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Comparing attitudes toward Caribbean, British, and American accents in Trinidad and Tobago, the United Kingdom, and the United States

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Abstract

This article compares the attitudes of respondents from Trinidad and Tobago, the United Kingdom, and the United States toward speakers from these countries and from Grenada. Analyses of mean values on the attitude dimensions of status and solidarity reveal striking similarities between the rankings of the stimuli by the three respondent groups, especially regarding the British and American stimuli and a Creole-influenced Grenadian stimulus. Only the rankings by the Trinbagonian respondents differ slightly regarding the Caribbean stimuli. The results suggest that similar stereotypes might have influenced the evaluations of the British, American, and Creole-influenced Grenadian speakers across all respondent groups, while the rankings by the Trinbagonian respondents might reflect the social connotations of the fine-grained nuances of Caribbean (standardized) accents.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Standardized (southern) British English used to be the linguistic norm in former British colonies, including those of the anglophone Caribbean. However, with independence, not only a political and cultural but also a linguistic dissociation from the colonizer has taken place in various former colonies around the world (Schneider, 2007). In these contexts, local standardized varieties are emerging and there is an increasing acceptance of these norms among their speak-

ers. In the anglophone Caribbean, the development of such endonormative standardized varieties has been observed to take place in a 'forcefield of influences' (Hackert, 2016, p. 106), with the most significant influences coming from British English, American English, and local Creoles (Mair, 2009, p. 41), which are the main vernaculars of everyday conversation and enjoy covert prestige but are sometimes referred to as 'bad' or 'broken' English (Youssef, 2004, pp. 43–44). Earlier research mainly described the relationship between the different standardized varieties to be one of competition in the development of local norms (Mair, 2006, p. 7). However, more recently the situation has also been conceived of as a relatively stable coexistence of several endo- and exonormative varieties (Meer & Deuber, 2020; see also Hackert, Laube, & Wengler, 2020, pp. 258–259). Moreover, research has highlighted that the norm orientation in these speech communities is highly sensitive to the context of use (Hänsel et al., 2022) and has identified a blurring of boundaries between the perception of accents as endo- and exonormative (Meer & Deuber, 2020; Westphal, 2015). And not least, the situation is shaped by the continuum relationship of English with the English-based Creoles (Winford, 1997). In contexts such as the ones described above, 'language attitude research is crucial for a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics […], as it shows which values actual users attach to language varieties and their speakers' (Wilson & Westphal, 2021, p. 176). Moreover, attitude research can inform on the status of endonormativity from an attitudinal perspective as it shows in how far a local variety is accepted as a norm by its speakers and how the variety relates to other norms (Deuber & Leung, 2013, p. 290).

This paper adds a hitherto missing external view to existing attitude research in the anglophone Caribbean in order to be able to better situate previous findings from this region in the larger context of attitudes toward different standardized varieties world-wide. By means of an internet-based verbal guise study, the paper compares the attitudes of respondents from Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), the United Kingdom, and the United States toward speakers from the Caribbean (Trinidad and Grenada), the United Kingdom, and the United States. It addresses the following research question: In how far are the attitudes of Trinbagonian respondents specific and to what degree are their attitudes shared with those of British and American respondents?

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides background information on the study, starting with information on T&T and its relations to the United Kingdom, the United States, and Grenada (Section 2.1). While Section 2.2 reports the results of previous indirect attitude research in individual countries of the anglophone Caribbean, Section 2.3 focuses on studies that compare the attitudes of different national groups. Section 2.4 reports on the transnational reach of the varieties played in the verbal guise experiment. Section 3 introduces the research instrument, the sound samples, and the participant profile. The results of the attitude study are presented in Section 4 and subsequently discussed in Section 5, first focusing on the Trinbagonian attitudes and then comparing them to the British and American attitudes. Section 6 provides a short conclusion.

2 | BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 | T&T and its relations with the United Kingdom, the United States, and Grenada

T&T is an island country in the south of the Eastern Caribbean. With approximately 1.3 million inhabitants, it is one of the largest countries in the region (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, 2021). Its population is made up of about equal numbers of people of East Indian and of African descent as well as of a number of inhabitants of mixed ethnicity. T&T looks back on a history of colonization by different groups of European settlers and declared independence from the United Kingdom in 1962. Today, it is part of the Commonwealth of Nations and its British colonial past is to some extent still visible, for example, in the structure of the education system or in terms of popular sports (cricket, football/soccer, rugby). Many Trinbagonians have family members in the United Kingdom (Orozco, 2020) and many British tourists come to the islands, mostly to Tobago. Today, T&T also maintains extensive links to the United States. The United States is geographically close and trading connections between the United States and T&T are intense because of T&T's oil and gas industry (CIA World Factbook, 2021). American television and music are wide-spread, American tourists

outnumber British tourists (Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, 2021), and many Trinbagonians have family members in the United States, likely even more than in the United Kingdom (Orozco, 2020).

T&T's neighboring country to the north, Grenada, has only about 113,000 inhabitants (CIA World Factbook, 2021). Throughout the history of the islands, there have been many phases of significant migration from Grenada to T&T, and there is considerable contact and movement between the two countries today. In 2013, Grenadians were the largest group of immigrants in T&T (Unicef, 2021a), and vice versa (Unicef, 2021b). Hence, family ties to Grenada exist as well. However, considering the large difference in size, it is safe to say that there is a stronger orientation from Grenada toward T&T rather than the other way round.[1]

2.2 | Indirect attitude studies in the anglophone Caribbean

The indirect investigation of language attitudes by means of accent rating studies has proved useful for the analysis of attitudes toward different standardized varieties of English in the Caribbean (Wilson & Westphal, 2021, p. 179). In these studies, speech stimuli are played to participants who rate the speakers (not the accents) according to different criteria with the aim of eliciting covert attitudes. An advantage of such indirect methods over direct ones like questionnaires with explicit questions or metalinguistic interviews is that they reduce the degree of social desirability bias, that is, the tendency of respondents to give answers that they believe to be socially acceptable (Garrett, 2010, pp. 44–45). Indirect accent rating studies can be further subcategorized into matched guise studies, where the same text is read multiple times in different accents (guises) by the same speaker, and verbal guise studies, where stimuli by different speakers are used. While the stimuli used in matched guise studies are more controlled, the advantage of verbal guise studies is the greater authenticity of the stimuli (Deuber & Leung, 2013, pp. 291–292; Garrett 2010, pp. 57–59).

In the data resulting from indirect attitude studies, underlying attitude dimensions can usually be detected by means of statistical dimension reduction methods. The dimensions may differ depending on context (Hänsel et al., 2022) and the rating criteria chosen (for example, Bayard et al., 2001). However, the most commonly reported dimensions in attitude research relate to the social status and the social attractiveness (or solidarity) of the speakers (for example, Stewart, Ryan, & Giles, 1985). A common pattern that has been detected concerning these attitude dimensions is that speakers of standardized varieties are often rated high in terms of status but low in terms of solidarity. Conversely, vernacular speakers are often given high ratings with regard to solidarity and low ratings concerning status (Bayard et al., 2001, p. 23; Ladegaard, 1998, p. 252). A similar pattern has often been described with regard to (standardized) British and American English accents: Several studies have reported that (standardized) British English received higher status ratings, while (standardized) American English was rated higher in terms of solidarity (Hiraga, 2005; Ladegaard, 1998; but see Meer, Hartmann, & Rumlich, 2022 for an exception).

