Implicit Biases - Varying Pronunciation of Foreign Names in American English

Anaïs Elkins

In partial fulfillment of the degree requirements of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors, Linguistics

Under the advisement of
Professor Renée Blake
Associate Professor of Linguistics
College of Arts and Science, New York University

Spring 2017

Abstract

Levi-Ari (2014) and Weinreich (1968) argue that loanword pronunciation in American English seems to vary based on speakers' attitudes towards the source language as opposed to a uniform accommodation to the phonological properties of a speaker's native language. This study uniquely focuses on the variable pronunciation of personal names in American English as a source of sociolinguistic variation and a reflection of individuals' language ideologies. An online sociolinguistic survey was conducted to assess the implicit attitudes of approximately 130 American English speakers as they listened to exchanges between two interlocutors varying pronunciations of personal names with either more American or "foreign" pronunciations (e.g. Isabella pronounced as "Iz-a-bel-la" versus "Ee-sa-bel-la"). I hypothesized that an Americanized (native) pronunciation of a foreign name would on average be rated more negatively than a foreign-like pronunciation and would be more likely interpreted as a sign of disrespect. Data from 134 individual surveys were analyzed. Raters considered speakers who mispronounced a person's name, regardless of the direction of the mispronunciation, as less polite, cooperative, and kind than speakers who matched in pronunciation. Mispronunciations where speakers repeat back a foreign pronunciation were rated as significantly more likely to be multilingual than the other speakers. When respondents' ethnicity and self-reported multilingual ability is considered some trends become more pronounced. Respondents who identified as an ethnicity other than white rated the guise repeating a native mispronunciation overall more negatively than white respondents. Respondents who reported higher levels of multilingual ability rated both mispronouncing guises less harshly than those who reported lower levels of multilingualism. This study examines the social connotations of the mispronunciation of foreign names in American English within the broader context of adherence to conversational norms and perceptible cultural disrespect.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Although there has been a fair amount of research investigating the political attitudes associated with varying pronunciation of loanwords such as foreign words and place names in English, the varying pronunciation of foreign personal names has not been investigated. Previous research has investigated the variation of loanword pronunciation in English and the various sociolinguistic factors which may contribute to these varying pronunciations. This project extends the suggested influences on varying pronunciation of loanwords to the pronunciation of personal 'foreign' names in English.

Loanword pronunciation in American English seems to vary based on speakers' attitudes towards the source language as opposed to solely phonological properties, meaning that in American English the pronunciation of loanwords varies beyond what one would expect due solely to the influence of the sounds of a speaker's native language (Levi-Ari 2014, Weinreich 1968). Lev-Ari (2014) discusses the influence of the status and prestige of source languages as well as the variation across social domains which influences the phonological adaptations of loanwords. Boberg (1999) contrasts the highly phonologically regulated loanword pronunciation in British English with the less predictable variation within the pronunciation of loanwords in American English. He presents the dichotomy of a nativized pronunciation of loanwords (specifically using the vowel /æ/ as in the Standard British pronunciation of the loanword 'pasta') versus foreign pronunciation (the use of the vowel /a/ as in the standard American

pronunciation of the loanword 'pasta'). He attributes this distinct difference to a sociolinguistic effect of source-directed attitudes; in other words, how one feels about the language from which a word comes.

Hall-Lew et al. (2010), in a continuation of Boberg's investigation of the varying pronunciation of loanwords, show that the place name Iraq (e.g. /ɑɪ̂ɹæk/ "eye-rack" versus /ɪɹɑk/ "ear-rock") varies in pronunciation based on the political identities of politicians, with Republicans generally producing it more "Americanized" or nativized than Democrats. Jaggers (2016) finds that this political difference holds for non-politicians and across other foreign proper names as well. He also associates such variations with attitudes towards the source language, resistance or acceptance of the manifestations of language contact (e.g. multilingual education), and identity in terms of global versus more nationalistic. In the United States the Americanization of foreign names is prevalent (Kohli 2012) and, based on the results of this study, may reflect not only an individual's native phonology but also an individual's attitudes and ideology in parallel with Hall-Lew et al. and Jagger's findings.

In addition to the effect of source language and individual's attitudes and ideologies, studies have investigated the relationship between a speaker's own language proficiency and their perceptions of varying phonological integrations of loanwords. Although this has not been investigated in English, Cichocki and Harriot (1993) investigated the views that Canadian French-English bilinguals had of varying pronunciation of English loanwords in Acadian French. Bilinguals rated the different pronunciations on a scale of more French-sounding to more English-sounding. They found that speakers with high proficiency in English were more accepting of less integrated loanword pronunciations. This targets the bilingual speakers'

linguistic judgments of loanword pronunciations alongside their self reported linguistic abilities (Cichocki and Harriot 1993). The effect of an individual's multilingual ability on their perceptions and attitudes towards personal name pronunciations has not been investigated.

This study examines the variable pronunciation of personal names in American English as a source of sociolinguistic variation and a reflection of individuals's language ideology. This is a critical area of inquiry as the US experiences continued growth of immigrant populations. According to Education Professor Rita Kohli (NEA Today 2016), "Names have incredible significance to families, with so much thought, meaning and culture woven into them… When the child enters school and teachers—consciously or not—mispronounce, disregard or change the name, they are in a sense disregarding the family and culture of the students as well." This study aims to highlight the critical interaction in self-introduction and the social connotations carried within mispronunciation.

Through the dispersion of a matched guise survey, this project targets the attitudes that participants have towards the varying pronunciation and mispronunciation of proper names. Here, mispronunciation is defined as the mismatch between the actual pronunciation of an individual's name by that individual and the repetition of that name by a listener. A mismatch where the listener repeats back a nativized pronunciation (to a foreign pronunciation) could be interpreted as an Americanization of a person's name, whereas a mismatch in which a listener repeats back a foreign pronunciation (to an Americanized pronunciation) could be interpreted as an exoticization of a person's name.

Previous research confirms that how words are pronounced carries meanings beyond the denotation of the words themselves.This is even more true of personal names since they are so

connected to one's identity. I believe that mispronunciations can be considered a sign of disrespect. This study investigates the biases people have towards interlocutors who utter a name either as an accurate or mismatching pronunciation of another's name. I hypothesized that both of the speakers which repeat a mismatching pronunciation would be rated more negatively than those without a mismatch. I also hypothesized that the mismatch from a foreign pronunciation to an Americanized pronunciation would be rated more negatively than the mismatch from an Americanized pronunciation to a foreign pronunciation. Based on the data collected, these trends were seen for certain personality traits, particularly those which more overtly related to adherence to conversational norms, such as politeness and cooperativeness, but were not fully applicable to all personal attributes.

2. Methodology

In order to investigate individuals' implicit biases towards varying pronunciations of foreign first names, this study utilized a non-traditional matched guise to elicit participants' judgments of individuals varying pronunciations of an interlocutor's name. A traditional matched guise is one in which one bilingual speaker records the same passage in the two languages in which they are fluent. These recordings are then presented to participants under the guise that the two recordings are of two different speakers. Participants are then asked to place judgments on the speaker's personality, character, physical appearance, etc. for each of the separate guises (Lambert 1960). Participants were asked to rate the different recordings separately under the guise that they were different sets of unique speakers. This project utilizes a matched guise

comprising four different interactions recorded by the same two female speakers in their

mid-twenties.

Participants listened to three short dialogues (see Appendix A) with similar themes which

vary solely by the contrasting repeated pronunciation of a speaker's name in order to focus on

participants attitudes and reactions to the variation in that pronunciation (Table 2.1). The three

dialogues are set in different casual settings in which small talk and self-introductions are

appropriate and unmarked. These four interactions vary based on whether an interlocutor uses a

nativized/Americanized pronunciation of a proper name as well as whether or not the

pronunciation of the second speaker matches the pronunciation used in the name holder's

self-introduction.

Table 2.1 - IPA Transcriptions of Matching and Mismatching Pronunciations of Names

	Name Holder's Pronunciation (Speaker B)		Repeated Pronunciation (Speaker A)
Dialogue 1 native-native	/natalia/	*(same pronunciation)*	/natalia/
Dialogue 2 foreign-foreign	/andɾɛa/	*(same pronunciation)*	/andɾɛa/
Dialogue 3 (version 1) native-foreign	/ɪzəbɛlə/	*(different pronunciation)*	/isabela/
Dialogue 3 (version 2) foreign-native	/isabela/	*(different pronunciation)*	/ɪzəbɛlə/

In order to create a baseline, the order in which the participants heard the recordings was

not randomized. The first recording was a dialogue in which Speaker B pronounces her name

with an Americanized pronunciation and in which Speaker A repeats the name with a matching

pronunciation (Native-Native guise). The second recording consisted of a dialogue where Speaker B introduces herself with a foreign pronunciation of her name and Speaker A repeats the name with a matching pronunciation (Foreign-Foreign guise). The third recording that played alternated between two versions, one where there is a mismatch between the pronunciations and Speaker B introduces herself with a foreign pronunciation and Speaker A repeats back an Americanized pronunciation (Foreign-to-Native guise) and another where Speaker A introduces herself with an Americanized pronunciation and Speaker A repeats back a foreign pronunciation (Native-to-Foreign guise). Participants were given control to listen to the audio file as many times as they wished. Using the Qualtrics system the number of times that participants listened to the audio as well as the amount of time they spent on each section was recorded.

