pilot Study B: Identifying Nationalities

In Study 5, I explore whether the status of the speaker's country of origin influence perceptions based on her non-native accent. Hence, I needed to identify two countries that British nationals would perceive as differing significantly in status. I began by testing my assumption that, because of their respective relationships with the U.K., Poland would be considered a country of low status and the Netherlands a country of high status. Using a between-subjects design, I asked 34 first-year psychology students (8 men, 26 women; Mean age = 19.26, $SD = 3.85$) to compare either Poland or the Netherlands to the rest of the E.U. on four socioeconomic factors shown to indicate status: the education system, average household income, number of people living below the poverty line, and life expectancy (Janevic, Pallas, Ismayilova, & Bradley, 2012). For each item, participants rated their randomly assigned country from 1 (below average) to 7 (above average). Participants were also asked to indicate from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) their agreement with the statement "Poland (the Netherlands) enjoys a high status within the E.U." These five items were averaged to form a single scale score ($\alpha = .72$). An independent t-test revealed that Poland was rated as having a significantly lower status within the E.U. ($M = 3.98$, $SD = .62$) than the Netherlands ($M = 4.88$, $SD = .59$; $t(32) = 4.37$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.49$). Therefore,

in Study 5, I describe the speaker as from Poland in the low status condition and from the Netherlands in the high status condition.

Study 5

Beliefs about the speaker's national identity likely shape how non-native speech patterns are perceived. Because language offers clues to the speaker's group membership (e.g. gender, age, social class) some researchers contend that it is the stereotypes associated with these groups, not the language itself, which influence perceptions of the speaker (Ryan, 1983). A study by Nesdale and Rooney (1996) support this claim: After exposing native speakers to various non-native speech patterns, those aware of the speaker's nationality based their perceptions on group stereotypes while those who were unaware of this information relied on the strength of the speaker's accent to form impressions. Hence, while accent strength alone elicited perceptions of warmth and feelings of symbolic threat in Study 4, how a speaker is categorized beyond being classified as non-native may play a crucial role in determining additional attributions native speakers attach to strong and weak accents. Indeed, the question "where are you from?" that is generally asked by native speakers immediately after detecting non-native speech patterns is arguably indicative of the desire for this information to shape their ideas about the speaker (Lippi-Green, 1997).

In Study 5, I investigate whether the effect of accent strength on interpersonal and intergroup perceptions is influenced by the status of the speaker's national group. As explained in previous chapters, non-native speakers are likely perceived by native speakers as low in status and as such, expected to accommodate towards native norms. However, the preference for non-native speakers to use in-group speech patterns may depend on whether the status of the speaker's group is high or low. According to research on identity threat, native speakers (as the high status group) may experience stress when their position is unstable or they detect changes to the status quo (Scheepers, 2009; Scheepers & Ellemers,

2005; Scheepers, Ellemers, & Sintemaartensdijk, 2009). Hence, it is possible that native speakers prefer an out-group member of low status to use speech indicating their group's distinctiveness (strong accent) as this lowers their chances of joining the in-group and dragging down standards. However, high status out-group members may be valued, and hence more likely accepted, when they speak in a way that suggests a willingness to accommodate towards in-group norms (weak accent), thereby reducing the threat of their otherwise high status. Therefore, when faced with out-groups of high and low status, accent strength may be used by native speakers to signal that their values, and their high status position, is secure.

Based on this logic, I expect the status of the speaker's group to moderate accent strength's effect on interpersonal and intergroup perceptions. To test this, I use two European countries of varying statuses to describe the speaker's nationality: British nationals are either told that the speaker is from Poland (low status country) or the Netherlands (high status country) before hearing her speak with a weak accent (similar to British norms) or a strong accent (dissimilar to British norms). Because British nationals may feel wary of the prospect of a low status out-group member joining the in-group, I expect participants to have more positive attitudes towards a speaker from Poland when her accent suggests that group boundaries are stable (strong accent) as opposed to unstable (weak accent). When the speaker is from the Netherlands, however, I expect participants will perceive this high status group member as similar to themselves and to have more positive attitudes towards her when she uses speech patterns that seem converged (weak accent) rather than diverged (strong accent).

I also expect the status of the speaker's national group to shape accent strength's effect on intergroup attitudes. A country's status is generally judged against socioeconomic factors (Janevic et al., 2012), where resources are seen as more available to individuals from high status countries than to those from low status countries. However, whether that individual's group is perceived as a threat to in-group resources likely depends on their

perceived ability to compete. Because native-like speech patterns are considered the correct way to speak a language and hence valued more than other patterns of speech (Sweeny & Hua, 2010), they may be used by British nationals to indicate whether the speaker is able to compete with the British in-group in other ways (e.g. for jobs or status). Both of these factors, the status of the out-group and whether group boundaries are perceived as stable, likely interact to determine perceptions of threat (Scheepers et al., 2009). In other words, the perception of the out-group as taking or contributing resources (low or high status) and whether group boundaries are believed to be permeable or impermeable (with weak accents indicating that boundaries are permeable and strong accents indicating that boundaries are impermeable), likely influence both feelings of threat and general attitudes towards the speaker's group.

Using this reasoning, I make the following predictions: Because exposure to speech patterns that are similar to in-group norms (weak accent) from a speaker perceived as in need of resources (low status) will convey the message that the group is able and motivated to compete, I predict that when the speaker is from Poland, participants exposed to the weak accent will report more realistic threat from immigrants than those exposed to the strong accent. However, because the Netherlands is high in status (and likely welcomed by the in-group because of its potential to contribute resources), I expect that exposure to speech patterns indicating an unwillingness to accommodate towards in-group norms (strong accent) will make cultural threats salient, with these participants reporting more symbolic threat than those exposed to speech patterns that have been accommodated (weak accent)⁴. Since feelings of threat from a group are linked to overall attitudes towards them (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), participants in the conditions expected to evoke the most threat (Poland/weak

⁴ I do not expect high status countries to be relevant to realistic threat or low status countries to be relevant to symbolic threat. Hence I do not expect differences between accent strength on feelings of realistic threat when the speaker is the Netherlands or on feelings of symbolic threat when the speaker is from Poland.

accent, the Netherlands/strong accent) are also likely to report less positive attitudes towards all non-British people living in the U.K compared to participants in the other two conditions (Poland/strong accent, the Netherlands/weak accent).

Finally, I do not expect an interaction between accent strength and country status on stereotypes of the speaker. Because native speakers tend to (incorrectly) associate accent strength with the speaker's fluency in a language (Lindemann, 2003), weak accents may mark the speaker as more competent than strong accents. Furthermore, previous research as well the results of Study 4 suggest that linguistic out-groups tend to be rated as more warm than competent, regardless of where the speaker is from (Fiske et al., 2002; Ruscher, 2001). Hence, I only expect a main effect of accent strength on perceptions of stereotypes:

Participants exposed to the weak accent will perceive the speaker as more competent than warm while those exposed to the strong accent will perceive the speaker as more warm than competent.

Method

Participants and Design

Eighty people living in and around Exeter took part in the study. Participants were students, who participated in exchange for either course credit or a payment of £5, or members of the public who were offered their choice of a chocolate bar or a National Lottery scratch card. Students were recruited via email and members of the public were approached on Exeter's high street. Participants consisted of 51 women and 29 men ranging in age from 16 to 61 years old ($M = 23.72$, $SD = 8.98$). All identified themselves as British and reported English as their native language.

The study used a 2x2 between-subjects design with accent strength (strong vs. weak) and nationality (Poland vs. the Netherlands) as variables. Participants were assigned to each condition randomly. Dependent variables from the first half of the questionnaire

measured participants' perceptions of the speaker, including perceived similarities and general stereotypes. Dependent variables from the immigration section of the questionnaire assessed participants' feelings of realistic and symbolic threat from non-British people living in the U.K, as well as their attitudes towards immigrants generally.

Materials and Procedure

Participants were told that they would be listening to a recording from someone named Sophia, who had recently arrived in Exeter (from Poland/the Netherlands). When participants were students, the study took place individually in a lab. When participants were recruited from the high street, the study took place individually in the break-room of a high street shop. In both cases, participants were played the recording from a laptop that was placed in the lab/break-room.

After listening to Sophia's story in either a strong accent or a weak accent, participants were asked to begin the questionnaire. The recordings participants heard, as well as the measures in the questionnaire, were identical to those used in Study 4. Unless otherwise indicated, participants gave their responses using a single Likert-type response scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Responses to all items were averaged to form a single scale score.

Measures. Six items were used to measure participants' perceptions of similarities shared with the speaker ($\alpha = .88$), while three items measured their general attitudes towards her ($\alpha = .78$). Perceived competence ($\alpha = .71$) and warmth ($\alpha = .78$) were assessed using four items each.

Like in the previous study, participants were asked to give their opinions on the "randomly" assigned issue of immigration. From this part of the questionnaire, realistic threat was assessed using 14 items ($\alpha = .91$) adapted from two previously tested scales (Maddux, et al., 2008; Stephen, et al., 1999) while symbolic threat was measured using four items ($\alpha = .55$)

adapted from a scale developed by Stephen, et al., (1999). Finally, five items ($\alpha = .83$) were used to measure participants' attitudes towards immigrants living in the U.K.

All participants were fully debriefed and thanked at the end of the study.

Results

A series of univariate ANOVAs explored the effect of accent strength and country status on the dependent variables. Variable means and standard deviations are presented in Table 5.3 and variable correlations are presented in Table 5.4.

Interpersonal Perceptions

The main effects of accent strength and country status on perceptions of similarity were non-significant, $F_s < .27$, $p_s > .402$. However, my prediction that status would moderate the effect of accent strength on perceived similarity with the speaker was supported, $F(1,76) = 4.89$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that when participants were told that the speaker was from Poland, they perceived marginally more similarities with her when her accent was strong than when her accent was weak, $F(1,76) = 3.65$, $p = .060$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. There was no such effect when she was from the Netherlands, $F(1,76) = 1.48$, $p = .228$.

Stronger accents, particularly when the speaker was from Poland, also evoked more positive attitudes towards the speaker. The main effect of accent strength on attitudes was significant, with participants feeling more positively when the speaker's accent was strong than when her accent was weak, $F(1,76) = 7.96$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .095$. This effect was driven by participants in the low status condition: The interaction between accent strength and status was marginally significant, $F(1,76) = 3.49$, $p = .066$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, with participants told that the speaker was from Poland expressing more positive attitudes towards her when exposed to the strong accent as opposed to the weak accent, $F(1,76) = 10.98$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Differences between the strong and weak accent were non-significant when the speaker was from the Netherlands, $F(1,76) = .45$, $p = .503$, as was the main effect of status, $F(1,76) = .00$, $p = .971$.

Despite significant interactions between accent strength and status on perceived similarities with and general attitudes towards the speaker, there were no effects of these variables on participants' stereotypes of her. On perceptions of the speaker as competent, the interaction was non-significant, $F(1,76) = .69, p = .410$, as were the main effects of accent strength and status, $F_s < .57, p_s > .453$. There was also a non-significant interaction between accent strength and status on perceptions of the speaker as warm, $F(1,76) = .57, p = .453$, with the main effects of accent strength and status also non-significant, $F_s < .24, p_s > .634$.

Intergroup Attitudes

My expectation that country status would moderate the relationship between accent strength and the type of threat experienced from non-British people living in the U.K. was partially supported. There was no interaction between accent strength and status on realistic threat, $F(1,75) = .00, p = .994$, nor was there a main effect of status, $F(1,75) = 1.84, p = .179$. While not expected, there was a main effect of accent strength, $F(1,75) = 4.86, p = .031, \eta_p^2 = .061$: Participants exposed to the strong accent reported more realistic threat from immigrants than participants exposed to the weak accent.

However, as predicted, there was a significant interaction between accent strength and status on feelings of symbolic threat, $F(1,76) = 4.43, p = .039, \eta_p^2 = .06$; When participants were told that the speaker was from the Netherlands, they reported marginally more symbolic threat when her accent was strong as opposed to when her accent was weak, $F(1,76) = 3.05, p = .085, \eta_p^2 = .04$. There was no such effect when the speaker was from Poland, $F(1,76) = 1.51, p = .223$. The main effects of accent strength and status on symbolic threat were also non-significant, $F_s < .42, p_s > .521$.

Finally, my prediction that status would moderate the effect of accent strength on attitudes towards immigrants generally was also supported, $F(1,75) = 5.76, p = .019, \eta_p^2 = .071$. As expected, participants told that the speaker was from the Netherlands had more

positive attitudes towards all non-British people living in the U.K. when her accent was weak as opposed to strong, $F(1,75) = 4.05$, $p = .048$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. However, there was no effect of accent strength when the speaker was from Poland, $F(1,75) = 1.92$, $p = .170$, and no main effect of accent strength or of status, $F_s < .27$, $p_s > .605$.

Table 5.3.

Means Table for the Effect of Accent Strength and Nationality

	Accent Strength Main Effect		The Netherlands			Poland		
	Weak	Strong	Weak	Strong	Total	Weak	Strong	Total
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Similarity	3.76 (1.13)	3.88 (1.04)	3.93 (1.06)	3.51 ^a (1.17)	3.72 (1.12)	3.60 (1.20)	4.24 ^b (.77)	3.92 (1.04)
Pos. Attitude (Speaker)	4.26^a (1.09)	4.90^b (.96)	4.47 (1.01)	4.68 (1.14)	4.58 (1.07)	4.05 ^{abc} (1.15)	5.12 ^{abd} (.70)	4.58 (1.09)
Competence	5.87 (.66)	5.86 (.60)	5.93 (.77)	5.80 (.58)	5.86 (.68)	5.81 (.55)	5.93 (.64)	5.87 (.59)
Warmth	5.03 (.88)	5.17 (.80)	5.08 (1.07)	5.13 (.81)	5.10 (.93)	4.98 (.67)	5.21 (.82)	5.09 (.75)
Realistic Threat	2.59^a (.97)	3.08^b (1.00)	2.44 (.76)	2.93 (1.00)	2.68 (.90)	2.74 (1.15)	3.23 (1.01)	2.98 (1.10)
Symbolic Threat	4.23 (1.06)	4.31 (.97)	3.93 (1.11)	4.48 (.92)	4.20 (1.04)	4.54 (.94)	4.15 (1.01)	4.34 (.98)
Pos. Attitude (Immigrants)	5.53 (1.03)	5.43 (.97)	5.85 ^a (.71)	5.23 ^b (1.03)	5.54 (.93)	5.21 ^{bc} (1.21)	5.64 (.86)	5.42 (1.06)

Note. Cells with different subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$)

Table 5.4.

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	Similarity	1	2	3	4	5
1. Pos. Attitudes (Speaker)	.520**					
2. Competence	.198	.227*				
3. Warmth	.294**	.231*	.626**			
4. Real Threat	-.195	-.041	.040	-.047		
5. Sym Threat	-.252*	-.139	.150	.070	.401**	
6. Pos. Attitudes (Immigrants)	.303**	.186	.148	.143	-.611**	-.462**

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Discussion

My results demonstrate that the status of the speaker's national identity can moderate native speakers' perceptions of non-native speech patterns: Although accent strength had an overall effect on interpersonal perceptions, they were strongest when the speaker was from Poland (low status country) as opposed to when the speaker was from the Netherlands (high status country). Specifically, participants in the Poland condition had more positive attitudes towards her and felt more similarities with her when her accent was strong as opposed to weak. This suggests that speech patterns deemed to be similar to in-group norms (weak accents) may not always be preferred, particularly when the speaker's group is low in status. This idea is consistent with literature demonstrating that low status out-group members who permeate group boundaries may be perceived as dragging down in-group standards, a distressing prospect for members of the in-group (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005; Van Knippenberg, 1984). Consequently, when the speaker was thought to be from a low status country (Poland), participants might have felt more favourably towards her when she spoke

with a strong accent as these speech patterns would have cemented her out-group status, making it impossible for her to jeopardize in-group standards.

Nationality status also moderated participants' attitudes towards the speaker's group: When told the speaker was from the Netherlands (high status country), participants felt more positively towards immigrants in general when she spoke with a weak accent as opposed to a strong accent. (When the speaker was from Poland, participants reported more positive attitudes when her accent was strong as opposed to weak, but this did not reach significance, $p = .170$). Two observations can be made here. First, as I demonstrated with written language (Chapter 4) and in study 4, perceptions of an individual speaker's language can extend to ideas about a much more diverse group of people (all immigrants living in the U.K.). Second, the status of the speaker's national group may play a critical role in shaping how native speakers form these impressions. In particular, it seems that the desire for others to speak in a way that is similar to native norms (weak accents) only applies when the speaker is from a country that has the potential to benefit the in-group. If the speaker is believed to be from a country that might drain in-group resources instead, native speakers may prefer speech patterns that signal that the speaker is distinct from the in-group and unlikely to permeate group boundaries (strong accents).

The interaction between accent strength and status on symbolic threat further supports this theory. When the speaker was from the Netherlands, participants felt more symbolic threat from all non-British people when her accent was strong as opposed to weak. As expected, when a high status speaker's accent implied her lack of accommodation with in-group norms, feelings of cultural threat became salient. This suggests that in-group members may be inclined to accept an outsider who is likely to contribute resources to the in-group, but feel distressed when their speech patterns suggest a lack of accommodation towards in-group norms.

Surprisingly, when the speaker came from a low status group, there was no difference between the strong accent and the weak accent on feelings of realistic threat from immigrants. One reason for this may have been that my participant sample consisted of mostly upper middle-class university students, who likely have access to resources and expect to work in high status professions. Because many Polish immigrants to the U.K. work in jobs that are unlikely to be sought after by university graduates (i.e. service or construction industries), these participants may not have perceived the Polish out-group as threatening their prospects, even if the speaker did demonstrate an ability to compete (by speaking with a weak accent). Further research should investigate whether an effect of accent strength would emerge when participants come from working class backgrounds, as they may be more likely to perceive immigrants from low status countries as a direct threat.

Importantly, the speaker's national identity did not always moderate the effect of language on participants' perceptions. Participants exposed to the strong accent reported more positive attitudes towards the speaker as well as more realistic threat from immigrants than those exposed to the weak accent, regardless of the speaker's country of origin. These results support previous research showing that speech patterns can evoke perceptions that are independent of other factors (Lindemann, 2003; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996; Ryan, 1983) and demonstrates the power of language to influence not only ideas about the speaker, but beliefs about entire groups. Furthermore, the fact that strong accents evoked more positive attitudes towards the speaker while simultaneously making salient feelings of realistic threat from immigrants illustrates the ambiguous nature of the associations attached to these patterns of speech: While the speaker was more accepted when her speech was dissimilar to native norms, the prospect of her entire group using non-native speech patterns made this out-group feel threatening. Indeed a similar pattern of divergence between interpersonal and intergroup responses to accent strength was observed in the previous study. This suggests that while

strongly accented individuals may not be perceived as personally competitive to my participant sample, the idea of all immigrants using these speech patterns made the prospect of intergroup competition salient. Future research, therefore, should investigate why attributions attached to strong accents seem to differ when used by an individual versus when used by a group.

Limitations

A major limitation of the current study's design is that well-known countries were used to describe the speaker's group membership; the high number of Polish immigrants living in Britain and the close physical proximity of the Netherlands to the U.K. mean that these places are likely to be familiar to my sample of British participants. Historical relations between Britain and these two countries also present a possible confound. Over the past century, the Netherlands has been an ally of the U.K. while Poland's socialist history, and later entry into the E.U. may mark it as an adversary. Hence, I cannot discount the possibility that stereotypes other than those related to status may have influenced the current study's results. For instance, one explanation for the lack of an effect of accent strength on perceptions of the speaker as warm or competent may have been that these stereotypes were not consistent with participants' pre-conceived ideas about people from these countries. In addition, participants' stereotypes about Poland and the Netherlands may have contributed towards the fact that the interactions observed in this study were mainly partial (e.g., accent strength affected interpersonal perceptions when the speaker was from Poland but not when she was from the Netherlands).

Overall, this study demonstrates that while language can independently shape interpersonal perceptions and intergroup attitudes, beliefs about the speaker's national identity may play a critical role in the way native speakers use speech patterns to form impressions. However, whether these effects are due solely to differences in status, or are

influenced in part by some other unknown factor, remains to be seen. In order to compensate for this limitation and increase the generalizability of the current study's findings, I ran an additional study where I manipulate the status of an unknown out-group. By refining my status manipulation, I aim to more cleanly test the effect of out-group status on how native speakers form impressions based on language.

Pre-testing C: Identifying an Unfamiliar Country

In order to investigate how status influences language perceptions in the absence of pre-existing stereotypes, I compared a country that I assumed most people would lack a general knowledge of – Andorra⁵ – to the two countries used in the previous study: Poland and the Netherlands. As part of an online survey, I randomly presented one of these three countries to 84 post-graduate research students⁶. Respondents were asked to reply to two statements: a) Please rate how familiar you are with Poland/the Netherlands/Andorra and b) Please rate how familiar you are with people from Poland/the Netherlands/Andorra. Responses were made on 7-point scales (where 1 = not at all, 7 = very) and were averaged to provide a single measure of familiarity, $r(84) = .651, p < .001$. As expected, participants reported almost no familiarity with Andorra ($M = 1.34, SD = .20$) and significantly less familiarity than that of the Netherlands, ($M = 3.27, SD = .20$) and Poland, ($M = 2.77, SD = .20, F(2, 81) = 26.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .39$). As such, I manipulated the status of Andorra for the main study.

⁵ Although Andorra is a sovereign principality, for consistency, I refer to it as a country.

⁶ No further demographic information was collected from these participants.

Pre-testing D: Manipulating Andorra's Status

To manipulate Andorra's status, I created a country profile using the same socioeconomic factors used to determine status perceptions of Poland and the Netherlands: Education system, average household income, number of people living below the poverty line, and average life expectancy. Facts and figures were altered to show Andorra as either thriving in the current economy (high status) or struggling to keep up with other E.U. countries⁷ (low status). All participants were fully debriefed after reading the profile. The following is an example of how status was manipulated:

“Andorra has a population of just above 84,000 people. The life expectancy is (87 years old/74 years old) – almost 6 years (above/below) the European average. Children are required to attend school until the age of 16 (and as a result, Andorra boasts a 100% literacy rate/yet Andorra's literacy rate is only 72%). While the recent economic recession has affected most countries in Europe, (Andorra has managed to escape the worst of it/it has hit Andorra especially hard).”