Indirect attitude studies on standardized varieties in the anglophone Caribbean have concentrated on two contexts of use of standardized speech, namely on newscasting and the education system, and have found different underlying attitude dimensions in the two contexts. Deuber and Leung (2013), Westphal (2015), and Hänsel et al. (2022) used clips of newscasters with local as well as foreign (British or American) or foreign-influenced accents as stimuli, which they played to respondents from T&T, Jamaica, and Grenada, respectively. All three studies reported little variation in the ratings and mostly favorable attitudes toward all accents, independent of whether they were local or foreign(-influenced). However, the more fine-grained evaluations of the studies differed to some extent. While in T&T, the best-rated accent was a local one that exhibited the furthest distance to Trinidadian Creole (Deuber & Leung, 2013), in Grenada, those newscasters who used a larger number of Creole accent features were rated most favorably (Hänsel et al., 2022). In the Jamaican study, the British-influenced Jamaican accent was rated best (Westphal, 2015, p. 321). Additional interviews with Jamaican informants revealed that such exonormatively influenced accents were not generally perceived as foreign and had been integrated into the notion of standardness in the field of Jamaican newscasts (Westphal, 2015, p. 328). Principal component analysis revealed only one attitude dimension, termed 'reliability' (Westphal, 2015, p. 322; see also Hänsel et al., 2022).

Meer et al. (2019) and Hänsel et al. (2022) conducted two parallel verbal guise studies with Trinidadian secondary school students and Grenadian students of secondary and tertiary educational institutions, respectively. Like in the present study, the stimuli were recordings of female teachers who gave advice on how to give a good oral presentation in class. The teachers were from the countries in question as well as from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Jamaica. In both studies, the items were clustered into the underlying attitude dimensions of status and solidarity. Generally, in Trinidad and in Grenada, the foreign and foreign-influenced accents were rated best on both dimensions, with the British accent being preferred on the status dimension and the American accent being rated higher in terms of solidarity. In the Grenadian data, apart from this exonormative orientation, an acceptance of a regional Caribbean norm was also identified, as three speakers of acrolectal English from Grenada, Trinidad, and Jamaica were given largely positive ratings. Local accents with a larger number of accent features shared with Creole were given ratings typical of vernaculars: high in terms of solidarity but low regarding status (Hänsel et al., 2022). The accents rated by the Trinidadian respondents were less differentiated; overall, differences in rating between the accents were marginal. Meer et al. (2019) therefore interpret the norm orientation of Trinidadian respondents as multidimensional as it integrates foreign and local influences.

2.3 | Comparing attitudes: Social connotations and stereotypes

In each of the above-described studies situated in the anglophone Caribbean, respondents came from a single country, which is the most common approach used in indirect attitude studies.[2] While comparisons can be drawn between the different national contexts as there are many parallels between the studies (for example between Meer et al., 2019 and Hänsel et al., 2022), it can prove useful to have respondents from different countries rate the same set of vocal stimuli with regard to the same rating criteria: An analysis that focuses on similarities and differences between the ratings can help to place the results in a larger context (for example, Bayard et al., 2001) and to identify underlying mechanisms that might explain the evaluations (for example, Trudgill & Giles, 1978).

In an early comparative verbal guise study, Trudgill and Giles (1978) asked American, Canadian, Scottish, Irish, and English respondents to rate stimuli of 10 different UK accents (*inter alia* RP, Tyneside, Glasgow, and London Cockney) with regard to the pleasantness of the accent. The results showed that what participants thought to be pleasant was not universal but guided by learned social connotations: Only the Scottish participants ranked the stimuli similarly to the English participants (same rank order with the exception of RP). For the 'cultural outsiders' (p. 180), that is, the participants from outside the United Kingdom, the accents had different aesthetic values. Trudgill and Giles (1978) concluded that the accents were perceived differently 'depending on how much and what sort of information [was] available to the listener on the social connotations of the varieties' (p. 183).

In today's globalized world, some varieties of English have become globally known, while others are only familiar to a more locally confined community of speakers (see section 2.4), which also affects the associations connected to these varieties. The direct elicitation of perceptions regarding American, British, Australian, and New Zealand English by respondents from the four countries in Garrett, Williams, and Evans (2005, p. 232) has shown that the associations of some varieties were shared between the different groups, while others were not: While US English and, to a lesser extent, English English were evaluated rather uniformly, the respondent groups had different stereotypes with regard to Australian English, and there was no well-pronounced stereotype of New Zealand English.

A stereotype can be defined as a '[w]idely shared and simplified evaluative image of a social group and its members' (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002) that acts as a 'cognitive shortcut to categorization, identification and characterization' (Kristiansen, 2003, p. 70) and that can be evoked by salient cues such as phonetic features (Bayard et al., 2001, pp. 40–41). In this regard, only latent knowledge of an accent might be needed to activate stereotypes as was proposed by Ladegaard (1998): In a verbal guise study that used different accents of English as stimuli (RP, Scottish, Cockney, Australian, Standard American), Danish secondary and university students were able to allocate specific stereotypical associations to speakers even if they were not able to identify where the speakers were from. Ladegaard therefore

proposed that 'stereotypes of social groups are available whether or not the subjects are consciously aware of the social connotations of a particular variety of speech' (1998, p. 269).

2.4 | The transnational reach of (standardized) British, American, and Trinidadian English and English in Grenada

Not all accents used as stimuli in this study are of equal relevance in the participants' respective countries of origin. Therefore, different knowledge and information on the social connotations of at least some of the varieties might be expected. In order to understand the potential differences in relevance, it is useful to consult Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes. The main criterium of classification of this model is the transnational prestige and reach of standardized and vernacular varieties of English in today's globalized world. Standardized American English is considered the hyper-central hub of the 'English language complex' and as relevant to virtually all other varieties. Standardized southern British English, along with several other standardized but also a few non-standardized varieties such as Jamaican Creole, is judged to be a super-central variety with wide global reach, which, however, cannot approximate that of American English. With regard to Caribbean varieties, the classification is not as clear. According to Mair (2013),

> [i]t is an interesting empirical question whether educated usage from very small communities (e.g. […] Trinidad and Tobago […]) should be ranked with the central standards or be classified as "peripheral" in the sense of being demographically too light and thus inherently dependent on external support of some kind (Mair, 2013, p. 261).