Participants were presented with a survey asking them to rate one of the speakers (Speaker A) they heard in the recorded interactions. After that they were presented with a section in which they were to listen to varying pronunciations of foreign names once and then respond whether they liked or disliked the pronunciation. The responses for this section were also timed. After the attitudinal survey, there was a quick section asking for metalinguistic reflection from participants as well as a section asking basic demographic information of the participants. The entire survey was designed to take approximately 15 minutes.

2.1 Stimuli Creation

The names selected for these three interactions were chosen based on the criteria that they were identifiably foreign in origin, and both the Americanized and foreign pronunciations contain sounds and sound combinations that are licit in the phonology of Standard American

English. This was done to limit the effect of one's perception regarding an individual's capability of pronouncing a person's foreign name. In order to minimize the effect of gender and gender dynamics, this study focuses on female speakers; therefore only female foreign names were selected.

In the section that follows asking participants preferences between varying pronunciations of foreign names, it was not necessary to limit the names to those following the phonological restrictions of American English. These names - Andrea, Isabela, Maria, Natalia, Theresa, and Valencia - were names whose pronunciations varied in foreignness and Americanization enough to make a noticeable difference to participants.

Table 2.2 - IPA Transcriptions of Varying Pronunciations of Foreign Names Used

	Foreign	**Americanized**
Andrea	/andɾɛa/	/ændɹiə/
Isabela	/isabela/	/ɪzəbɛlə/
Maria	/maɾia/	/maɹiə/
Natalia	/natalia/	/nətæliə/
Theresa	/teɾesa/	/təɹisə/
Valencia	/valensia/	/vəlɛnsiə/

2.2 Justifications for Selecting Semantic Differential Items

After each recording, participants were presented with a short survey asking them to make guesses about Speaker A's age, nationality, ethnic and linguistic identity as well as to rate the speaker on a Likert scale from 1 to 7 for various skills/qualities (e.g. globally aware,

educated, well-traveled, racist, ignorant, etc.) based on their inferences from the recordings.

After the three dialogues and attitudinal surveys, participants were presented with a timed survey targeting participant's preferences of native and foreign pronunciations of foreign names, Lastly, participants were asked specific relevant metalinguistic questions and demographic information. In order to encourage participants to process each question individually and rate the speaker accurately, the side on which positive/negative attributes were aligned in the survey was randomized by question. The metalinguistic portion of the survey contained questions targeting participant's opinions about and experiences with language contact and multilingualism (e.g. opinion on bilingual education and other language contact scenarios in the United States). People were encouraged but not required to respond to every question. A copy of the survey questions has been included in Appendix B. The matched guise survey took on average 10-15 minutes for each participant to complete.

2.3 Recruitment and Participants

Recruitment for this project was done mainly through an anonymous link posted on a variety of social media platforms. Since recruitment was done mainly through the social media of people in their 20s, the participant pool is primarily younger. People of all ages and backgrounds were invited to participate. Some participants completed the full survey while others only selected specific questions. While 134 individuals submitted a survey, 105 participants chose to fill out the demographic information. Thirty other respondents completed the other sections of the survey to varying degrees. All 134 surveys were used to calculate overall averages while only those who completed the necessary demographic information (105

surveys for the ethnicity subgroup and 94 surveys for the multilingualism subgroup) were used to calculate the averages for different sub populations within the overall participant group.

2.4 Demographics of the Participants

The demographic breakdown of the participants included below contains responses from 105 participants. As it was in the attitudinal survey, answering all of the demographic questions was not obligatory so the number of participants who responded to each question varies. In Appendix C there are comprehensive totals for the number of responses for all the demographic questions and for the ratings used for the averages in the attitudinal survey. The average age of participants was 29.7 years old. The median age was 23 years old. In addition, 73.3% of participants were under the age of 30 while 26.7% were over the age of 30. The majority of participants were female (77.1%). Of the 105 participants who reported their highest level of education, 41.0% of respondents reported to have obtained at least a Bachelor's degree. Participants were asked to rate their general political orientation on a scale from 1 to 7 on a Likert scale with 1 being the most Liberal and 7 being the most Conservative. The majority of respondents (74.4%) rated themselves as primarily Liberal (rated from 1 to 3 on the scale). In addition, 13.4% of respondents rated themselves as most commonly aligning with Moderate political ideologies (rated 4 on the scale) and only 12.2% of respondents reported themselves as most frequently agreeing with Conservative policies (rated from 5 to 7 on the scale).

As shown in Table 2.3, 72.4% of the total participants reported their local zip code. The majority of responses were from participants who listed zip codes in the Northeast of the United States (New England, New York City, or the Mid Atlantic - 64.9%). Of the remainder, 14.4% of

respondents listed zip codes in the West, Midwest, or Southern regions of the United States.

20.6% of respondents listed zip codes in the Pacific Northwest or California.

Table 2.3 - Geographic Distribution of Respondents

Region	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
New England	26	26.8%
New York City	23	23.7%
Mid Atlantic	14	14.4%
Midwest	3	3.1%
West	3	3.1%
South	8	8.2%
Pacific Northwest and California	20	20.6%
Total	**97**	**100%**

The majority of respondents marked their ethnicity as White. In addition, 13.3% of respondents marked more than one race or ethnicity (Table 2.4).

The majority of participants (83.7%) were born the the United States. The majority of participants (81.7%) also reported that their first language was English. In addition, the majority of participants (73.3%) reported some degree of multilingualism. Participants who marked that they spoke a language other than English were asked to rate their highest level of confidence in another language on a scale from 1 to 7. There was a wide range of the degree of self-reported multilingualism amongst the participants (Table 2.5).

Table 2.4 - Race/Ethnicity of Respondents

Race/Ethnicity	Number of Respondents	% of 105 Respondents
White	68	64.8%
Asian	20	19.0%
Latino/Hispanic	12	11.4%
Black/African descendant/African American	8	7.6%
Other	7	6.7%
Middle Eastern	4	3.8%
American Indian or Alaska Native	2	1.9%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	1	1.0%
Total	**122**	**105 respondents**

Table 2.5 - Self-Reported Level of Multilingualism of Participants

Level of Multilingualism	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
1	10	10.6%
2	8	8.5%
3	9	9.6%
4	19	20.2%
5	19	20.2%
6	15	16.0%
7	14	14.9%
Total	**94**	**100%**

Participants generally reported some level of confidence in Spanish and French (80.0%) but many listed competency in other non Romance languages. Of the 77 respondents who reported some level multilingual ability, 28.6% of respondents marked familiarity in more than one language (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 - Language Familiarity of Participants

Language	Number of Respondents	% of 77 Respondents
Spanish	32	41.6%
French	23	29.9%
Chinese	10	13.0%
German	4	5.2%
Arabic	3	3.9%
Japanese	3	3.9%
American Sign Language	2	2.6%
Hindi	2	2.6%
Italian	2	2.6%
Other	11	14.3%
Total	**92**	**77 respondents**

Participant's demographic information was linked to their responses and used to further analyze the trends present in the ratings of the four different guises.

3. Results

The data were analyzed to compare the overall trends in the attitudes towards the different guises as well as to be able to compare the extent to which these trends were more or less pronounced in distinct populations of the survey respondents. In addition to overall averages, the data were grouped according to respondent's ethnicity and self-reported multilingual ability. The geographic distribution was too heavily concentrated in the North East and New York City area to be able to accurately compare the averages based on participant geographic location in the United States.

The side of the ratings scale to which which positive and negative attributes were aligned in the survey was randomized by question. In order to compare the ratings, the results were transformed by subtracting the average from the maximum rating plus one (since it was an uneven scale) so that a lower number was associated with a more negative rating by the speaker and a higher number was associated with a positive rating. Answering all questions in the survey was not obligatory so the number of participants who responded to each question varies. Statistical significance was assessed using a two tailed t-test assuming unequal variances with an $\alpha = 0.05$ using MS Excel 2016 with the Analysis ToolPak add-in.

Only the information from the first section of the matched guise survey, the meta linguistic questions, and the demographic information is discussed in this paper. The timed section of the survey was not analyzed for this paper.

3.1 Matching versus Mismatching Pronunciations

For the averages across all 134 surveys, the data shows a marked difference between the rating of the matching and mismatching guises. The controls for the study were the matching guises, where both the name holder (Speaker B) and the interlocutor (Speaker A) use the same pronunciation (dialogues one and two in the survey). The mismatching guises were defined as when the name holder and the interlocutor use different pronunciations (the two alternating versions of the third dialogue).

