

Learning, Working and Communicating in a Global Context

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4 The role of speaker identification in Taiwanese attitudes towards varieties of English

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Introduction

A number of language attitude studies towards non-native listeners have indicated that native varieties are generally preferred over non-native varieties (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Ladegaard, 1998; McKenzie, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013; Zhang, 2010). Similar findings in favour of native varieties, which are usually regarded as standard models, have emerged when Taiwanese perceptions were investigated (Kobayashi, 2008; Cheng, 2009; Lee, 2013). While some studies demonstrated differences in evaluation of varieties of English speech corresponding to identification accuracy (McKenzie, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013), others have not discovered such a connection (Zhang, 2010). In this paper, I contribute to the body of language attitude research by investigating the possible correlation between identification and evaluation of English varieties among Taiwanese participants, for whom English plays a vital role in everyday life. Traditionally categorized by Kachru (1992) as an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) territory, the Lingua Franca role of English in Taiwan has made the English language of paramount importance for enhancing career prospects, educational advancement and international trade. Accordingly, what remains unknown is whether Taiwanese participants' understanding of speaker origin influences the way they subsequently judge different English varieties. This study aims to provide a discussion of Taiwanese attitude research through the examination of EFL speakers' perceptions towards varieties of English, and offers an analysis of how they consequently evaluate each type of English speech, based on correct or incorrect identification of the speakers.

Previous Research

Attitudes towards Native vs. Non-native English Varieties

The findings of language attitude research involving native speakers show consistently that prestigious native varieties, such as RP and Northern Michigander dialects of American English are preferred over their stigmatized counterparts from the perspective of status, which implies that these varieties are better evaluated on traits such as intelligence and education (Giles, 1970; Hiraga, 2005; Preston, 2004). Discrimination of English varieties revealed that Taiwanese listeners also rated a prestigious English variety, such as Standard American English, the most highly (Cheng, 2009; Lee, 2013; Yang, 2013). “Native speakerism” (Holliday, 2006:385) and the “ideology of standard variety” (Milroy, 2001:532) play a vital role among Taiwanese learners. In other words, native varieties such as American English are seen as providing the standard cultural and linguistic models for EFL speakers (Cheng, 2009; Kobayashi, 2008). For example, American English is more positively evaluated from the perspectives of having better pronunciation and being easier for EFL students to listen to (Lee, 2013; Yang, 2013). Moreover, the variety that is predominantly used in Taiwanese ELT classes is American English (Cheng, 2009; Kobayashi, 2008; Lee, 2013). However, this situation may be changing as Taiwanese learners are gradually exposed to both native and non-native varieties of English in a globalized world. Given the growing number of non-native English speakers, there is an increasing opportunity for Taiwanese to encounter and interact with speakers of diverse English varieties. In addition to the variety of American English that Taiwanese learners would encounter in school, EFL speakers are likely to be exposed to, and further acquire, stereotypes of other varieties of English via widespread mass media, including TV series, movies and pop music. A question that arises from such situations is: what are Taiwanese attitudes towards distinct varieties of English?

To direct Taiwanese people’s awareness of the existence of Asian forms of English, Kobayashi (2008) examined a group of Taiwanese students taking an intensive English course in a private university’s language centre in the Philippines. Interview results indicated that Taiwanese students studying English in an ESL environment had little recognition of the importance of L2 varieties of English spoken in Asia. For example, it was found that native standard varieties such as American and British English are more desirable than Philippines English as a target-learning model. Moreover, Philippines English was regarded as different from “correct varieties” and was negatively evaluated owing to a “heavy accent” (Kobayashi, 2008:90-91). The negative attitudes towards Philippines English may impede non-native-

to-non-native communication and, thus, Taiwanese perceptions of non-native varieties are worthy of further investigation.