Acrolectal English in Grenada can surely be classified as peripheral because of its lack of demographic weight and little local recognition of an 'own' local standardized variety (Hänsel, 2019). However, as stated by Mair (2013, p. 261), at least from a regional perspective the picture is not as clear for T&T: The country is demographically and economically stronger and on an attitudinal level, there is a coexistence of a national endonormative orientation with an exonormative one at least among secondary school and university students (Deuber, 2013; Meer & Deuber, 2020). Moreover, educated usage in T&T might possibly have some influence on English in small countries of the Eastern Caribbean such as Grenada. Standardized English in T&T may thus be seen as central.

Therefore, in the present study, both standardized American and British English can be expected to be well-known by all three groups of respondents. However, little knowledge of the Caribbean standardized varieties can be expected from the British and American respondents as people in the United Kingdom and the United States are much less exposed to Caribbean accents than vice versa. Nevertheless, there might be some latent knowledge of the accents (Ladegaard, 1998) as occasionally, standardized Caribbean accents can be heard in the media[3] or in contact with first-generation Caribbean migrants (Sebba, 1993, p. 77). Moreover, some familiarity with Jamaican Creole – or possibly Caribbean Creoles more generally as British and Americans will likely not generally be able to discriminate between Jamaican Creole and other Caribbean reole varieties – can be expected as the super-central variety Jamaican Creole is known globally because of its dispersion through reggae and dancehall music (Gerfer, 2018; Mair, 2013, p. 264). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that respondents from outside the Caribbean region will be able to discriminate between finer nuances of Caribbean accents along the Creole continuum. Finally, the Trinbagonian respondents should not be expected to be familiar with Grenadian standardized English accents specifically but rather with (Eastern) Caribbean acrolectal accents in general.

3 | DATA AND METHOD

An accent rating study using the verbal guise method (Garrett, 2010, pp. 53–69) was conducted online via the survey provider SoSci Survey[4] in 2016 and 2017. The participants were also recruited online: The researchers and

colleagues wrote to contacts in T&T, as well as the United States and the United Kingdom and asked them to take part in the survey as well as to send the survey on to further people who might be willing to take part. Moreover, the link to the survey was posted in several Caribbean and British Facebook groups, as well as on linguistics mailing lists.[5]

The participants were asked to listen to six recordings of controlled spontaneous speech produced by female teachers from four different countries. Two stimuli each were of teachers and lecturers from T&T and Grenada, one stimulus each of teachers from the United Kingdom and the United States. The stimuli were recorded by the researchers. Teachers and lecturers from the four countries were asked to imagine that a student was coming to them for advice on how to give a good presentation. The teachers all received a set of keywords that they could use for orientation (for example, 'be confident,' 'speak clearly,' 'make eye contact,' 'speak freely') in order to ensure that the content of the stimuli was comparable. The stimuli were then cut to a similar length (between 30 and 39 seconds) and edited slightly so that they did not include any slips or hesitations. The stimuli differed with regard to accent but not on the grammatical or lexical levels. None of the Caribbean stimuli contained any lexical items or morphosyntactic features typical of Caribbean English Creoles. Neither did the British and American stimuli contain any Briticisms or Americanisms on the grammatical or lexical levels. Contextualized stimuli of this type were used because education is one of the domains associated with the use of standardized English (rather than Creole) in the Caribbean (Youssef, 2004, p. 44; see also Section 2.2), and recent attitude research in the region has particularly relied on samples of context-specific, controlled spontaneous speech rather than acontextual readings of a standardized text passage (Deuber & Leung, 2013; Westphal, 2015; Salmon & Gómez Menjívar, 2016).

The Caribbean stimuli differed in the number of pronunciations shared with the respective English-based Creoles spoken in Trinidad and Grenada, that is, Trinidadian English Creole and Grenadian English Creole (see Table 1 for an overview). While the differences between the accents of the two Trinidadian speakers (TS and TC) were subtle, the two Grenadian accents (GS and GC) differed considerably. GS and TS were acrolectal Caribbean accents. Both accents were characterized by the consistent use of monophthongs in the FACE and GOAT sets (Wells, 1982, p. 571) and none of the two used TH stopping or consonant cluster reduction. The accents differed in the production of the STRUT set, which GS pronounced back and rounded as [ɔ] and TS as [ʌ], and the TRAP set, which was mostly produced as [a] by TS and as [æ] by GS. In addition to the Caribbean vowel realizations described for TS, TC used several consonantal pronunciations that are shared with the Creole but that, according to Youssef and James (2008), do not necessarily signal the use of Creole in Trinidad: voiced and some voiceless TH stopping, *-ing* pronounced as [ɪn], and final consonant cluster reduction. GC also exhibited these consonantal features as well as two salient Creole pronunciations, *ask* [aks] and *little* [lɪkᵊl]. The accent of the British stimulus was representative of standardized southern British English. The American speaker was from the Midwest and may be considered a speaker of standardized American English in that no regionally marked accent features were found in her speech (Kretzschmar, 2008; Carmichael, 2018).

The participants were asked to rate the stimuli on six-point Likert scales across 17 items: relaxed, unfriendly, competent, understandable, arrogant, correct, foreign, fun, proper, trustworthy, unnatural, standard, would be likely to teach at a prestige school, would not be likely to be respected by the students, has a pleasant voice, could be a school principal, and would be likely to be an English language teacher (for an example page of the questionnaire see Appendix A).[7] While most items were chosen in accordance with previous (Caribbean) language attitude research (Deuber & Leung, 2013; Westphal, 2015), the school-specific items were specifically devised to contextualize the elicitation of language attitudes within the domain of education – in addition to using contextualized speech stimuli. The respondents were requested to imagine that the teachers in the stimuli taught at schools in their respective countries of origin. This instruction was given to further contextualize the stimuli and to avoid acontextual ratings of non-local accents. Both positive (such as relaxed) and negative items (such as unfriendly) were used to minimize left-right bias. The order of the stimuli was randomized. The participants were also allowed to add comments on each page of the survey. Moreover, the participants were asked for their age, gender, country of origin, country of residence, and highest qualification.