There is a notable difference between the averages of the matching and mismatching guises. The matching guises overall were rated more highly than the mismatching guises in being perceived as more sociable, friendly, kind, polite, and cooperative. The differences between the average ratings of speakers sociableness ($p = 0.00011$), friendliness ($p = 0.00318$), willingness to befriend ($p = 0.01458$), politeness ($p = 0.00142$), and cooperativeness ($p = 0.00861$) were all statistically significant. The mismatching guises were also rated more likely to be multilingual ($p = 0.00001$) and as being slightly more moderate to conservative in their political orientation ($p = 0.01797$). These results show a clear and significant trend that, overall, the mismatching guises are perceived more negatively than the matching guises. This can be interpreted as an negative judgment of the mismatching pronunciation itself which is then associated with a more negative view of the guise overall.

Table 3.1 - Averages of Personality Attributes Comparing Matching and Mismatching Pronunciation

	Match	Mismatch	p-value
Sociableness	5.91	5.25	**0.00011**
Friendliness	5.61	5.03	**0.00318**
Willingness to Befriend	4.87	4.42	**0.01458**
Kindness	5.43	5.13	0.05589
Politeness	5.74	5.17	**0.00142**
Cooperativeness	5.41	4.97	**0.00861**
Multilingual Ability	3.51	4.42	**0.00001**
Sophistication	4.57	4.49	0.54737
Intelligence	5.05	5.03	0.90433
Attractiveness	4.62	4.52	0.33597
Occupation*	4.43	4.48	0.76944
Socioeconomic Status	4.29	4.49	0.08172
Political Orientation**	3.40	3.71	**0.01797**

Statistically significant p-values (p < 0.05) are bolded.

*Participants were asked to asked to rate Speaker A's likelihood of holding a blue-collar job as opposed to a white-collar job on a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 represented most likely to hold a blue-collar job and 7 represented most likely to hold a white-collar job.

**The scale on which participants had to place their perception of Speaker A's political orientation was from 1 to 7 where 1 represented most liberal and 7 represented most conservative.

3.2 Comparing the Direction of the Mismatch

For some personality traits, substantial differences can be seen within the mismatch condition depending on the direction of the mismatch: Foreign-to-Native or Native-to-Foreign.

The averages from these two sub-conditions are presented here, alongside those for the matching guises simply to serve as a reference (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 - Averages of Personality Attributes Comparing Varying Pronunciations

	Match	Foreign-to-Native	Native-to-Foreign	p-value*
Sociableness	5.91	5.49	5.02	0.08733
Friendliness	5.61	5.09	4.96	0.66927
Willingness to Befriend	4.87	4.35	4.49	0.65355
Kindness	5.43	5.19	5.08	0.63716
Politeness	5.74	4.25	4.33	0.91835
Cooperative	5.41	5.04	4.91	0.62659
Multilingual Ability	3.51	3.22	5.55	**$8.96e^{-13}$**
Sophistication	4.57	4.48	4.49	0.96994
Intelligence	5.05	5.08	4.98	0.67885
Attractiveness	4.62	4.42	4.62	0.24055
Occupation	4.43	4.57	4.38	0.45022
Socioeconomic Status	4.29	4.40	4.58	0.32328
Political Orientation	3.40	3.75	3.67	0.70751

*p-values for this table were calculated between the two mismatching guises.

There was a notable and statistically significant difference in the rating of the Native-to-Foreign guise as being considerably more likely to speak a language other than English than the Foreign-to-Native mismatching guise (p = 8.96e-13). Although the difference is not statistically different (p = 0.08733), the average ratings of sociableness between the two mismatch guises are notably different with Native-to-Foreign being least sociable, and the matching guises are overall rated as more sociable than either of the mismatching ones. It is

notable that the only statistically significant difference between the direction of the mismatch is the perceived multilingual ability of the speaker. Participants, for the most part, did not judge ether mismatching pronunciation as significantly more or less negative than the other for the personal attributes (other than multilingual ability).

3.3 Perceived Ethnicity of the Speaker

In addition to rating the guises on a Likert scale, participants were asked to answer questions about their perceptions of Speaker A's age, level of education, and ethnicity. While the selection of age and education were categorical in the survey, participants were allowed to freely write in their perceptions of Speaker A's ethnicity. Similar answers were grouped together. Some responses listed two ethnicities. Percentages were calculated as the percentage of respondents who listed a particular ethnicity.

For the first three guises, the distribution of the perceived ethnicity of the speaker were extremely similar. However, the guise in which the speaker repeated a foreign pronunciation when the original pronunciation was a native-like pronunciation was perceived differently (Table 3.3).

While the first three guises were predominantly perceived as being White (by over 80% of respondents) while the guise with the Native-to-Foreign mismatch was perceived as White by 33.3% of respondents but as Latina/Hispanic by 46.7% of respondents. In the category marked "Other" as perceived ethnicity the guise with a Foreign-to-Native mismatch's ethnicity was reported as "Not Latina" and "Super White" by two specific respondents. Similarly the Native-to-Foreign guise was identified as "Not White" by one respondent. For the matching

guises, no participants defined the speaker's ethnicity in extremes like this or in opposition with what they were perceived not to be.

**Table 3.3 - Perceived Ethnicity of Speaker A**

	% of Respondents		
	Match	**Foreign-Native**	**Native-Foreign**
White/Caucasian	81.3	87.8	33.3
Asian	2.5	0.0	4.3
Latina/Hispanic	3.3	4.1	46.7
American	4.6	6.1	4.4
African American/Black	0.4	0.0	4.4
Other	1.7	6.1	15.6
Unable to determine	10.4	8.2	4.4

3.4 Analysis Based on Participant Ethnicity

Considering the effects of name mispronunciation on students of color in Kohli's 2012 study, this study also looks at the possible relation between participant's ethnicity, past personal experiences, and perceptions and judgments of the different guises. When analyzing the data based on participant's reported ethnicity, respondents' ratings were separated based on whether they identified as White or another race, ethnicity, or combination of different races and/or ethnicities. As mentioned in the discussion of participant demographics, 64.8% identified as white (some in conjunction with another ethnicity) however 58 participants (55.2%) identified as solely White while 47 participants (44.8%) identified as not White or not only White. When

comparing the averages of participants who identified as only White (White) and those who

identified as another ethnicity or more than one ethnicity (Other Ethnicities), some of the trends

seen in the overall averages become more defined (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 - Averages of Personality Attributes Based on Participant Ethnicity

Averages Based on Participant Ethnicity
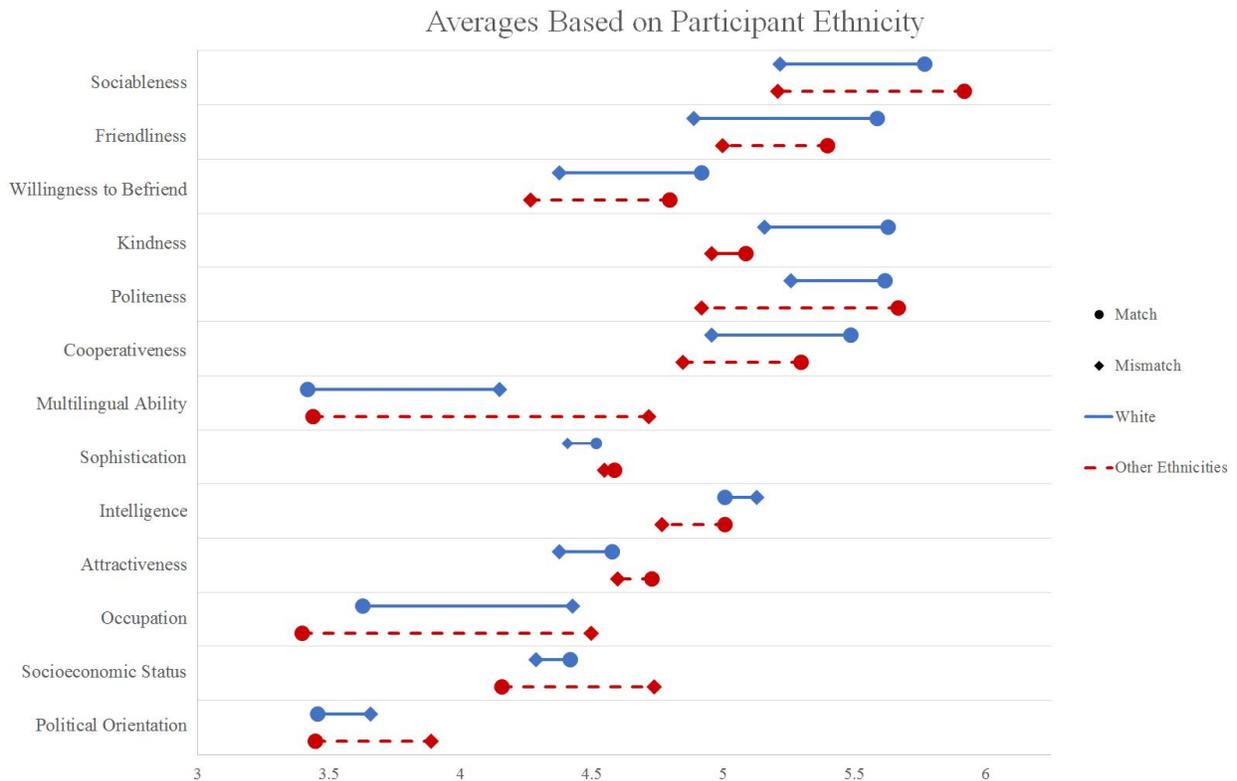
While the mismatching guises were overall rated more favorably along the factor of

kindness, this effect appears to be stronger amongst participants of other ethnicities than those

identifying as white (comparing the average rating of the matched guise by white participants to

the average rating of the matched guise by people of other ethnicities $p = 0.01942$). Furthermore,

people of other ethnicities also rated the likelihood of the mismatching guise as even more likely

to be multilingual than the white respondents did (for white respondents, p = 0.00799 while for people of eth, p = 0.00028). In addition, the average politeness rating of the mismatching guise was notably lower as rated by respondents of other ethnicities as opposed to white respondents (though this difference was not identified as statistically significant). Overall, the mismatching guises were rated as being considerably more likely to be multilingual.