In exploring the extent to which Taiwanese perceive different types of English speech, Lee (2013) investigated 70 university students' attitudes towards Australian English, American English and Taiwanese English speakers who were delivering the same lecture. While the American English speaker was the most positively evaluated, the Taiwanese English was judged the most unfavourably. The finding that the Australian English speaker was perceived to have a foreign accent might result from participants' limited exposure to the Australian variety. Furthermore, the result of a mock TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) listening exam demonstrated that Taiwanese speakers' unfamiliarity with Australian accents is likely to hinder them from comprehending the language of Australian speakers (Lee, 2013). Yang (2013) investigated non-English major university students' perception changes in learning English variation. Multimedia texts, such as a song from the film "Three Idiots", were adapted to help students understand the pronunciation features of Indian English. For example, the sentence "All is well" in the song may well sound like "All-iz vell" to most students. The teaching instrument helped students to understand that the consonant /w/ would be pronounced as /v/ in Indian English (Yang, 2013:107-108). The results suggest that after the detailed phonetic attributes of Indian English were introduced in class, the majority of the students benefited from the phonetics teaching and adopted a more positive attitude towards Indian English, especially its accent.

Correlation between Identification and Evaluation

Positive or negative attitudes towards a speaker's accent may be influenced by background information, such as nationality or ethnic group membership that is correlated with speech (Edwards, 1997). While one's accent provides significant cues for listeners to recognise the geographical origin or identity marker of a speaker (Milroy & McClenaghan, 1977; Wright, 1996), most language attitude studies disregard the issue of speaker origin classification on evaluating the different varieties of English (McKenzie, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Studies (e.g. McKenzie, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013) have shown that listeners evaluated a variety more positively when speaker provenance was correctly identified.

When Japanese university students' evaluations of different English varieties are investigated, accurate identification of speaker origin demonstrated a significant positive effect upon the evaluation of native varieties of English,

including Glasgow Vernacular, Southern US English and Midwest United States English with regard to status (McKenzie, 2008:150). This is reinforced by the findings attained in South Korea, which revealed that a more favourable evaluation was given to the same European-American English speaker when she was accurately recognized as being from the USA (Yook & Lindemann, 2013:292). In turn, the results of Zhang (2010) confirmed that evaluation might not differ according to identification. Other than an American English speaker and a RP speaker, Hong Kong University respondents' ratings of most of the native and non-native English speakers failed to reach statistical significance between the correct identification and inaccurate identification group. One intriguing question arising from these studies (McKenzie, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013; Zhang, 2010) is whether correct identification forms the basis of the stereotypes held by listeners, when assessing different English voices.

Many (including Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; McKenzie, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013) propose that whether prejudice is against the community it is perceived to be from should be examined carefully in language attitude studies by engaging an indirect method, the Verbal Guise Test (VGT). For instance, perceptions towards speech are shown to be misleading when listener-judges misidentify a speaker from another speech group and thus make stereotyped judgements on the variety they believe they are hearing, instead of the variety they are actually hearing (Preston 1989, 2004). The task of identification has drawn some attention in Taiwanese language attitude studies, demonstrating how conscious informants are of speaker provenance of the different varieties of English speech (Lee, 2013; Yang, 2013).

Lee (2013) found that Taiwanese English (62%) and American English (61%) shared a similar accuracy rate of speaker origin identification. Moreover, the infrequent exposure to Australian English helps to explain why the Australian speaker (10%) is rated the lowest (Lee, 2013). On the other hand, Yang (2014) found that the ESL variety of Indian English (46%) was identified the most highly in comparison to American English (40%) and Taiwanese English (28%). Specifically, the correct rate of identifying Indian English (94%) increases substantially after the phonetic features of Indian English are taught in class. Nevertheless, to what extent identification would potentially influence speaker evaluation has not yet been examined.

From the vast body of language attitude research, studies explicitly examining the correlation between the variation pattern of speaker origin and

evaluation in Taiwan appear to be limited. This study aims to extend the investigation of how Taiwanese listener-judges identify with the linguistic diversity of English, and whether different classifications of the origin of individual speakers have a part to play in the formation of a more positive or negative judgement of speakers. Specifically, this study aims to address the following three research questions. 1. How do Taiwanese speakers perceive L1, ESL and EFL varieties of English? 2. To what extent can Taiwanese speakers correctly identify the speaker origin of different types of English speech? 3. How are attitudes toward English varieties affected by Taiwanese respondents' knowledge of the speakers' provenance?