Thirty-eight students (12 men, 24 women; Mean age = 20.44 ($SD = 2.41$) were randomly assigned to read either the low status version of the profile or the high status version and asked to indicate from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) their agreement with two statements measuring perceived status: “Andorra is a country that enjoys a high status within Europe” and “Within Europe, Andorra is a low status country” (recoded), $r(38) = .750, p < .001$. As expected, participants in the high status condition agreed more that Andorra is a high status country ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.56$) compared to participants in the low status condition, ($M = 2.13, SD = .86; t(28.03) = 5.01, p < .001, d = 1.62$). Thus, the same country profiles were used in the main study.

⁷ Andorra is not a member of the E.U. but enjoys a special relationship with it.

Study 6

As in the previous study, the aim of Study 6 is to investigate how the status of the speaker's national group affects native speaker's perceptions of non-native speech patterns. Both studies use similar designs: Participants are asked to listen to a recording from an individual speaking with either a strong accent or a weak accent before giving their impressions of the speaker and their opinions of immigrants living in Britain. However, unlike in the previous study where participants were told that the speaker is from Poland or the Netherlands, participants in the current study are told that the speaker is from Andorra, a relatively unknown country whose status was manipulated to seem high or low. By controlling for pre-conceived ideas that are associated with familiar out-groups, I aim to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the influence out-group status has on perceptions based on language.

In the previous study, I attributed the differences between participants who were told the speaker was from the Netherlands and those told she was from Poland to be a result of the perceived variations in status between these two countries. Because I also manipulate Andorra's status to be high or low, I expect to replicate these results in the current study. However, because participants will not have pre-existing stereotypes about people from Andorra, I predict the effects of status on language perceptions to be stronger than those in the previous study, with status fully moderating the effect of accent strength on both attitudes towards the speaker and the group she represents. Specifically, I predict that participants will perceive more similarities and have more positive attitudes towards the speaker when her group's status is low and her accent is strong instead of weak, but that these perceptions will also hold when the speaker's group status is high and her accent is weak as opposed to strong. Likewise, when asked to consider all immigrants living in the U.K., I expect that those told Andorra is high in status will have more positive attitudes towards this out-group when the

speaker's accent is weak as opposed to strong. However, when Andorra's status is low, I predict the strong accent will evoke more positive attitudes than the weak accent.

As in Study 5, I predict that participants told the speaker is from a high status country will experience more symbolic threat when the speaker's accent is strong instead of weak. However, I also expect realistic threat to be higher when the speaker's group status is low, and her accent is weak instead of strong. Because presenting the speaker as someone from Andorra controls for any previous experiences participants may have had with people from familiar out-groups, I expect that participants' stereotypes of the speaker will be based both on the strength of their accent and the information they have about Andorra's status. Specifically, I predict that those exposed to the weak accent and those told Andorra is high in status will perceive the speaker as more competent than warm, while those exposed to the strong accent and told Andorra's status is low will rate her as more warm than competent.

Method

Participants and Design

One hundred and ten first-year Psychology students took part in the study in exchange for course credit. Participants included 22 males and 88 females ranging from 18 to 56 years old ($M = 20.65$, $SD = 6.46$). All identified themselves as British and reported English as their native language.

The study used a 2x2 between-subjects design with accent strength (strong vs. weak) and country status (high vs. low) as variables. Participants were assigned to each condition randomly. Dependent variables assessed perceptions of the speaker as well as their feelings of threat and general attitudes towards non-British people living in the U.K.

Materials and Procedure

The study took place in a lab where participants were tested individually. After arriving to the study, participants were told that they would be listening to a recording from Sophia, who had recently arrived in Exeter from Andorra. The experimenter then explained that they would be asked to give their impressions of Sophia but would first need to read a country profile about Andorra: This was to ensure that everyone taking part in the study had the same basic knowledge of Sophia's home country before forming impressions of her.

After agreeing to take part in the study, participants were randomly assigned to read one of two versions of the country profile (presenting Andorra as either high status or low status). Once they had read through the text, they were asked to indicate their agreement from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) to two manipulation-check items: "Andorra is a country that enjoys a high status within Europe" and "Within Europe, Andorra is a low status country" (recoded). These items were correlated to form a single measure of perceived status, $r(109) = .782, p < .001$.

Participants were then played the same recording used in the previous two studies of a woman named Sophia speaking in either a strong accent or a weak accent before beginning the questionnaire. All responses were given on the same 7-point scales appropriate to the question being asked. Scores from each set of items were averaged to form a reliable scale.

Measures. Items assessing perceptions of the speaker were similar to those used in the previous two studies. Six items measured perceived similarity ($\alpha = .90$) while warmth ($\alpha = .79$) and competence ($\alpha = .53$) were measured using four items each., Five items measured general perceptions of the speaker (I added two items to the previous scale to increase reliability: "I would be happy to have Sophia as my neighbour" and "Sophia seems like someone I would like to get to know;" $\alpha = .83$).

The immigration section of the questionnaire followed the same format as in the previous two studies. Fourteen items measured realistic threat ($\alpha = .92$) while four items measured symbolic threat ($\alpha = .57$)⁸. Three items – warmth, respect, and dislike (recoded) – were used to assess general attitudes towards non-British people living in the U.K. ($\alpha = .72$).

All participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results

A series of univariate ANOVAs explored the effect of the accent strength and status manipulation on the dependent variables. Variables means and standard deviations are presented in Table 5.5 and variable intercorrelations are presented in Table 5.6.

Manipulation Check

Consistent with the intent of the manipulation, participants in the high status condition agreed more with the idea that Andorra is a high status country ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.34$) compared to participants in the low status condition ($M = 1.66$, $SD = .91$; $t(90.66) = 14.49$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.47$).

Interpersonal Perceptions

My prediction that status would moderate the effects of accent strength on perceived similarities and general attitudes towards the speaker was not supported. For perceived similarity, the interaction was non-significant, $F(1,105) = .95$, $p = .333$, as were the main effects of accent strength and status, $F_s < .62$, $p_s > .214$. However, while there was also no interaction between these factors on attitudes towards the speaker, $F(1,106) = .42$, $p = .521$, there were significant main effects of both accent strength and status. Participants exposed to the strong accent had more positive attitudes towards the speaker than participants exposed to

⁸ Although this scale's alpha was also low in Study 5 ($\alpha = .55$), I did not change the items because I expected that, when unfamiliar out-groups were used, it would return to the level of reliability observed in Study 4 ($\alpha = .73$).

the weak accent, $F(1,106) = 4.18, p = .043, \eta^2 = .04$, while participants told that the speaker was from a low status country reported more positive attitudes than those told that her home country was high in status, $F(1,106) = 4.00, p = .048, \eta^2 = .04$.

My prediction that there would be main effects of accent strength on perceptions of the speaker as warm and competent was partially supported. As expected, participants exposed to the strong accent rated the speaker as warmer than participants exposed to the weak accent, $F(1,106) = 6.54, p = .012, \eta^2 = .06$, while those told that Andorra has a low status rated her as marginally warmer than those told Andorra is high in status, $F(1,106) = 3.14, p = .079, \eta^2 = .03$. The interaction between accent strength and status was non-significant, $F(1,106) = .34, p = .563$. Regarding perceptions of competence, however, there was no effect of accent strength, $F(1,106) = .00, p = .975$, or status, $F(1,106) = 1.61, p = .208$, and the interaction between these variables was also non-significant, $F(1,106) = .68, p = .413$.

Intergroup Attitudes

Contrary to the results of the previous study, participants exposed to the weak accent reported more realistic threat from non-British people living in the U.K. than participants exposed to the strong accent, $F(1,105) = 6.06, p = .015, \eta^2 = .06$. There was no main effect of status, $F(1,105) = .88, p = .350$, nor was there an interaction between the variables, $F(1,105) = .08, p = .772$. There was also no support for my expectation that status would moderate the effects of accent strength on perceptions of symbolic threat: Both the main effects of accent strength and status were non-significant, $F_s < .12, p_s > .723$, as was the interaction, $F(1,104) = .00, p = .955$.

Like with realistic threat, the interaction between accent strength and status on participants' attitudes towards immigrants was also in the opposite direction to my prediction. Although there were no main effects of either accent strength or status, $F_s < 1.66, p_s > .200$, the interaction between these factors was significant, $F(1,106) = 4.42, p = .038, \eta^2 = .04$.

Contrary to my expectation, pairwise comparisons revealed that when the speaker's status was high, participants reported more positive attitudes towards immigrants when her accent was strong as opposed to weak, $F(1,106) = 5.74, p = .018, \eta^2 = .05$. There was no such effect of accent strength when the speaker's status was low, $F(1,106) = .33, p = .567$.

Table 5.5.

Means Table for the Effect of Accent Strength and Status

	Accent Strength Main Effect		High Status			Low Status		
	Weak	Strong	Weak	Strong	Total	Weak	Strong	Total
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Similarity	3.88 (.22)	3.93 (.25)	3.89 (.22)	3.90 (.26)	3.89 (.24)	3.86 (.21)	3.96 (.23)	3.91 (.23)
Pos. Attitude (Speaker)	5.28^a (.87)	5.63^b (.91)	5.17 (.83)	5.40 (.84)	5.28^{abc} (.83)	5.39 (.90)	5.84 (.93)	5.62^{abd} (.94)
Competence	5.92 (.60)	5.92 (.63)	5.80 (.60)	5.89 (.60)	5.85 (.60)	6.05 (.58)	5.95 (.67)	6.00 (.62)
Warmth	4.98^a (.91)	5.38^b (.71)	4.80 ^{abc} (.88)	5.29 ^{abd} (.74)	5.03 (.84)	5.17 ⁺ (.92)	5.47 (.69)	5.32 (.82)
Realistic Threat	3.15^a (1.03)	2.68^b (.96)	3.27 (.92)	2.74 (1.02)	3.02 (1.00)	3.03 (1.14)	2.62 (.92)	2.82 (1.05)
Symbolic Threat	4.26 (.97)	4.33 (1.02)	4.26 (.93)	4.34 (.81)	4.30 (.87)	4.26 (1.03)	4.31 (1.21)	4.29 (1.11)
Pos. Attitude (Immigrants)	5.26 (.96)	5.51 (1.01)	5.00 ^a (.92)	5.63 ^b (.83)	5.30 (.93)	5.54 ^{bc} (.93)	5.40 (1.16)	5.47 (1.05)

Note. Cells with different numerical subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$)

Table 5.6.

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	Similarity	1	2	3	4	5
1. Pos. Attitudes (Speaker)	-.011					
2. Competence	.003	.276**				
3. Warmth	-.102	.357**	.243*			
4. Real Threat	.320**	-.304**	-.171	-.250**		
5. Sym Threat	.065	-.113	-.179	-.208*	.493**	
6. Pos. Attitudes (Immigrants)	-.197	.324**	.181	.236*	-.607**	-.454**

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Discussion

Although the status of the speaker's national group did not moderate the effect of accent strength on interpersonal perceptions as predicted, some results of the current study are consistent with those of Study 5. Both participants exposed to the strong accent, and those told Andorra is a low status country, felt more positively towards the speaker than participants exposed to the weak accent and those told that Andorra has a high status, respectively. (There was no effect of either accent strength or status on perceptions of the speaker as similar). While the speaker's accent strength and the status of her group did not interact, the direction of the main effects supports my suggestion that native speakers feel more favourably towards individual out-group members who are unlikely to permeate group boundaries: Participants were more accepting of the speaker when her background (low status national identity) or her accent (dissimilar to native norms) minimized her potential of joining the in-group.

My results also demonstrate that both status and accent strength can affect perceptions of warmth. As predicted, participants told that the speaker is from a low status country, as well as those exposed to the strong accent, rated the speaker as warmer than participants told the speaker is from a high status country and those exposed to the weak accent. This result is consistent with previous research linking perceptions of warmth to low status out-groups (Fiske et al., 2002), and supports my suggestion that native speakers perceive non-native speech patterns that are dissimilar to their own (strong accents) as markers of low status. Furthermore, this result mirrors that of Study 4, when participants were not given any information about the speaker's national identity. Unlike in Study 5 (when warmth was unaffected by the status or accent manipulation), participants in both Study 4 and the current study did not have pre-conceived ideas about the speaker's group from which to draw from. Hence, while group stereotypes may have prevented an effect on warmth in Study 5, controlling for these in Studies 4 and 6 made Fiske et al's (2002) stereotype content model relevant. In other words, strong accents may signal perceptions of warmth, but only when warmth does not contradict native speaker's existing stereotypes about the out-group.

As in the previous two studies, ratings of the speaker as competent were not affected by either accent strength or status. In fact, competence ratings for the speaker in all conditions were high, ranging from a mean of 5.80 to 6.05 on a 7-point scale. One reason for this may have been participants' awareness that the speaker had travelled to the U.K. Based on the popularity of 'gap' years and spending semesters abroad, many students respect those who visit other countries. Hence, participants in my sample may have been inclined to perceive the speaker as competent if she was understood to be travelling, regardless of her status or the strength of her accent.

Surprisingly, although the effects of accent strength and status more or less mirrored my previous results on measures of interpersonal perceptions, the effects of these variables on intergroup attitudes were in the opposite direction from my prediction. Unlike in Study 5, where exposure to a high status speaker resulted in more positive attitudes towards non-British people when the speaker's accent was weak as opposed to strong, participants in the current study felt more positively towards non-British people when the high status speaker spoke with a strong (rather than a weak) accent. (There was no effect of accent strength when Andorra was believed to be a low status country). Furthermore, while participants in Study 5 reported more realistic threat from immigrants to Britain when the speaker's accent was strong rather than weak, the current study saw weak accents evoke more realistic threat than strong accents. Also, there were no effects of accent strength or status on symbolic threat in the current study, despite significant effects of these variables in the previous two studies.

Participants' unexpected responses when asked about immigrants as a group may be related to a fear of an unfamiliar and seemingly competitive out-group permeating group boundaries. Although not intended, the information sheet describing Andorra's status as high may have given participants the impression that Andorra is more successful than the U.K. (For example, participants in this condition read that Andorra was thriving in the tough economic climate and had recently been voted one of Europe's 'best places to live'). The threatening nature of this description may have made participants more comfortable with non-British people living in the U.K. when speakers from an out-group of such a high status used speech patterns suggesting that group boundaries are stable (strong accent) as opposed to unstable (weak accent). Likewise, the result of interpersonal perceptions in Study 5 suggested that strong accents were preferred to weak accents when used by a speaker from Poland (low status out-group), as these speech patterns would have cemented the speaker's out-group status. Although the status of the speaker's group varied across these two studies,

it may have been that participants' preference for strong accents had less to do with the out-group's status and more to do with participants feeling cautious or distrustful of the speaker's group. Future research, therefore, should aim to identify the specific factors related to perceptions of the out-groups that shape how non-native speech patterns are perceived.

General Discussion

Studies 4 - 6 provide further evidence of the role that language plays in determining perceptions of both the communicator and the group she represents. Across all three studies, exposure to non-native speech patterns of varying degrees of similarity to that of native speech informed native speakers' ratings of the speaker as well as their opinions of immigrants living in Britain. These results support previous research demonstrating that non-native accents are used by native speakers to shape their evaluations of non-native speakers (Bresnahan et al., 2002; Boyd, 2003; Edwards, 1982; Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; Lindemann, 2003) and are broadly consistent with the effects that written language had on these perceptions in Chapter 2; like in the preceding three studies, attributions attached to various non-native speech patterns were influenced by perceptions related to the speaker's background. Furthermore, as with the case of written language, the studies presented in the current chapter demonstrate that perceptions of the spoken language used by an individual speaker can extend to ideas about that speaker's entire group.

Although the current studies suggest that perceptions based on a speaker's accent may depend on ideas about that speaker's group, the relationship between status and non-native speech perceptions is unclear. When the speaker was from the Netherlands, weak accents resulted in more positive intergroup attitudes than strong accents, yet when Andorra was presented as high in status, strong accents evoked more positive perceptions than weak accents. I attribute these seemingly conflicting results to participants' judgment of the out-group's status relative to their own. For instance, the Netherlands, a political ally and

frequent tourist destination, is likely perceived as culturally and economically similar to the U.K. However, my portrayal of Andorra as overly successful may have given the impression that this country's status is higher than their own, likely evoking perceptions of intergroup threat. This may explain why immigrants as a group were perceived more positively when the speaker from the Netherlands used native-like speech patterns (Study 5) but less so when that speaker was from the high status version of Andorra (Study 6). If I were to run this study again, I would test this theory by adjusting my manipulation to ensure that the out-group's economic success in the high status condition would be perceived by participants as equivalent to that of their own.

While the way status and accent strength affected interpersonal perceptions differed across Studies 5 and 6 (there was an interaction in Study 5 while the two factors affected perceptions independently in Study 6), the message from both studies is consistent: Native speakers' attitudes towards the non-native speaker were more positive when either her accent strength or the status of her group made her distinct from the in-group. However, one factor influencing beliefs about which accents and nationalities present the highest chance of group permeability may relate to the position of my particular participant sample. Almost all of my participants were university students whose high socio-economic status makes a low status, strong accented speaker an unlikely competitor for in-group jobs (making these out-group members more positively perceived). However, if my participant sample had consisted of low-wage workers from working class backgrounds, the criteria for positive perceptions might change, as these participants would likely prefer weak accented speakers from high status countries (as these speakers would be unlikely to compete for working class jobs). Hence, future research should investigate how the interaction between participant status and non-native speaker status affects accent strength's implications for social perceptions.

In my PhD so far, I have demonstrated that language, in both written and spoken forms, is a powerful tool for shaping interpersonal perceptions and the relationships between groups. This research suggests that, when used by immigrants, language patterns that differ from those of the in-group can have adverse effects on not only British nationals' perceptions of the individual communicator, but on attitudes towards all non-British people living in the U.K. Because language appears to play such an important role in how native speakers form impressions of non-native speakers, I turn my investigation to how immigrants who use non-native language patterns cope with communicating in a way that marks them as members of an out-group. Hence, in the following chapter, I examine language perceptions from the perspective of the non-native speaker.

Chapter 6: Examining the Effects of Language-Based Stigma from the Perspective of Non-native Speakers

So, if you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself.

Gloria Anzaldua (Borderlands/La Frontera, 1987)

The way we speak has important consequences for how we are categorized by others. Besides more obvious information such as our gender or our age, our use of language can reveal clues to our education level, socioeconomic status, and allegiances to specific groups (Gallois et al., 2005; Ryan, 1983). Indeed, research demonstrates that speech patterns may be a stronger cue to social categorization than other markers, like race. For example, children as young as five have been found to favour accents that are typical of their in-group independent of the race of the speaker (Kinzler et al., 2009; Pietraszewski & Schwartz, 2014; Rakic et al., 2011). Hence, the way we speak plays an important role in determining how we are perceived and treated by others, and through this might influence our interpersonal relationships and self-esteem.

Despite the pivotal role that language plays in shaping social identity, research has generally overlooked the stigma that can be associated with certain speech patterns. For example, although research has established that some speakers experience prejudice and discrimination because of how they speak, the bulk of this work has focused on the perspective of those using language that is considered normative (e.g., the standard accent within a country) while ignoring the experiences of those with stigmatized patterns of speech (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). In the current chapter, I investigate the consequences of language-based stigma from the perspective of the stigmatized speaker. I begin by making a case for the existence of stigma based on speech patterns and explore the consequences of

this for those affected. I then investigate how language-based stigma is managed and consider whether these strategies are likely to be effective. By extending the literature on stigma to include speech patterns, I aim to gain a clearer understanding of how language-based stigma affects the lives of those who experience it.

Accented Speech

One of the most salient characteristics of spoken language is the speaker's accent. Generally judged against the standard language of a country, the term 'accent' refers to the mode of pronunciation – including pitch, tone, emphasis, and intonation – that is characteristic of a specific group or locality (Giles, 1970). For example, within the U.K., where the current research took place, accents may be regional (such as Cornish or London accents), foreign (referring to native English accents that are not British, such as American or Australian accents), or non-native (the accent of any speaker who has not spoken English since birth). All of these forms of accent convey social information about the speaker, and depending on the perspective of the listener may also elicit negative stereotypes (Jones, 2001).

Speakers with non-native accents may be especially susceptible to negative stereotypes. Unlike regional or foreign accents, non-native accents tend to be associated with the inability to speak the language fluently, often regardless of the speaker's actual ability (Lindemann, 2003). Furthermore, as one of the most salient indicators of being foreign-born, the presence of a non-native accent marks the speaker as a potentially threatening out-group member (Derwing & Munro, 2009, Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). As such, whereas foreign accents are typically perceived as prestigious and friendly by standard accented speakers (Bayard & Green, 2005), those with non-native accents are often rated as less intelligent (Lindemann, 2003), less loyal (Edwards, 1982), less competent (Boyd, 2003), and less trustworthy (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010) compared to speakers with native accents.

Although regional accents can also elicit negative perceptions (Lippi-Green, 1997), these perceptions are generally more forgiving than those associated with non-native accents (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b).

Beyond activating negative stereotypes among perceivers, speakers with non-native accents are also at risk of experiencing discrimination (see Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a for a review). Discrimination as a result of speaking with a non-native accent has been documented in areas such as housing (Zhao et al., 2006), the courts (Frumkin, 2007), employment (Hosoda et al., 2012), and academic publishing (Flowerdew, 2008). However, in contrast to discrimination based on characteristics such as race or gender, non-native speakers are generally offered less protection under the law. In the U.S., for instance, employers who deny non-native speakers jobs or promotions are protected provided they can demonstrate that the person's accent impairs their ability to communicate (Nguyen, 1993). However, without a way to objectively measure whether a speaker can be understood, such claims are often subjective (Lippi-Green, 1994), and prejudice is a common reason that non-native speech patterns are deemed "incomprehensible" (Rubin, 1992). Such policies suggest that the prejudiced assumptions that drive discrimination against speakers with non-native accents have become relatively legitimized within society (Lippi-Green, 1997).

Although any speech pattern can be stigmatized, the prevalence of stereotyping and discrimination in response to non-native patterns of speech means that those who speak with these accents are particularly vulnerable to experiencing language-based stigma. Moreover, with increasing global movement, and the changing balance of dominant languages, understanding the impact and experience of language-based stigma is becoming more important. For example, non-native English speakers are expected to outnumber native English speakers worldwide by 2060 (Crystal, 2003). However, as English is the language of international communication in areas such as business, science, and politics, any stigma that

is attached to non-native accents may place non-native English speakers at a continual disadvantage within these spheres (Sweeney & Hua, 2010). In addition, for the many immigrants to wealthier western nations that have not spoken English since birth, encountering such stigma may adversely affect their experiences in their host country and their relationships with host country natives. Given the continuing dominance of English in many domains, I focus my investigation of language-based stigma on the experiences of those who speak English with a non-native accent.