In Figure 3.5, it is apparent that the distinction between the direction of the mismatch played an important role in the analysis of the breakdown of the averages.

Figure 3.5 - Averages of Personality Attributes Based on Participant Ethnicity
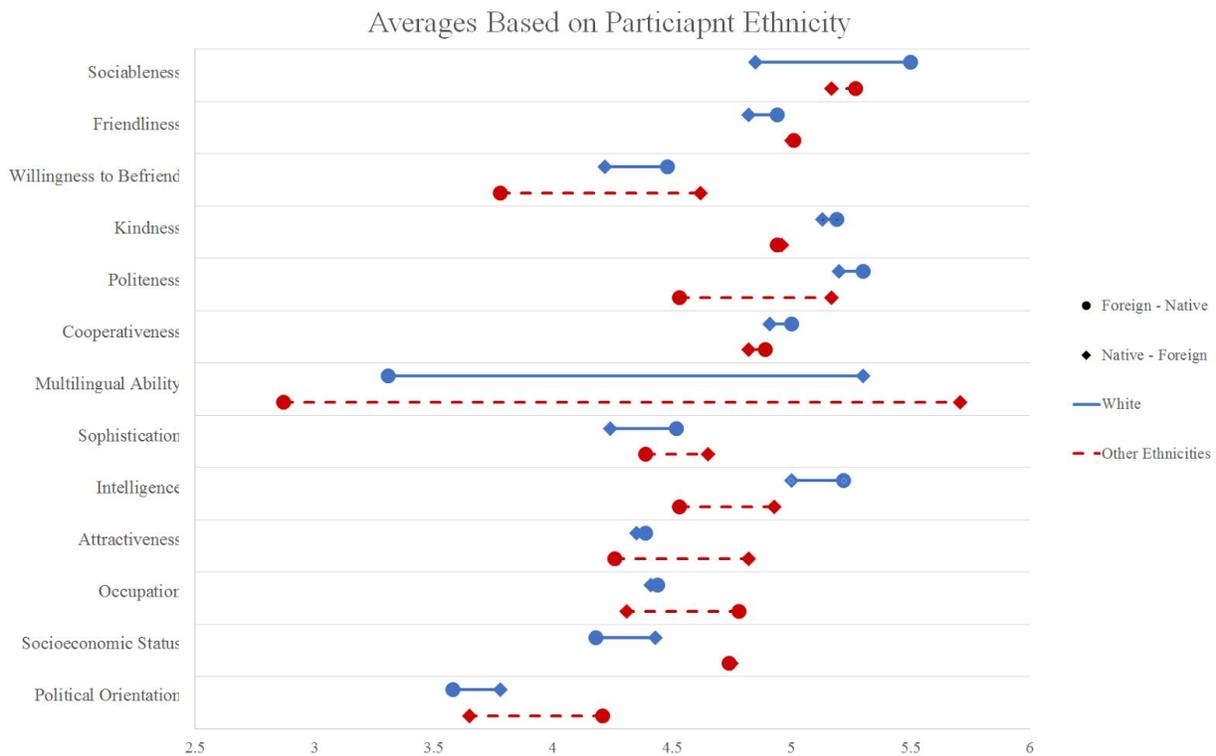
The Native-to-Foreign mismatch guise was rated as substantially more likely to be multilingual than all the other guises by both white and respondents of other ethnicities, although it was rated even more highly by people of other ethnicities (for white respondents $p = 2.47e^{-5}$ for

people of other ethnicities p = 3.05e^{-6}). Although white respondents rated the Foreign-to-Native speaker with about the same likelihood of multilingual ability as the matching guises, respondents of other ethnicities rated this guise as considerably less likely to be less multilingual than all other guises. The average sociableness rating for the different mismatch guises trends differently in the white participant's responses than in respondents of other ethnicities' responses. While there is less difference in the sociableness ratings of the two guises by people of other ethnicities, white respondents not only rated the Native-to-Foreign guise as less sociable but the Foreign-to-Native guise as more sociable. The Native-to-Foreign guise was rated as notably less friendly by white respondent while there is no distinctive difference between the ratings of sociableness of the two different mismatches for people of other ethnicities. However, Foreign-to-Native mismatch guise was rated much more harshly by people of other ethnicities insofar that people of other ethnicities reported that the would be much less likely to befriend the Foreign-to-Native guise than all the other guises. In addition, this same Native-to-Foreign guise was rated as notably more impolite by people of other ethnicities while white respondents did not show a considerable difference between the politeness ratings of the four different guises. These trends in sociableness, friendliness, willingness to befriend, and politeness were not found to be statistically significant.

There is statistically significant difference between the ratings of political orientation of Speaker A in the Foreign-to-Native mismatching guise by white respondents compared to the ratings by respondents of other ethnicities (p = 0.04211). People who identified as an ethnicity other than white rated the Foreign-to-Native guise are more likely to be politically conservative as than the Native-to-Foreign guise while white respondents characterized the guises in the

opposite direction. The statistically significant difference in the perception of thesis two guises political orientation may reflect as difference in perception of American Conservatives and American Liberals where people of other ethnicities are more likely to attribute the Americanization of a person's name to a more conservative political ideology while white participants do not make that association.

People who identified as an ethnicity other than white also rated the Foreign-to-Native guise as slightly less intelligent than the other guises while the averages for white respondents show that this guise was rated as slightly more intelligent than the others. People of other ethnicities also rated the Native-to-Foreign mismatch guise as slightly more sophisticated when white participants rated it slightly less sophisticated than all the others. The Native-to-Foreign guise was also rated as slightly more attractive by people of other ethnicities while white respondent's averages for attractiveness of this guise are not notably different from the averages of the other guises. The foreign matching guise was rated as being more likely to hold a blue collar job than all the other guises and was judged more harshly by respondent's of other ethnicities than by white respondents. These differences between the ratings of intelligence, sophistication, attractiveness, and occupation did not show any statistical significance. While the ratings of the four guises' political orientation show no considerable differences for white respondents, people of other ethnicities rated the Foreign-to-Native guise as having more conservative of a political orientation than all the other guises.

There is also a difference in the perceived ethnicity of Speaker A by white respondents compared to respondents of other ethnicities when looking at the Native-to-Foreign mismatch guise (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 - Perceived Ethnicity of Speaker A in the Native-to-Foreign Guise Based on Participant Ethnicity

	White		Other Ethnicities	
	# of Respondents	% of Respondents	# of Respondents	% of Respondents
White/Caucasian	10	41.7%	5	20.8%
Asian	0	0.0%	2	8.3%
Latina/Hispanic	8	33.3%	12	50.0%
American	1	4.2%	1	4.2%
African American/Black	2	8.3%	0	0.0%
Other	2	8.3%	4	16.7%
Unable to determine	1	4.2%	1	4.2%
Total	**24**	**100%**	**24**	**100%**

The patterns in perceived ethnicity of the Native-to-Foreign mispronunciation guise are made even more distinct when the data are separated out by respondents ethnicity. Respondents of other ethnicities perceived Speaker A to be Latina/Hispanic 50.0% of the time while white respondents only identified the speaker as Latina/Hispanic 33.3% of the time. White respondents were more likely to identify Speaker A as white in the Native-to-Foreign mismatch guise than respondents of other ethnicities.

3.5 Analysis Based on Participant Self-Reported Multilingual Ability

To investigate the possible effect of participants' multilingual abilities on their ratings of the speakers, participants were asked in the demographic section of the survey to rated their competence in a language other than English on a scale of 1 to 7. Speakers who rated themselves from 1 to 4 on the scale as well as individuals who reported English monolingualism

were grouped together as the population of "less multilingual" individuals. Those who rated themselves from 5 to 7 were grouped together as individuals with high competence in a language other than English and who are "more multilingual."