Following this review of existing literature on the correlation between speaker identification and evaluation of different types of English speech, I will outline the methodology adopted. Then I will present the results of speaker evaluation of the seven selected English varieties according to speaker status and solidarity, as well as the responses of speaker identification. I will conclude by discussing whether evaluation differences according to identification exist among Taiwanese participants.

Methodology

The Research Instrument

The research sample was composed of 371 Taiwanese participants, including 200 females and 171 males. Following the methodology of previous studies examining the role of speaker identification in non-native speakers' attitudes in Japan (McKenzie, 2008) and South Korea (Yook & Lindemann, 2013), the research instrument consisted of a VGT and a speaker identification task via an online survey. Since accent has an influence on the listener's judgements about the social status of the speaker, VGT has been widely employed as a perceptual experiment within language attitude studies (Ryan & Giles, 1982). VGT uses different speakers to represent varieties so that natural voices are adopted in the reading of the passage, instead of artificial guises (Garrett et al., 2003). In essence, the purpose of VGT is to "elicit the stereotyped impressions or biased views which members of one social group hold of representative members of a contrasting group" on the basis of their speech cues (Lambert, 1967:93). The speech stimulus is a short passage consisting of 69 words available from The Speech Accent Archive (TSAA) developed by George Mason University (Weinberger, 2012). The passage was specifically designed to elicit a number of target phonemes known to be difficult for non-native speakers and which were verified in different

contexts (Cheng, 2009; Eisenclas and Tsurutani, 2011; Yook and Lindemann, 2013). For this reason, the passage serves as an appropriate speech stimulus for the current study. To avoid the potentially confounding variable of gender difference, the selected recordings were of seven native male speakers of their respective accents. In addition to the gender factor, attempts were made to keep extraneous variables, such as voice quality and speed, constant.

The VGT and the identification section of the experiment were divided up according to the seven different speakers. A practice example was presented at the beginning to help participants to familiarize themselves with the completion of the evaluations. Participants were asked to rate the speakers on a six-point semantic-differential scale composed of the following six traits: “confident”, “intelligent”, “educated”, “authoritative”, “friendly” and “lively”. A rating of 1 indicates the least favourable rating and 6 indicate the most favourable evaluation. These personality traits were selected on the basis of traits that had been used in examining non-native speaker attitudes and they were then tested in a pilot study for validity.

The recording on the website was controlled in such a manner as to be played only once to elicit participants’ intuitive responses when answering the VGT. After evaluating the seven speech samples on the semantic-differential scale, informants were asked to listen to the recording again and try to identify the nationality of each speaker from a predetermined list of ten different options of countries arranged in alphabetical order. The list of options provided for participants was: Australia, India, Japan, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Taiwan, UK, USA and “Not Known”. The options of Russia and South Africa were included to further enhance the difficulty of the task and the validity of the results. When the correct identification rate had been analysed, it was intended to better reveal participants’ ability to recognise different varieties.

The Varieties of English Selected

With the emerging concept of “World Englishes” for global communication (Matsuda, 2003) and the increasing recognition of distinctive varieties of English (Kirkpatrick, 2007), the English varieties selected for the VGT and identification task were chosen according to Kachru’s (1992) three-circle model. General American English (GAE) was selected, as it is presumed to be the variety participants are most familiar with. Standard Southern British English (SSBE) was chosen, as studies in Taiwan have not yet examined Taiwanese attitudes towards British English varieties, despite the fact that

SSBE is perhaps the second most popular reference variety for pedagogical purposes. Although Australian English (AE) has been tested in Lee (2013)'s study, it is worth re-examining AE along with the other prestigious native varieties of GAE and SSBE in this same study to allow comparison. The only outer circle variety is Indian English (IE), given that India has the largest population of ESL speakers in Asia. Japanese English (JE) was included in the experiment so that result can be compared with research done in Japan (McKenzie, 2008). Spanish English (SE) was chosen in order to include a European English variety in the research. Lastly, the inclusion of Taiwanese English (TE) serves the purpose of examining how participants view their own variety.