TABLE 1 Overview of characteristic differences in the accents in the stimuli.[6]

Speaker	General description	Vowels	Consonants	Individual pronunciations
TS (Trinidad)	standardized English accent	FACE [eː] GOAT [oː] TRAP [a > æ] STRUT [ʌ] MOUTH [aʊ] NEAR [ɛ]	non-rhotic voiced TH [ð] *-ing* [ɪŋ] cons. clusters retained	
GS (Grenada)	standardized English accent	FACE [eː] GOAT [oː] TRAP [æ] STRUT [ɔ] MOUTH [aʊ]	non-rhotic voiced TH [ð] voiceless TH [θ] *-ing* [ɪŋ] cons. clusters retained	
TC (Trinidad)	slightly Creole-influenced English accent	FACE [e > eɪ] GOAT [o] TRAP [a] STRUT [ʌ] MOUTH [aʊ] NEAR [ɛ > ɪə]	non-rhotic voiced TH [d] voiceless TH [t∼θ] *-ing* [ɪn] cons. clusters reduced > retained	
GC (Grenada)	Creole-influenced English accent	FACE [eː] GOAT [oː] TRAP [a] STRUT [ɔ > ʌ] MOUTH [ɔʊ]	non-rhotic voiced TH [ð > d] voiceless TH [t] *-ing* [ɪn] cons. clusters retained > reduced	*ask* [aks] *little* [lɪkᵊl]
UK	standardized English accent	FACE [eɪ] GOAT [oʊ] TRAP [æ] STRUT [ʌ]	non-rhotic voiced TH [ð] voiceless TH [θ] *-ing* [ɪŋ] cons. clusters retained	
US	standardized English accent	FACE [eɪ] GOAT [oʊ] TRAP [æ] STRUT [ʌ] MOUTH [au] NEAR [ɪə˞]	rhotic voiced TH [ð] voiceless TH [θ] *-ing* [ɪŋ] con. clusters retained > reduced	

Overall, there were 211 respondents, with some differences in sample size across the three groups of respondents (T&T: 55 participants; United Kingdom: 78 participants; United States: 78 participants). In all three groups, most participants were female (T&T: 79%; United Kingdom: 64%; United States: 74%) and most were from the age groups of 18 to 25 years (T&T: 32%; United Kingdom: 33%; United States: 58%) and 26 to 35 years (T&T: 48; United Kingdom: 19%; United States: 19%; see Table B1 in Appendix B for details). The qualification levels of the participants from T&T and the United States were very similar; the participants from the United Kingdom had slightly lower percentages of college/university education (T&T: 72%; United Kingdom: 51%; United States: 76%; see Table B2 in Appendix B for details).

The data were evaluated using descriptive and inferential statistics. For each analysis, the three groups of respondents were inspected independently. First, all negative items (*unfriendly*, *arrogant*, *unnatural*, *would not be likely to be an English language teacher*) were reverse scored to be in line with the positively phrased items (scale inversion). All scales thus have the following structure: 1 = most negative, 6 = most positive rating. Then, three two-way repeated measures

TABLE 2 Results of the two-way repeated-measures ANOVAs for the three groups of respondents (Type III tests of within-subjects effects with *p*-values and effect sizes given as partial eta-squared)

	STIMULUS	ITEM	STIMULUS × ITEM
T&T	$F(3.7, 201.8) = 25.8$, $\eta^2_p = .32$, $p = .000$	$F(7.4, 404.3) = 43.8$, $\eta^2_p = .44$, $p = .000$	$F(24.0, 1321.5) = 15.3$, $\eta^2_p = .22$, $p = .000$
UK	$F(3.8, 295.9) = 11.7$, $\eta^2_p = .13$, $p = .000$	$F(9.2, 706.2) = 45.4$, $\eta^2_p = .37$, $p = .000$	$F(29.6, 2278.0) = 18.3$, $\eta^2_p = .19$, $p = .000$
US	$F(4.2, 326.3) = 17.6$, $\eta^2_p = .19$, $p = .000$	$F(8.3, 635.9) = 35.6$, $\eta^2_p = .32$, $p = .000$	$F(27.9, 2144.6) = 22.1$, $\eta^2_p = .22$, $p = .000$

analyses of variance (ANOVAs) with STIMULUS (six levels) and ITEM (17 levels) were conducted. Subsequently, three principal component analyses (PCAs) were carried out for dimension reduction, that is, to see how the different items cluster together and form more meaningful underlying attitude dimensions. As a next step, those items were identified that loaded onto the same components for all three rating groups. On the basis of these items, mean values were calculated for the extracted dimensions, and rank orders were generated based on these mean values. Differences in the means were then tested for significance via ANOVAs and multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs).

4 | RESULTS

4.1 | Overall rating differences across stimuli and items

Three two-way repeated measures ANOVAs (one for each of the three groups of respondents) with STIMULUS (six levels) and ITEM (17 levels) as within-subjects factors were conducted to test for differences across the stimuli and items. The results of the ANOVAs are displayed in Table 2. The analysis showed a significant main effect of both STIMULUS and ITEM. In addition, there was a significant interaction effect of STIMULUS × ITEM. All effects – given as partial eta-squared (η^2_p) – but one (UK, STIMULUS: $\eta^2_p = .13$, medium effect) can be classified as having a large effect size according to Cohen's (1988) guidelines (that is, $\eta^2_p > .14$). The analysis thus indicated that ratings were influenced significantly by both the stimuli played and the individual items given to respondents. Additionally, the ratings along the 17 items also differed significantly across the six different stimuli.

4.2 | Dimension reduction

For each of the three different groups of respondents, principal component analysis with oblique rotation (Direct Oblimin, Kappa: 0) was carried out on all 17 items. Based on eigenvalues >1 and inspection of the scree plot, PCA reached a three-component solution for the responses from T&T and the United Kingdom, and a four-component solution for the ratings from the United States. Detailed results can be found in Table 3. For the responses from the Trinbagonian respondents, the items clustered into two components that correspond to the dimensions of status and solidarity. A third component consisted only of the item *foreign*. A similar picture emerged for the analysis based on the UK ratings, where there were also typical status and solidarity components. The third component consisted of two items: *foreign* loaded positively, *standard* negatively, which indicates that the respondents from the United Kingdom did not associate the accents that were perceived as foreign with standardness. Among US respondents, the first two components also corresponded to a status and a solidarity dimension. A third component consisted of *foreign*, which loaded positively, and of *ELT* (*is likely to be an English language teacher*), which loaded negatively. Among the US respondents, therefore, the accents perceived as foreign did not seem to be associated with English language teachers.

TABLE 3 Rotated component loadings for the three groups of respondents

Component loadings T&T				Component loadings UK				Component loadings US				
	component				component				component			
	1	2	3		1	2	3		1	2	3	4
prestige school	**0.894**			**principal**	**0.832**			**proper**	**0.841**			
ELT	0.858			**prestige school**	**0.816**			competent	0.815			
principal	**0.776**			**proper**	**0.652**			**correct**	**0.789**			
proper	**0.704**			ELT	0.644			**prestige school**	**0.713**			
standard	0.598			**correct**	**0.595**			trustworthy	0.675			
correct	**0.515**			competent	0.572			**understandable**	**0.604**			
competent	0.514	0.463		**understandable**	**0.490**			**principal**	**0.581**			
understandable	**0.470**			friendly		0.847		standard				
friendly		0.755		**not arrogant**		**0.769**		**fun**		**0.803**		
not arrogant		**0.752**		**fun**		**0.726**		**not arrogant**		**0.647**		
relaxed		**0.736**		**relaxed**		**0.715**		**relaxed**		**0.637**		
pleasant		0.724		natural		0.615		friendly		0.589		−0.423
fun		**0.622**		pleasant		0.563		pleasant	0.438	0.463		
natural		0.538		trustworthy	0.409	0.473		foreign			0.850	
trustworthy	0.446	0.531		respected				ELT			−0.654	
respected				foreign			0.840	respected				−0.801
foreign			0.907	standard			−0.608	natural				−0.671
eigenvalues	6.457	2.260	1.052	eigenvalues	6.610	1.923	1.058	eigenvalues	6.568	2.029	1.245	1.023
percentage of variance explained	37.982	13.292	6.186	percentage of variance explained	38.884	11.311	6.226	percentage of variance explained	38.636	11.936	7.323	6.019

Items that load onto an identical component for all three groups are represented in bold face. Component 1 represents status and component 2 solidarity for all three groups. Eigenvalues and percentage of explained variance also shown. Values <0.4 were suppressed.