The differences between the averages of the matching and mismatching guises based on participant's reported multilingual ability is shown in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7 - Averages of Personality Attributes Based on Participant Self-Reported Multilingual Ability
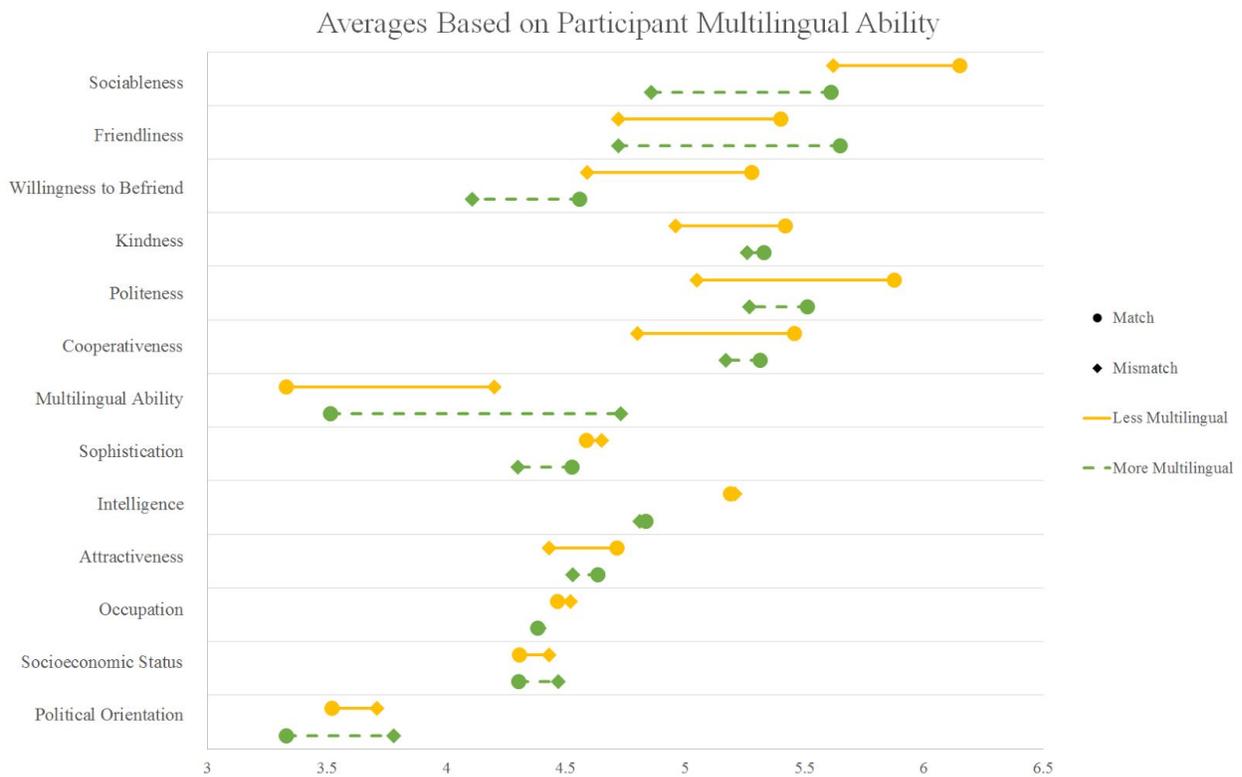
Overall, participants who reported a lower level of multilingualism rated all the guises higher in sociableness ($p = 0.01822$ comparing the ratings for the matching guises and p= 0.00876 for the mismatching guises). Overall, individuals were more likely to befriend the guises using matching pronunciations than those with mismatching pronunciations. In the average

ratings of individual's willingness to befriend Speaker A, respondents with reportedly less multilingual ability showed a statistically significant difference in their ratings (p = 0.01228) while participants with reportedly more multilingual ability did not have a difference which showed statistical significance. The average politeness ratings by less multilingual respondents show that the mismatching guises are rated as considerably less polite. This difference in the less multilingual participant's ratings is statistically significant (p = 0.00485) while there is no statistically significant difference shown in the politeness ratings by more multilingual individuals. In addition less multilingual participants showed a statistically significant difference in cooperativeness ratings of the guises, rating the matching guises as more cooperative than the mismatching ones (p = 0.02562). No such significant trend is seen in the ratings by more multilingual respondents. Both groups of participants showed statistically significant ratings for the multilingual ability of Speaker A, however the difference in the average ratings of the matching versus mismatching guises was more drastic when comparing the ratings of the more multilingual speakers than those of the less multilingual speakers (for the less multilingual speakers p = 0.01162, while for the more multilingual speakers p = 0.00007). In addition, while there was no significant difference between the perception of the political orientation of the matching and mismatching guises among less multilingual participants, more multilingual speakers rated the mismatching guises as being considerably more likely to be moderate to conservatively aligned (p = 0.01626).

Figure 3.8 - Averages of Personality Attributes Based on Participant Multilingual Ability
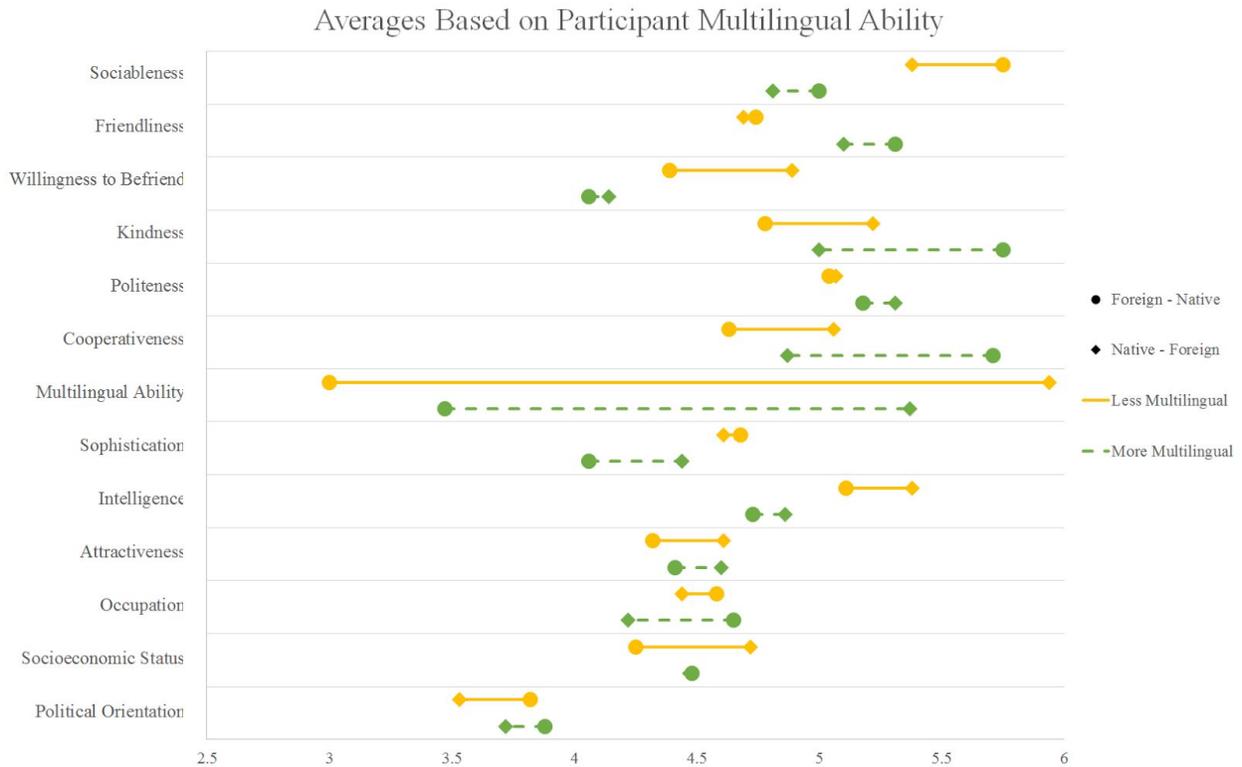
The Foreign-to-Native mismatch guise was rated as considerably less kind than the other guises by respondents who reported little to no multilingual ability while participants reporting a higher level of multilingual ability rated the Foreign-to-Native guise as notably more kind than the Native-to-Foreign mismatch. While the difference between the ratings by less multilingual participants shows no statistical significance, the difference between the ratings by more multilingual respondents is statistically significant ($p = 0.04035$). In addition, more multilingual individuals rated the Foreign-to-Native mismatch as significantly more cooperative than all the other guises and the Native-to-Foreign guises as significantly less cooperative than the other guises ($p = 0.01672$). This trend was not the same in the less multilingual participant responses, as their averages were not statistically significant, but show that the Foreign-to-Native guise was

rated as substantially less cooperative than all the others and the Native-to-Foreign guise being rated as less cooperative than the control but more cooperative than the other mismatch.