In the current chapter, I explore how the consequences of language-based stigma for non-native speakers affect their relationship with native speakers of English. In the U.K. context, many non-native speakers are immigrants. Accordingly, how they relate to members of the native speaking British population can have implications for whether they successfully integrate into the mainstream culture. According to the literature on acculturation, if immigrants' goal of integrating their ethnic identity into the mainstream identity is rebuffed by host country natives, there may be negative consequences for their overall well-being (Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Because of the potential for language-based stigma to marginalize immigrants, this may contribute to individual feelings of exclusion (Phinney et al., 2001) and may discourage further efforts by immigrants to integrate (Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006). Furthermore, the anxiety that often results after experiences of stigma may cause non-native speakers to avoid additional contact with native speakers (Wilder & Simon, 2001), likely fueling the perception among the latter that immigrants are unwilling to assimilate towards host-country norms. Given the importance of maintaining a positive relationship with the members of the host culture for successful integration of immigrants and for their overall well-being, I aim to identify how language-based stigma impacts on non-native speakers' perspectives of native speakers.

Overview of Studies

In the next two studies, I investigate how language-based stigma influences non-native speakers' relationships with native speakers. I also consider whether or not language accommodation is a successful strategy for counteracting the possible effects of stigma during interactions. Because I am interested in the effects of language-based stigma specifically, rather than the effects of associated communication difficulties, in Study 7 I explore whether the consequences of accent strength are different from those of the expectation of stigma more specifically. To do this, I conducted a survey among non-native speakers in which I asked them to rate their speech in terms of accent strength as well as perceived desirability (i.e., stigma) and explore the correlates of these perceptions. In Study 8, I moved beyond this correlational design and experimentally considered the cognitive and emotional effects of inducing language-based stigma. Here I focus my investigation on how anticipating negative reactions from native speakers influences the strategies immigrants use in interactions with British nationals (i.e., speech accommodation) as well as the effectiveness of these strategies for cultivating positive perceptions among third-party perceivers.

Study 7

In Study 7, I attempt to disentangle the consequences of accent strength from the consequences of perceiving one's accent as undesirable. Although the two are linked (stronger accents are usually perceived as less desirable), the effect each has on non-native speakers' experiences with native speakers may be decidedly different. For instance, native speakers generally perceive strong accents more negatively than weak ones (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996), making speakers with strong accents more vulnerable to language-based stigma. As Gluszek and Dovidio (2010b) demonstrate, difficulties communicating with and fitting in with the native population are more likely to be experienced by non-native speakers

when their accents are stronger as opposed to weaker. Yet some speakers, regardless of the strength of their accent, perceive their speech patterns as a positive trait that uniquely distinguishes them from the population majority (Moyer, 2007). By focusing on the positive aspects of speaking with an accent, these speakers may be more confident when communicating, making interactions with out-group members more constructive (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). Hence, in terms of shaping relationships with British nationals, non-native speakers' attitudes towards their stigmatized accent may be as important as their accent strength.

Optimism may protect against language-based stigma's effects because it signals that the speaker has not internalized the stigma (Corrigan, 1998, 2004). In this way, feeling good about one's accent indicates that language-based stigma is less relevant for the speaker while feeling bad suggests that the experience of stigma is a regular occurrence. Hence, to gauge the extent that language-based stigma exists for each individual speaker I measure non-native speakers' attitudes about their own accent. I also separately measure how speakers perceive the strength of their accent to explore how these two indices (accent strength and accent attitudes) are individually related to speakers' degree of integration with the host country across a number of domains. First, I investigate whether having an accent is perceived as an obstacle to life in the U.K., in terms of communicating with British people and feeling a sense of belonging with them. Second, I measure non-native speakers' attempts to integrate into the native-speaking majority, measured by their preference towards associating with British people and non-British people, and their intentions to immerse themselves in British culture. Finally, to investigate how stigma is managed, I explore non-native speakers' reports of actively attempting to converge their language towards British speech patterns. I predict that both perceived accent strength and accent attitudes will be significantly associated with

each of these three outcomes, albeit for different reasons. My rationale for each prediction is detailed below.

Accent as a barrier to life in the U.K. As well as eliciting negative perceptions, deciphering strong non-native accents often requires native speakers to use additional cognitive resources (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). As a result, stronger accents are more likely than weaker accents to interfere with the communication exchange between native and non-native speakers. Based on this, I expect to replicate Gluszek and Dovidio's (2010b) findings that accent strength is positively associated with difficulties communicating and fitting in with the native population. However, I expand on this previous research by testing whether these barriers are also related to speakers' attitudes towards their accents, independent of accent strength. Because experiencing stigma is likely to make non-native speakers feel excluded from the mainstream culture (Phinney et al., 2001), stigmatized speakers may blame their speech patterns for any obstacles they face while attempting to integrate. Therefore, I expect that speakers who feel negatively about their speech patterns will also perceive their accent as a barrier to communicating with and feeling a sense of belonging among British people.

Attempts to adapt to British life. Since speaking with a strong accent is likely to make communication with native speakers difficult (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a, 2010b), speakers with strong non-native accents may feel discouraged from participating in activities that require conversation with host country natives. For this reason, I expect that stronger accents will be positively associated with speakers' preferences to socialize with other non-British people (as opposed to British people) and negatively associated with intentions to experience British culture. I also expect that the anxiety that often accompanies stigma (Wilder & Simon, 2001) will undermine any desire non-native speakers may have to mix with British nationals. Hence, I predict that negative attitudes about speaking with an accent

will also positively predict speakers' preference to associate with other non-British people (as opposed to British people) and negatively predict their intentions to become immersed in British culture.

Language accommodation. I expect that both stronger accents and negative attitudes will be positively associated with attempts by non-native speakers to converge towards native speech patterns albeit for different reasons: Speakers with stronger accents are likely to converge in an attempt to make themselves understandable to native speakers (Rogerson-Revell, 2010), whereas speakers with negative attitudes about their accent may imitate native pronunciations to avoid stigma and gain status (Branscombe et al., 2012).

In considering these predictions, it is important to note that my measure of accent strength is not objective. Instead, it relies on non-native speakers' perceptions of how strong they perceive their accent to be. Hence, although I explore accent strength and accent attitudes as separate constructs, they are likely to be related: strong accents may be perceived as more problematic than weak accents in their capacity to elicit stigma and disrupt the communication exchange with native speakers. Accordingly, I expect perceived accent strength to be associated with more negative attitudes towards speaking with an accent. Although this relationship limits me from fully disentangling the effects of accent strength versus accent attitudes, I am able to investigate the relationship between each of these accent perceptions and the various outcomes while partialling out their overlap. Notwithstanding this limitation, this study provides an initial exploration of the experiences of non-native speakers and how this might shape their responses to native speakers, something that I examine in more detail in the next study.

Method

Participants and Design

One hundred and eight non-British students and staff at the University of Exeter completed a questionnaire. Participants either received the questionnaire online via email or were given a paper version of it after taking part in another psychology study. Fifty participants were from E.U. countries and 55 came from countries outside of the E.U., with 40 countries represented in total (three participants opted not to provide this information). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 50 years old ($M = 25.97$, $SD = 7.94$) and had been living in the U.K for an average of 18 months. All stated that English was not their native language. As an incentive, participants were offered the chance to enter a prize draw for one of five £20 gift vouchers.

The questionnaire included measures of participants' perception of their accent strength, attitudes towards their accent, and their belief that non-native speech patterns are a barrier to communication and feeling a sense of belonging in the U.K. The questionnaire also measured preferred patterns of association with people of different nationalities, their intentions to immerse themselves in British culture, and their reported attempts to accommodate their accent towards British speech patterns.

Materials and Procedure

The questionnaire stated that researchers were interested in the experience of speaking English with a non-native accent while living in the U.K. The word "accent" was defined to participants as any phonetic difference between their speech patterns and those of a British person. After agreeing to take part in the study, participants were asked to rate the strength of their accent from 1 (no accent) to 7 (very strong accent). All subsequent measures used a similar Likert-type response scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Measures. To measure participants' attitudes about their accent, six items were used ($\alpha = .68$), including "I wish that I did not speak English with an accent" and "I feel self-conscious about speaking English with an accent." Participants' perception that their accent is a barrier to feeling a sense of belonging was measured using three items ($\alpha = .83$), including "It would be easier to fit into British life if I did not speak with an accent" and "I would have more British friends if I did not speak with an accent." Six further items measured the perception that speaking with a non-native accent is a barrier when communicating ($\alpha = .87$), including "Having an accent makes communicating with British people more difficult" and "I often feel that British people do not understand me when I speak."

The next two measures assessed participants' attempts to adopt British culture. Five items measured their preference for associating with either British people or non-British people ($\alpha = .83$), including "Since arriving in the U.K, I spend most of my time with others from the same part of the world as I am from" and "When I am with British people I tend to feel out of place." Higher values on these items indicated to a preference for associating with non-British people as opposed to British people. Participants were also asked about their intentions to immerse themselves in British culture using four items ($\alpha = .85$), including "During my time in the U.K., I plan to learn as much as possible about British culture" and "During my time in the U.K., I plan to see as much of the country as I can." Finally, to measure whether participants converge their language towards native speech patterns, six items were used, ($\alpha = .74$), including "When I hear British people speak, I try to imitate them" and "I try to minimize my accent when I speak to British people."

Results

Bivariate correlations between the measures are presented in Table 6.1. As expected, both perceived accent strength and attitudes about speaking with an accent were positively

associated with the perception that having an accent makes living in the U.K. more difficult. The stronger participants believed their accent to be, the more their accent was perceived to be a barrier when communicating with British people, $r(108) = .422, p < .001$, and to feeling a sense of belonging among the native population, $r(106) = .244, p = .012$. Similarly, the more negatively participants felt about their accent, the more their accent was seen as a barrier to communicating effectively, $r(106) = .484, p < .001$, and to feeling a sense of belonging, $r(104) = .281, p = .004$. However, only participants' attitudes about their accent were associated with their social preferences and their attempts to accommodate their speech patterns: The more negatively participants felt about their accent the more they tended to associate with other non-British people as opposed to with British people, $r(104) = .194, p = .048$, and the more they reported converging towards a British way of speaking, $r(102) = .205, p = .039$. There was no relationship between accent strength and social preferences, $r(106) = -.009, p = .927$, nor was there a relationship between accent strength and attempts to accommodate, $r(104) = -.074, p = .452$. Finally, neither accent strength or accent attitudes were associated with intentions to become immersed in British culture, $r_s < -.098, p_s > .311$.

Controlling for Accent Strength and Accent Attitudes

Because accent strength was positively associated with negative attitudes towards having an accent, $r(108) = .267, p = .006$, I wanted to test if the relationship between accent attitudes and each of the outcome variables was independent of the reported strength of the participants' accent. Hence, I ran partial correlations between accent attitudes and the other measures while controlling for accent strength. Results show that all of the previously described relationships held: The more negatively the participant felt about their accent, the more they perceived their accent as a barrier to belonging in Britain, $r(101) = .233, p = .018$, the more difficulties they reported when communicating with British people, $r(103) = .425, p < .001$, the more they preferred to associate with non-British people, $r(101) = .206, p = .037$,

and the more they reported converging towards British speech patterns, $r(99) = .243, p = .014$, regardless of how strong they perceive their accent to be. When accent attitudes were controlled for, the relationship between accent strength and lacking a sense of belonging also remained significant, $r(101) = .209, p = .038$, as did the relationship between accent strength and communication difficulties, $r(101) = .364, p < .001$.

Table 6.1.

Correlations Between Measures

	<i>M(SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Accent Strength	3.95(1.32)						
2. Neg. Perceptions	4.20(1.10)	.267**					
3. Barrier to Belonging	3.37(1.73)	.244**	.281**				
4. Barrier to Communicating	3.56(1.55)	.422**	.484**	.590**			
5. Language Accommodation	4.51(1.20)	-.074	.205*	-.042	.264**		
6. Preference – Non-British	3.37(1.58)	-.009	.194*	.382**	.388**	.041	
7. Immersion British Culture	6.05(1.01)	-.098	-.056	-.217*	-.071	.337**	-.267**

Note: ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that language-based stigma, as measured by negative perceptions of speaking with an accent, has consequences over and above simple perceptions of accent strength. Replicating previous research, this study found that accent strength is positively associated with perceived difficulties communicating with native speakers and a lack of belonging among the native population (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). However, each of these variables was more strongly associated with accent attitudes, relationships that were independent of reported accent strength. In other words, perceptions of communication difficulties and lacking a sense of belonging were independently associated with feeling

badly about one's speech patterns and not reducible to the perception of simply having a strong accent. Accent attitudes were further associated with participants' preferences for associating with other non-British people as opposed to British people while accent strength did not have any consequence for such preferences.

Unexpectedly, neither accent strength nor accent attitudes were associated with non-native speakers' intentions to become immersed in British culture. However, this may have been because my participant sample of university students and staff are somewhat unique in terms of their high level of education, their status as short-term visitors, and their motivations for cross-cultural experiences. These factors may all contribute to the desire to learn about the culture of one's host country regardless of perceptions relating to speaking with a stigmatized accent. Less privileged immigrant groups on the other hand, such as low-wage workers or asylum seekers, may be less likely to prioritize exploring British culture, especially when they also experience language-based stigma.

Interestingly, only accent attitudes were related to participants' attempts to accommodate their language: the more negatively they perceived their accent, the more they reported trying to converge their speech patterns towards those of their British communication partner, regardless of reported accent strength. Although the relationship was fairly weak ($r = .243$), the diversity of the participant sample (encompassing 40 different nationalities) makes this a noteworthy result. Moreover, as there was no relationship between language accommodation and perceptions of accent strength, it seems that attempts to alter speech patterns are sensitive to stigma concerns rather than mere comprehension. This supports the idea that language accommodation may be a strategy employed by non-native speakers to cope with language-based stigma.

Although this study was effective in exploring the potential consequences of language-based stigma, the correlational nature of the data makes it impossible to draw any

causal conclusions. For instance, although I infer that negative accent attitudes lead to less positive experiences with host country nationals, I cannot discount the premise that it is these experiences that result in negative accent attitudes. There is also the possibility that these variables are not directly related but determined by a third unmeasured variable, such as feelings of anxiety when speaking. Furthermore, because my measure of accent strength relied on participants' perceptions, it is invariably affected by the extent to which they perceive their accent as problematic, as demonstrated by the significant relationship between negative perceptions and stronger accents. To address these limitations, I moved to an experimental design in my second study to further determine language-based stigma's causal effects independent of accent strength, and to delve further into the processes behind these consequences.

Study 8

In Study 8, I expand on the results of the previous study by using an experimental design to explore how language-based stigma causally affects non-native speakers. In order to simulate a genuine experience with stigma, I ask non-native speakers to converse with a native speaker (a British confederate) after receiving either negative feedback (stigma condition) or positive feedback (no stigma condition) about their accent. Using this paradigm, I focus on how language-based stigma affects non-native speakers' relationship with native speakers, and how this might also affect language-based competencies (i.e., stereotype threat), for example the ability to comprehend and converse in the English language. Drawing from the broader literature on intergroup contact (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), I also consider the role of anxiety in shaping these outcomes. Finally, I explore how non-native speakers manage their stigma – specifically the degree to which they engage in speech accommodation (e.g., by imitating native speech patterns), and the extent to

which this strategy is successful in cultivating more positive perceptions among third-party native speakers evaluating their interaction.

To understand the effect of stigma on intergroup relations, I test whether non-native speakers perceive the British confederate differently depending on whether or not they have experienced language-based stigma. Because the experience of stigma is likely to send the message that boundaries between groups can not easily be permeated, stigmatized individuals may be motivated to disengage from the British out-group and focus on the positive aspects of their stigmatized in-group (Branscombe et al., 2012). Because stigma is likely to result in a greater distinction between groups, I expect that speakers exposed to language-based stigma will perceive fewer similarities with the British confederate compared to those who are not stigmatized. Given that similar others tend to be more positively perceived (Byrne, 1971), I also predict that stigmatized non-native speakers will have less positive attitudes towards the confederate than those not exposed to stigma. To explore whether non-native speakers perceive these perceptions as mutual, I also test their meta-perceptions – that is, participants' beliefs about how the British confederate perceives them. Because speakers in the stigma condition are told that their speech patterns are perceived negatively by native speakers, I expect these participants to believe that the confederate's perceptions of them are more negative compared to participants not exposed to stigma.

To test stigma's effect on intergroup attitudes, I also use a behavioural measure. Since non-verbal behaviours are less easily controlled than verbal behaviours, they are often a better predictor of the success of an intergroup encounter (Dovidio, Hebl, Richeson, & Shelton, 2006). Therefore, to test stigma's effect on non-native speakers' attitudes towards a member of the native speaking British out-group, I ask each participant to bring a chair with them into the room where the British confederate is already sitting. Where participants place the chair relative to the confederate is used to indicate their attitudes towards her. This

technique has been established in previous work as a measure of social distance and has been shown to help predict individual's attitudes towards out-groups (Mehrabian, 1968; Turner & West, 2012). Because experiencing stigma is likely to sour the individual's orientation towards the non-stigmatized group, I expect speakers who experience language-based stigma to place their chair farther away from the confederate (i.e., to increase social distance) than speakers who do not experience stigma.

I also investigate whether stigma can incite feelings of threat from the native speaking out-group. Specifically, I explore whether experiencing language-based stigma can result in the perception that there is competition from British people for resources (i.e. realistic threat; Sherif & Sherif, 1969) and that British people hold values or beliefs that conflict with those of the participant's group (i.e. symbolic threat; Kinder & Sears, 1981). For two reasons, I expect that stigmatized speakers will report greater realistic and symbolic threat from British nationals than non-stigmatized speakers. First, group conflict – which likely includes feeling stigmatized by the out-group – can heighten perceptions of threat (Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999). Second, because stigmatized individuals are more likely to focus on the positive aspects of their in-group in order to protect their self-esteem (Branscombe et al., 2012), they may be more attuned to the potential of threat from the non-stigmatized group. Therefore, I predict that the experience of stigma will not only influence non-native speakers' attitudes towards the British confederate, but also their perceptions of threat from the group she represents (i.e., native speakers more generally).

Finally, I explore whether language-based stigma can result in stereotype threat. To date, over 300 experiments have demonstrated that the fear of confirming negative stereotypes can hinder performance on stigma related tasks (Nguyen & Ryan, 2008). As non-native speakers are likely to be aware that native speakers tend to equate non-native accents with the inability to use the language correctly (Lindemann, 2003), the expectation of

language-based stigma may momentarily impair abilities to communicate in and understand their non-native language in a similar way to other forms of stereotype threat. To test this, I gauge non-native speakers' listening comprehension skills after giving them either positive feedback (no stigma condition) or negative feedback about their accent (stigma condition). Although this measure does not directly relate to speaking abilities, it is associated with the communication process, and allows me to explore whether stereotype threat from language-based stigma can momentarily disrupt general language competencies. Because stigmatized speakers are more likely than non-stigmatized speakers to be fearful of validating the stereotype that they are not fluent in English, I expect these participants' scores on the comprehension test to be lower.

I further tested this possibility of language-based stereotype threat by exploring how non-native speakers are perceived when actually speaking to a British confederate. Because of the prevalent myth that it is possible to eliminate one's non-native accent (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Lippi-Green, 1997), stigmatized speakers are likely to blame themselves for having speech patterns deemed to be undesirable, and therefore try harder to achieve native standards of speech (Rogerson-Revell, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2001), for example by trying more actively to converge their language as a way of facilitating the communication process (Rogerson-Revell, 2010). However, attributing language-based stigma to the self, and engaging in active attempts to modify one's language are distracting and effortful processes that might hinder free and fluent communication. Furthermore, as it is extremely rare to lose the intonations of one's native language (Moyer, 2004), attempts by any non-native speaker to adopt the communicative behaviours of a native speaker may come across as unnatural and even disingenuous (Letkemann, 2002). Because non-native speakers are unable to imitate native speech patterns perfectly, attempts to sound British may make their non-native accent

seem more noticeable. This may lead to the ironic consequence that attempts to manage language-based stigma may actually lead to less effective communication.

To test this prediction, I recorded the conversation between each non-native speaker and the British confederate before measuring speakers' reported attempts to converge their speech patterns. I then asked three native speaking British nationals, who are blind to the purpose of the study and the experimental conditions, to listen to the conversations and to evaluate each non-native speaker on each of the following criteria: Accent strength, likeability, commitment to living in the U.K., comfort level during the conversation, and their efforts to accommodate towards the language of the British confederate. I expect that native speakers will give more negative evaluations of the non-native speakers for whom language-based stigma was (versus was not) induced.

The Role of Intergroup Anxiety

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis proposed that under certain optimal conditions, interactions between out-group members can lead to more positive attitudes towards each member's group. Research has since demonstrated that one factor determining the success of such cross-group interactions is participants' level of anxiety (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Intergroup anxiety occurs when there are expectations of rejection and discrimination from out-group members and may be particularly high if there has been a previous history of antagonism between the two groups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1996). Described by Wilder and Simon (2001), as 'poisonous' to the intergroup contact experience, anxiety can be particularly problematic within social interactions because of its potential to increase misunderstandings and feelings of animosity between group members (Pearson et al., 2008). However, when anxiety during the interaction is reduced, prejudice towards out-group members tends to decrease (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Stigmatized individuals may be especially prone to experience anxiety during contact with out-group members. Emotions that generally accompany stigma can include hostility towards the out-group as well as a fear of social rejection, both of which can evoke anxiety (Gray, 2002). If the stigmatized attribute is perceived as within the person's control - as is often the case with non-native accents - then stigmatized speakers may be especially fearful of social rejection and discrimination (Crandall & Moriarty, 1995; Feldman & Crandall, 2007). The paradigm used in the current study also increases the probability that stigmatized speakers will experience some level of anxiety from contact with native speakers: As part of the manipulation, participants in the stigma condition are told that, because of their speech patterns, they have a high chance of being discriminated against by British people. These participants are therefore quite likely to experience intergroup anxiety during their conversation with the British confederate, making it important to consider the role anxiety plays in determining language-based stigma's consequences.