Results and Discussion

Speaker Evaluation

The aim of this section is to answer the first research question, that is, to find out which varieties Taiwanese participants preferred. Initial analysis involved Principal Component Analysis (PCA), which demonstrated that the traits employed in the VGT could be divided into two latent factors of status (“confident”, “intelligent”, “educated” and “authoritative”) and solidarity (“friendly” and “lively”), accounting for 64% and 17% of variance respectively. Consequently, ratings for the seven speakers were calculated according to the two dimensions of status and solidarity (See Table 1). In order to investigate the significance of the evaluations, a one-way repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted. The results demonstrated overall significant effects for speaker status ($F(6, 1896)=243.82, p<0.05$; partial eta square=0.44), and for speaker solidarity: ($F(6, 1896)=41.30, p<0.05$; partial eta square=0.12).

Speaker	Status	Speaker	Solidarity
GAE	*4.29 (0.78)	GAE	*3.75 (1.06)
SSBE	*4.07 (0.87)	IE	3.48 (1.14)
IE	*3.81 (0.80)	AE	3.40 (1.02)
AE	*3.65 (0.86)	SSBE	3.34 (1.08)
JE	3.12 (0.90)	TE	3.28 (1.11)
SE	3.01 (0.85)	JE	*3.17 (1.04)
TE	2.91 (0.78)	SE	2.71 (1.04)

Table 1: Mean evaluations (and standard deviation) rankings in descending order according to speaker status and solidarity (N=317)

With regard to speaker status, participants rated standard varieties (GAE, SSBE) more positively than the less prestigious L1 variety of AE, as well as the ESL varieties (IE) and EFL varieties (JE, SE and TE). The results of a pairwise comparison test (with Bonferroni correction) showed that the speakers of GAE & SSBE, SSBE & IE, IE & AE and AE & JE reached statistical significance ($p < 0.05$; shown with * in Table 1). The non-significant differences between JE & SE and SE & TE suggest that Taiwanese informants consistently hold low evaluations towards these EFL varieties. Three distinct hierarchies reappeared among participants' evaluations of speaker solidarity. The prestigious variety of GAE was most valued, followed by the ESL variety of IE. The "less-standard" L1 variety AE received a more positive rating than the prestigious native variety of SSBE (Jenkins, 2007:150). Lastly, the three non-native varieties were perceived as conveying less solidarity.

When the mean evaluations for speaker solidarity were analysed in the pairwise comparison test, significant differences were found between GAE & IE speakers as well as JE & SE speakers ($p < 0.05$; shown with * in Table 1). Although IE is the second most favoured variety in the solidarity dimension, participants evaluated GAE significantly higher than the ESL variety of India. This exemplified that participants' higher preferences for the L1 variety over the L2 variety are distinctively marked. Among the three most stigmatized EFL varieties of TE, JE and SE, participants tend to perceive the Asian variety and European variety as substantially different and therefore rated JE significantly higher than SE.

Similar to the previous findings among Taiwanese participants (Kobayashi, 2008; Lee, 2013; Yang, 2013), it is perhaps not surprising to see GAE receiving the most favoured evaluation. Although Indian English was once perceived unfavourably in terms of having "bad pronunciation" and an "annoying accent" (Yang, 2013:121), the ESL variety of IE in the current study was positively evaluated when compared to the EFL varieties of JE, SE and TE. On the solidarity dimension, IE speakers even received a higher rating than native speaker varieties such as AE and SSBE. The fact that participants' own variety, TE, was the most stigmatized variety on speaker status corresponds to the finding in South Korea, where the Korean English speaker was consistently rated lowest on the status dimension (Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Moreover, both the TE of the current study and the Korean English speaker in the study of Yook and Lindemann (2013) were judged slightly more positively where speaker solidarity is concerned. Such an evaluation pattern conforms to the social judgement of the diverse ways

of speaking English across cultures: while speakers with a standard accent are often perceived more positively on the status-related traits, speakers with non-standard or non-native accents are more highly evaluated on the solidarity dimension (Giles & Coupland, 1991).