The trends in the marking of the guises perceived multilingual ability by more multilingual participants show a difference in interpretation of the name-pronunciation. The less multilingual respondents were more extreme in their ratings of the multilingual ability of Speaker A. They rated the Foreign-to-Native guise as considerably less likely to be multilingual than the participants who reported high levels of multilingualism. Also, less multilingual individuals rated the Native-to-Foreign guise with a higher likelihood of multilingualism than the more multilingual participants. For the less multilingual particip, the t-test resulted in a statistically significant difference with a p-value of $3.98e^{-8}$ while the more multilingual speakers showed a difference with a p-value of $9.66e^{-5}$. The average ratings of socioeconomic status, while not statistically significant, also show a distinction in the breakdown by direction of mismatch as well as participant multilingual ability. The more multilingual subgroup's averages do not show a distinction between the average socioeconomic status for the two mismatches however those participants marking a lower level of multilingualism rated the Native-to-Foreign mismatch as having a higher chance of holding a white-collar job than the Foreign-to-Native guise.

The overall trend of the Native-to-Foreign mismatch guise being less commonly perceived as white than were the other three guises was made more distinct when the perceptions were separated by participants self-reported multilingual ability.

**Table 3.9 - Perceived Ethnicity of Speaker A in the Native-to- Foreign Guise
Based on Participant Multilingual Ability**

Race/Ethnicity	Less Multilingual		More Multilingual	
	# of Respondents	% of Respondents	# of Respondents	% of Respondents
White/Caucasian	7	38.9%	7	25.9%
Asian	0	0.0%	2	7.4%
Latina/Hispanic	7	38.9%	13	48.1%
American	0	0.0%	2	7.4%
African American/Black	2	11.1%	0	0.0%
Other	1	5.6%	4	14.8%
Unable to determine	1	5.6%	0	0.0%
Total	**18**	**100%**	**27**	**100%**

Just as it was with the breakdown of the perceived ethnicity in Table 3.6, that respondents of other ethnicities were more likely to perceive speaker A as Latina/Hispanic, the Native-to-Foreign mismatch guise was perceived as Latina/Hispanic more commonly by more multilingual respondents than less multilingual respondents. This distinction was less defined between the perceptions when divided by multilingual ability than it was when they were divided by participant ethnicity.

4. Discussion

4.1 Overall Trends

In the data, clear overarching trends appear in the evaluation of specific attributes within the guises varying on pronunciation alone. If a 'mispronunciation' of a person's name can be defined as a failure to reproduce a person's name as it was introduced by the name holder, both guises featuring a mispronunciation were rated more negatively than the control (the guises with matching pronunciations) whether that reproduced pronunciation is Foreign-to-Native or Native-to-Foreign. There were clear trends observed in the personal attributes which are more overtly related to the perceived interaction between the two speakers, such as politeness or cooperativeness. In comparaison, intelligence, attractiveness, and occupation seemed not to vary as much between the categories of matching and mismatching pronunciation as these attributes are not directly dependent on how a person interacts with others. In other words, the attributes which are tied to adherence to conversational norms were more variably rated for the guises with matching as opposed to mismatching pronunciations.

Although many of the trends seen in the differences between the match and the mismatch were statistically significant, the direction of the mismatch (whether it was Native-to-Foreign pronunciation or Foreign-to-Native pronunciation) did not show many statistically significant differences. More data are needed to investigate these trends since the data set was too small for the mismatching guises to show statistical significance. This was because the sample size of ratings for these two guises were only half the size of the first two guises as participants were

only presented three guises per survey (see Appendix C). The third dialogue alternated between the two mismatching guises.

Using the mismatching pronunciation is clearly the marked choice as it was evaluated significantly differently from the use of a matching pronunciation. The Native-to-Foreign mispronunciation is a marked choice insofar that it indexes a specific linguistic or cultural identity or evokes a more worldly and multilingual identity. There is a striking difference in respondent's perception of multilingual ability and race/ethnicity of the Native-to-Foreign guise as compared to their judgments of the other three guises. For some respondents this foreign pronunciation when repeated after the name holder's use of a native pronunciation seems to index a specific linguistic identity or a specific multilingual capacity. This single foreign pronunciation was situated within a conversation of otherwise unaccented speech so it is notable that this one variation caused such a difference in the perceptions of the two guises. Respondents who identified as an ethnicity other than White were more likely to rate this guise with a higher level of multilingualism than white respondents. When the data were separated based on speaker's multilingual ability, those participants who rated themselves as less multilingual (1 to 4 on a scale of 1 to 7) rated the Native-to-Foreign guise are more likely to be multilingual than more multilingual had rated the guise. This was an expected outcome, however the results appear to be much more statistically significant than expected.

The Foreign-to-Native guise was also a marked choice when compared to the controls with matching pronunciation. Although there were few statistically significant differences in the rating of the Foreign-to-Native guise, the overall trends showed that it was not only perceived to be less likely to be multilingual. When factoring in participant ethnicity, the Foreign-to-Native

guise was perceived, overall, much more negatively by people of other ethnicities than white participants. The average ratings of the Foreign-to-Native guise by people of other ethnicities identified the guise as slightly less intelligent and polite than the Native-to-Foreign guise. Although not all of these trends were statistically significant due to the smaller sample size of the mismatching guises, and further research is needed to investigate these trends that are apparent in the data. In addition to rating the Foreign to-Native guise more harshly than white participants, people of other ethnicities also rated the Native-to-Foreign more highly than white participants had. This suggests that these participants may be more sensitive to the mispronunciations and had a more distinctive interpretation of the social consequences of the different directions of mispronunciation. Although not statistically significant, many trends appear to be strongly represented in the small sample size of this project and should be further investigated.

The representation of varying levels of multilingualism is limited within this data set which made it difficult to compare the different levels of self-reported multilingualism due to the extremely small sample sizes in the majority of the subgroups. Although this distribution of multilingual ability was not expected, it is probable that multilingual individuals could have been have been more interested in completing the survey. It is expected that a more even distribution of multilingual ability or monolingual speakers would allow the trends observed amongst the more and less multilingual populations to become more defined.

Generally, speakers that identified as more multilingual (5 to 7) on the 7 point Likert scale were more lenient in their ratings of the mispronunciation guises. This could be an influence of a potentially higher level of metalinguistic awareness in multilingual individuals which could have informed their less harsh judgments of the mispronunciations. In a way, their

multilingual ability could have been related to a higher awareness to the phonological limitations at play in loanword integration and resulted in a less negative rating of these guises. This is similar to Cichocki and Harriot's (1993) findings surrounding the preferences of English-French bilinguals concerning English loanwords. Those participants who were less multilingual and had a lower level of competency in English rated the less phonologically integrated pronunciations more harshly. Similarly, less multilingual speakers in this study were more extreme in their ratings of the mismatching guises's multilingual abilities. Participants who reported lower levels of multilingualism also have generally lower ratings of the mismatching guises than more multilingual speakers had. The distinctions between the ratings of these two groups were not statistically significant, however the trends may have become more clear if there had been a wider range of multilingualism reported by participants.

It was more difficult to see a statistically significant difference between the two mismatches outside of the trends seen in perceived multilingual ability and ethnicity. However the trends suggest that some people do, in fact, judge people differently based on the direction of the mismatch and it is hypothesized that a larger sample size would help define these differences more clearly. More research would need to be done to further investigate the effect of the different directions of mispronunciation on individual's judgments of the speaker. In addition, further research could explore the possible effects of varying degrees of integration into English phonology on the perceptions of individuals. Similar to Cichocki and Harriot's (1993) study, future research could look into the effect of the distance from the original name holder's pronunciation on how they are perceived. The direction of the distance (whether the repetition of

the name is more or less integrated into English phonology than the original pronunciation)

should also be tested.

4.2 Mispronunciations as Face Threatening Acts

Given that , the matching guises were rated more positively than the mismatching guises,

this can be interpreted as an overall more negative impression of the guises containing a

mispronunciation. Erving Goffman's ideas of "facework" and positive face can be applied to the

varying pronunciations in the four guises. In his essay, Goffman defines face as the "positive

social value a person claims for himself" (1955). In other words, a person's face is a combination

their outward portrayal in an interaction as well as the perception of them by other

conversational participants. Facework, in turn, is the actions and effort one puts into maintaining

the consistency of their face. Many encounters and interactions can "threaten" one's face and

thus facework is a common combat to such threats. The relationship between people and their

faces is described by Goffman as a "ritual equilibrium" (1955) which facework is required to

upkeep. The dialogues used in this survey were purposely designed to contain no other sources

of negative face or face threatening actions aside from the variation in name pronunciation.

Matching in pronunciation is viewed more positively because it could have been seen of as a way

of respecting positive face. The overall higher ratings for sociableness, politeness,

cooperativeness, and other socially dependent attributes reflects this respect of face present in the

matching guises. This can be contrasted with the lower ratings for the mismatching guises. The

mispronunciation of another individual's name is a general threat to the face of the

mispronouncing interlocutor. In some cases people may perceive the Native-to-Foreign

pronunciation as a way to gain positive face and project a more multilingual, sophisticated, or worldly identity. The slightly more positive ratings of the Native-to-Foreign mismatch could be interpreted as not a loss of face but as an interactional choice to project a different 'self' through expressive implications.