When an individual feels anxious, their encounter with the out-group member is more likely to be negative (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). According to the communication literature, one reason for this is the potential anxiety has to lessen the effectiveness of the communication exchange (Gudykunst, 1995; Stephan et al., 1999). For non-native speakers, the fact that their stigmatized attribute is already linked to their communication abilities makes them especially vulnerable to this particular consequence: As a proposed mediator of stereotype threat (Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel, 2004), a phenomenon likely to make non-native speakers less successful communicators anyway, feeling anxious during the intergroup encounter could exacerbate their inability to accurately express themselves, making their exchange with the out-group member poorer in quality. Hence, exposure to stigma may make non-native speakers feel anxious during encounters with native speakers, and it is this anxiety that may fuel stigma's negative effects (i.e. less positive relationships with British nationals,

stereotype threat). For this reason, I expect anxiety to mediate the effects of stigma on non-native speakers' perceptions of the British confederate, the British out-group, native speakers' perceptions of them, and finally their performance on the English test as well as any attempts to accommodate their speech patterns.

Possible Moderators of Stigma Effects

Not all speakers are equally disposed towards feeling anxious in response to stigma. One factor that might contribute towards stigma's effect on the anxiety felt during interactions is the speakers' specific goal orientation. According to regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997, 1998), individuals can be distinguished according to their orientation towards promotion or prevention goals. Promotion focused individuals generally engage in behaviours aimed at attaining positive outcomes while prevention focused individuals center their actions around avoiding negative consequences. These goal orientations have been found to have implications for strategies, cognitions, emotions and behaviours individuals pursue as a function of stigma and during interactions with others (Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). For non-native speakers, anxiety from stigma may be particularly strong for those focused towards prevention. Because avoiding rejection from the non-stigmatized out-group is ultimately a prevention goal, those focused towards prevention are more likely to react to information that suggests that pursuit of this goal is likely to be unsuccessful (in this case, the stigma manipulation). As a result, speakers highly orientated towards prevention goals may be particularly prone to experience anxiety following the stigma manipulation than those for whom such goals are unimportant. Therefore, I test speakers' dominant regulatory focus as a moderator of the relationship between stigma and anxiety.

Summary

Based on the above literature, and building on the results of the previous correlational study, I propose that language-based stigma will result in a number of effects, including less

positive perceptions of the British confederate and her group (native speakers), and more active attempts to converge speech patterns towards native norms. However, following the reasoning of stereotype threat, I expect that attempts to manage stigma via accommodation might ultimately fail because this is an effortful process and likely to result in more restricted communication. The negative consequences of this should be seen on assessed language abilities of the stigmatized target but also on the evaluation of the target by neutral observers. Drawing further on this literature, and on the literature associated with intergroup contact, I expect that intergroup anxiety will be a key mediator of the negative consequences of stigma activation on interpersonal and intergroup outcomes – to the extent that activating stigma disrupts these outcomes it is likely to do so because it triggers feelings of anxiety during interactions. Finally, consistent with regulatory focus theory, I expect that the experience of anxiety in response to stigma is most likely among individuals high in prevention focus. A proposed model summarizing these expectations is depicted below (Figure 6.1).

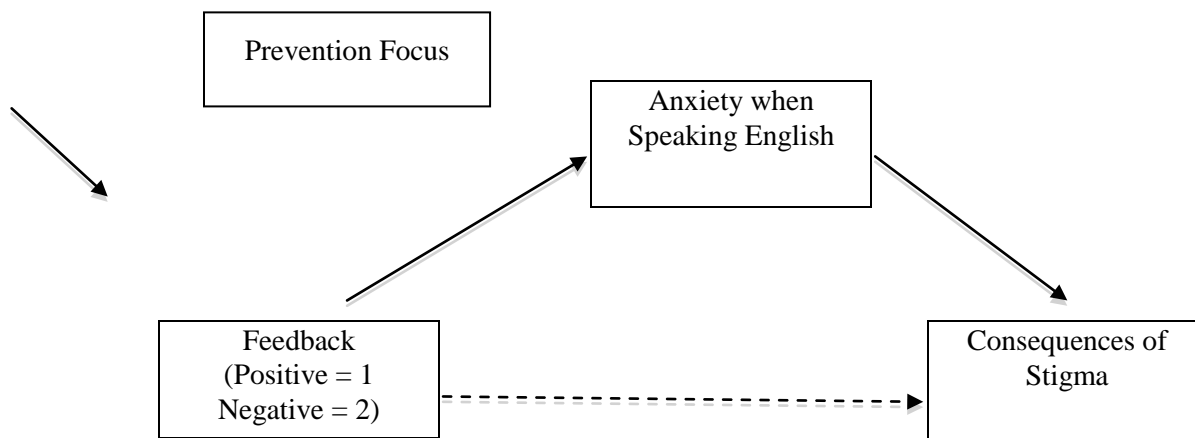


Figure 6.1. Proposed model of stigma's effects on non-native speakers

Method

Participants and Design

Fifty-six non-native English speakers, ranging from 17 to 31 years old ($M = 21.69$, $SD = 2.89$) completed the study. Participants included 40 females and 16 males, and represented 22 countries. Twenty-six participants were from E.U. member states and 30 were not. Participants had been living in the U.K. between four months and eight years ($Mean = 1.87$ years, $SD = 1.75$; $Median = 1.13$ years, $Mode: 1$ year) and reported 23 different languages as their native language. All were completing courses at a U.K. university.

Participants were recruited via an email advertisement sent to students across the university. The advertisement stated that researchers in Psychology were collecting recordings of people speaking in English and were in need of participants who speak English with a non-native accent. A reward of £5 cash plus a personal speech profile was offered in exchange for taking part.

The study used a between-subjects design with two experimental conditions (negative vs. positive feedback). Participants were allocated to one of these conditions randomly. Following the experimental manipulation (detailed below), in part 1 of the study, the main dependent variables were assessed including participants' perception of their accent, anxiety levels when speaking English, feelings of realistic and symbolic threat from British people, and scores on an English comprehension test. Following this, participants engaged in a conversation with a British confederate, who they were told was another participant. Afterwards, participants completed additional measures tapping their perceived similarity to the confederate, general evaluations of her, meta-perceptions, and reports of using and valuing accommodated language. In Part 2 of the study, three native speakers, who were blind to the purpose of the study and the condition each speaker had been allocated to,

listened to recordings of the conversations between each participant and the British confederate. Dependent variables from this part of the study included perceptions of each participant's accent strength, comfort level during the conversation, commitment to living in the U.K., and attempts to speak like a British person. General attitudes towards each participant were also measured.

Materials and Procedure

Part 1. After signing up for the study, and before arriving in the lab, participants were asked to complete a brief online questionnaire consisting of demographic questions and two scales measuring their focus towards prevention and promotion goals.

The study itself took place in two labs located adjacent to one another. Upon arrival, participants were asked to read an information sheet about a (fake) software programme called "iSpeak", which, they were told, had proven effective in improving the language skills of students learning English. They were also told that the programme relies on over 400,000 recordings of people speaking in different accents and that it works by comparing pronunciations of words and analysing them. Participants learned that iSpeak's database had been effective in helping psychologists determine factors associated with the prejudice and discrimination of certain accents and that recent research using the programme had revealed that these evaluations are largely independent of accent strength, relying instead on how words are pronounced – this was considered important to make the subsequent feedback meaningful to all participants regardless of their own perceived accent strength. Participants were told that psychologists were working with iSpeak's manufacturers to investigate how the software could be used to predict people's experiences in the U.K. based on their patterns of speech.

Participants were then given the opportunity to ask questions about what they had read and given a consent form to sign. Once participants agreed to take part in the study, they

were asked to have their speech recorded twice for iSpeak's database: Once by themselves and once while having a conversation with another participant (i.e. the confederate), who they were told was a native English speaker. In the first recording, participants read 10 sentences out loud so that their speech patterns could be analyzed by iSpeak. Examples of these sentences included "We had a row because the meat I served was raw" and "My son went outside to play in the sun." Once the experimenter had supposedly run the analysis on the recording, the participant waited several minutes while their (fake) personal speech profile was uploaded and printed. The profile given to participants served as the language-based stigma manipulation.

Each profile stated that iSpeak categorises speakers into either the "crystal group" or the "cloud group." Participants allocated to the crystal group (cloud group) were told that their accent was likely perceived favourably (unfavourably) by native speakers and received a series of predictions including "chances are high (low) that your speech will always be understood by native speakers" and "chances are low (high) that you will be perceived negatively because of your accent." They were also told that, according to iSpeak, accent reduction classes were not (were) recommended. All participants were told that they were highly typical of their respective group. Thus, depending on the feedback they received, participants were induced to experience low (versus high) stigma about their language.

After reading their profile, participants completed a brief questionnaire, which served as the manipulation check and assessed whether they understood the content of their speech profile. The experimenter then asked the participant to follow her into the adjacent lab to have a conversation with the 'other participant,' who was waiting to begin. The participant was then instructed to bring a chair into the lab from the outside hallway. Once the participant had placed the chair in the room and sat down, the experimenter explained to both 'participants' that they should speak naturally about their respective courses and that their

conversation would be recorded for iSpeak's database. Each conversation lasted between four and five minutes. The confederate (a female student, blind to condition) always volunteered to start the conversation and was trained to focus the the topic on student life (as much as was possible) by asking questions such as "Where is your favourite place to eat on campus?" When participants asked her questions in return, she was trained to keep her answers as similar as possible between participants. Her main aim was to ensure that the conversation was two-sided, with participants speaking at least as much as she was, and also to make sure the discussion topic never drifted towards either of their backgrounds. Afterwards, the participant returned to the original lab and completed another questionnaire and a brief English language test. The confederate then measured the distance between herself and the participants' chair, and placed the chair back in the hallway.

Ethical considerations. The Psychology Ethics Committee at the University of Exeter granted ethical approval. To conform to this committee's requirements, all participants were debriefed in person at the end of the study and given a fact sheet outlining positive aspects of speaking with a non-native accent.

Non-native speakers' measures. Unless otherwise indicated, participants gave their responses using a single Likert-type response scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Responses to all items within each scale were averaged to form a single scale score.

To measure regulatory focus in the initial questionnaire completed prior to the lab visit, 17 items were adapted from a scale developed by Lockwood, Jordan, and Kunda (2002). Eight items measured focus towards prevention goals ($\alpha = .64$) including "I am focused on preventing negative events in my life" while nine items measured focus towards promotion goals ($\alpha = .88$), including "I can imagine achieving my hopes and aspirations."

After receiving their iSpeak feedback, a manipulation check scale assessed participants' attitudes towards their accent, consisting of fifteen items ($\alpha = .94$) such as "I do

not like that I speak English with an accent” and “I sometimes feel that people discriminate against me because of my accent.”

After the interaction, three scales assessed participants’ perceptions of the confederate. Four items measured participants’ general attitudes about her ($\alpha = .68$), including “I would be happy to have the other participant as my neighbour” while three items measured perceived similarities with her ($\alpha = .83$), including “The other participant seems very similar to me.” Participants were also asked their perception of how the confederate perceived them; five items measured meta-perceptions ($\alpha = .73$), including “I felt that the other participant liked me.”

Participants were then asked whether they attempted to accommodate their accent during the conversation and whether it is important to accommodate generally. While these were intended to be separate measures of accommodation attempts versus accommodation importance, principle components analysis demonstrated that each of these items had a factor loading of at least .45 on the same factor, which explained 34% of the variance. Hence, these concepts were collapsed to form a single scale of attempted accommodation, consisting of nine items ($\alpha = .73$) including “I tried to minimize my accent during the conversation” and “While in the U.K., it is important to speak as much like a British person as possible.”

Participants were also asked about their anxiety levels when speaking to British people in six items ($\alpha = .72$) such as “I experience some anxiety when I am the only non-British person in a room full of British people.” Realistic threat was measured using 11 items adapted from a scale created by Maddux et al., (2008) ($\alpha = .88$) while symbolic threat was measured using nine items adapted from a scale created by Stephen et al., (1999) ($\alpha = .74$). An example of an item used in the realistic threat scale is “British people discriminate against non-British people when making hiring decisions” while an example of an item used in the symbolic threat scale is “I feel pressured to change who I am in order to fit into British life.”

The distance between participants and the confederate (as determined by chair placement) was used as a behavioural measure of participants' attitudes towards the British out-group.

Finally, participants took a brief English test consisting of two listening comprehension sections ("TOEFL iBT Test Sample Questions," 2013). For both sections, participants listened to a recording and answered multiple-choice questions about what they had heard. The first recording of two British speakers conversing lasted 1 minute and 49 seconds and was followed by five questions regarding the content of the conversation. In the second recording, participants listened to 3 minutes and 48 seconds of a university lecture before answering six questions about the lecture topic. The number of correct responses out of a possible score of 11 was used to measure performance on a stigma-related task.

Part 2. Three female psychology students, who were both white-British and native English speakers, listened to the 56 conversations that took place between the confederate and each participant. Students were unaware of the study's purpose, blind to the experimental conditions, and listened to the recordings in a different randomised order over three two-hour periods. Each student was paid £75 for their time.

After each recording, the raters completed a questionnaire assessing their perceptions of the participants' accent strength, attempts to accommodate, comfort level during the conversation, and commitment to living in the U.K. Their general attitude towards each participant was also measured. The level of agreement between the three raters was assessed using intraclass correlation coefficient (two-way mixed model with absolute agreement). All items with alpha levels of less than .60 were dropped from the analysis. Remaining items were averaged to form reliable scales (McGraw & Wong, 1996).

Native speakers' perspective measures. Raters were asked to assess the strength of each participant's accent from 1 (very weak) to 7 (very strong) ($\alpha = .86$). Unless otherwise

indicated, all other scales used a single Likert-type response scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Five items measured participants' attempts to accommodate their accent towards the confederate ($\alpha = .94$) including, "The participant tried hard to make his/her speech clear to the confederate," while nine items measured participants' comfort level ($\alpha = .98$) including, "The participant seemed relaxed throughout the conversation." Five items, such as "I would be happy to have the participant as my neighbour," assessed their attitudes toward each participant ($\alpha = .97$). Raters were then asked to estimate both the length of time each participant had been living in the U.K and the length of time each participant intended to stay in the U.K., on a scale from 1 (less than 5 months) to 7 (over 15 years). These two items ($r(56) = .79, p < .001$) were averaged to form a reliable scale measuring perceived commitment to living in the U.K.

Results

Independent samples t-tests were used to explore the effect of language-based stigma on the dependent variables. Means and standard deviations of measures completed by participants (non-native English speakers) are presented in Table 6.2 while means and standard deviations of the measures completed by British raters (native English speaking raters) are presented in Table 6.3; correlations between all variables are presented in Table 6.4.

Non-native Speakers' (Target) Perceptions

Consistent with the intent of the manipulation, participants given negative feedback about their speech patterns reported feeling worse about their accent than participants given positive feedback, $t(53) = 2.67, p = .010, d = .73$.

My prediction that experiencing language-based stigma would result in less positive interpersonal perceptions was supported. Participants given positive feedback felt marginally

more similar to the confederate, $t(54) = 1.95$, $p = .057$, $d = .52$, had more positive attitudes towards her, $t(54) = 2.24$, $p = .029$, $d = .60$, and more positive meta-perceptions, $t(54) = 2.64$, $p = .011$, $d = .70$, than participants given negative feedback.

Participants' emotional and cognitive responses were adversely affected by language-based stigma. As expected, participants given negative feedback reported higher levels of anxiety when speaking to British people, $t(54) = 2.53$, $p = .015$, $d = .67$, and achieved lower scores on the English comprehension test, $t(54) = 2.30$, $p = .025$, $d = .61$, compared to participants given positive feedback. Perceptions of intergroup threat were also affected: Participants given negative feedback reported more realistic threat from British people than those given positive feedback, $t(51) = 2.10$, $p = .041$, $d = .58$, but not more symbolic threat, $t(47.24) = 0.28$, $p = .784$. Although participants in the positive feedback condition placed their chair closer to the confederate than those in the negative feedback condition, this difference did not reach significance, $t(54) = 1.63$, $p = .108$. Finally, compared to participants in the positive feedback condition, participants in the negative feedback condition appeared to manage the experience of language-based stigma through more actively attempting to accommodate their language, $t(54) = 2.11$, $p = .040$, $d = .56$.

Native Speakers' (Observer) Perceptions

Results revealed that some of the effects from experiencing language-based stigma influenced how the native raters perceived the non-native speaking participants. Compared to participants who received positive feedback, participants who received negative feedback were perceived as having stronger accents, $t(54) = 2.19$, $p = .033$, $d = .58$, and interpreted as marginally less comfortable during the conversation with the confederate, $t(54) = 1.92$, $p = .060$, $d = .51$. Participants who received negative feedback were also perceived as being less committed to living in the U.K. than those who received positive feedback, $t(41.48) = 2.81$, $p = .008$, $d = .47$. However, raters did not seem to observe any attempts by participants

to manage language-based stigma: There were no differences between conditions on perceptions of the participants as using accommodated language, $t(54) = 1.29, p = .202$, nor were there differences on general attitudes towards the participants, $t(54) = 1.38, p = .173$.

Table 6.2.

Means Table for the Effect of Stigma on the Non-native Perspective DVs

	Feedback				<i>t</i>
	Positive		Negative		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Accent Perception (Manip)	3.16	1.40	4.09	1.15	3.67*
Similarity	3.75	1.26	3.14	1.07	1.95^
Pos. Attitude (Confederate)	5.19	.86	4.65	.93	2.34*
Meta-Perceptions	4.57	.91	3.90	1.0	2.64*
Accommodation	3.90	1.15	4.46	.82	2.11*
Anxiety	2.94	1.06	3.70	1.20	2.53*
Realistic Threat	2.95	1.15	3.59	1.07	2.10*
Symbolic Threat	3.62	1.27	3.70	.85	.28
English Test Score	9.18	2.02	7.86	2.27	2.30*
Proximity to Confederate (cm)	101.00	19.93	110.27	22.43	1.63

Note. * = $p < .05$, ^ = $p < .10$

Table 6.3.

Means Table for the Effect of Stigma on the Native Perspective DVs

	Feedback				<i>t</i>
	Positive		Negative		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Perceived Accent Strength	4.18	1.52	4.95	1.09	2.19*
Perceived Accommodation	5.41	.85	5.13	.77	1.29
Perceived Comfort	5.50	1.13	4.96	.98	1.92^
Attitudes Towards Speaker	4.06	1.30	3.60	1.18	1.38
Perceived Commitment to UK	3.15	.88	2.62	.47	2.81*

Note. * = $p < .05$, ^ = $p < .10$

Table 6.4.

Correlations Between Dependent Variables.

	Accent Perception	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Similarity	-.379**													
2. Pos. Attitudes (Confederate)	-.484**	.305*												
3. Meta-Perceptions	-.613**	.485**	.407**											
4. Accommodation	.680**	-.171	-.275*	-.433**										
5. Anxiety	.620**	-.429**	-.381**	-.689**	.425**									
6. Realistic Threat	.599**	-.385**	-.476**	-.537**	.480**	.554**								
7. Symbolic Threat	.377**	-.456**	-.280*	-.353**	.275*	.524**	.495**							
8. Comprehension Test Score	-.298*	.046	.078	.315*	-.193	-.380**	.043	-.069						
9. Social Distance (Chair)	-.070	.036	-.064	.140	-.129	-.007	-.095	.018	-.267*					
10. Accent Strength (Rater's Perception)	.318*	-.299*	-.283*	-.191	.387**	.291*	.287*	.138	-.529**	.155				
11. Accommodation (Rater's Perception)	-.163	.230	.279*	.234	-.104	-.257	-.160	-.205	.391**	-.116	-.476**			
12. Comfort (Rater's Perception)	-.291*	.246	.215	.300*	-.259	-.284*	-.245	-.155	.365**	-.109	-.524**	.866**		
13. Attitudes (Rater's Perception)	-.253	.321*	.248	.243	-.203	-.274*	-.195	-.240	.444**	-.173	-.644**	.833**	.868**	
14. Commitment (Rater's Perception)	-.289*	.124	.197	.192	-.306*	-.040	-.240	.176	.225	.078	-.533**	.357**	.468**	.399**

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Moderation

A multiple regression model was tested to investigate whether the effect of receiving negative feedback on increased anxiety was particularly pronounced for participants with high (rather than low) prevention focus. After centering the prevention variable and computing the feedback-by-prevention interaction term (Aiken & West, 1991), the two predictors and the interaction term were entered into a simultaneous regression model. Results indicated that negative feedback was associated with higher anxiety than positive feedback, $\beta = -.75$, $t(51) = 2.75$, $p = .008$, and focus on prevention goals was positively associated with anxiety, $\beta = .78$, $t(51) = 3.78$, $p < .001$. The interaction between feedback and prevention focus was also significant, $\beta = -.77$, $t(51) = 2.40$, $p = .020$. Simple slope analysis was performed to test the association between feedback and anxiety at low (+1 SD above the mean) and high (-1 SD below the mean) levels of prevention focus. Consistent with my hypothesis, feedback was only related to anxiety when participants' prevention focus was high, $\beta = -1.42$, $t(51) = 3.66$, $p = .001$. When participants' prevention focus was low, there was no association between feedback and anxiety, $\beta = -.08$, $t(51) = 0.20$, $p = .841$. Figure 6.2 plots the simple slopes for the interaction.

