Abstract
This study quantitively examines attitudes held by Saudis towards three accents from the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1985; 1992) varieties of English. By means of verbal-guise technique experimentation (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010), stimuli of Spanish, Chinese and Saudi accents of English were employed to elicit attitudinal data from 84 Saudi respondents via an online questionnaire. The results of this study suggest that the accents under investigation were perceived in a non-discriminatory manner. Confirmed by the ANOVA test, the results revealed a similar and quite neutral attitude towards the accents. While researchers usually find an attitudinal distinction between solidarity and status (Zahn & Hopper, 1985), the findings of the present study suggest an absence of such a distinction when evaluating the accents. This was further considered as a sign of the existence of attitudinal ambivalence and social-desirability bias. On this note, another important revelation of the study is the potential role of international education in raising linguistic tolerance as evidenced by a chi-square test of independence for age and educational level of the respondents. Finally, this study contributes to the ‘sociolinguistic theory’ (Garrett, 2001, p. 630; McKenzie, 2010, p. 38) relevant to the Saudi community by attempting to discover language prejudices, and paves the way to establish a framework of language attitudes research on English varieties, or even, other languages in the Saudi context.

Keywords: Language Attitudes, Saudis, Accents, Verbal-Guise, VGT, Expanding Circle
Introduction

Language is not to be solely studied. Speakers and hearers of language are also central to the wide scope of language research. One of the subfields of such research is the study of people’s language attitudes (henceforth, LA). LA is the term used to refer to the perceptions and ideologies held about speech styles and the performers of them. In other words, it is ‘the social evaluation of speech styles’ (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014, p. 91). On this note, it has been repeatedly found that linguistic productions and cues (e.g. accent) are frequently stereotypically evaluated (Cavallaro & Chin, 2009, p. 143; Crystal, 2010, p. 23; Giles & Coupland, 1991, p. 58; Giles & Bradac, 1994, p. 4260). This paper aims to investigate if such evaluations would be made by Saudis towards accented-varieties of English from around the globe.

Past research on Saudis’ attitudes towards English could be classified under two themes: 1) pedagogy and 2) functionality. The former probably motivates most researchers in the area. In this kind of research, researchers focus on the sufficiency of English teaching and learning methods (e.g. Alfarwan, 2019; Aljumah, 2012; Alqahtani, Bhaskar, Vadakalur Elumalai, & Abumelha, 2018; Mehmood, 2019) and the teacher’s accent and competence (e.g. Alotaibi, 2018; Alseweed & Daif-Allah, 2012; Alseweed, 2012). The focus of the second theme is measuring Saudis’ attitudes towards the English language at a macro level. In other words, researchers examine English’s influence and value in the Saudi context (see Faruk, 2014 for a review). The present study combines elements from both themes as it seeks to explore attitudes towards English accents and is also educationally-oriented in its findings and conclusions.

Background

In light of English being a global language (Crystal, 2012), English regularly varies. As such, various classifications of English varieties have been proposed (Schneider, 2011, p. 29). World Englishes (henceforth, WE), popularised by Braj Kachru (1985; 1992), is the most popular classification which encompasses all existing spoken English varieties in the world (Schneider, 2011, p. 29). Other models of WE have also been conceptualised (e.g. McArthur, 1987). However, as argued by Jenkins (2009, p. 18), Kachru’s model of World Englishes is the most illustrative portrayal of the current varieties of English (see Figure 1).
The model is also incorporated and cited very frequently in the literature. Therefore, it was adopted as a conceptual framework for the varieties under investigation in the present study.

The model consists of an ‘Inner Circle’ (henceforth, IC), an ‘Outer Circle’ (henceforth, OC) and an ‘Expanding Circle’ (henceforth, EC) each including certain countries and varieties of the respective category. Past attitudinal research has dealt with varieties from all the categories. For instance, some early papers discussing attitudes and usages regarding WE varieties are found in Greenbaum (1985). As such, most attitudinal research on English accents focuses mainly on IC varieties (Beinhoff, 2013, p. 29) (see Garrett, 2010 for a review).

**Purpose of the study and the research questions**

Research on WE varieties and the attitudes towards them is still needed (Bhatia, 2020, p. 631), particularly, on EC varieties (Rezaei, Khoosravizadeh, & Mottaghi, 2019, p. 55). For instance, some researchers (e.g. Al-Dosari, 2011; Almegren, 2017; 2018) have pointed out that there is a dearth of research that includes Saudis’ perceptions of WE. Additionally, Seoane (2016, pp. 1-2) argues that researching WE can reveal ‘wealth of information’ in various fields of enquiry. Consequently, the present study aims to address such gaps by eliciting Saudis’ attitudes towards three Expanding-Circle accents of English (henceforth, ECAE), namely, Spanish, Chinses and Saudi. In other words, the study will explore, analyse, compare and explain attitudinal patterns expressed by the respondents. Hence, two research questions are developed in which the study will attempt to address:

1. What are Saudis’ attitudinal evaluations of three ECAE (Spanish, Chinese and Saudi)?
2. What are the implications that can stem from Saudis’ evaluation of ECAE?