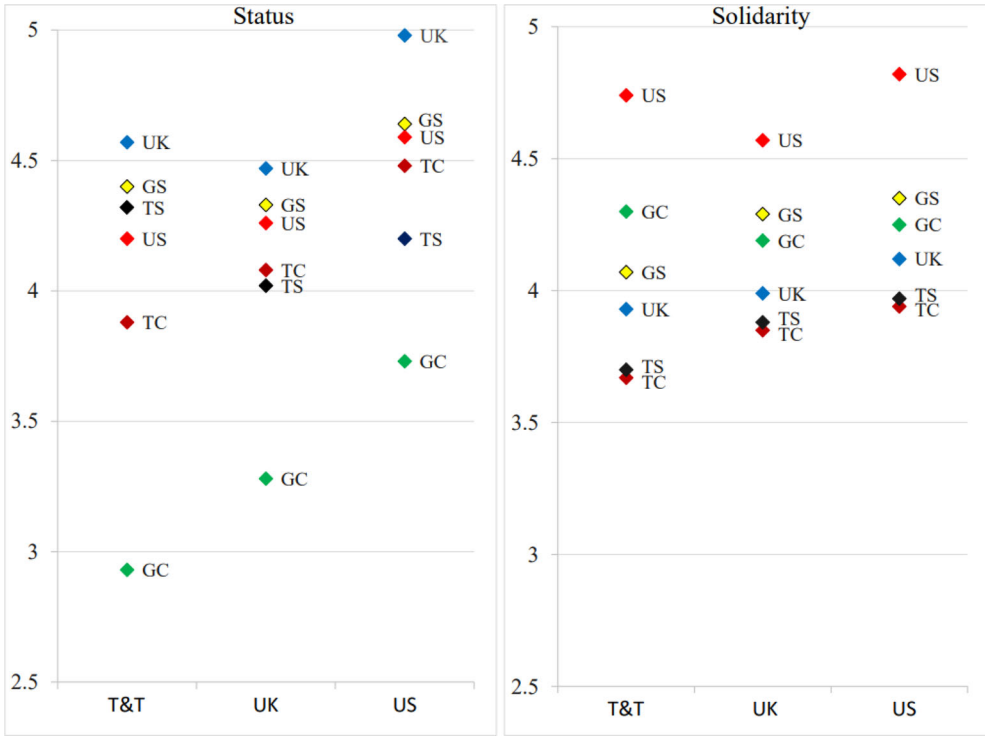

FIGURE 1 Mean ratings of the stimuli according to the three groups of respondents on the dimensions of status and solidarity. Scale: 1 = most negative, 6 = most positive rating. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

A fourth component was made up of *friendly*, *respected*, and *natural*. These three items were formulated negatively in the questionnaire (*unfriendly*, *would not be likely to be respected by the students*, *unnatural*), which might have led to this result.

While there were some differences regarding the number of components extracted in the three analyses, the analyses also revealed considerable similarities between the three ratings. In all three PCAs, the same eight items clustered together on the two components that represent the status and solidarity dimensions (items with loadings higher than 0.4 on both components were disregarded to avoid ambiguity in the interpretation of the results). The status items for all three groups of respondents were *proper*, *correct*, *prestige school*, *understandable*, and *principal*. The ones that formed the solidarity dimension were *fun*, *not arrogant*, and *relaxed*. These items and dimensions were selected for further analysis to facilitate between-group comparisons.

4.3 | Mean ratings on the status and solidarity dimensions

For every stimulus, mean scores for the two dimensions of status and solidarity were calculated on the basis of the items that loaded onto the two factors.[8] This was done for all three groups of raters.

Overall, there were only subtle differences in the ratings of the individual speakers across all respondent groups (see Table 4; see also Figure 1, Section 4.4 for a visualization of the results). The largest difference in mean scores could be observed for the Trinbagonian respondent group (a difference of 1.64 between the best-rated and the lowest-rated speaker on the status dimension and a difference of 1.07 with regard to solidarity), the differences for the other

two respondent groups were smaller (United Kingdom: 1.19 for status and 0.72 for solidarity; United States: 1.25 for status and 0.88 for solidarity). Nevertheless, six ANOVAs of the ratings for the individual dimensions by the three rating groups detected significant differences. Post-hoc comparisons showed select pairwise differences between the stimuli; few stimuli were rated significantly different from the stimuli with an immediately adjacent position in the ranking (see Table 4 for the individual ANOVA statistics and pairwise comparisons).

Raters of all three nationalities were generally very favorable with regard to the speakers: All mean scores except for two were positive (that is, above 3.5). On the solidarity dimension, all groups rated the speaker from the United States highest; the teacher from the United Kingdom ranked fourth. In terms of status, the speaker from the United Kingdom was rated best and the teacher from the United States ranked third or fourth. Only the speaker whose accent included salient Creole pronunciations, GC, was rated negatively regarding status items by the respondents from T&T and the United Kingdom. She was rated lowest with a significant difference to all other speakers in terms of this dimension by all three respondent groups. By contrast, all groups ranked GC rather high with regard to solidarity. The two Trinidadian speakers were rated moderately positively with regard to both status and solidarity. GS, the acrolectal Grenadian speaker, ranked in between the speakers from the United States and the United Kingdom, with rather high status and solidarity ratings.

The British and American participants ranked the six stimuli in exactly the same order on both dimensions. The Trinbagonian ratings differed from these ratings, mainly with regard to the Caribbean stimuli: On the solidarity level, GC was rated higher than GS, and on the status level, TS was rated higher than US and TC. However, in none of the three groups was the difference between the ratings of GC versus GS on the solidarity dimension and TS versus TC on the status dimension significant, as shown by Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparisons (see Table 4).

4.4 | Overall rating differences between the three groups of participants

Two MANOVAs, with RESPONDENT GROUP (three levels) as between-subjects factor and the status and solidarity ratings as dependent variables, were used to detect significant rating differences between the three respondent groups. In terms of the solidarity ratings, there were no overall significant differences between the different respondent groups, $V_{\text{Pillai's Trace}} = .05$, $F(10, 412) = 1.02$, $p = .42$. The only differences were found in terms of the status ratings, $V_{\text{Pillai's Trace}} = .24$, $F(12, 410) = 4.67$, $p = .000$ (see Figure 1). Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons showed that three stimuli, namely TC, GC, and UK, were evaluated significantly better by US respondents than by participants of the other two countries. Additionally, the US stimulus was evaluated significantly better by American than by the Trinbagonian respondents (see Table 4, Section 4.3). Overall, US respondents thus showed a general tendency of evaluating the stimuli more positively on the status dimension compared to respondents from the United Kingdom and T&T.