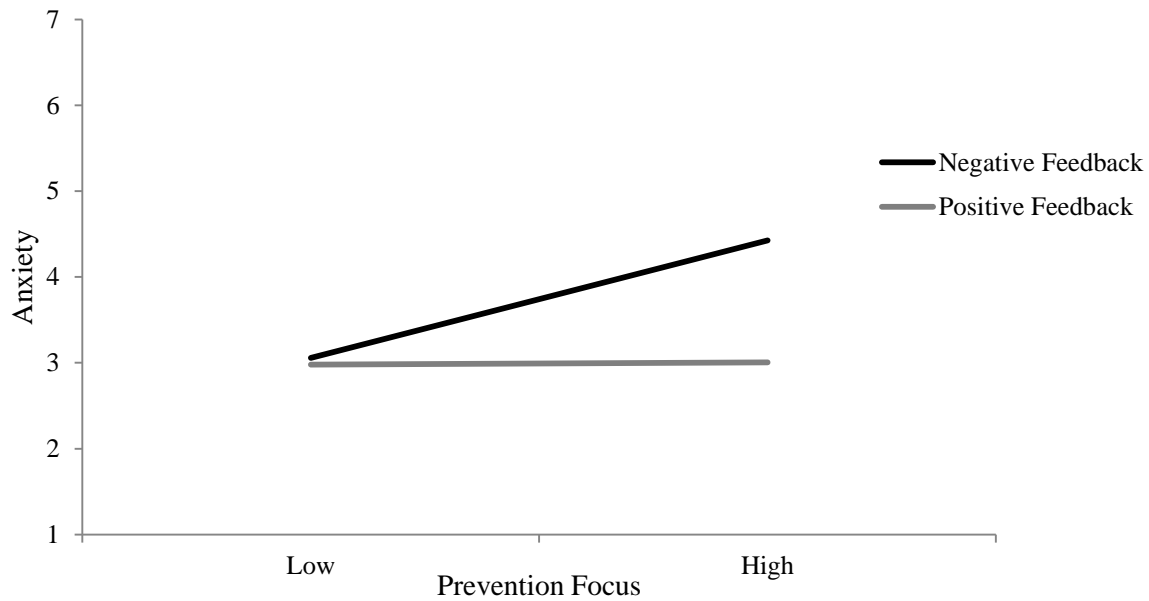


Figure 6.2. Relationship between feedback and anxiety as moderated by prevention focus

Mediation

To test my hypothesis that anxiety would mediate any effects of language-based stigma, a bootstrapping analysis was conducted using the PROCESS macro (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The analysis revealed a significant indirect effect whereby anxiety mediated the effects of feedback on attitudes towards the confederate, $CI_{95} = -.5002, -.0158$, meta-perceptions, $CI_{95} = -.8165, -.1007$, realistic threat, $CI_{95} = .1026, .8021$, English comprehension score, $CI_{95} = -1.2101, -.0913$, and reported attempts to accommodate, $CI_{95} = .0844, .5438$. In short, participants given negative feedback about their accent reported more anxiety when speaking English, $b = .76, SE = .30, t(54) = 2.53, p = .015$, and this indirectly resulted in more negative attitudes towards the confederate, $b = -.25, SE = .10, t(53) = 2.43, p = .019$, more negative meta-perceptions, $b = -.55, SE = .09, t(53) = 6.42, p < .001$, more realistic threat, $b = .51, SE = .122, t(50) = 4.18, p < .001$, a lower score on the English test, $b = -.60, SE = .25, t(53) = 2.40, p = .020$, and more reported attempts to accommodate

language, $b = .33$, $SE = .11$, $t(53) = 2.89$, $p = .006$, than participants given positive feedback about their accent.

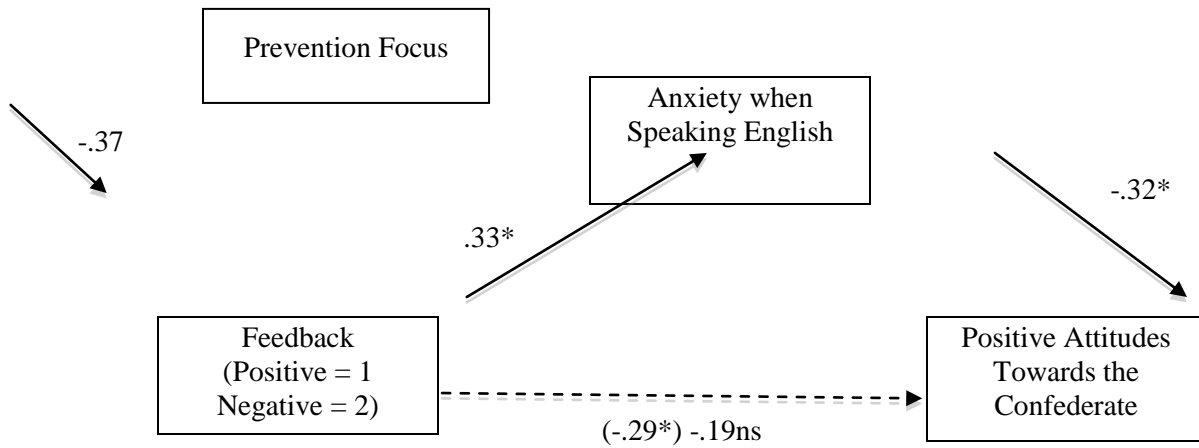
Mediated Moderation

Given that prevention focus moderated the effects of feedback on anxiety, I explored the possibility that anxiety would more specifically mediate the relationship between feedback and outcomes among participants who were high (rather than low) in prevention focus orientation. This model was tested via PROCESS (Hayes, 2012), Model 7 using the default 1000 bootstrap resamples to test the presence of indirect effects via anxiety. For all five variables -- attitudes towards the confederate (Figure 6.3), meta-perceptions (Figure 6.4), realistic threat (Figure 6.5), comprehension score (Figure 6.6), and language accommodation (Figure 6.7) -- the indirect effect of anxiety was only significant when participants were moderately or highly prevention focused, but not when participants were low in prevention focus. Confidence intervals for these effects are presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5

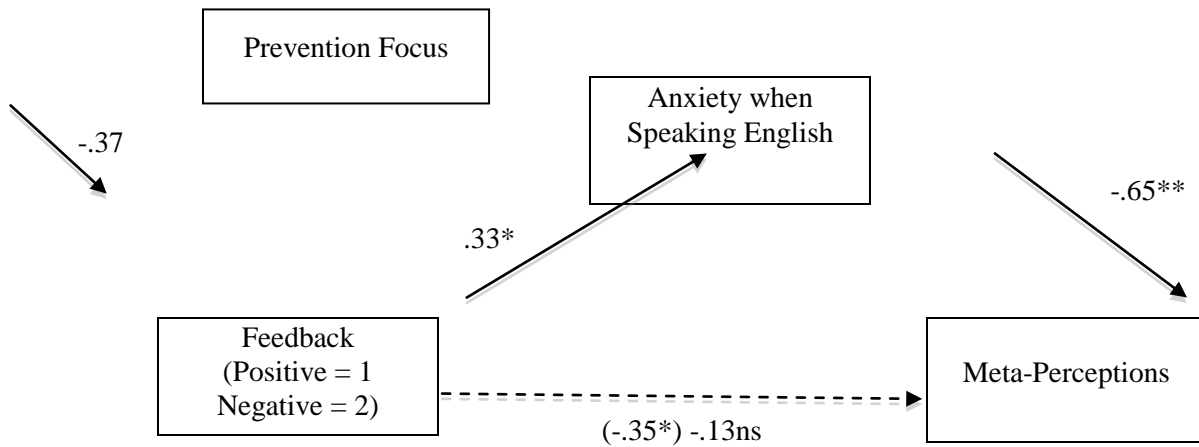
Conditional Indirect Effects of Anxiety on the Relationship between Feedback and Person Perceptions DVs at Low, Moderate, and High Prevention Focus

	Low Prevention		Moderate Prevention		High Prevention	
	95% CI		95% CI		95% CI	
Attitudes - Confederate	.1189	-.1795	.0428	.5457	.0830	.9006
Meta-Perceptions	-.3589	.5252	.1096	.8429	.2956	1.4014
Realistic Threat	-.2903	.4464	-.8297	-.1608	-1.5993	-.4430
Comprehension Test Score	-.3792	.5421	.0763	1.0451	.1624	1.9573
Language Accommodation	-.3167	.2125	-.5264	-.0988	-.9177	-.2038



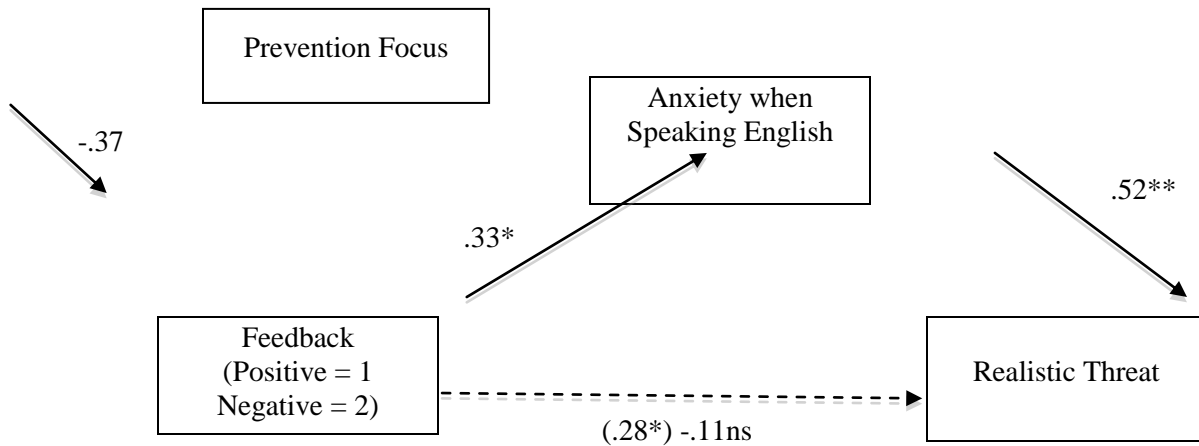
Note: * = $p < .05$

Figure 6.3. Indirect effect of anxiety on attitudes towards the confederate. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients



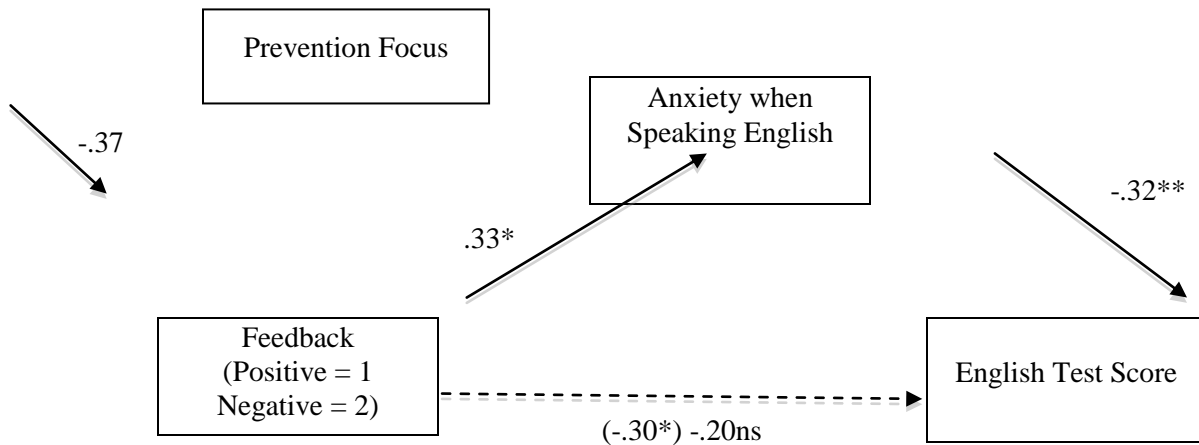
Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Figure 6.4. Indirect effect of anxiety on meta-perceptions. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients.



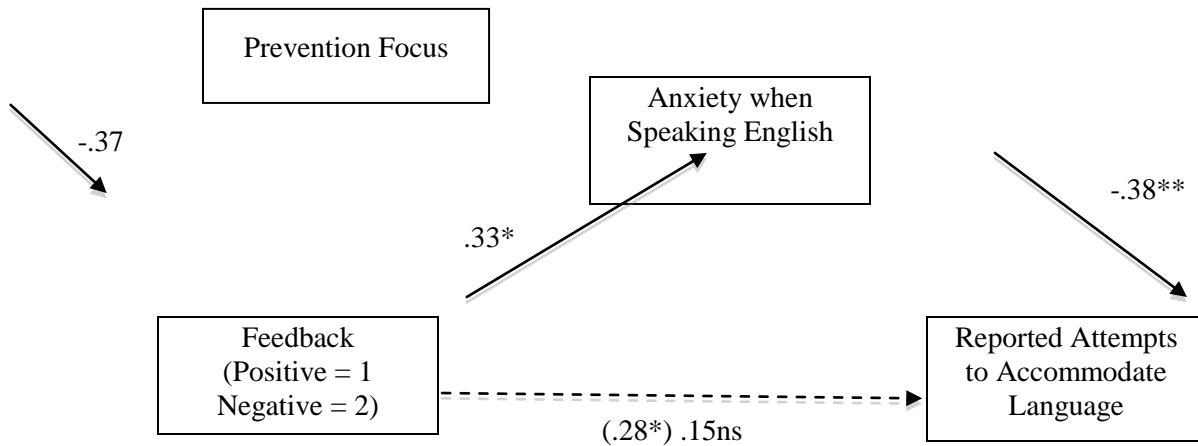
Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Figure 6.5. Indirect effect of anxiety on realistic threat. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients.



Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Figure 6.6. Indirect effect of anxiety on comprehension score. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients.



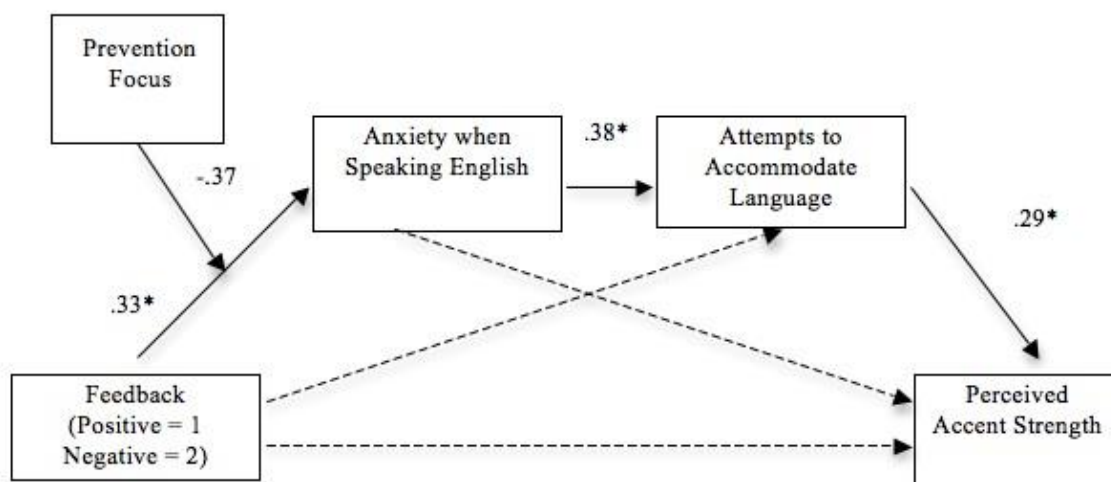
Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Figure 6.7. Indirect effect of anxiety on attempts to accommodate language. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients.

Given that I predicted that attempts to engage in speech accommodation might ultimately fail, I also investigate how participants' reported attempts to engage in language accommodation indirectly influenced native speakers' subsequent perceptions of them. Given that the effect of feedback on accommodation attempts has already been shown to be mediated through anxiety, this was tested via a model in which (participants') reported anxieties and their reported attempts to engage in language accommodation and were positioned as sequential mediators between the feedback manipulation and the native speakers' (observers') perceptions of them (PROCESS Model 6, Hayes, 2012).⁹ The analysis of perceived accent strength revealed a significant indirect effect whereby both anxiety and attempts to accommodate sequentially mediated the effect of feedback on observer perceptions of the target's accent strength, $CI_{95} = .0009, .3133$. A similar pattern of sequential

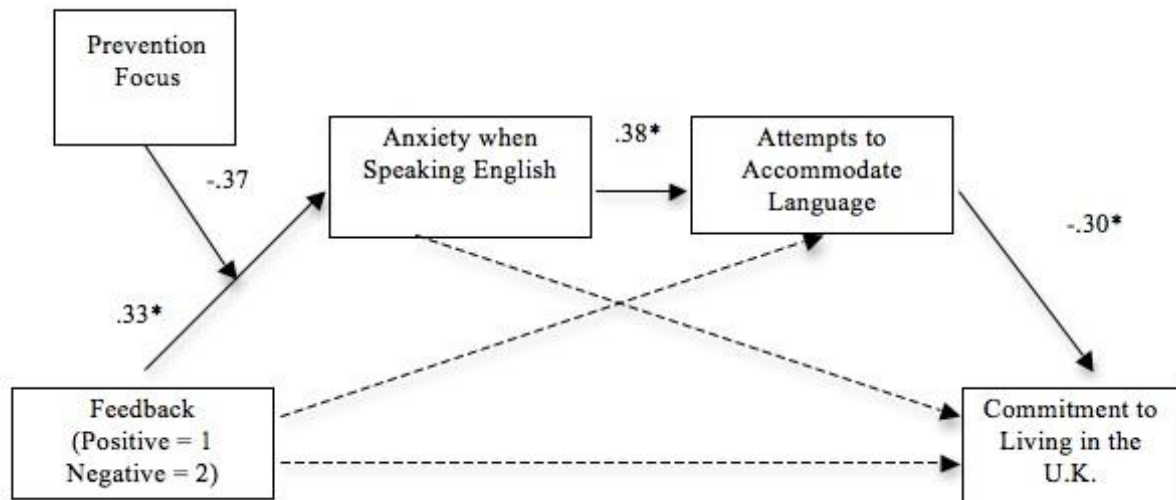
⁹ Although not predicted, I did consider the possibility that the other DVs (i.e. perceptions of the confederate, her group, and stereotype threat) could also mediate the effect on rater's perceptions. However, none of them did.

mediation was found on perceived commitment to living in the U.K., $CI_{95} = -.1832, -.0003$. Hence, participants given negative feedback about their accent reported more anxiety when speaking English, which triggered more active attempts to accommodate their language, a process that indirectly resulted in native speakers' perceptions of participants' accents as stronger (Figure 6.8) and their commitment to living in the U.K. as weaker (Figure 6.9) compared to participants given positive feedback about their accent. Currently this model does not allow the inclusion of a moderator (prevention focus), although this relationship can be inferred based on my previous analysis and as such is included in the path diagrams summarizing these analyses.



Note: * = $p < .05$

Figure 6.8. Indirect effect of anxiety and accommodation on other's perception of speakers' accent strength. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients.



Note: * = $p < .05$

Figure 6.9. Indirect effect of anxiety and accommodation on other's perception of speakers' perceived commitment to living in the U.K. Note: This figure reports standardized coefficients.

Discussion

The results of this study demonstrate that language-based stigma can have a number of detrimental effects on its targets. Non-native speakers exposed to the stigma manipulation experienced more negative interpersonal interactions, higher levels of intergroup threat, and displayed reduced performance on the English test as compared to participants who did not experience stigma. Importantly, these participants reported more attempts to minimize their accent, providing evidence for my suggestion that language accommodation is used to manage language-based stigma. All of these effects were mediated by feelings of anxiety, which supports previous research on the role of this particular emotion during intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). However, the relationship between stigma and anxiety was further moderated by speakers' degree of focus on prevention goals, offering additional insight into the factors that determine how

individuals respond to stigma. Taken together, these results show that prevention focused speakers may be more disposed towards anxiety from stigma, resulting in a number of effects on their relationships with native speakers. To cope with their anxiety, these speakers attempt to align their speech patterns towards native norms.

Although participants were more likely to report attempting to converge towards British communicative norms when they experienced stigma, my results suggest that they were unsuccessful in this endeavor. Compared to non-stigmatized speakers (who reported fewer attempts to alter their language style), native speakers rated the stigmatized speakers as having stronger accents and as seemingly less committed to living in the U.K. There was also a marginal effect on perceived comfort during the conversation, but no effect on either perceived efforts to accommodate or attitudes towards the speaker. As all these effects were, however, in the predicted direction, the specific patterns of significance and non-significance across outcomes may reflect the relatively low power in this experiment due to the fairly small sample size. Although future research should use larger sample sizes to expand on my results, the current study provides initial evidence that the experience of stigma may go beyond influencing the perceptions of stigmatized speakers and affect how out-group members perceive these speakers.

The effect of accent strength on native speaker's perceptions mirrors laws that legitimize discrimination if a speaker is deemed as having an accent that impairs their communication abilities. As demonstrated by the prevalent rate of discrimination that exists against non-native speakers in work-place settings, the strength of a speaker's accent has become an acceptable avenue for expressing prejudice (Lippi-Green, 1997). Because of this, the native speakers in this study may have been more likely to evaluate the strength of a stigmatized speaker's accent as strong than express outright dislike for them. Moreover, the effect on the speaker's perceived commitment to living in the U.K. may have been due to its

link with accent strength. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, native speakers may use accent strength to infer non-native speakers' lack of accommodation to British culture. Indeed, there was a significant correlation between these two measures, with stronger accents associated with less commitment to life in the U.K ($r(56) = -.533, p < .001$). Hence, because of social desirability issues, accent strength and perceived commitment may have emerged as the decisive factors for which native speakers judged the non-native speaking participants.

The specific reason stigmatized speakers' accents may have seemed stronger than the accents of non-stigmatized speakers, even though the former reported more active attempts to accommodate, can be explained in at least two ways. First, consistent with stereotype threat, focusing on one's performance (i.e., speech) in response to the activation of stigma may have impaired speakers' actual conversational abilities during the interaction, ironically making their accent stronger than it would have normally been (Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008). Hence, although stigmatized speakers tried harder than non-stigmatized speakers to accommodate towards British speech patterns, they may have been less able to do so. However, a second explanation involves non-native speakers' inability to sound native, regardless of how hard they try (Moyer, 2004): Even the most accommodated non-native speech patterns will still signal that the speaker is not British. By trying hard to imitate native communicative norms, such as idioms or local expressions that they normally would not use, the non-native speakers may have inadvertently made salient the dissimilarities that exist between their speech patterns and that of a British person. In other words, these speakers may have gone too far in their efforts to converge, making differences in their speech more noticeable to the native speaking raters. To better understand the factors that contribute to how accent strength is perceived, future research should investigate the phonetic and lexical changes that are made by non-native speakers when they attempt to converge their language towards native norms.

It is important to note that speakers' tendency to respond to stigma by using converged language likely depends on their belief that non-native accents can be eliminated (Lippi-Green, 1997). There seems to be an assumption that if native standards are met, non-native speakers will gain acceptance into the non-stigmatized out-group. When confronted by language-based stigma in the context of these beliefs, non-native speakers are likely to blame language difficulties on their own incompetencies and to hold themselves responsible for native speakers' prejudices. However, if there is more awareness of the permanence of non-native accents and speakers are encouraged to take pride in their speech patterns, then perceptions of the permeability and legitimacy between group boundaries may change, along with responses to stigma. Indeed, a limitation of the current work is that I use students as participants, a group that is visiting the U.K. with the specific purpose to learn. Coupled with the fact that the stigma manipulation reinforced the value placed on language accommodation (accent reduction classes were 'recommended' for participants in the stigma condition), converging towards native speech patterns ('learning' to speak correctly) may have been consistent with speakers' overall communication goals. Hence, future research should test speakers' responses to language-based stigma in contexts where accommodation goals are less salient and where beliefs regarding accent changeability are challenged.