**Methodology**

The elicitation of attitudes in this study relied on an indirect approach (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010 for a review of the approach). The respondents were asked to rate accented-speakers of English on a measurement scale. Further, as recommended
by Preston (1999; 1989), a question on the geographic distribution of each variety was included. The methodological paradigm of this study was essentially quantitative which seeks to investigate and measure attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of Saudis in relation to ECAE. As such, several research instruments were used including: 1) an online questionnaire, 2) a rating task using the semantic-differential scale 3) the verbal-gui̇se technique (henceforth, VGT) and speech stimuli of the accents under investigation, all of which are discussed respectively in the following.

The questionnaire

An online questionnaire was used as it has been a powerful tool in attitudinal research (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010, p. 6). It contained three (sub)sections for the rating of each accent (and the representative speaker) and was displayed in both English and Arabic. This was done to 1) increase the accuracy of responses, 2) to increase the sample size, 3) to minimise misunderstanding of the questionnaire items and 4) to make the task easy, quick and straightforward. Following Garrett’s (2010, p. 56) recommendation, the rating scale used in the questionnaire was semantic-differential scale (see below) rather than Likert scales (i.e. the extent of agreement of the respondent with a statement). The semantic-differential scale can ‘elicit snap judgements and minimise opportunities for mental processing, thus reducing the possibilities for the social desirability’ bias (Garrett, 2010, p. 56). Hence, it is ‘considered to have good reliability and validity’ (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003, p. 65). More importantly, it helps to obtain positive and negative evaluations (Henerson, Morris, & Fitz-Gibbon, 1987, p. 89) which are essential data for LA research. An identification task for each accent was also included in the questionnaire as a multiple-choice question. Each respondent had to choose whether the speaker is from the Far East, Middle East, Europe, Africa or Latin America.

The verbal-gui̇se technique

The questionnaire was also used as the means in which the VGT experiment was conducted. The VGT was one of the salient tools used in the collection of data for the study. It is a modification of the original matched-gui̇se technique (henceforth, MGT) which was devised by Lambert and his associates in their pioneering study on the attitudes of people in Montreal, Canada towards English and French (see Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960). In MGT experiments, a single speaker is employed to mimic the language varieties (e.g. accents) under investigation in audio recordings deceiving listeners that those recordings are of different speakers (Garrett, 2007, p. 117). On the other hand, in VGT experiments, each recording is provided by a relatively representative speaker of the studied language variety. The respondents are, then, asked to rate the speakers on a number of traits. In essence, VGT and MGT constitute the indirect design in which, as Fasold (1984, p. 149) points out, the respondent is prevented from knowing that his or her LA were being investigated. Consequently, collecting biased responses can be avoided. It is also suggested to use different speakers when examining varieties with ‘global differences’ (Drager, 2018, p. 63) such as EC varieties. To sum up, the indirect design was adopted in this study by utilising VGT rather than MGT.

For a successful utilisation of the VGT, some traits had to be selected to be included in the evaluation task. The traits used in LA research are usually classified under two
evaluative dimensions: ‘solidarity’ and ‘status’ (Beinhoff, 2013, p. 25). A solidarity trait refers to ‘feelings of attachment and belonging’ (Kircher & Fox, 2019, p. 3) which instigate ‘[a] vital social meaning […] [that] represent[s] the social group with which one identifies’ (Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982, p. 9). Conversely, a status trait represents ‘social status or power’ (Ryan et al., 1982, p. 8). These dimensions have been validated after Zahn and Hopper (1985) found that the traits used in lots of LA studies belong to similar categories. Also, it is recommended to use traits from previous studies when investigating LA (Garrett, 2010, p. 56). Thus, ten traits used in earlier research (e.g. Hiraga, 2005; Ladegaard, 1998; McKenzie, 2008; Sykes, 2011) were included in the task (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solidarity traits</th>
<th>Status traits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unfriendly</td>
<td>Unintelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impolite</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selfish</td>
<td>Unconfident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhumorous</td>
<td>Lazy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The evaluation traits on a semantic-differential scale.