5 | DISCUSSION

5.1 | The Trinbagonian respondents: Multidimensional norm orientation and distance to Creole

The results show that the rating patterns of the Trinbagonian respondents resemble those found in previous attitude research with Caribbean participants. Like in Hänsel et al. (2022) and Meer et al. (2019), the items clustered into the two attitude dimensions of status and solidarity. Notwithstanding slight differences in stimuli and items, the results of these studies and the present one point in a similar direction: In all three studies, the British speaker was favored for status, while the American speaker was rated best with regard to solidarity.

The results also reflect Meer et al.'s (2019, p. 113) observation that there seems to be a coexistence of multiple norms from an attitudinal point of view, considering that teachers with foreign accents as well as most Caribbean

TABLE 4 Rankings of stimuli based on mean values on the dimensions of status (items: *proper, correct, likely to teach at a prestige school, understandable, likely to be a principal*) and solidarity (items: *fun, relaxed, not arrogant*) as rated by Trinbagonian, British, and American participants

status									
	T&T-rated			UK-rated			US-rated		
	$F(4.1, 225.7) = 36.6, p = .000$			$F(4.1, 319.2) = 29.4$, p = .000			$F(4.5, 344) = 29.6, p = .000$		
rank	stimulus	mean (SD)	sig. diff. from	stimulus	mean (SD)	sig. diff. from	stimulus	mean (SD)	sig. diff. from
1	UK	4.57 (0.95)	US, TC, GC	UK	4.47 (0.88)	TC, TS, GC	UK	4.98 (0.72)	all other stimuli
2	GS	4.40 (1.00)	TC, GC	GS	4.33 (0.83)	TS, GC	GS	4.64 (0.91)	UK, TS, GC
3	TS	4.32 (1.08)	GC	US	4.26 (0.85)	GC	US	4.59 (0.84)	UK, TS, GC
4	US	4.20 (0.99)	UK, GC	TC	4.08 (0.88)	UK, GC	TC	4.48 (0.90)	UK, GC
5	TC	3.88 (0.94)	UK, GS, GC	TS	4.02 (0.97)	UK, GS, GC	TS	4.20 (0.99)	UK, GS, US, GC
6	GC	2.93 (0.81)	all other stimuli	GC	3.28 (0.98)	all other stimuli	GC	3.73 (1.03)	all other stimuli
solidarity									
	T&T-rated			UK-rated			US-rated		
	$F(5, 275) = 14.9, p = .000$			$F(4.2, 325.9) = 9.5, p = .000$			$F(4.2, 327.1) = 13.15, p = .000$		
rank	stimulus	mean (SD)	sig. diff. from	stimulus	mean (SD)	sig. diff. from	stimulus	mean (SD)	sig. diff. from
1	US	4.74 (0.85)	GS, UK, TS, TC	US	4.57 (0.78)	UK, TS, TC	US	4.82 (0.77)	all other stimuli
2	GC	4.30 (0.87)	TS, TC	GS	4.29 (0.88)	TS, TC	GS	4.35 (0.98)	US, TC
3	GS	4.07 (0.98)	US	GC	4.19 (1.03)	–	GC	4.25 (0.99)	US
4	UK	3.93 (0.88)	US	UK	3.99 (0.92)	US	UK	4.12 (0.94)	US
5	TS	3.70 (1.06)	US, GC	TS	3.88 (0.90)	US, GS	TS	3.97 (1.07)	US
6	TC	3.67 (0.93)	US, GC	TC	3.85 (1.03)	US, GS	TC	3.94 (0.96)	US, GS

Individual ANOVA statistics (Type III tests of within-subjects effects) and significant differences according to Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparisons ($p < .05$) also reported. Scale: 1 = most negative, 6 = most positive rating.

accents were given high and very similar ratings on the status dimension. Only GC, the Grenadian teacher whose accent included several salient Creole pronunciations, was rated negatively and ranked last with a significant difference to all other speakers. TC, the Trinidadian teacher who used pronunciation features that occur in the Creole but also in acrolectal speech, was rated positively but lower in comparison to the other speakers. The fact that these two speakers were given rather low status ratings is indicative of distance to Creole as a marker of standardness (Deuber & Leung, 2013, p. 309). Moreover, the ratings might reflect the Creole continuum on an attitudinal level (Winford, 1997) as fine-grained differences in the 'Creoleness' of the accents are mirrored in the ratings.

In terms of solidarity, GC ranked second while TC ranked last but was still rated positively. This constellation might indicate that GC's speech was perceived as a vernacular as the results correspond to the traditional pattern of attitude ratings for vernaculars. At the same time, the pronunciation features shared with Creole did not hinder TC's speech from being perceived as a local standardized variety alongside the accents of the Grenadian and Trinidadian teachers (GS and TS). All three received positive ratings on the solidarity and status dimensions on a par with the British and American speakers.

5.2 | Comparison of ratings: Global stereotypes and local meanings?

All respondent groups gave positive ratings to most stimuli. Only GC, the Grenadian speaker whose accent included salient Creole pronunciations, was rated negatively by the Trinbagonian and British respondents. The positive and little differentiated ratings might partially be explained by certain similarities in the stimuli: While originating from different countries, all speech samples were grammatically standard, and only one included salient non-standard pronunciations. Generally, similarities between the ratings of the three respondent groups outweighed the differences. The three groups ranked the British and American speakers almost identically: The teacher from the United Kingdom was preferred in terms of status and ranked fourth on the solidarity dimension; the teacher from the United States was preferred in terms of solidarity and ranked third or fourth on the status dimension. These results indicate that similar associations regarding British and American standardized accents might be well-established in all three participant groups: British English enjoys high overt prestige while American English is associated with social attractiveness. As many attitude studies have reported similar rating patterns (for example, Davydova, 2015; Evans, 2010; Hiraga, 2005; Ladegaard, 1998; or Stewart, Ryan, & Giles, 1985; but see, for example, Bayard et al., 2001; Meer, Hartmann, & Rumlich, 2022 for exceptions), it is possible that the evaluations of these varieties with wide transnational reach are guided – at least in part – by global stereotypes. Language attitude research in the anglophone Caribbean should therefore take into account the possibility that attitudes toward these standardized varieties might be influenced by globally available stereotypes – in addition to other, local forces and factors, such as the specific historical and geopolitical role of Caribbean countries as former British colonies and members of the Commonwealth, while at the same time being close to the United States in terms of geography, media, and commerce, and due to countless family ties (for example, Hackert, fc.; Meer & Deuber, 2020, pp. 285–286). In the present study, the contextualization of the stimuli and rating criteria in the education context might have additionally contributed to evoking these stereotypical associations as popular images of school life in the United Kingdom and the United States contrast sharply: For example, movies perpetuate the stereotype of prestigious British boarding schools with students in uniform and stiff teachers (for example, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, Columbus et al., 2001) versus hip American high schools with laid-back students and teachers (for example, *10 Things I Hate About You*, Junger et al., 1999). The importance of context on attitudes has also been demonstrated in previous research on anglophone Caribbean settings: While in school-based accent rating studies in Trinidad (Meer et al., 2019) and Grenada (Hänsel et al., 2022), the British and American teachers were ranked highest for status and solidarity, respectively, local speakers were preferred when newscasts were used as stimuli (Deuber & Leung, 2013; Hänsel et al., 2022). Additional qualitative findings in Hänsel et al. (2022) further indicated that the evaluations might have been influenced by the students' actual experiences with local teachers,

who they associated with strictness, and their abstract ideas of teachers with British and American accents, who they imagined to be calm, friendly, and better educated as they had received their education overseas.