A second limitation to this study is that the stigma manipulation may have evoked feelings of anxiety rather than solely making language-based stigma salient. Specifically, it may have been that the predictions given to participants as part of the stigma manipulation (chances are 'high/low' that you will experience discrimination because of your accent) may have made participants in the stigma condition more anxious about having a conversation with the British confederate than those in the non-stigma condition. In a future study, therefore, it might be worthwhile to use the same manipulation (give feedback to participants on the favourability of their speech patterns) but to omit the predictions that follow. This

would give participants the freedom to draw their own conclusions about their future interactions with native speakers and may lead to a more precise measure of the emotions experienced from the knowledge that their accent is negatively perceived.

Although most of my hypotheses were supported, two of my DVs were not affected by the stigma manipulation. Most surprising, perhaps, is that despite stigmatized speakers' reports of less positive interpersonal perceptions and more intergroup threat, there was no significant effect of stigma on my behavioural measure of intergroup attitudes (i.e. social distance via chair placement). However, because the difference between the two groups was in the predicted direction and relatively close to significance, the lack of an effect may have been due to an issue with the sample's power (Indeed, the effect size was fairly high, $\eta_p^2 = .047$). Another reason may be that my diverse participant sample created noise in my data. Research has shown that perceptions of what constitutes an appropriate amount of personal space can vary depending on cultural norms, with contact cultures (i.e. Latin, Asian and Arab cultures) generally preferring closer proximities than non-contact cultures (i.e. European and North American cultures; Evans, Lepore, & Allen, 2000; Hall, 1966). Hence, participants' natural inclinations to sit either closer or farther away from the confederate may have increased the variability in the data, reducing the likelihood of finding significant differences.

Reports of symbolic threat also remained unaffected by the stigma manipulation despite a significant effect on realistic threat. As discussed in previous chapters, this may be because expressing realistic threat is more socially acceptable than expressing symbolic threat. Since most of my participants are fairly recent arrivals to the U.K., it may have felt inappropriate to criticize the cultural values of a country that is not their own but in which they have been given the opportunity to work and study. Furthermore, the stigma manipulation was more relevant to realistic threat; participants were told that their accent would result in discrimination from British people, not that their values or beliefs would be

perceived as unacceptable. Hence, participants in the stigma condition may have been more attuned to realistic threat as opposed to symbolic threat.

General Discussion

The current studies offer a glimpse into the experience of language-based stigma from the perspective of non-native speakers. By extending previous research on accent perception to include these viewpoints, I demonstrate that non-native speakers are not only aware of the negative attitudes associated with their accent (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a), but are adversely affected by them. My work also extends the literature on stigma and intergroup contact: Like other stigmas, language-based stigma tends to evoke feelings of anxiety and impair both the cognitive abilities of its target and their relationships with out-group members. Finally, my work draws attention to the aspects of stigmatized speech patterns that make it unique from other stigmatized attributes. Since a person's language style is inextricably linked with how they communicate, the consequences of having a stigmatized accent may go beyond those of other stigmas. For instance, within the context of language, typical stigma consequences such as stereotype threat can serve to undermine speakers' capacity to speak and understand the English language, an essential skill when living in the U.K. Hence, while other types of stereotype threat may affect one particular area of a person's life (e.g. math skills) language-based stigma has the potential to impact all areas of the speaker's life in their host country.

Perhaps the most troubling consequence of language-based stigma is the tendency of non-native speakers to cope by mimicking native communication norms. Although the intentions behind this behaviour are undoubtedly positive, my results show that these attempts to converge can have negative repercussions for how non-native speakers are perceived by native speakers. In other words, by managing their anxieties through language-accommodation, non-native speakers may be, unwittingly, exacerbating the already negative ways in which their speech patterns are perceived. Hence, non-native speakers are likely to

find themselves in a vicious cycle where experiencing stigma encourages accommodation but attempts to accommodate instigate stigma. Frustratingly, attempts to accommodate are generally futile anyway as non-native speakers will almost certainly retain the characteristics of their native tongue (Moyer, 2004). Since exposure to non-native accents is a growing possibility in the increasingly globalized world, future work should veer away from investigating ways in which accents can be eliminated and focus instead on reducing native speakers' prejudices when exposed to diverse speech patterns.

The effects of language-based stigma appear far-reaching. While the current research takes place in an English-speaking context, it is likely that these effects are applicable to non-native speakers in other languages (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a); however further research should test this. Regardless, as English is considered the world's international language and as the world is becoming increasingly globalized, more people are speaking English with a non-native accent than ever before (Crystal, 2003). Hence, language-based stigma will not only continue to affect this increasing number of non-native speakers, but will likely have serious consequences for the millions of communication exchanges between native speakers and non-native speakers that happen every day. My hope is that the current work will encourage future research aimed at combating language-based stigma and increasing tolerance towards non-normative patterns of speech.

Chapter 7: General Discussion

Human migration is nothing new: there is evidence that early humans migrated across continents as long as 130,000 years ago (The Independent, 2009). Today, our appetite for movement has not waned. In 2013, over 232 million people around the world were living in a foreign country, and this number is expected to increase (United Nations, 2013). Whether motivated by a cross-atlantic relationship, to escape war or famine, in search of new opportunities, or simply seeking adventure, human beings have demonstrated a willingness to settle in places already occupied by groups that are different to their own. Yet, despite its long history, immigration remains a contentious issue in the majority of countries, with new arrivals generally having to struggle for acceptance in their new home. To better understand the obstacles faced by diverse groups who share a common space, social psychologists have conducted a wealth of research to the topic of immigration. By focusing on the specific effect of language perceptions within this context, the current thesis contributes to a better understanding of one of the many challenges that immigration presents for the parties involved. In particular, this thesis considered that although immigration creates opportunities for contact between people, the experience of that contact is in no small way contingent on the ways in which individuals communicate and respond to each other. Bringing some of these communicative issues to the fore was the goal of my research.

Across eight studies, I have examined how perceptions of non-native language and speech patterns shape the relationship between host country natives and immigrants. In Chapters 4 and 5, I focused on how attributions guide the way that natives perceive non-native language speech, how these in turn influence their impressions of both individual speakers and immigrants as a group, and the role of status in shaping these effects. In Chapter 6, I took the perspective of non-native speakers, and investigated the experience of language-based stigma and the impact that this has on both their relationship with British nationals and

on their communication behaviours. Results from all of these studies support the notion that categorizations based on a communicator's language style play a vital role in determining the way that host country nationals and immigrants perceive one another. In this final chapter, I present a summary of these findings before discussing both the theoretical and practical implications of this work.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter 4, I exposed British nationals to one of three versions of English that were supposedly written by an American who had immigrated to the U.K. These included British English (BE; native language patterns), American English (AE; non-native language patterns) and Incorrect English (IE; language patterns consisting of mistakes). At the most basic level, these three studies demonstrate that different language styles can elicit unique perceptions of both the communicator and her group. Specifically, the results suggest that negative attributions based on an individual's language style may not result from non-native speech patterns being perceived as wrong, but rather because non-native language marks the speaker as an out-group member. Although the results were not fully consistent across studies, overall, the use of BE evoked more positive perceptions of both the writer and the group she was perceived to represent (all non-British people living in the U.K.) than the use of AE. Exposure to IE resulted in the most negative interpersonal and intergroup perceptions but there were suggestive differences in the perceived motivations of a communicator using AE as opposed to IE (namely, a writer using AE was seen as less willing than able to change her language compared to a writer using IE). Importantly, these effects were more pronounced when the writer was presented as an expert in her field (high status) instead of an amateur (low status), indicating that a communicator's status may provide the lens through which the attributions attached to language patterns are formed.

To further investigate status' role in determining language-based perceptions, I created a paradigm aimed to more accurately reflect a typical interaction between native and non-native speakers. Across the three studies presented in Chapter 5, I asked British nationals to listen to a recording of a speaker with either a weak or a strong non-native accent (more or less similar to British speech patterns) before measuring their perceptions of that speaker and their opinions of immigrants as a group. The results suggest that although impressions can be based on speech patterns alone, information about the speaker's background can play a critical role in determining how non-native speech patterns inform natives' impressions. When well-known nationalities were used, interpersonal perceptions were more favourable when the speaker's status was low and her accent was strong instead of weak. In contrast to these patterns of interpersonal perceptions, however, strong accents evoked more realistic threat from immigrants and attitudes towards this group were more positive when the speaker's status was high and her accent was weak as opposed to strong. Hence, these results revealed a divergence between perceptions of the individual and those of the group. Yet, when unfamiliar countries were used results were more consistent across both perceptions: similar to countries that were familiar, a low status nationality combined with a strong accent resulted in more positive attitudes towards the speaker. However, these effects were also mirrored in participants' perceptions of the group: Weak accents evoked more realistic threat towards immigrants overall and intergroup attitudes were more positive when the speaker's status was high and her accent was strong instead of weak.

Although clear reasons for the different outcomes across Chapter 5 did not emerge, these studies suggest that the speaker's status can affect natives' preference for the speech patterns used by immigrants. However, these preferences can vary depending on whether the impressions are of non-native speakers individually, or of immigrants as a group. As described in the preceding paragraph, there are situations (such as when the speaker was from

well-known countries) in which participants' preference for the language used by the speaker, and their preference for the language used by her group, was divergent. It seems, therefore, that while a speaker's background plays an influential role in shaping language-based impression formation, and while variations in accent strength also play a role in this, there does not seem to be an obvious formula by which to predict which language style will be preferred. Instead, it is likely that a number of factors are at play when natives form impressions based on language including, but not limited to, the speaker's status (based not only on their nationality but also, as suggested by the results reported in Chapter 4, their profession or immigration status), their perceived likeliness to successfully compete for in-group resources, and how familiar they are to native speakers. In short, the studies presented in Chapter 5 illustrate that native speakers do not perceive non-native speakers as a homogeneous group. Instead, the degree to which non-native speech is taken to be informative about the person or their group is moderated by additional factors beyond accent strength alone. Although nationality status appears to be one of these, future research should investigate this in combination with other factors, such as the degree of threat that information about the speaker's home country represents to host country natives.

Finally, in Chapter 6 I investigated how negative perceptions of non-native accents affect communicators with these patterns of speech. First, I presented data from an exploratory survey, which revealed that the more negatively participants perceived their speech patterns, the more they reported their accent as presenting a barrier to their life in the U.K., the stronger their preference for associating with non-British people, and the more they reported attempting to accommodate their language patterns towards British norms. Importantly, these relationships held when accent strength was controlled for, indeed all of the variables measured (barriers to communicating and belonging, preferred associations and language accommodation) were more strongly correlated with participants' attitudes towards

having an accent rather than how they perceived its strength. Although the nature of these data was correlational and hence prevented me from drawing causal conclusions, they provided some initial evidence to the possible consequences of language-based stigma for non-native speakers living in the U.K.

To compensate for this limitation, I presented a second experimental study in which I varied the salience of language-based stigma. Results revealed that activating language-based stigma led to poorer interactions with members of the British out-group as well as a reduced ability to comprehend English. Together, these patterns suggest that stigma based on one's language can undermine the quality of contact between non-native and native speakers through evoking the experience of language-based stereotype threat among the former. Furthermore, and also consistent with the broader stereotype threat literature, the results demonstrated that non-native speakers actively try to cope with language-based stigma (e.g., by imitating native patterns of speech), but ultimately these efforts to cope backfire: In an independent analysis of the recorded conversations, British nationals blind to the experimental manipulation perceived speakers in the stigma condition as less committed to living in the U.K. and as having stronger accents compared to the non-stigmatized speakers. I proposed several explanations for this effect. In addition to the basic mechanisms of stereotype threat already alluded to, it may also be that non-native speakers' actual inability to sound native may have ironic consequences when they try to do just that. Finally, all of these effects were mediated by feelings of anxiety among the non-native speakers, and were moderated by participants' degree of focus on prevention related goals, providing additional insight into the factors that determine individuals' responses to language-based stigma.

Taken together, these studies provide compelling evidence for the critical role that language-based categorizations have for determining native and non-native speakers' perceptions of one another. First, they suggest that the influence that language has on

interpersonal and intergroup orientations is not one-sided. Instead, language variations, including accented speech, can affect both native and non-native speakers when they come into contact. More specifically, the negative impressions formed by native speakers when exposed to non-native speech patterns reciprocally have important consequences for the challenges faced by non-native speakers in their host country and how they attempt to overcome these barriers. Ironically, attempts to overcome language barriers may fail (e.g. by impairing their actual language abilities) and can thereby feed back into negative perceptions by host country natives, which, in turn, might influence natives' future responses to non-native speech. Second, these studies suggest that natives' perceptions of non-native speech can evoke intergroup threat from both groups, an emotion that can undermine the positive outcomes that might otherwise result when members of these two groups come into contact with one another (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Hence, although language perceptions are just one factor at play in the relational dynamic between immigrants and host country natives, their ability to impair, as well as their potential to improve, the relationship between these two groups should not be underestimated.

In the following section, I discuss the theoretical implications of these results. To do this, I delve further into the specific results of these studies and discuss how these support and extend the arguments I made in the introduction to this thesis. Mirroring the structure of my introduction chapters, I focus specifically on how the studies I have presented contribute to the existing literature in two areas: The attributions attached to communicative behaviours and the outcomes of intergroup contact. By placing my work within the context of the research that already exists within these spheres, I hope to illustrate the contribution that this thesis makes to our understanding of the relationship between speakers from diverse language backgrounds.

Theoretical Implications

Language attributions and status. In Chapter 2, I discussed the possibility that negative perceptions of non-native speakers are evoked because natives inaccurately attribute the use of non-native speech patterns to the speaker's desire to use divergent language. The results reported in Chapter 4 show some support for this idea. When the writer used non-native language (AE) as opposed to language that is incorrect (IE), she was perceived as more able to change her writing style but as less willing to do so. In addition, when compared to native language patterns (BE), participants exposed to AE rated the writer as less identified with the U.K., and when the writer was presented as an expert in her field, as less assimilated to British culture. To my knowledge, these studies are the first to directly test whether natives use non-native speech patterns to make judgments about whether the communicator is a member of the host country in-group or part of the immigrant out-group. However, while promising, the results were not robust enough to fully support my argument. Importantly, they were only tested using written language, which natives may perceive as more easily changeable than language that is spoken. The above pattern was also weak and not consistently replicated across studies. Although directly testing the attributions natives attach to non-native speech without revealing the study's purpose does present a challenge, I hope that these preliminary findings will encourage future research in this area.

Further to exploring the attributions attached to language, I considered how ideas about status are likely to justify negative perceptions of non-native speech. To explore this idea, I drew on two areas of research: Evidence from CAT that convergence may be expected from low status others and literature suggesting that natives perceive their social position as higher than that of immigrants. Based on this, I suggested that non-native speech patterns serve to mark the speaker as low in status, fueling natives' beliefs that non-native speakers should converge. In both Chapters 4 and 5 there is evidence that ideas about the

communicator's status can be inferred from language patterns. In one study using written language, the writer was perceived as more competent when she adhered to native instead of non-native norms (BE as opposed to AE), and in two studies using spoken language the speaker was rated as warmer when her accent was different instead of similar to British patterns of speech (she spoke with an accent considered strong as opposed to weak). These results are consistent with previous research demonstrating that high status others are often perceived as competent while those with low status are generally rated along dimensions of warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). They also support the notion that language can divide communicators by status, with natives likely to perceive their version of English as demonstrative of their position at the top of the social hierarchy.

While the results outlined above suggest that language can mark the speaker's status to some extent, there is also evidence that the perceived status of the communicator's background plays a prominent role in shaping how language patterns influence impressions. For example, using non-native language (AE) only resulted in negative perceptions of the writer when she was portrayed as an expert in her field rather than an amateur (i.e., as someone with higher rather than low status). Yet, when the speaker's non-native accent was different rather than similar to British norms (strong rather than weak) she was perceived more positively when she was from a country considered to be low rather than high in status (Poland and low status Andorra vs. the Netherlands and high status Andorra). While seemingly conflicting, these results imply that attributions attached to the communicator's background affect which impressions are evoked from non-native language. When the writer had expert status, natives rated her more positively when she had converged towards British norms (used BE), perhaps because expertise and accommodation signaled that she is in control over her writing and worthy of respect. However, when the speaker's nationality was low status the British nationals who participated in these studies (mostly university students)

rated her more positively when her accent was strong. Perhaps this was because the lower status nationality signaled that she might be in need of resources, but her strong accent indicated that she would not be competing with the in-group for these resources. While this specific interpretation remains speculative, it nonetheless seems that information about the communicator's background is critical in determining which perceptions are evoked when natives are exposed to non-native patterns of speech.

Perceptions related to the communicator's background also influenced the way her language style shaped ideas about her perceived group (*all* non-British people living in the U.K.). Across the three writing studies and one of the speaking studies, the use of native language patterns by the communicator encouraged positive perceptions of immigrants when she was believed to be high in status: When the writer was perceived to be an expert in her field (instead of an amateur), British nationals reported less realistic threat and more positive attitudes towards immigrants when she used native as opposed to non-native language (BE rather than AE). Similarly, when the speaker was from a high status country (the Netherlands), natives perceived immigrants more positively when her speech was similar to, rather than different from British speech (accent was weak as opposed to strong). However, this pattern reversed when the speaker was from an unknown country portrayed as economically competitive with the U.K. In this case, positive attitudes towards immigrants were evoked when the speaker's accent was strong rather than weak. Taken together, these results suggest that interpersonal and intergroup perceptions that are based on language may not depend on whether the communicator's status is high or low but on her status *relative* to that of the in-group. If her status is perceived as similar to that of British nationals, there may be an expectation that she should converge towards British norms. However, if her background seemed threatening to the in-group (because it is too high or too low), natives may prefer her to use language that marks her as distinct. Thus language preferences may

reflect a kind of boundary maintenance that is responsive to intergroup threat as much as simple status.

One reason that language patterns and background status did not always yield consistent perceptions of the individual speaker and her group may have to do with the way natives perceived the numerical size of each. According to recent research, majority members who are aware that the minority group is increasing are likely to express more negative attitudes towards that out-group and to experience higher levels of intergroup threat (Craig & Richeson, 2014; see also Quillan, 1995). These patterns may have been reflected in the current research. Natives exposed to an individual speaker of low status may have preferred it when her strong accent indicated that she is unlikely to join the British in-group (Polish nationality, low status Andorra). However, the thought of such a large group (indeed, *all* immigrants) speaking that way may have evoked different reactions depending on other factors associated with those particular backgrounds. For instance, because Poland's well-known low status may have conjured up ideas about the potential for a large out-group to drain in-group resources, the thought of *all* immigrants speaking in a way that is not consistent with native norms may have evoked threat from our participants. Yet, because Andorra came across as being higher in status than the U.K., participants may have experienced more threat when the speaker's weak accent indicated that a large out-group (again *all* immigrants) had the potential to permeate group boundaries.

These results both support and extend previous research demonstrating that a) perceptions based on language are influenced by factors other than the direction in which the communicator's language style has been adapted (Bradac & Mulac, 1984; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012; Giles et al., 2007; Giles et al., 1987; Simard et al., 1976), and; b) that low status out-group members who have the potential to permeate group boundaries (by successfully accommodating towards native language norms) may be perceived as threatening in-group

standards (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005; Scheepers, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2009). In line with this work, my results demonstrate that a communicator who converges is not always perceived more positively than one who diverges, and that these perceptions may be determined by attributed reasons behind the communicator's style of language. The results also extend this literature by suggesting that it is not only attributions of the communicator's intended accommodation strategy that matters, but also ideas about the communicator's background and their possible intentions in light of this background. Although this is an important step towards understanding how speech patterns are used to form impressions, this issue is by no means resolved in the current work. Future research should focus on how perceptions of the out-group's size, familiarity to the in-group, and information about the specific speaker (reasons for being in the U.K., length of time in Britain, and immigration status) further affect categorizations based on language.

Language and intergroup contact. One of the arguments made in Chapter 3 was that exposure to non-native speech patterns has the potential to undermine intergroup contact because of the opportunities for categorization based on language that direct contact affords. Although Chapters 4 and 5 consisted of only a snapshot of a would-be interaction between a native and a non-native speaker (by measuring how the native speaker responded to reading an immigrants' language in the former and hearing her accent in the latter), the impressions natives formed of both the speaker and her group are indicative of how exposure to diverse language patterns via contact can result in language-based categorizations. The actual interactions presented in Chapter 6 (Study 8) extended this by demonstrating the implications that awareness of possible language-based categorizations (i.e., stigma) have on interpersonal and intergroup orientations. Compared to those expecting positive categorizations (no stigma manipulation), participants expecting negative categorizations (stigma manipulation) had less positive attitudes towards their British communication partner, less positive meta-perceptions,

and experienced more realistic threat in relation to British people overall. Thus, regardless of the level of contact, all of the studies presented in this thesis demonstrate that a) language-based categorizations occur when native and non-native speakers interact, b) that these categorizations can affect perceptions of not only the individual communicator but also the speaker's group, supporting previous research on the importance of contact for intergroup perceptions (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) and c) that these perceptions can have detrimental effects on the relationship between native and non-native speakers.

In Chapter 3, I also discussed my expectation that the potential for non-native speech patterns to evoke intergroup threat would play a primary role in determining the outcomes of contact between speakers with diverse language backgrounds. Supporting this argument, in six out of the seven studies in which threat was measured, exposure to non-native language patterns (or, in Study 8, the stigma attached to this type of language) resulted in feelings of out-group threat. Interestingly, compared to symbolic threat, realistic threat was disproportionately experienced (six studies compared to two). This was surprising considering that, intuitively, language seems more relevant to cultural values than material concerns. Although several explanations for the absence of an effect on symbolic threat have been offered throughout this thesis (e.g. social desirability, the student sample used) it may have been that the fear of immigrants usurping jobs and resources (i.e. realistic threat) was more applicable in the context in which these studies took place (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). According to Bizman and Yinon (2001), host country nationals may adopt a future-oriented time perspective when thinking about immigrants and assume that they will adjust to native norms over time. Based on this rationale, it may have been that natives were less likely to associate immigrants with the potential to effectively alter the in-group culture (i.e., to pose symbolic threats to the in-group). This may be an important explanation to test in future research, as it would suggest that, when considering the presence of a non-native accent,

natives do expect convergence from immigrants but that they are aware that this is something that is only likely to occur after an extended period of time.