The speech stimuli

The speech stimuli used in the VGT were adapted from Swan and Smith’s (2001) work ‘Learner English’. Swan and Smith collected recordings of multiple accented speakers of English. The recordings suited the purpose of the study as they 1) contain EC varieties, 2) are controlled in terms of sex and content and 3) their sound quality is clear and high. Moreover, some of these recordings, ‘can be taken as broadly representative of a whole group’ (Swan & Smith, 2001, p. ix, emphasis added). In each recording, the speaker narrates a story and improvises a completion to it based on pictures. It should be added that narrating a picture story can provide a controlled and ‘relatively realistic sample’ of speech (Rossiter, Derwing, & Jones, 2008, p. 325). Furthermore, it is suggested to control the sex and the content when using stimuli to research LA (Carranza, 1982, p. 82; Schilling, 2013, p. 105). Thus, all the speakers were chosen to be males who narrate a generic, neutral and bias-free story. To minimise any bias effects, the recordings were modified by removing the parts wherein the speaker mentions his country, education and occupation. The recordings were then, uploaded into a private playlist on Soundcloud website and a link for each recording was provided where relevant in the questionnaire. The script and translation for each recording were also provided. All in all, the recordings have demonstrated potential usefulness for attitudes elicitation in the study.

Respondents

Figure 2 shows the distribution of the study’s respondents (N = 84). As the research questions imply, identifying as Saudi was the most important sampling criterion. Unlike other LA studies on Saudis, the recruited respondents were not categorised as English learners or teachers as this was not necessary for the purpose of the study.
87 responses were initially collected from which three responses were excluded because one was not from a Saudi respondent, one was not included in the analysed categories of the education variable and another was duplicated. Sampling was conducted through my personal network via a snowball technique (i.e. friend of a friend). Thus, a nationality question was used as an inclusion/exclusion technique in the questionnaire to ensure that the respondent is Saudi. Finally, the questionnaire was distributed via mobile text messages.

**Data Analysis**

The collected responses were coded and entered into SPSS (version 25) to perform statistical analyses. The mean scores (i.e. averages) for all scale ratings were calculated to show the patterns of the results. Moreover, as usually recommended in statistical analysis (O'Leary, 2010, p. 238), measures of dispersion of the standard deviations were also calculated. Additionally, overall calculations of correct/incorrect answers in the identification task were performed. In terms of the traits used for evaluation, data manipulation was conducted on all the rating scores of the traits as separate variables by computing (i.e. transforming) them into two new variables classified as Solidarity and Status. This was done to obtain more comprehensive and illustrative overall evaluations. This is also a common practice in similar research (e.g. Carrie, 2017; Coupland & Bishop, 2007; Stewart, Ryan, & Giles, 1985). In short, the transformed variables are the mean scores of the combined mean scores for the evaluated traits within each evaluative dimension.

Inferential data analyses were also applied to the data set. First, it was necessary to confirm normal distribution of the data, and thus, Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality was performed on each of the scores of Solidarity and Status with each social variable of the respondent (e.g. sex) under investigation. The results showed – with few exceptions – no significant skewness or kurtosis in the distribution of the data. This was a prerequisite for parametric tests (e.g. ANOVA) (Ghasemi & Zahediasl, 2012, p. 489). Second, the chi-square test of independence was conducted to investigate associations between the variables. Finally, the analysis of variance (henceforth, ANOVA) was also performed since it is consistently used in VGT studies (McKenzie, 2010, p. 97). Hence, one-way ANOVA test was computed to assess significant differences in the mean scores of the ratings. In sum, several
statistical techniques were incorporated to better illustrate the results and to allow for comparisons with the literature.

**Results and analysis**

This section will present the results of the study. First, the results related to the accent identification task are outlined. Then, the attitudes towards the three ECAE are discussed.

**The accent identification task**

As Figure 3 shows, there are higher percentages of correct identification of the studied accents.

![Figure 3: Correct identification of the geographic origin of the accent (N = 84).](image)

The highest identified accent was the Saudi accent with a correctness proportion of (91%) followed by the Chinese accent (63%). The Spanish accent (32%) was correctly identified less often than the other accents. Furthermore, a chi-square test of independence was computed to statistically test the relationship between the correctness of identification and the social characteristics of the respondents. Table 2 compares the results and illustrates the statistical significance noted for each accent under investigation.
As can be seen from the table, statistical significance was noted in the identification of the Spanish and Chinese accents within the age variable. Moreover, a statistical significance was found in the results of the Chinese accent identification among the respondents’ levels of education (see below for details). In conclusion, the demographics of the respondents appear to be related to the results obtained from the task.