By having a trending difference, albeit statistically insignificant in this data set, between the two directions of mispronunciation, one can analyze the varying levels to which individuals may interpret the amount of negative face which is gained through each differing pronunciation. This is to say that the variation in average ratings of the guises are directly related to the perceptions status of the speaker's face. A lower rating corresponds with a greater loss of face while a higher rating implies the opposite. When comparing the subgroups divided based on participant ethnicity and self-reported multilingual ability, there are clear trends in differing interpretations of the status of Speaker A's face as seen in the differences in average ratings.

In addition to the notion of 'face' within an interaction, Goffman discusses the choices individual's make when presenting and performing 'selves' through speech. He describes the distinction between the self as "an image pieced together from the expressive implications of the full flow of events in an undertaking" and as the "ritual role" of an individual within an interaction (1955). Participant's judgments of Speaker A are primarily assessments of Speaker A's projection of herself as an aggregate of conversational practices and actions but also as a cooperative participant in the interaction. The sole variation between the four guises, aside from settings and topics of similar impact and mundanity, is the marked use of the two different mispronunciations. This isolates the source of the difference in conceptions of Speaker A's face to the varying pronunciation of the foreign name.

Differences in ratings may be linked to a difference in perceptions of the status of the interlocutors' face. Depending on the limitations of one's own native phonology, it is understandable that different mispronunciations may be judged on varying levels of inappropriateness and impoliteness. For some participants, for example those who reported higher levels of multilingual ability, the mispronunciation may have been perceived as less of a loss of face due to phonological interference. In addition, participants who identified as a person of other ethnicities judged the Foreign-to-Native mispronunciation more harshly and thus perceived that direction of a mismatch as more of a threat to the face of the speaker. When compared with the ratings of the mismatches by white respondents, it appears that the subgroup of white participants did may have perceived the Foreign-to-Native as face threatening to a lesser degree. It would be interesting to study how participant's perceptions of the name holder (Speaker B) may vary based on the varying pronunciations of their name. While the mispronunciation can be a loss of face for the mispronouncer, the effect of the mispronunciation on the name holder themself and their own image is likely connected to the direction of the mismatch as well.

This distribution of the ratings also could be reflections of the power dynamics at play. As Lev-Ari (2014) discussed, in some situations the pronunciation which is favored is that which hold a higher status or prestige. Differences in the average ratings of the guises may be indicative of differences in the perceived status or appropriateness in a given situation. The perceptions of appropriateness of mispronouncing an individual's name may vary based on individual's personal experience or language ideologies. The direction of the mismatch is also a factor in the appropriateness of the choice to use a mismatching pronunciation. This could have affected

people's perception on what was actually a loss of face. Perhaps for names from different background or language which is more phonologically different from English reactions to a mispronunciation may play out differently. For languages which are more valued in society it is possible that mispronunciations would be less tolerated as a mispronunciation and thus would be perceived more negatively by listeners. Listeners would possibly be more tolerant of a mispronunciation of a name from a language which may experience lower prestige. Further research would need to be done to fully investigate the effect of origin and linguistic prestige on the perceptions of name mispronunciations.

The names used in this study are identifiable as primarily from a Spanish Language origin. The results of this study may be a reflection of participants language ideologies surrounding Spanish Language in the United States. Given the current political climate, the connotations of these language ideologies are amplified by the general patterns of disrespect towards Latinx people, language, and culture in the United States. While this study only looks at foreign names from a specific linguistic origin, comparatively, future studies may be able to target different biases and language ideologies present in participant's judgments and comment on larger social hierarchies and linguistic discrimination in the United States.

4.3. Greater Implications of Name Mispronunciations

For individuals with 'unusual names,' mispronunciations are a regular occurrence in daily interactions. Names which are 'unusual' enough to be frequently mispronounced are commonly those which have origins that are foreign to the interlocutor. Personal names are arguably the word which most attached to an individual's personal identity. The symbolic nature of the

'integration' of an individual's name in a native phonology is clear. Names have the power to connect individuals with cultures and histories beyond the present existence of that name. Through an 'unusual' or foreign name individuals arguably have a greater opportunity to be connected with a linguistic and cultural heritage that may not be overtly present in other aspects of their linguistic experience. The Americanization of a person's name not only strips away the phonological distinctness of their name but also effectively diminishes that names connection to a non-American or foreign origin. In this way, a pattern of assimilation beyond a simply phonological level can be perceived in the reproduction of foreign names in American English.

As Kohli discusses in her 2012 study of K-12 classrooms, many students of color experience the understated microaggression of name mispronunciation. Using Critical Race Theory, Kohli analyzes the context and broader connotation of mispronunciation as a microaggression and source of cultural othering. She states that for students of other ethnicities "a mispronunciation of their name is one of the many ways in which their cultural heritage is devalued." Name mispronunciation within a K-12 classroom is just one aspect of othering experienced in the modern United States. Even in the context of this project, the labeling of a name as "foreign" in linguistic terms can be a form of othering. The significance of this othering in a face to face interaction is significant as it can reflect the implicit biases of the interlocutor. For some participants, the Native-to-Foreign guise could have been interpreted as an exoticization of a name - as to say that the name would not have indexed a foreign identity but was pronounced in such a way as to force it into that category. While not judged as harshly as the Foreign-to-Native mispronunciation, this guise (Native-to-Foreign) was also not viewed as positively as the controls. This reiterates the fact that it is perceived as just as inappropriate as the

other mismatching pronunciation and that, overall, a person who mispronounces another's name is viewed more negatively than they would be otherwise.

Comparing the fact that there are no statistically significant differences in the ratings of the different direction of the mispronunciation but there are a few when comparing the ratings by White respondent and respondents who identified as an ethnicity other than white. This could be a possible effect of personal experience on the difference in perspective. Since, respondents were not asked directly about their experiences with name mispronunciations, it is only through conjecture that these varying trends in the ratings and perceptions of mispronunciations can be attributed to the differences in personal experience. It can be argued that even white respondents who might have had an experience with name mispronunciation - it was not necessarily the experience of a microaggression - it was not the same experience as it would have been for people of color. As Kohli addresses, not simply the mispronunciation but the greater context and social connotation which are implied in its either deliberate or subconscious use (2012). It is important to acknowledge that when a name holder is in a position of privilege, name mispronunciation is not necessarily a reflection of a racial microaggression or or cultural disrespect, although it is a loss of face for the interlocutor. Beyond a racial or ethnic identity linked to a name, name pronunciations hold greater significance in the course of an interaction. Considering the larger negative effect of the mispronunciation on the name holder, mispronouncing someone's name holds the potential for a large loss of face to the mispronouncer. The interpretation of different mispronunciation may reflect the variation in personal experiences which patterns within the the racial and social power structures. Further

research is needed to more decisively investigate the varying judgments of name
mispronunciation and to further contextualize this claim.

5. Conclusion

The language ideologies of individuals is thought to affect the pronunciation of foreign
words in American English, and in turn personal biases and attitudes can be reflected through
their choice of pronunciation (Boberg 1999, Levi-Ari 2014, Weinreich 1968). The data from this
matched guise survey confirm that mispronunciations can be seen as a loss of face to the speaker
and are judged more negatively than guises which use a matching pronunciation. The repetition
of a mismatching Native-to-Foreign pronunciation is a distinctive choice within the conversation
which indexes not only a multilingual identity but also a Latina/Hispanic identity. The judgments
of the two mispronunciations by white respondents and people of other ethnicities can be seen as
a reflection of the different perceptions of loss of face in the interactions possibly in coordination
with differing personal experiences. Overall,participants who were self-reportedly more
multilingual were less harsh on the mispronunciations, possibly while being sympathetic to the
phonological limitations of multilingualism. For many individuals, mispronunciations of their
name can be a routine act of microaggression and exertion of power and privilege over another.
For languages of high status, a mispronunciation of that name may not be as tolerable, while for
other languages mispronunciation is more tolerated and even overlooked. As an extension of this
study, it is important to acknowledge and investigate the connotations that varying
pronunciations of personal names reflect a complex interaction of an individual's phonological
capabilities, personal ideologies, and conversational norms.

Appendix A- Dialogues

Two people meeting each other for the first time on a bus.

> A: Excuse me, is this seat taken?
> B: Oh no, no one's sitting here.
> A: Thanks so much! This bus is so full.
> B: Yeah it seems like a lot of people just got on at this stop.
> A: Everyone must be heading home for the holiday.
> B: Yeah. [Pause] Well this is going to be a long ride isn't it.
> A: Yeah, about to be stuck in this bus for hours. By the way, I'm Katie.
> B: Nice to meet you. I'm Natalia.
> A: Nice to meet you too, Natalia. Where are you headed to?
> B: Uh I'm headed home to visit my parents.
> A: Ah that should be nice. I am, too.
> B: It should. It's been a long time since I've seen them so it will be good to visit.

Two neighbors run into each other at a flea market.

> A: Oh, I like that jacket, I didn't see that, where did you find it?
> B: Oh it was at the end of the table over there. I think there's another one. It's really well

made.