The ratings of the Caribbean teachers also showed many similarities between the participant groups. The Grenadian teacher GS ranged in between the British and American speakers on both dimensions for all three groups. As this speaker's accent was distant to Creole without closely aligning with British and even less with American English, it seemed to be a rather unmarked Caribbean standardized accent that can serve both status and solidarity purposes (Hänsel et al., 2022, pp. 45–46; Hänsel & Deuber, 2019, p. 259). Likewise, for all groups of respondents, the Grenadian teacher with the accent that included salient Creole pronunciations, GC, ranked lowest. Salient Creole accent features apparently were not (or not strongly) associated with status for respondents of all three countries. In terms of solidarity, this speaker was rated very favorably throughout. All groups thus followed the traditional rating pattern for vernaculars (Ladegaard, 1998, p. 252). The observation that specific stereotypes regarding varieties of wide transnational reach are shared globally might also apply to some extent to this Creole-influenced accent. While both Grenadian English Creole and English in Grenada fall in the peripheral category in Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes, this teacher's accent included features shared with Jamaican Creole, a vernacular with a wide global reach (Mair, 2013, p. 264). Participants may have had some knowledge about this variety of English that might have evoked the associations. However, the ratings could also point more generally to a global awareness of non-standardized accent features and of the stereotypes attached to them as several of the Creole pronunciations that occurred in this stimulus are shared with other non-standardized varieties, such as African American Vernacular English (Edwards, 2008, pp.186–187).

Despite the many similarities between the ratings, some differences were also discernible. While these differences were subtle and mostly not statistically significant, we discuss them to identify tendencies in the data. One reason for this decision is that the analysis in the present study is likely to have less statistical power than previous comparable studies (Hänsel et al., 2022; Meer et al., 2019) due to the relatively smaller sub-sample sizes, considering that – all else being equal – a larger number of participants will increase the chances of obtaining statistically significant differences. Disproportionately larger sample sizes are further needed to reveal significant differences with a small effect size, as may, for instance, have been the case with the fine-grained nuances in rating patterns in the present study (for example, Field, 2018, pp. 389–391). Statistically speaking, we thus mitigate the risk of potential Type II errors in the interpretation of the results. Specifically, the following three tendencies are noteworthy: (1) The overall (significant) downgrading of GC notwithstanding, the social status the Trinbagonian respondents attributed to this speaker was lower compared to the British and American participant groups. The same applied to the rating of TC, who also received lower ratings from the Trinbagonian participants. This finding might reflect the local Caribbean perception of standardness in terms of distance from Creole (Deuber and Leung, 2013, p. 309) in addition to a global association of social status with standardized speech. (2) Another slight difference concerned the rating of the Trinidadian teacher TS. The Trinbagonian participants ranked the two teachers with Caribbean accents that were distant to Creole, GS and TS, very high on the status dimension: on second and third place, respectively. While GS was also ranked second by the British and American participants, they ranked TS fifth, behind the Trinidadian teacher with the more Creole-influenced accent (TC). Even though the difference between TS and TC was not significant for any of the three rating groups, it nevertheless seems possible that the amount and salience of pronunciations shared with Creole is reflected in the ratings of the Trinbagonians (TS before TC) but not in those of the British and American participants (TC before TS). (3) A further small difference was the ranking of GC on the solidarity dimension: The Trinbagonians ranked this teacher second, while the British and American participants ranked it third, behind GS. Despite the rating difference between GS and GC being non-significant in the three groups, the higher Trinbagonian rating of GC might reflect the role of Creole as the local language of solidarity (Youssef, 2004, p. 44). In sum, non-significant differences notwithstanding, it is possible that the social connotations of the fine-grained differences in the Caribbean accents are more locally confined, seeing that the rankings of the Trinbagonian respondents more closely reflect the Creole continuum on an attitudinal level (that is, lower status ratings and partly higher solidarity ratings for more Creole-influenced accents) than those of the British and American respondents.

6 | CONCLUSION

The findings of the study have been two-fold. On the one hand, the results suggest that similar associations might have influenced the evaluations of the British, American, and Creole-influenced Grenadian speakers across all respondent groups – at least in part. On the other hand, the rankings by the Trinbagonian respondents might reflect locally confined social connotations of the nuances of different Caribbean (standardized) accents. Thus, the present study prompts us to consider the potential influence of global linguistic stereotypes, in addition to other (local) factors, in understanding the multifaceted nature of language attitudes in the anglophone Caribbean, which should be beneficial to further attitudinal research.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Many Grenadians go to Trinidad to study at the University of the West Indies, to take part in workshops and training, to receive specialized medical treatment, to take part in festivities and cultural activities, or for reasons of trade and commerce.

[2] For a direct attitude study that compares the beliefs of students regarding endonormative standards in Jamaica and Trinidad, consult Deuber (2013).

[3] Examples of Caribbean media personalities with a transnational reach are Jamaican sprinter Usain Bolt, Jamaican newscaster Neil Nunes on BBC 4, or the Trinidadian winner of the 2011 season of Project Runway, Anya Ayoung-Chee.

[4] https://www.soscisurvey.de/

[5] As only 13 of the 211 participants were linguists, it was decided not to discard their data.

[6] Transcripts of all accents but GC can be found in Meer et al. (2019, pp. 121–124), who used the same stimuli amongst others: TC = TCA, TS = TSA, UK = BRS, US = AMS. The transcript of GC can be found in Appendix C. Hänsel et al. (2022) also included most stimuli used here, namely TS, GS, GC, UK, and US.

[7] A reduced sub-selection of these items was used in Meer et al. (2019) and Hänsel et al. (2022).

[8] Mean ratings of the individual items can be found in Appendix D.