The chi-square test results indicate that some sub-groups of respondents were correctly identifying the accents more significantly than others. To determine those sub-groups, calculations were performed within the results of the following accents and sub-groups: (Spanish accent by age), (Chinese accent by age) and (Chinese accent by education). These are illustrated in Figure 4.

![Figure 4: Correct identification within sub-groups of statistically-significant social variables of respondents.](image-url)
correctly identify some of the studied accents in this study. Hence, it is possible that exposure to English is related to these results. This is because 85,5081 Saudi study abroad in the US, the UK and Australia respectively (Ministry of Education, 2019) which would allow interaction with not only other international students but also English-speaking residents who come from various areas of the world. More specifically, this takes place with accented-speakers in English language courses.

**Attitudes towards ECAE**

In the section, the attitudes and evaluations of the accents (and the speakers) will be presented. The overall ratings of the studied accents appeared to be very similar and quite neutral. Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations for all three accents in terms of the solidarity and status dimensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accent</th>
<th>Solidarity</th>
<th>Status</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>.805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>.794</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 3: Overall attitudes towards the accents (N = 84; 1 = low rating on the trait; 5 = high rating on the trait; SD = standard deviation).

Generally, slightly higher ratings for the Spanish accent can be noticed on both dimensions whereas the Saudi accent received the lowest rating in terms of status. Nevertheless, it is not possible to determine the respondents’ favourability of the accents. Consequently, the positive/negative evaluation is considered limited in the present study. To further test differences in the evaluation of the accents, using the social variables of the respondents as factor variables, a one-way ANOVA test was conducted on the rating scores of the accents. No statistical significance was noted, and again, the lack of attitudinal difference was confirmed. This may be seen as ‘attitudinal ambivalence’ (Maio & Haddock, 2010, p. 34) considering the consistency of the neutral ratings found in the evaluation of all the accents. This is also similar to past research where Saudis have shown attitudinal neutrality towards some English accents (e.g. Alghofaili & Elyas, 2017; Almegren, 2018).

**Discussion**

Some findings of this study appeared to show a relationship between the identifiability of the studied accents and the age and education of the respondents. This was evidenced by a chi-square test of independence that showed statistical significance. Further, the Saudi respondents in this study did not express negative attitudes towards the EC-accented speakers. As a result, acceptance of the studied ECAE could be inferred. That is, the findings could indicate some sort of tolerance and open-mindedness in regards to different speech styles of English. This can be further interpreted as an indication of the role of international education in raising tolerance towards the varieties of English. This is because it was argued that exposure to English (and the fact that many Saudis study abroad) was deemed relevant to

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1 The last available census lacks the proportion of Saudis studying in Canada which, until May 2018, used to be one of the main destinations for Saudi students who study abroad.
the findings of the study. It is also possible to conclude that English accents have relatively less stigma in the Saudi context because English is usually an L2 (i.e. second language) to Saudis. This is in line with Schiffman’s (1996, p. 58) argument that ideas about language (e.g. attitudes) are acquired alongside with the acquisition of the language itself. Giles and Ryan (1982, p. 208) also note that the stereotypes attached to speech styles develop from early childhood.

Another point to be made is that it could be argued that the social identity of the speakers in the study was manifested by the linguistic production. This is because language can represent a social identity of the speaker (Edwards, 1999, pp. 101-102) even if it is a non-native variety (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010, p. 219). Accent, in particular, is key in forming the social identity of the speaker (Achirri, 2017, p. 6; Beinhoff, 2013, p. 102; Levis, 2005, p. 375; Setter & Jenkins, 2005, p. 5).

There was a lack of attitudinal distinction between solidarity and status in the evaluation of the accents in the present study. This was confirmed by a one-way ANOVA test on the ratings of the accents on the two evaluative dimensions. This is a rather unusual finding since a distinction in how speakers are evaluated is usually found in LA research (see Zahn & Hopper, 1985). However, this finding is consistent with the findings of Kircher and Fox (2019) who investigated attitudes towards Multicultural London English (MLE). They, too, admitted that their finding was unusual (p. 10). This probably needs to be explored further by researchers to re-evaluate the dimensions in language attitudes measurement. After all, ‘attitudes change over time’ (Maio & Haddock, 2010, p.4) which may require new measurement considerations of attitudes.