Identification of Speaker Origin for Each Variety

This section will discuss participants' responses with a view to answering the second research question, that is to investigate how correctly and consistently participants were able to identify the origin of the seven speakers. The correct percentage for each English variety in descending order is shown in Figure 1.

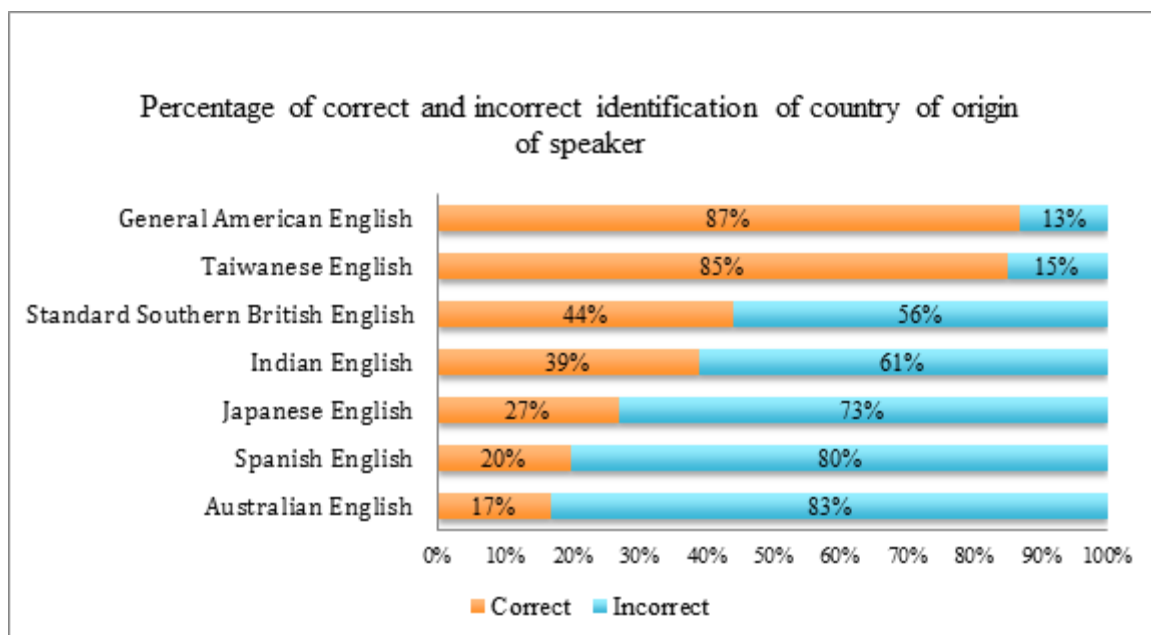


Figure 1: Percentage of correct and incorrect identifications of country of origin of speaker (N=317)

Of the seven English varieties, GAE and TE received the most accurate level of identification. Similar to the findings of Cheng (2009) and Lee (2013), GAE acquired the highest correct identification. As Taiwanese listeners are exposed to the model of American English almost exclusively through English classes (Cheng 2009; Lee, 2013) and the media (Bayard et al., 2001), the high level of preference and recognition of American English is to be expected. This is parallel with McKenzie's study (2008:146), in which the US English variety was identified most successfully as a consequence of the "prevalence of American culture" in Japan.

Similarly, the widespread American culture within Taiwanese society may have played a role in EFL speakers' familiarity with American English.