Summary. This thesis has established that the style of language used by a communicator has important implications for the relationship between native and non-native speakers and, by extension, host country nationals and immigrants. While the precise way in which language style affects these relationships needs further exploration, my results offer some important first steps towards understanding the processes involved when categorizations based on language are made. Specifically, the studies presented in this thesis contribute to the literature on both accent perception and immigration by demonstrating that a) the way language is used to form impressions is not uniform but is guided by the broader backdrop against which language is being used (e.g. beliefs about the speaker's background) and; b) that the perceptions associated with an individual's language can affect intergroup threat and attitudes towards the relevant out-group, a process that is equally relevant for native and non-native speakers alike. In short, my thesis makes a unique contribution to this previous literature by drawing together the micro-interactional concerns of CAT (i.e. convergence and divergence) with the broader macro level concerns of intergroup contact and suggests that the language used by people when they interact, independent of what they actually say, has consequences for the outcome of this contact. This proposition raises a number of practical implications which I turn my attention to in the next section.

Practical Implications

Within many immigrant-receiving countries, the idea that new arrivals should speak the language of the host country majority has received widespread public and political support (Joppke, 2005). Although the exact standards of language that must be met by immigrants have been subject to debate, advocates of these policies claim that the ability to communicate in the host country's language may be "the single greatest empowering tool that

immigrants need to succeed” (U.S. English, 2014). While it may be true that new arrivals who can speak the language of their host country have advantages compared to those who cannot, merely being able to speak (even fluently) in that language is unlikely sufficient for acceptance by the host country majority. What is generally left out of this debate, and what this thesis demonstrates, is that *how* an immigrant communicates (via their accent and style of language) matters deeply and can have detrimental effects on both their experiences in their new country and their relationships with host country natives. Hence, in order to improve the relationship between these two groups, it is important to look beyond language ability and to consider language style as a very real means by which immigrants become marked and thereby experience exclusion.

It is important to note here that one strategy unlikely to be effective in reducing the language-based prejudice experienced by immigrants is intergroup contact. Because immigration is increasing and more people are speaking English with a non-native accent than ever before (Crystal, 2003; United Nations 2013), it is tempting to draw on literature which suggests that the increased opportunities that host country natives have to form meaningful relationships with non-native speakers will eventually lead to a drop in prejudice against this group (Blair et al., 2003). Instead, the data presented in this thesis suggest that, when diverse language patterns are present, opportunities for intergroup contact may actually exacerbate the prejudice that immigrants face. Indeed, even positive contact between native and non-native speakers can backfire: As Jhally and Lewis (1992) explain, and as evidenced in Study 3, individual immigrants who engage in desired behaviours (e.g. speaking in the preferred language style) may perpetuate the myth that altering one’s speech patterns is possible, thus raising the standards that other members of this group must reach. Hence, although well-meaning, rhetoric encouraging intergroup contact within the context of immigration may not be particularly effective for improving immigrants’ experiences,

particularly if they speak their host country's language in a way that is considered by natives to be non-normative (see also Craig & Richeson, 2014).

Instead, to reduce prejudice and improve the relationship between these groups, resources should be directed towards correcting the unrealistic expectations that members of each group have about non-native language patterns. For instance, there is a prevalent view among native speakers that a non-native accent is indicative of the speaker's lack of competency in the language (Lindemann, 2002). Similarly, non-native speakers spend thousands of pounds per year on accent reduction classes based on the erroneous belief that they will be effective (Lippi-Green, 1997). These perceptions are not only illustrative of the popular myth that non-native speakers are able to achieve native-like pronunciation but are likely at the root of the language divide that presents so many obstacles for immigrants and host country natives' relationship. In particular, these beliefs may not only justify the negative perceptions that natives have of non-native accents but may also encourage non-native speakers to cope with these negative perceptions by (unsuccessfully) imitating native patterns of speech. Hence, while it is arguably acceptable for a country to promote, and even require, immigrants to gain competency in the host country's language, this should be accompanied with educational messages aimed to eradicate myths about non-native accents and promote tolerance for speech patterns that differ from native norms.

The field of social psychology also has a role to play if perceptions about non-native patterns of speech are to change. Although we have made great strides in our understanding of stigma and discrimination in domains such as race and gender for example, language styles are largely missing from this literature (see Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). This needs to change. With non-native speakers expected to out-number native speakers in English by 2060 (Crystal, 2003), the role that accent perceptions play in shaping the relationship between native and non-native speakers is becoming increasingly relevant, not just within the context

of immigration but within the many sectors that involve an international community but where one language is dominant (generally English; Phillipson, 2003). I hope that the studies presented in this thesis will inspire future research within this very important area.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Although the studies presented in this thesis have important theoretical and practical implications for the relationship between host country natives and immigrants, they are not without their limitations. However, these limitations also open up several avenues for future research. In the following section I will outline two of these limitations, namely 1) the context in which the research took place and 2) the measures used throughout these studies, and discuss how future research can effectively address the issues raised in each.

Context. As discussed in the above section on theoretical implications, an important lesson from this thesis is that context matters, both with respect to how native speakers evaluate language and how non-native speakers respond to these evaluations. Indeed, it seems that non-native speakers are not perceived as a homogeneous group but that many variables influence native speakers' perceptions of the language used by this group. Similarly, non-native speakers' responses are also likely to be affected by different factors, such as their reasons for being in the host country and/or their communication goals. With this in mind, it is important to consider that the current work took place within a very specific situation (i.e. the speaker was presented as an immigrant, the research took place within the U.K., and mostly university students were used in my participant sample), which undoubtedly shaped the results that emerged.

Although one of the aims of this thesis was to explore the role that language plays against the backdrop of immigration, this context, as well as the fact that the studies were run in the U.K., may have raised natives' expectations of the non-native speakers they were asked to evaluate. Host country nationals often have strong beliefs about the particular acculturation

strategy that immigrants should employ and may also be prone to the perception that this group is a threat to their resources (Esses et al., 2001; Zagefka et al., 2012). Beyond having the potential to incite negative perceptions of this group, these ideas may result in participants having stringent beliefs about the standards that immigrants should meet to gain acceptance into the in-group. Further compounding these expectations, the research took place in the U.K., a country that has recently become more assimilationist in their immigration policies and which is renowned for the value it places on its version of the English language (Engel, 2011; Joppke, 2004). Hence, future research that takes place outside of the U.K. and that tests language-based categorizations within a non-immigration relevant context might result in native speakers expressing more tolerance for non-native speech patterns than was demonstrated in the current work.

In addition to the target and setting (immigrants in the U.K.) the participants who took part in these studies may have influenced the dynamic that was evidenced throughout my results. The vast majority of these participants were university students, whose background and perspective may have coloured their impressions of non-native language. One example of this influence can be seen in Studies 5 and 6, which measured native speakers' perceptions of a non-native speaker. In both of these studies, the low status, strong accented target – a combination that is fairly uncommon in a university dominated by high status native speakers – resulted in more positive perceptions. This is probably not a coincidence since a speaker with these characteristics is unlikely perceived as a competitor for the jobs sought by university students. Furthermore, the perspectives associated with being a student may have also affected the results of the studies investigating language-based stigma (Study 7 and 8): Attempts to accommodate towards British patterns of speech were reported by non-native speakers who, as students, were primarily in the U.K. to learn. As discussed in Chapter 6, this goal may have been consistent with the use of this particular stigma management strategy.

Thus, future research may find that preferences for certain language types as well as the way that stigma is managed changes when participants themselves come from low status backgrounds or when they have communication goals that are less suited to accommodation.

Measures. Another limitation of this thesis involves my focus on certain constructs over others. Although I believe that the focus on attitudes, similarity, and stereotype content to measure interpersonal perceptions and on attitudes, symbolic threat, and realistic threat to measure ideas about the out-group were sufficient for the purpose of this thesis, these constructs do not cover the full scope of my rationale for conducting this research. In particular, despite my argument in Chapter 2 that inaccurate attributions attached to the presence of a non-native accent (e.g. that the speaker is unwilling to converge) are likely to guide negative perceptions of the speaker, I did not have measures that assessed these beliefs in the speaking studies (Chapter 5). This was unfortunate, as they may have helped explain some of the inconsistencies in this chapter and possibly clarified the unstable results of the attributions measured in the spelling studies (Chapter 4). In future research, it would be beneficial to not only measure attributions but to manipulate them and test whether they moderate the relationship between speech patterns and perceptions.

I also did not have time during this PhD to experimentally explore whether the cognitive processes involved when natives are exposed to non-native speech patterns interrupt the communication exchange and hence, contribute to a negative contact experience. However, based on previous research demonstrating the subtlety in which conversations can be disrupted (i.e. brief pauses; Koudenburg et al., 2011), I suspect that differences in speech patterns between interactants (such as differences in pronunciation) can also upset communication. Drawing on the work presented in this thesis, I expect that the anxiety that resulted from the stigma manipulation in Study 8 is likely to encourage feelings of discomfort from participants when speaking, and hence compound any difficulties the British

confederate had when trying to understand the participant's accent. To test this, I plan to have independent raters listen to the recordings that were collected during this study and to count the pauses that occur during each conversation. Pauses here are doubly interesting since from the non-native speaker side they might represent effort and preparation to speak, but from the native speaker side they might be experienced as disruptions to conversational flow or distance. The straightforward prediction is that interruptions will be more prevalent for participants in the stigma condition than the non-stigma condition and that frequency of pauses might mediate third-party evaluations of the non-native speaker.

Concluding Comment

This thesis sought to explore how perceptions of language shape the relationship between native and non-native speakers within the context of immigration. By examining language-based categorizations from the perspective of both native and non-native speakers, while also focusing on the processes that underlie these perceptions, the studies presented have made important strides towards better understanding the contributors to and consequences of language-based categorizations. My hope is that the issues raised in this thesis will stimulate further research devoted to understanding more fully the role that non-native speech patterns play when speakers interact, and will contribute towards policies devoted to reducing the stigma that exists against communicators based on how they use language.

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Appendix A: Manipulations used in Studies 1 – 3

Language Manipulation: Studies 1 - 3

Story Excerpt – *American(British) English: (Study 1)*

American(British)Incorrect English: (Study 2 & Study 3)

"You never know when your life is going to change forever.

The day Charlotte's life changed started out like any other. She woke up at 5:00am, thanks to the alarm on her *cell phone(mobile)mobile* she had set the night before. While it had seemed like a great idea to get up early, she soon began to *recognize(recognise)recongise* that terrible feeling of not having enough sleep. She hit the snooze button and attempted to *organize(organise)organise* her thoughts. How she wished she could go on *vacation(holiday!)holiday*. There was just so much to do before 10:00 am when she had to start work as a *counselor (counsellor)counsellor* at the local *elementary school(primary school)primry school*. First, she had to call the doctor and make sure her husband had *canceled their(cancelled their)cancelled there* son's appointment to be *immunized(immunised)imunised* on Saturday...there was simply no way they were going to make that appointment now. She made a mental note to *apologize(apologise)be sorry* to the receptionist when she called. Second, she had to *get(go)go* to the bank and cash a *check(chèque)cheque* so that she would have *enoug* money for the weekend. **Their** were so many things still left to buy: *diapers(nappies)nappies* and a *pacifier(dummy)dummie* for the baby as well as at least one wool *sweater(jumper)jumper* for herself. The mere thought of money made Charlotte feel anxious and she wondered, for *teh* thousandth time, whether she should sell her *Mom's jewelry (Mum's jewellery)Mums jewellery..* She decided to push the thought out of her mind and finally face the day.

Charlotte changed out of her *pajamas(pyjamas)pyjammass*, grabbed her purse and headed out *(of)of* the door. The weather outside was cold and *gray(grey)grey*. As her eyes scanned the many cars and *busses(buses)bus* that *make up the streets of (pass through)pass through* Plymouth, she thought about how the lack of *color(colour)colour* outside seemed to accurately match her mood. Although Charlotte was from Plymouth and had lived *their* her entire life, she felt sure that the city had never seemed so dull. She was so lost in her own thoughts that she didn't notice her *neighbor(neighbour)neighbour*, Evelyn, waving at her from the *sidewalk(pavement)pavment* across the *street(road)road*. It wasn't until Charlotte got all the way to the *center(centre)centre* of the city when Evelyn finally caught up with her.

Evelyn is Charlotte's least *favorite neighbor (favourite neighbour)favourite neighbour* because of her tendency to gossip about everyone in the *neighborhood(local area)locale area*. One day while Charlotte was having an argument with *er* husband *husband*, she noticed out of the corner of her eye that Evelyn was rummaging around in the *trunk(boot)boots* of her car. Charlotte had not thought much of it until the following day when another *neighbor(neighbour)neighbour*, Ellen, invited Charlotte to join a divorced women's *womans* group. Charlotte was shocked and asked Ellen why she would think that she had *seperated* from her husband. Ellen immediately *apologized (apologised)apologised* to Charlotte and claimed that she must have confused her with someone else. While she made it seem like an honest mistake, Charlotte remained *skeptical (sceptical)sceptical*. She just couldn't shake the

feeling that Evelyn had eavesdropped (*eavsdropped*) on her argument and then spread *rumors(rumours)rumours* about her family around the *neighborhood(local area)locale area*.

When Charlotte finally did see Evelyn running towards her that day in the city *center(centre)centre*, her first instinct (*instinct*) was to ignore her. What **he** had not *realized(realised)realised* was that Evelyn was about to tell her something that would change her life forever."

Author Profile: Study 1 & Study 3 Expert Condition

Sophia Phillips was born in Portland, Oregon in 1972 to Janice and William Phillips. She has two older sisters and one younger brother. Her interest in fiction began when she wrote her first story at just 8 years old. She has been writing ever since.

Currently, Sophia works part time as a Human Resource Officer while raising two children. Despite her lifelong interest in writing, Sophia never went on to work as a writer. However, she has continued writing stories in her spare time and hopes to complete her first novel within the next year.

Sophia got her BA in English at The University of Michigan in 1994 and in 1996 received her MA in Creative Writing here in the U.K from The University of Southampton. Sophia has been living in the U.K for the past 15 years and has recently been granted U.K. citizenship. She currently resides in Taunton.

Author Profile: Study 2 & Amateur Condition

Sophia Phillips was born in Portland, Oregon in 1972 to Janice and William Phillips. She has two older sisters and one younger brother.

Currently, Sophia works part time as a Human Resource Officer while raising two children. Despite her busy life, Sophia enjoys reading and writing fiction in her spare time. She also enjoys taking yoga and pottery classes with friends.

Sophia got her BSc in Accounting from The University of Michigan in 1994 and in 1996 received a Post-graduate Certificate in Business Administration here in the U.K. from the University of Southampton. Sophia has been living in the U.K. for the past 15 years and has recently been granted British citizenship. She currently resides in Taunton

Appendix B: Scales used in Studies 1 – 3

Perception of Language

Study 1: $\alpha = .69$

The writing in this story is clear
 The author uses correct grammar throughout this text
 The author uses correct spelling throughout this text
 I do not think this story is written well.

Study 2: $\alpha = .77$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .87$

The writing in this story is clear
 The author uses correct grammar throughout this text
 The author uses correct spelling throughout this text
 I do not think this story is written well (recoded).
 The author demonstrates good writing skills.

Willingness to Change Language

Study 1: Not Measured

Study 2: $\alpha = .81$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .79$

The author doesn't want to change the way she writes (recoded).
 The author is unwilling to change her way of writing (recoded).
 The author would likely be reluctant to change the way she writes (recoded)
 The author doesn't want to adapt her writing to the expectations of the audience (recoded)

Ability to Change Language

Study 1: Not Measured

Study 2: $\alpha = .58$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .54$

The author could alter the language she uses in her story.
 The author is likely unable to change her writing style. (recoded)
 The author is able to improve her language.
 The author could write differently if she wanted to.

Tolerance towards Non-British English**Study 3 Only:** $\alpha = .83$

British spelling is the only correct way of spelling words in English. (recoded)

There are several correct ways of spelling words in English.

While in the U.K. only British spelling should be used. (recoded)

British spellings of English words are more correct than American spellings of English words.

Students learning English as a second language should only be taught the British version of English. (recoded)

Students learning English as a second language should only be taught both the British and the American versions of English.

Similarity to the Author**Study 1:** $\alpha = .96$ **Study 2:** $\alpha = .92$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .95$

Sophia seems very similar to me.

Sophia and I are alike in many ways.

I feel that Sophia and I would have much in common.

I am doubtful that Sophia and I have much in common. (recoded)

Sophia and I are not alike. (recoded)

Sophia seems very dissimilar to me. (recoded)

General Attitudes towards the Author**Study 1:** $\alpha = .75$ **Study 2:** $\alpha = .75$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .82$

Sophia seems like someone that I would typically become friends with.

Sophia does not seem like someone that I would like to get to know. (recoded)

I would find it easy to have a conversation with Sophia.

I would be happy to have Sophia as my neighbour.

Sophia does not seem like someone who would fit in with my circle of friends. (recoded)

Sophia seems like someone that I would like to get to know.

Perception of the Author as Warm (Fiske et al., 2002)**Study 1:** $\alpha = .83$ **Study 2:** $\alpha = .77$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .73$

Tolerant

Warm

Sincere

Good-Natured

Perception of the Author as Competent (Fiske et al., 2002)**Study 1:** $\alpha = .67$ **Study 2:** $\alpha = .78$ **Study 3:** $\alpha = .77$

Competent
 Confident
 Intelligent
 Independent

Perception of Author as Assimilated to British Culture**Study 3 Only:** $\alpha = .73$

Buy British brands.
 Engage in conversations about the weather.
 Queue patiently.
 Learn to make a proper cup of tea.
 Use a knife and fork correctly.

Author's National Identity**Study 3 Only:** ($r(170) = .068, p = .378$)

Based on your impression of Sophia, how important is it to her to be British?
 Based on your impression of Sophia, how important is it to her to be American?

(British – American) = Identity Score

Realistic Threat from Immigrants (Maddux et al., 2008)**Study 1:** $\alpha = .75$ **Study 2:** $\alpha = .78$

Non-British people dominate British society more than it should.
 Education benefits non-British people over British people more than it should.
 Many companies believe that people from other countries are more qualified than British people.
 Non-British people living in the UK make it harder for British citizens to have a good quality of life.

Study 3: $\alpha = .86$

Non-British people living in the U.K. should be eligible for the same health-care benefits received by British people.
 Non-British people living in the U.K. have increased the tax burden on British people.
 Non-British people hold too many positions of power and responsibility in this country.
 Non-British people dominate British society more than they should.
 When non-British people are in positions of authority, they discriminate against British people when making hiring decisions.
 Non-British people have more economic power than they deserve in this country.
 Non-British people living in the U.K. make it harder for British citizens to get good jobs.

Poor non-British people living in the U.K. are as entitled to subsidized housing or utilities as poor British citizens are. (recoded)
 The legal system lets non-British people get away with more than British citizens.

Symbolic Threat from Immigrants (Stephen et al., 1999)

Study 1: $\alpha = .74$ **Study 2:** $\alpha = .84$

Non-British people should learn to conform to the rules and norms of British society as soon as possible after they arrive.

British culture is changing because of non-British people who live in the UK.

Immigration from outside of the UK is undermining British culture.

The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most British people. (recoded)

The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most British people.

The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most British people. (recoded)

The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding social relations are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most British people.

Non-British people should not have to accept British ways. (recoded)

Study 3: $\alpha = .72$

The English language has been diluted because of foreign influences.

Non-British people living in the U.K. pose little or no threat to the cultural practices of most British citizens. (recoded).

Non-British people should learn to conform to the rules and norms of British society as soon as possible after they arrive.

British culture is changing because of non-British people who live in the U.K.

Immigration from outside of the U.K. is undermining British culture.

The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most British people.

Attitudes towards non-British People Living in the U.K.

Study 1: $r(60) = .755, p < .001$ **Study 2:** $r(77) = .613, p < .001$

Respect

Warmth

Study 3: $\alpha = .77$

Warmth

Resentment (recoded)

Dislike (recoded)

Appendix C: Manipulations used in Studies 4 – 6

Story Read by Accented Speaker: Studies 4 – 6

“Hello. My name is Sophia. I moved to Exeter recently and so far am enjoying my time here. It is always an adjustment when you move to a new place but Exeter is small enough that I have not had a hard time finding my way around.

My flight here was pleasant enough. Looking down from the plane I knew I was in England because of the patchwork maze of fields. I have heard how green the U.K. is but seeing it for myself made the experience seem real. I knew I was getting close to my destination.

I arrived in Heathrow to a very busy airport. People were walking in all different directions and all seemed to be in a hurry. The queue for customs and the wait for my bags seemed to take forever! But, I feel lucky that my bags arrived safely. If they hadn't it would have been very inconvenient.

My first few days in the U.K were spent in London. I stayed in what seemed to be a nice area of the city and I was able to walk everywhere I wanted to go. I tried to see as much of the city as I possibly could in the brief time I had there.

Finally it was time for me to go to Exeter. I packed up all of my bags and went to London Paddington where my train was meant to arrive. Unfortunately, the train was over an hour late! When it finally did arrive I was happy to get a seat. It took about two and a half hours to get to Exeter St. David's.

Exeter is a lot smaller than London but is still a very nice place. I am looking forward to getting to know the city better.”

Fact Sheet - Manipulation of Andorra's Status: Study 6

ANDORRA



People and Society:

“Andorra has a population of just above 84,000 people. The life expectancy (*is 87 years old/74 years old*) – almost 6 years (*above/below*) the European average. Children are required to attend school until the age of 16 (*and as a result, Andorra boasts a 100% literacy rate/yet Andorra's literacy rate is only 72%*). While the recent economic recession has affected most countries in Europe, (*Andorra has managed to escape the worst of it/it has hit Andorra especially hard*). The unemployment rate is one of the (*highest/lowest*) in the world with a (*mere 0.6%/staggering 18%*) of Andorra's population out of work. This, along with having one of Europe's (*lowest/highest*) percentages of citizens living in poverty has earned Andorra the title of Europe's “(*Best/Worst*) Place to Live” according to a recent report. Because (*of its success/it has struggled*) in this tough economic climate, (*Andorra has been able to invest heavily in its healthcare/ the quality of healthcare in Andorra has suffered tremendously*) and has recently (*overtaken the Netherlands as Europe's top rated health system/ dropped below Latvia as Europe's lowest rated health system*).

Economy:

Tourism accounts for almost 80% of Andorra's GDP. Known primarily for its skiing holidays, Andorra (*has succeeded in the industry by offering cut-price deals to tour operators, duty free shopping, and skiing lessons offered in many languages. Such innovative ideas has allowed Andorra to compete with skiing powerhouses France and Austria as well as contributed greatly to Andorra's economic successes/ tried to compete in the industry by investing in high-end resorts and top-notch ski equipment. This decision, however, raised the prices of Andorran ski holidays and, unable to compete with skiing powerhouses France and Austria, Andorra's popularity waned and the economy suffered*).