Despite the precautions followed in the study’s design, the results may have been affected by social-desirability bias that ‘make[s] the respondent look good’ (Paulhus, 1991, p. 17, emphasis added). In fact, Cook & Selittiz (1964, p. 39) concluded that people usually report their attitudes in a way that makes them ‘well-adjusted, unprejudiced, rational, open-minded and democratic’. Social-desirability bias increases whenever the elicited attitudes are towards groups known by a particular religion, race or ethnicity (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 23). The EC varieties in the present study can be seen as ethnically or geographically distinctive and, as explained earlier, have been correctly identified. This could further indicate bias in the results. Admittedly, such bias can be a serious flaw in research data, especially, when investigating people’s behaviour (Börger, 2012, p. 53). Nonetheless, the impact of biased responses would not be deemed significant in the present study as the collected responses represented feelings and emotions rather than behavioural outcomes.

‘All studies have limitations’ (Brause, 2000, p. 108) and the present study is no exception. The first limitation is about the difficulty of attitudes measurement. Not only that measuring attitudes is ‘extremely difficult’ (Burns, Matthews, & Nolan-Conroy, 2004, p. 186), it is almost impossible to exactly determine how many respondents hold a particular attitude (Oppenheimer, 1992, p. 289). Though statistical analyses and tests were used in the study, categorising attitudes can still be difficult. This was manifested in the possibly-biased responses in the VGT task. Secondly, although it is agreed that thirty is the minimum sufficient sample size for statistical

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2 Kircher and Fox (2019) conducted a factor analysis test rather than ANOVA test.
analysis of the data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 101), a larger sample would have been more appropriate. Moreover, due to the nature of this work, the investigated variables were also limited in terms of the accents and the social variables of the respondents.

**Conclusion**

The motivation for this study was the argument of the inevitability of language attitudes. According to Mahboob and Elyas (2014, p. 128), English in Saudi Arabia ‘is loaded with political, religious, social, and economic overtones and is a topic of heated debate’. Hence, this study contributes to our understanding of people’s perceptions of different speech styles. In particular, the study sought to investigate Saudis’ attitudes towards three English accents from around the world. As far as I have been able to determine, this is the first LA work that combines the Spanish, Chinese and the Saudi accents of English as attitude objects and Saudis as a study population. This selection of accents and population was an attempt to move into the perceived exterior side of the English language and its speakers. Nevertheless, this exteriority assumption is in contrast with the views of many scholars (e.g. Clayton, 2018, p. 67) who consider EC varieties to be evolving and emerging as language varieties on their own.

With regards to attitudes towards WE varieties, some potential research areas that need further research have been identified. First, since this study only focuses on Saudis’ attitudes towards EC accents, further research may include varieties from the IC, OC or both. While Almegren (2018) does this by examining Saudis’ attitudes towards Malaysian, Filipino, Indian, Scottish, and British English speakers, the rest of the varieties and speakers should be studied and compared. Other population different from Saudis can also be included in future work to investigate and compare attitudes within various communities. For example, Chien (2018) studied and compared the attitudes of both Taiwanese and British respondents towards a number of varieties from all the three circles (i.e. IC, OC and EC). A further study, for example, can assess differences (or similarities) of the attitudes of Saudis and nationals of neighbouring countries. Another project may add a qualitative paradigm to the investigation by examining factors behind the elicited attitudes. If the ‘paradigmatic crack’ (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 46) was avoided, the qualitative paradigm can increase the level of confidence in the findings.

The present study can be seen as an interdisciplinary enquiry as it relies on theories and methods from various fields such as social psychology, linguistics and sociology. As a result, this can make the findings relevant in many contexts. For example, it was found that the attitudes towards the studied EC accents were neutral and unprejudiced. This was argued to be influenced by international education. Therefore, linguists and educators can actually work together to minimise language prejudices and inequalities. Another finding was the association between the identifiability of some of the accents under investigation and the age and education of the Saudi respondents. This was interpreted as an outcome of the familiarity of and the exposure to English worldwide and in educational institutions. Again, the role of education seems salient in the findings of this study.
Researching LA contributes in building the ‘sociolinguistic theory’ (Garrett, 2001, p. 630; McKenzie, 2010, p. 38). That is, LA can help in detecting ‘the roots of purism’ by determining who, based on the linguistic production, enjoys power and has the high status in (or to) a community (Evans, 2005, p. 242). This way specialists can help in ‘educating the public’ about language prejudice, inequality and discrimination (Lindemann, 2005, p. 210). Furthermore, this study paves the way for more attitudinal work that involves other English varieties, or even, other languages in Saudi Arabia. This may be beneficial in developing the understanding of ‘intergroup communication’ (Carranza, 1982, p. 63). For instance, the results of the study indicated that the potential communication with the accented speakers led to correct identification of the accents. Also, the attitudes towards the accents were not negative. This can provide insights into the study of the social aspect of language relevant to English.
References


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