According to Ladegaard (1998), the media serves a function of transmitting stereotypes and attitudes. The Americanized nature of the media in Taiwan, which is widely influenced by the USA, might help to explain why the category of American English is most salient for Taiwanese participants. As for participants' own variety, participants identified TE with a high level of accuracy. Respondents' high levels of familiarity and accurate identification of a TE speaker who shares their native language is likely to result from the fact that their friends and family use this variety frequently in their daily lives.

Besides GAE and TE, the rest of the speakers of the different English varieties had a generally low rate of identification. Although British English accents such as RP have traditionally been perceived as a pronunciation model (Kachru & Nelson 2006), participants' correct recognition rate for the SSBE speaker was less than 50%. The reason why SSBE had a lower accuracy rate than GAE is probably a result of Taiwanese people's infrequent exposure to British English in comparison to American English. The findings are in contrast to studies in Denmark (Jarvella et al., 2001) and South Korea (Yook & Lindemann, 2013), in which a British English speaker from England was more accurately identified than an American English speaker. Moreover, the IE speaker did not have a high rate of identification: this finding stands counter to Yang's research (2013) which found that university students were able to recognize IE more successfully than American English and Taiwanese Mandarin English.

Lastly, although AE is an L1 variety, it received the lowest recognition rate among the seven speakers, with only 17%. This result conforms to previous studies in the non-English speaking environment of Denmark (Ladegaard, 1988), South Korea (Yook & Lindemann, 2013) and Taiwan (Lee, 2013) in the respect that AE is the least identified variety when compared to the other native varieties of American or British English. This clearly indicates Taiwanese participants' relative unfamiliarity with AE when GAE and SSBE are both considered. The generally low identification rate might also result from the two "distractor" options of South Africa and Russia in the list, which made the task more challenging than if the choices had been composed of only the origin countries of the seven speakers. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the results of misidentified speakers.

Effects of Correct and Incorrect Identification

This section investigates the role of speaker identification in Taiwanese EFL speakers' attitudes towards varieties of English and thus contributes to a response to the final research question, that is, whether correct and incorrect

identifications of speaker origin have a significant effect on the evaluations of each speaker in terms of speaker status and solidarity. To begin with, the descriptive statistics of speaker status and solidarity of the seven different varieties were calculated according to correct and incorrect identifications (see Table 2).

Speaker	Recognition			
	Status		Solidarity	
	Correct	Incorrect	Correct	Incorrect
AE	3.63(1.02)	3.66(0.83)	3.69(1.06)	3.34(1.01)
JE	3.01(0.82)	3.16(0.92)	2.94(1.00)	3.25(1.05)
GAE	4.30(0.78)	4.27(0.79)	3.80(1.08)	3.40(0.80)
TE	2.91(0.76)	2.87(0.92)	3.30(1.09)	3.13(1.23)
IE	3.82(0.80)	3.81(0.81)	3.45(1.07)	3.50(1.19)
SSBE	4.26(0.84)	3.92(0.86)	3.28(1.12)	3.38(1.05)
SE	3.15(0.84)	2.98(0.85)	2.84(1.11)	2.68(1.02)

Table 2: Mean evaluations (and standard deviation) of speaker status and solidarity according to correct and incorrect identifications (N=317)

From the descriptive data in Table 2, it is evident that participants who correctly identified speaker origin evaluated the seven speakers differently from those who incorrectly recognised each English variety. Taking GAE, TE and SE for example, those who correctly identified speaker origin in both the status and solidarity dimension gave a more positive evaluation. Nevertheless, to further explore the correlation between evaluation and patterns of identification, one-way between groups Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) were conducted to examine the existence of significant difference in the ratings for each speaker.

The results of the MANOVA found only one significant effect on evaluations of SSBE speaker status ($F(1,315)=12.65, p<0.05$; partial eta squared=0.04), where the SSBE speaker received a significantly higher evaluation from those who correctly identified his origin than those who failed to recognise him as a speaker of British English. One of the most plausible explanations is the “prestige” associated with British English, where native varieties are perceived as the standard norm to aspire to (Zhang, 2010: 215). The result is in direct contrast to the findings of Yook and Lindemann (2013), in which participants who were informed of British speaker origin evaluated the British speaker lower than listeners who had not been informed. A conclusion can therefore be drawn that the role of identification, in terms of how different varieties of English speakers are perceived by Taiwanese, did not have a significant effect on the relative

evaluation they receive, except for the speaker of SSBE, on the status perspective.