International Influence:

(*An active member of the international community, Andorra is a full member of the UN, UNESCO, the ICC, and the OSCE, among others/ Andorra has yet to mark its place within the international community. While not a full member of the UN, Andorra has been granted “observer status” meaning it is unable to vote on resolutions or substantive matters*).

Appendix D: Scales used in Studies 4 – 6

Similarity to the Speaker

Study 4: $\alpha = .91$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .88$ **Study 6:** $\alpha = .90$

Sophia seems very similar to me.
 Sophia and I are alike in many ways.
 I feel that Sophia and I would have much in common.
 I am doubtful that Sophia and I have much in common. (recoded)
 Sophia and I are not alike. (recoded)
 Sophia seems very dissimilar to me. (recoded)

General Attitudes towards the Speaker

Study 4: $\alpha = .60$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .78$

Sophia seems like someone I would typically become friends with.
 I would find it difficult to talk with Sophia. (recoded)
 Sophia does not seem like someone who would fit with my circle of friends. (recoded)

Study 6: $\alpha = .83$

Sophia does not seem like someone that I would like to get to know.
 I would find it easy to have a conversation with Sophia.
 I would be happy to have Sophia as my neighbour.
 I would find it difficult to talk with Sophia.
 Sophia seems like someone that I would like to get to know.

Perception of the Author as Warm (Fiske et al., 2002)

Study 4: $\alpha = .78$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .78$ **Study 6:** $\alpha = .79$

Tolerant
 Warm
 Sincere
 Good-Natured

Perception of the Author as Competent (Fiske et al., 2002)

Study 4: $\alpha = .70$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .71$ **Study 6:** $\alpha = .53$

Competent
 Confident
 Intelligent
 Independent

Realistic Threat from Immigrants (Maddux et al., 2008)**Study 4:** $\alpha = .87$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .91$ **Study 6:** $\alpha = .92$

Non-British people hold too many positions of power and responsibility in this country.

Non-British people living in the UK have increased the tax burden on British people.

Non-British people living in the UK should be eligible for the same health-care benefits received by British people. (recoded)

Non-British people dominate British society more than they should.

When non-British people are in positions of authority, they discriminate against British people when making hiring decisions.

Education benefits non-British people over British people more than it should.

Non-British people have more economic power than they deserve in this country.

Non-British people living in the UK make it harder for British citizens to get into University.

Non-British people living in the UK make it harder for British citizens to get good jobs.

Many companies believe that people from other countries are more qualified than British people.

Poor non-British people living in the UK are as entitled to subsidized housing of subsidized utilities as poor British citizens are. (recoded)

Non-British people living in the UK make it harder for British citizens to have a good quality of life.

The legal system lets non-British people get away with more than British citizens.

Social services are now less available to British citizens because of non-British people living in the UK.

Symbolic Threat from Immigrants (Stephen et al., 1999)**Study 4:** $\alpha = .74$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .55$ **Study 6:** $\alpha = .57$

Non-British people should learn to conform to the rules and norms of British society as soon as possible after they arrive.

British culture is changing because of non-British people who live in the UK.

Immigration from outside of the UK is undermining British culture.

Non-British people should not have to accept British ways. (recoded)

Attitudes towards non-British People Living in the U.K.**Study 4:** $\alpha = .87$ **Study 5:** $\alpha = .83$

Respect

Friendliness

Acceptance

Resentment (recoded)

Dislike (recoded)

Study 6: $\alpha = .72$

Warmth

Dislike (recoded)

Respect

Appendix E: Scales used in Study 7

Attitudes towards Accent ($\alpha = .68$)

I feel self-conscious about speaking English with an accent.
 I wish that I did not speak English with an accent.
 I feel that having an accent holds me back.
 I feel that having an accent makes me unique. (recoded)
 I do not think about how my accent comes across to others. (recoded)
 I am proud of speaking with an accent. (recoded)

Perception of Accent as a Barrier to Belonging ($\alpha = .83$)

I would have more British friends if I did not speak with an accent.
 It would be easier to fit into British life if I did not speak with an accent.
 Having an accent does not impact how I experience life in the UK. (recoded)

Perception of Accent as a Barrier to Communicating ($\alpha = .87$)

Having an accent makes communicating with British people more difficult.
 I often feel that British people do not understand me when I speak.
 I worry that native English speakers do not understand what I say.
 I feel self-conscious about speaking in public because of my accent.
 If I did not have an accent I would feel more comfortable speaking out loud in class.
 I am more talkative when I am speaking my native language than when I am speaking English.

Preference for Associating with Non-British People ($\alpha = .83$)

Since arriving in the UK, I spend more of my time with students from my same country.
 Since arriving in the UK, I spend most of my time with students from the same part of the world as I am from.
 Since arriving in the UK, I spend most of my time with British students. (recoded)
 When I am with British students I tend to feel out of place.
 I have a mix of both British and non-British friends. (recoded)

Intentions to become Immersed in British Culture ($\alpha = .85$)

During my time in the UK, I plan to learn as much as possible about British culture.
 During my time in the UK, I hope to form strong friendships with British people.
 During my time in the UK, I plan to try new things.
 During my time in the UK, I plan to see as much of the country as I can.

Reported Attempts to Accommodate Language ($\alpha = .74$)

Since arriving in the UK I have started using more British phrases.

I speak differently with British people than I do with friends and family from my home country.

I tend to change how I say things based on whom I am speaking to.

When I hear British people speak, I try to imitate them.

I try to minimise my accent when I speak to British people.

I try to change my accent to match who I speak to.

Appendix F: Manipulations used in Study 8

Information Sheet:



INFORMATION SHEET

iSpeak is a software programme that is used to aid teaching English as a second language. It works by comparing the pronunciation of non-native English speakers to that of native English speakers and has proven effective in improving the language skills of students studying English.

In order to compare speech patterns effectively, iSpeak relies on a database of approximately 400,000 recordings of people speaking English in various accents (regional, non-native, etc). As part of a larger project on the perception of non-native accents within the School of Psychology, we are working with the manufacturers of iSpeak to include additional information about their non-native speakers (such as proficiency in English and any experiences with discrimination). We hope that by offering a more complete profile of the speakers used in its database, iSpeak will become more effective in helping to improve the pronunciation of its users.

As part of this study, you will be recorded twice. The first time, you will be asked to read a couple of sentences out loud while being assessed by iSpeak. Based on this, you will receive a Personal Speech Profile to take home. You will then be asked to engage in a five-minute conversation with a native English speaker followed by a brief English language test and a questionnaire.

The study will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and you will be paid £5 for your time. Please note that all the information you provide for this study, including the recordings and the English language test, will remain anonymous. You are also free to withdraw from this study at any point and to request that your recordings be deleted from both the iSpeak system as well as from our database. If you have questions at any point throughout this study please do not hesitate to ask the experimenter. If you would like more information about this research project please email Megan Birney at meb205@exeter.ac.uk

If you consent to taking part, please sign on the line below:

Frequently Asked Questions

What exactly do you mean by accent? The term “accent” is defined as the mode of pronunciation of a person or group, especially one that betrays social or geographical origin. While accents come in many different forms, the purpose of iSpeak is to evaluate non-native accents, or accents that emerge because the speaker’s native language is not English. Hence, when we talk about accents in this study, we are referring to the difference between your speech patterns and that of a British person.

Why are accents important? While some accents are considered prestigious others, unfortunately, are stigmatized. Hence, while some non-native English speakers face discrimination during their time in the U.K others can more easily use their accent to get ahead. Within the School of Psychology, we aim to better understand the circumstances that contribute to the way a person is being treated because of the way they speak.

Where does iSpeak fit in? iSpeak was originally developed as a learning tool to help improve the pronunciation of students learning English. However, because it includes information and recordings from native English speakers in its database, it has been effective in helping us determine factors that are associated with the prejudice and discrimination of certain accents. By using iSpeak’s database, we have been able to identify the patterns of speech that tend to be perceived negatively, as well as those that tend to be perceived positively.

What makes some accents beneficial for their carriers and what makes other accents more prone to discrimination? Previously, researchers believed that stronger accents lead to more negative evaluations. However, recent research has revealed that evaluations of accents are largely independent from accent strength, and are instead related to specific ways in which certain sounds and words are pronounced (for example, the length of time a vowel is held for and whether the pitch of a speaker’s voice rises at the end of a sentence).. iSpeak analyses your individual way of pronouncing sounds, words, and sentences, and evaluates your speech patterns based on *how* you speak, **not** on how strong your accent is.

What next? We will ask you to say a few sentences so that iSpeak can evaluate your speech patterns. Based on many factors including your intonation, tone and pitch, iSpeak will determine your speech type and make predictions about how your accent is perceived by native English speakers in the U.K. The software also works by comparing you to other non-native speakers with similar experience of speaking English (based on the information you provided us prior to arriving to this study).

When you are ready, please turn the page and read through the sentences you will be asked to say out-loud.

Below are the sentences you will be asked to record. Please read through them and let the experimenter know when you are ready.

Sentence #1: My son went outside to play in the sun.

Sentence #2: We had a row because the meat I served was raw.

Sentence #3: Eating good food brightens my mood.

Sentence #4: Only a fool would drop out of school.

Sentence #5: Your hour has arrived.

Sentence: #6: Dave and Jane recently got married.

Sentence: #7: The chief bridesmaid was named Mary.

Sentence: #8: The holiday season is a merry time of year

Non-Stigma Manipulation: Crystal Group



Explanation of Classification System:

iSpeak classifies speech patterns into two groups: Crystal and Cloud. Speech patterns classified as **Crystal** tend to be associated with more **positive attitudes** from native speakers and are less likely to result in discrimination. Speech patterns classified as **Cloud** tend to be viewed in **negative ways** and carriers of such accents are likely to be treated negatively by native English speakers.

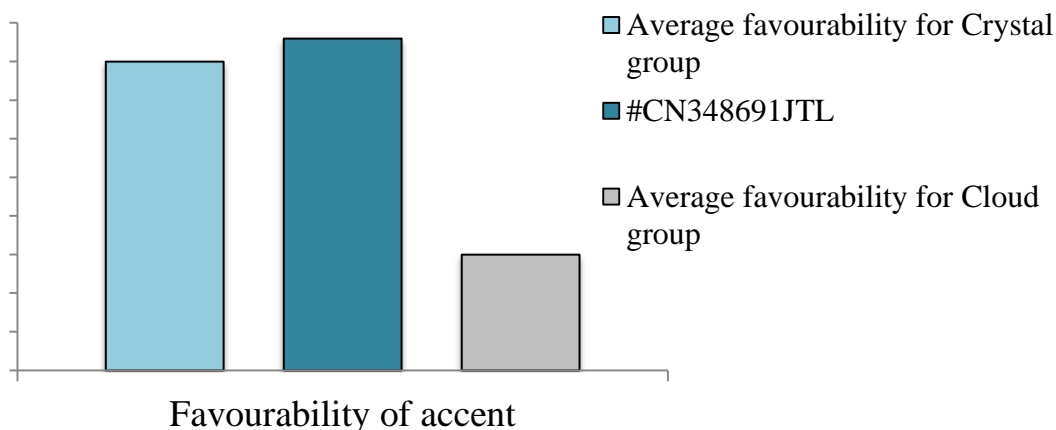
Within each group, speech patterns are given a rating between 1 (a little) and 5 (a lot) as to how typical they are of their group. For example, a rating of 1 within the “Crystal” group means that your accent is likely to be perceived positively but only slightly so, while the rating of 5 within the “Crystal” group means that your accent is very likely to be perceived positively.

YOUR PERSONAL SPEECH PROFILE:

Speaker: #CN348691JTL

Group: Crystal

Rating: 5



Real World Application:

Based on your score and the information we have in our database from native English speakers, we can make the following predictions:

Chances are HIGH that your speech will always be understood by native speakers.

Chances are LOW that you will be perceived negatively because of your accent.

Changes are LOW that you will be stigmatized because of your accent.

Chances are LOW that you will experience job discrimination while living in the U.K.

Chances are LOW that you will experience housing discrimination while living in the U.K.

You are LESS likely to experience feelings of exclusion from native English speakers while you are in the U.K.

You are MORE likely to experience helping behaviour from native English speakers while you are in the U.K.

You are MORE likely to make lasting friendships with British people.

Enrolment in accent reduction classes: NOT RECOMMENDED

.....

Stigma Manipulation: Cloud Group



Explanation of Classification System:

iSpeak classifies speech patterns into two groups: Crystal and Cloud. Speech patterns classified as **Crystal** tend to be associated with more **positive attitudes** from native speakers and are less likely to result in discrimination. Speech patterns classified as **Cloud** tend to be viewed in **negative ways** and carriers of such accents are likely to be treated negatively by native English speakers.

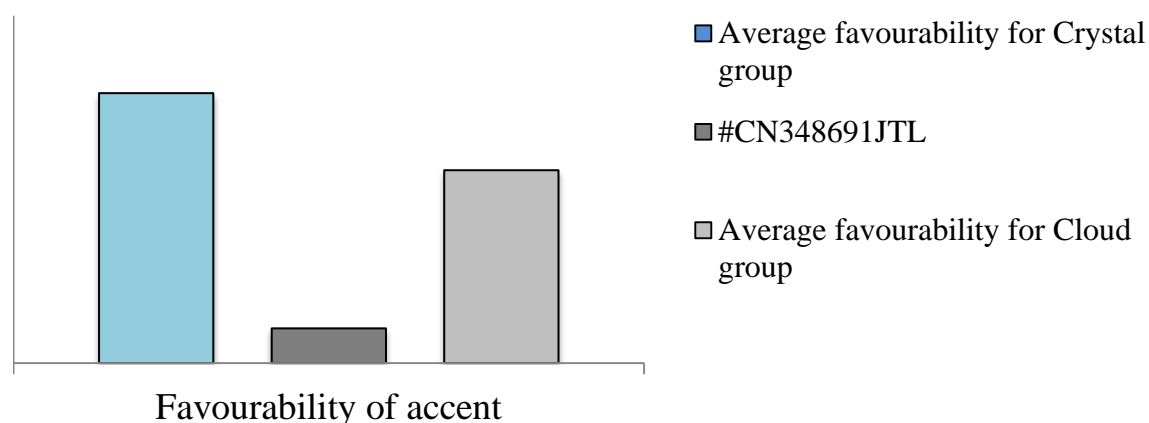
Within each group, speech patterns are given a rating between 1 (a little) and 5 (a lot) as to how typical they are of their group. For example, a rating of 1 within the “Cloud” group means that your accent is likely to be perceived negatively but only slightly so, while the rating of 5 within the “Cloud” group means that your accent is very likely to be perceived negatively

YOUR PERSONAL SPEECH PROFILE:

Speaker: #CN348691JTL

Group: Cloud

Rating: 5



Real World Application:

Based on your score and the information we have in our database from native English speakers, we can make the following predictions:

Chances are LOW that your speech will always be understood by native speakers.

Chances are HIGH that you will be perceived negatively because of your accent.

Changes are HIGH that you will be stigmatized because of your accent.

Chances are HIGH that you will experience job discrimination while living in the U.K.

Chances are HIGH that you will experience housing discrimination while living in the U.K.

You are MORE likely to experience feelings of exclusion from native English speakers while you are in the U.K.

You are LESS likely to experience helping behaviour from native English speakers while you are in the U.K.

You are LESS likely to make lasting friendships with British people.

Enrolment in accent reduction classes: RECOMMENDED

Appendix G: Scales used in Study 8

Non-native Speakers' Perceptions:

Prevention Focus (Lockwood et al., 2002) ($\alpha = .64$)

I am focused on preventing negative events in my life.
 I feel anxious that I will fall short of my responsibilities and obligations.
 I can picture the person I am afraid I might become in the future.
 I worry that I will fail to accomplish my academic goals.
 I can imagine experiencing the bad things that I fear might happen to me.
 I am more oriented toward preventing losses than I am toward achieving gains.
 My major goal while in university is to avoid academic failure.
 My primary aim is to become the self I "ought" to be - to fulfil my duties, responsibilities and obligations.

Promotion Focus (Lockwood et al., 2002) ($\alpha = .88$)

I can imagine achieving my hopes and aspirations.
 I can picture the person I would ideally like to be in the future.
 I am focused on the success I hope to achieve in the future.
 I can envision how I will achieve academic success.
 I feel that I can prevent failures in my life.
 My primary aim is to achieve my "ideal self" - to fulfil my hopes, wishes and aspirations.
 I am focused on achieving positive outcomes in my life.
 I can imagine experiencing the good things that I hope will happen to me.
 Overall, I am more orientated toward achieving success than preventing failure.

Attitudes towards Accent ($\alpha = .94$)

I feel embarrassed because of my accent.
 I do not like that I speak English with an accent.
 Because of my accent, I feel unsure of myself when I speak English.
 I feel that having an accent holds me back.
 I would have more British friends if I did not speak with an accent.
 Having an accent makes communicating with British people more difficult.
 I often feel that British people do not understand me when I speak.
 I worry that native English speakers do not understand what I say.
 When speaking to British people, I worry about pronouncing words incorrectly.
 I sometimes think British people have a hard time understanding my accent.
 I sometimes feel that people discriminate against me because of my accent.
 My accent makes it difficult for me to communicate well.
 If I did not have an accent I would feel more comfortable speaking out-loud in class.
 I am more relaxed when I am speaking my native language than when I am speaking English.
 When I am with British students I tend to feel uncomfortable because of the way that I speak.

Similarity to the British Confederate ($\alpha = .83$)

The other participant seems very similar to me.
 The other participant and I are alike in many ways.
 The other participant seems very dissimilar to me. (recoded)

General Attitudes towards the British Confederate ($\alpha = .68$)

The other participant does not seem like someone that I would like to get to know. (recoded)
 I would be happy to have the other participant as my neighbour.
 The other participant does not seem like someone who would fit in with my circle of friends.(recoded)
 The other participant seems like someone that I would like to get to know better.

Meta-perceptions ($\alpha = .73$)

I felt that the other participant liked me.
 I do not think the other participant liked me very much. (recoded)
 I think that the other participant found it difficult to have a conversation with me. (recoded)
 I think that the other participant found it difficult to understand me. (recoded)
 I do not think the other participant noticed my accent.

Language Accommodation ($\alpha = .73$)

I made no effort to adapt my speech to the other participant. (recoded)
 I tried hard to make myself clear to the other participant.
 I made an effort during the conversation to come across well.
 I tried to minimize my accent during the conversation.
 When I speak to native English speakers, I try to imitate their speech patterns.
 I would prefer to keep my accent the way it is. (recoded)
 While in the U.K., it is important to speak as much like a British person as possible.
 Trying to speak like a British person while in the U.K is a sign of respect.
 British people don't mind if you speak differently than they do. (recoded)

Anxiety ($\alpha = .72$)

I can interact with native English speakers without experiencing much anxiety. (recoded)
 If I were at a party, I would have no problem starting a conversation with a native English speaker. (recoded)
 It makes me uncomfortable to bring up the topic of immigration around British people.
 I experience little anxiety with I speak to native English speakers. (recoded)
 The cultural differences between many non-British people and British people make interactions between non-British people and British people awkward.
 I experience some anxiety when I am the only non-British person in a room full of British people.

Realistic Threat from British People (Maddux et al., 2008) ($\alpha = .88$)

British people make it difficult for non-British people living in the U.K. to get access to university places.

British people make it harder for non-British people living in the U.K. to have a good quality of life.

The legal system in the U.K. lets British citizens get away with more than non-British people living in the U.K.

It is more difficult for poor non-British people living in the U.K. to access subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, sewage, electricity) than poor British people.

Non-British people living in the U.K. deserve to have more power than they currently do.

Opportunities for non-British people living in the U.K. are generally equal to that of British citizens. (recoded)

Many companies believe that British citizens are more qualified than non-British people.

British people discriminate against non-British people when making hiring decisions.

Coursework is marked lower if the lecturer knows the student is a non-native speaker.

Lecturers take questions from British students more seriously than questions from non-British students.

The university is more concerned about British students than they are about non-British students.

Symbolic Threat from Immigrants (Stephen et al., 1999) ($\alpha = .74$)

The values and beliefs of most British people regarding work are basically quite similar to those of people from my culture. (recoded)

The values and beliefs of most British people regarding moral and religious issues are compatible with the beliefs and values of most people from my country. (recoded)

The values and beliefs of most British people regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most people from my country. (recoded)

The values and beliefs of most non-British people regarding social relations are compatible with the beliefs and values of most people from my country. (recoded)

I feel pressure to change who I am in order to fit into British life.

I worry I will lose connection to my native culture because of my time in the U.K.

My values are changing because of my experience of living in the U.K.

My time in the U.K. has had an impact on my relationships with family and friends back home.

I find it difficult to practice my culture and/or religion while living in the U.K.

Native Speakers' Perceptions:**Accent Strength** ($\alpha = .86$)

Please rate the strength of the participants' accent.

Perceived Attempts to Accommodate ($\alpha = .94$)

The participant tried hard to make his/her speech clear to the confederate.
 The participant made an effort during the conversation to come across well.
 The participant tried to appear likeable during the conversation.
 The participant tried to say things in a way that the confederate would understand.
 The participant tried to pronounce words in a British way.

Perceived Comfort During the Conversation ($\alpha = .98$)

The participant felt comfortable during the conversation.
 The participant seemed relaxed throughout the conversation.
 The participant seemed confident during the conversation.
 The participant found it easy to speak during the conversation.
 The participant seemed to struggle to find the “right” words to express him/herself. (recoded)
 The participant made an effort to speak/ask questions throughout the conversation.
 The participant seemed uncomfortable during the conversation. (recoded)
 The conversation seemed awkward. (recoded)
 The participant did not seem to want to speak much throughout the conversation. (recoded)

Attitudes towards the Participant ($\alpha = .97$)

The participant seems like someone I would typically become friends with.
 The participant does *not* seem like someone I would like to get to know. (recoded)
 I would be happy to have the participant as my neighbour.
 The participant does *not* seem like someone who would fit in with my circle of friends.
 (recoded)
 The participant seems like someone I would like to get to know better.

Perceived Commitment to Living in the U.K. ($r(56) = .79, p < .001$)

I would predict that the participant has been living in the U.K.

- A) Less than 6 months
- B) Between 6 months – 1 year
- C) Between 1 – 3 years
- D) Between 3 – 5 years
- E) Between 5 – 10 years
- F) Between 11 – 15 years
- G) Over 15 years

I predict that the participant will continue living in the U.K.

- A) Less than 6 months
- B) Between 6 months – 1 year
- C) Between 1 – 3 years
- D) Between 3 – 5 years
- E) Between 5 – 10 years
- F) Between 11 – 15 years
- G) Over 15 years