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APPENDIX A

Sample questionnaire page

8. To me, the teacher sounds...

	Totally disagree 1	2	3	4	5	Totally agree 6
relaxed	○	○	○	○	○	○
unfriendly	○	○	○	○	○	○
competent	○	○	○	○	○	○
understandable	○	○	○	○	○	○
arrogant	○	○	○	○	○	○
correct	○	○	○	○	○	○
foreign	○	○	○	○	○	○
fun	○	○	○	○	○	○
proper	○	○	○	○	○	○
trustworthy	○	○	○	○	○	○
unnatural	○	○	○	○	○	○
standard	○	○	○	○	○	○

9. In my opinion, the teacher...

	Totally disagree 1	2	3	4	5	Totally agree 6
would be likely to teach at a prestige school	○	○	○	○	○	○
would not be likely to be respected by the students	○	○	○	○	○	○
has a pleasant voice	○	○	○	○	○	○
could be a school principal	○	○	○	○	○	○
would be likely to be an English language teacher	○	○	○	○	○	○

10. Further impressions of this teacher (optional):

APPENDIX B

Participant background information

TABLE B1 Age of participants (absolute and relative frequencies)

	T&T		UK		US	
< 18	0	(0.0%)	6	(7.7%)	2	(2.6%)
18–25	18	(32.1%)	26	(33.3%)	45	(57.7%)
26–35	27	(48.2%)	15	(19.2%)	15	(19.2%)
36–45	6	(10.7%)	14	(17.9%)	7	(9.0%)
46–55	4	(7.1%)	10	(12.8%)	2	(2.6%)
55–65	1	(1.8%)	2	(2.6%)	3	(3.8%)
> 65	0	(0.0%)	5	(6.4%)	4	(5.1%)

TABLE B2 Highest qualification (absolute and relative frequencies)

	T&T		UK		US	
O-levels/GCSE/CSEC	0	(0%)	6	(7.7%)	0	(0%)
A-levels/CAPE/High school diploma	12	(21.4%)	26	(33.3%)	15	(19.2%)
Bachelor's degree	23	(41.1%)	20	(25.6%)	32	(41.0%)
Associates degree	1	(1.8%)	1	(1.3%)	1	(1.3%)
Master's degree	9	(16.1%)	10	(12.8%)	14	(18.0%)
PhD	7	(12.5%)	9	(11.5%)	12	(15.4%)
other	4	(7.1%)	6	(7.7%)	4	(5.1%)

APPENDIX C

Transcript of GC

All other transcripts can be found in Meer et al. (2019, pp. 122-124). Phonetic transcriptions are provided for the features listed in Table 1 (ret. = consonant cluster retained).

<#>First[ø][del.] of all don't[oː][ret.] start[ø] off your[ø] presentation[eː] all dead and drawn out[ɔʊ] <#>You'll have[a] to captivate[a][eː] your[ø] audience <#>You could captivate[a][eː] them[d] maybe[eː] with[t] a a visual aid[eː] or a little[lɪkᵊl] video[f][o] <#>If you want[ret.] you could go[oː] ahead and have[a] some content[ret.] on a paper[eː] that[ð] you can have them[ð] follow[o] along <#> And make[e] sure you help them[ð] get involved[ret.] and interact[a][ret.] <#>So therefore[d][ø][ø] you know[o] that[d] they're[d][r] understanding[ɔ][a][ɪn] and[ø] as you progress[oː] their[ð] learning[ø][ɪn] as well and if they[ð][eː] don't[oː][ret.] understand[ɔ][a][ø] ask[ks] questions <#>So[oː] be there[ɹ] make[eᴵ] sure[ø] you stand[a][d] <#>Don't[o][ret.] have too much[ɔ] movement to distract[del.] them[ð]

APPENDIX D

Mean ratings for individual items

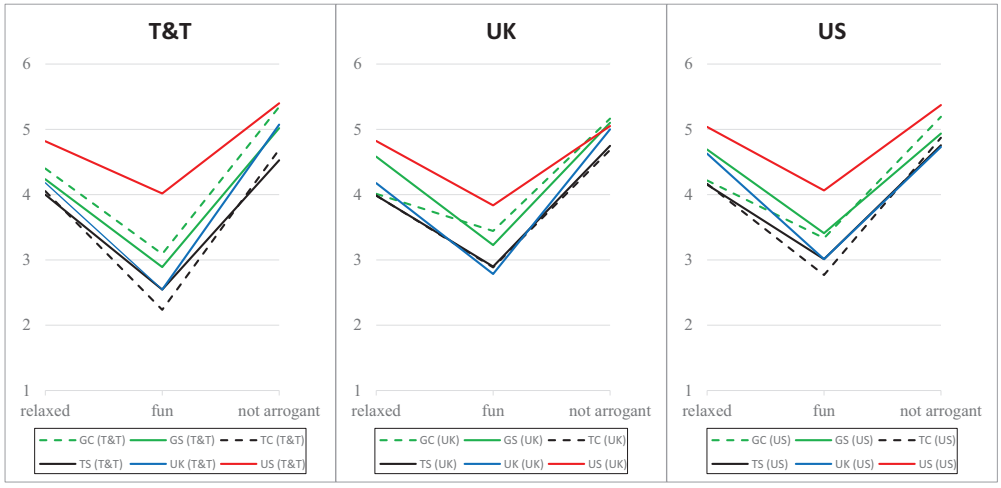

FIGURE D1 Mean ratings for individual solidarity items across the three groups of respondents. Scale: 1 = most negative, 6 = most positive rating. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

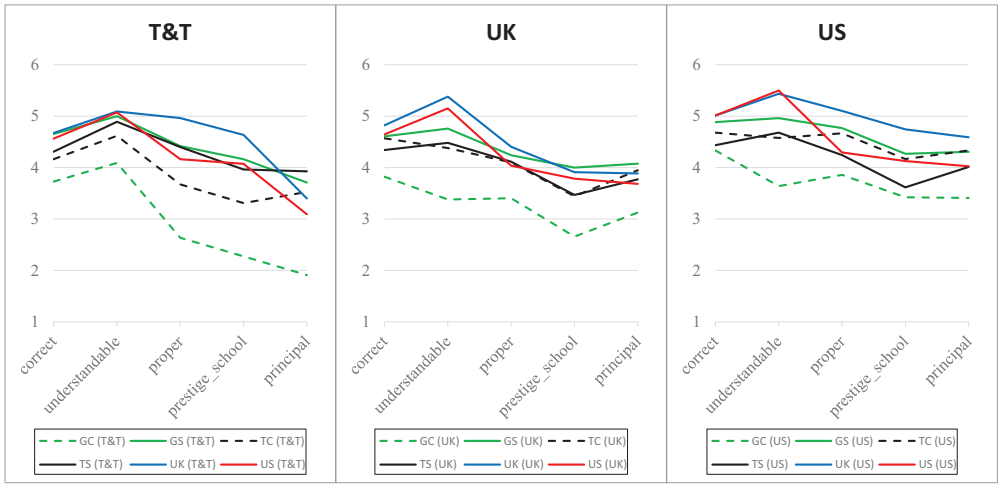

FIGURE D2 Mean ratings for individual status items across the three groups of respondents. Scale: 1 = most negative, 6 = most positive rating. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]