Conclusion

The present study set out to establish whether there is a correlation between speaker identification and evaluation of different English varieties by Taiwanese individuals. Results firstly show that, while the three EFL accents are connoted with low status and are generally stigmatised, overall favour for the native varieties is found, with a special preference for GAE among Taiwanese participants. Next, the prevalent exposure to the learning models of American and participants' own variety of Taiwanese English account for the high identification of these two varieties. Lastly, the inspection of the role of speaker recognition on evaluation confirmed that whether or not Taiwanese participants have knowledge of speaker origin did not have a significant impact on their evaluation of the seven English varieties.

Although the interplay of speaker identification and evaluation can be context dependent, as shown in previous studies, the extent of Taiwanese understanding of speaker provenance in mediating evaluation judgement of the varieties of English appears to be limited. One possible explanation for such a result might be the consequence of participants drawing upon preconceived stereotypes when judging different English voices in spite of Taiwanese informants' difficulties in accurately recognising speaker origin, except for GAE and TE. Consequently, it is speculated that, whether or not the listener is able to consciously relate accents to a reference country, the stereotyped judgement triggered by accent is latent for Taiwanese participants when evaluating different types of English speech.

These findings concur with the arguments made by many scholars (Milroy & McClenaghan, 1977; Ladegaard, 1998) regarding the way in which biased perception of various forms of English speech might take place below the level of conscious awareness of speaker provenance. The intrinsic quality of speaker voices is a further explanatory factor to be taken into consideration when interpreting the findings. In other words, the result may in fact be an artefact of the methodology design of the research. Therefore, the potential hypothesis is that, instead of the knowledge of speaker origin, voice qualities such as pitch and speed may thus have a bearing upon listeners' evaluation of the varieties of English and could be considered in further research.

Since listener categorisation of a speaker is complex in nature and is likely to be influenced by the factors such as “linguistic analysis abilities, prior travel experience, other languages studies, past friendship, and other personal experiences of language contact” (Scales et al., 2006:727), further analysis of misidentification patterns would help to explore listeners’ specific types of evaluative reactions to languages. A case in point is the findings of misidentification patterns among Austrian (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997) and Japanese (McKenzie, 2008) listeners, who evaluated participants’ own non-native varieties more highly when they wrongly categorized the speaker as native. Studies (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; McKenzie, 2008) exhibited non-native participants’ general preference for native speaker varieties when a voice is perceived as native. Owing to the fact that Taiwanese EFL listeners are likely to hold a salient distinction of favour between native and non-native varieties, research on how well participants can dichotomize accents into native and non-native could help to illustrate the evaluative bias in language attitude research.

The methodological differences of the speaker identification task between this study and previous research suggest that more work is needed. In particular, this could include future studies incorporating the instruments of perceptual dialectology, such as asking participants to draw the regional boundaries of each variety heard on a map instead of locating each voice from the pre-determined options of regional places (Preston, 1999). Open-ended identification questions would allow listeners to give their own labels of origin and are believed to better elicit participants’ social categorization of English varieties (Yook & Lindemann, 2013). This would contribute to an understanding of how EFL listeners evaluating speakers of different types of English speech in everyday situations are affected by whether or not they have the background information about which country or region the speaker comes from.

With regard to the sociolinguistic profile of Taiwanese attitudes towards English, these findings hopefully contribute to an understanding of EFL speakers’ stereotyped judgements of different varieties of English in the non-native speaking repertoire. Moreover, listeners’ identification of varieties demonstrates which social categories are salient to Taiwanese informants. This, in turn, can shed light on the development of language programs, the design of pedagogical materials, and innovations in language teaching to better equip EFL learners with an awareness and appreciation of the distinctive varieties of English for international communication.

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