> A: Really, is it expensive?
> B: Not really. I paid about 5 dollars for it.
> A: Wow that's a great deal.
> B: I always find good deals here at the flea market. I was just here last week.
> A: Me too. Wait, you look familiar.
> B: So do you. I'm Andrea
> A: Nice to meet you Andrea. My name's Liz. Do you live nearby?
> B: Yeah, I'm just a few doors down from here.
> A: Cool! Me too. Well, I'm going to see if I can get that jacket.
> B: Good idea. See you around.

Two people waiting for their names to be called at jury duty.

> A: Sorry to bother you but have you been waiting long?
> B: Um not too long, it's been about 30 minutes since I got here.
> A: Really? Wow I didn't expect to have to wait that long for our names to be called.
> B: Yeah, these things take time. It's really ridiculous.
> A: Well I guess we'll probably be here all day.
> B: Hopefully they'll start processing us more quickly.
> A: Oh, I see the clerk coming out of the back.
> B: I bet things'll start moving soon. Oh, by the way, I'm Isabella.
> A: It's nice to meet you, Isabella. I'm Jessica.!
> B: Oh, they just called my name.
> A: Hopefully, they'll call mine soon!

Appendix B - Survey/Questionnaire

Name Guise: Reactions to variable faithful pronunciations

Consent Language

You are invited to participate in an online survey. The study is being conducted by Dr. Renee Blake and colleagues in the Linguistics Department at New York University.
Renee Blake
10 Washington Place
New York, NY 10003
Project email: renee.blake@nyu.edu

In a moment, you will hear some short passages between different sets of speakers. After each time you hear a passage, there will be a list of questions asking you to give your impression of Speaker A. We estimate that it will take about 10-15 minutes to complete the entire survey. You are free to contact the principal investigator at the above address to discuss the survey.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary. Risks to participants are considered minimal. All responses will be aggregated and kept anonymous. Please respond using the radio buttons below to indicate whether you consent to taking this survey.

❍ Yes, I consent to taking this survey (1)
❍ No (2)
If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Instructions: Listening to speakers and Providing reactions

Instructions: Before evaluating, please listen to the audio clip.   First, click the 'play' button to listen to the audio file all the way through. Then, answer the following questions about your reactions to speaker A on a scale of 1 through 7. Note that each question is different from the other. For example, a positive attribute may not always be on the right.

Dialogue 1: (this section was identical for Dialogue 2)

Q1 Please rate speaker A, after listening the audio clip:

Q2 How sociable do you believe Speaker A to be?
Sociable   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Unsociable

Q3 Rate speaker A on their intelligence

Intelligent   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Unintelligent

Q4 Rate speaker A on their friendliness

Friendly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Unfriendly

Q5 Rate speaker A on your willingness to be friends with them.

Likely to be friends   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Unlikely to be friends

Q6 Rate speaker A on their political orientation

Liberal   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Conservative

Q7 Rate speaker A on their sophistication

Sophisticated   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Unsophisticated

Q8 Rate speaker A on their kindness

Unkind   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Kind

Q15 How likely do you think it is that Speaker A speaks another language in addition to English?

Very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Very likely

Q9 Rate speaker A on their politeness

Polite   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Impolite

Q10 Rate speaker A on their cooperativeness

Uncooperative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Cooperative

Q11 Rate speaker A on their socioeconomic class

Lower-class   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Higher-class

Q12 Rate speaker A on their attractiveness

Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Attractive

Q13 What type of job do you believe Speaker A to hold?

White-collar   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Blue-collar

Q14 What level of education do you believe speaker A has obtained?
- ❍ Not graduated high school (1)
- ❍ High school diploma (2)
- ❍ Some college (3)
- ❍ Bachelor's degree (4)
- ❍ Master's degree (5)
- ❍ Doctorate degree (6)

Q16 What is the age of Speaker A?
- ❍ 18-25 (1)
- ❍ 26-35 (2)
- ❍ 36-45 (3)
- ❍ 46-55 (4)
- ❍ 56-65 (5)

Q17 What is Speaker A's race/ethnicity?

Dialogue 3: (The audio clip that played was randomized between the two mismatch recordings - some participants heard foreign-Americanized mismatch while others heard Americanized-foreign mismatch)

Q1 Please rate speaker A, after listening the audio clip:

Q2 How sociable do you believe Speaker A to be?

Sociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsociable

Q3 Rate speaker A on their intelligence

Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unintelligent

Q4 Rate speaker A on their friendliness

Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Friendly

Q5 Rate speaker A on your willingness to be friends with them.

Likely to be friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unlikely to be friends

Q6 Rate speaker A on their political orientation

Liberal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Conservative

Q7 Rate speaker A on their sophistication

Sophisticated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsophisticated

Q8 Rate speaker A on their kindness
Unkind   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Kind

Q15 How likely do you think it is that Speaker A speaks another language in addition to English?
Very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Very likely

Q9 Rate speaker A on their politeness
Polite   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Impolite

Q10 Rate speaker A on their cooperativeness
Uncooperative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Cooperative

Q11 Rate speaker A on their socioeconomic class
Lower-class   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Higher-class

Q12 Rate speaker A on their attractiveness
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Attractive

Q13 What type of job do you believe Speaker A to hold?
White-collar   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Blue-collar

Q14 What level of education do you believe speaker A has obtained?
○ Not graduated high school (1)
○ High school diploma (2)
○ Some college (3)
○ Bachelor's degree (4)
○ Master's degree (5)
○ Doctorate degree (6)

Q16 What is the age of Speaker A?
○ 18-25 (1)
○ 26-35 (2)
○ 36-45 (3)
○ 46-55 (4)
○ 56-65 (5)

Q17 What is Speaker A's race/ethnicity?

Names (Timed Section)

Q106 In the final section, we would like you to listen to a set of names spoken aloud. Give us your impression of what you hear as quickly as possible, by selecting "like" or "dislike". PLEASE ONLY PLAY EACH CLIP ONE TIME.

Q104
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q93 Andrea
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q94 Isabela
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q95 Isabela
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q96 Maria
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q97 Maria
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q98 Natalia
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q99 Natalia
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q100 Theresa
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q101 Theresa
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q102 Valencia
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Q103 Valencia
❍ Like (1)
❍ Dislike (2)

Metalinguistic Questions:

Q18 How good do you think Americans are at pronouncing foreign names?
Very poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Very good

Q103 If a person's name sounds foreign, do you think you should pronounce their name that way, if you are able to?
Yes, you should   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   No, you shouldn't

Q85 Should immigrants change or adopt their foreign names to sound more american-like?
Yes, immigrants should change their names   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
No they should not

Q100 Do you think it is improper to pronounce a person's name differently from how they introduced themselves?
Very improper 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Not at all improper

Demographic Info:

Q84 Please answer the following questions regarding your demographic history to the best of your ability.

Q6 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
- ❍ Less than high school degree (1)
- ❍ High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED) (2)
- ❍ Some college but no degree (3)
- ❍ Associate degree in college (2-year) (4)
- ❍ Bachelor's degree in college (4-year) (5)
- ❍ Master's degree (6)
- ❍ Doctoral degree (7)
- ❍ Professional degree (JD, MD) (8)

Q1 What is your year of birth?

Q102 Were you born in the US?
- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

Q86 Do you identify as "American"

				Sometimes				
Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Always

Q9 Choose one or more races/ethnicities that you consider yourself to be:
- ❑ White (1)
- ❑ Black/ African descendant/ African American (2)
- ❑ American Indian or Alaska Native (3)
- ❑ Asian (4)
- ❑ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
- ❑ Other (6) _____
- ❑ Latino/Hispanic (7)

Q10 What is your gender identity?
- ❍ Male (1)
- ❍ Female (2)
- ❍ Other (3) _____

Q11 Information about income is very important to understand. Would you please give your best guess? Your answers are kept completely anonymous, and used to explore relations between socioeconomics and other responses provided in this survey.Please indicate the answer that includes your entire household income in (previous year) before taxes.

❍ Less than $10,000 (1)
❍ $10,000 to $19,999 (2)
❍ $20,000 to $29,999 (3)
❍ $30,000 to $39,999 (4)
❍ $40,000 to $49,999 (5)
❍ $50,000 to $59,999 (6)
❍ $60,000 to $69,999 (7)
❍ $70,000 to $79,999 (8)
❍ $80,000 to $89,999 (9)
❍ $90,000 to $99,999 (10)
❍ $100,000 to $149,999 (11)
❍ $150,000 or more (12)

Q12 What is your ZIP code?

Q101 Do you more often agree with policies that are liberal or conservative?
Liberal   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Conservative

Q105 Is English your first language?
❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

Q106 Do you know any languages other than English?
❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

Q107 What other language(s) do you feel confident in?

Q108 What is your level of confidence in the non-English language that you know best?
Not confident   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Very confident

Appendix C - Number of Responses per Question

Demographic Questions	# of Responses
What is your year of birth?	105
What is your gender identity?	105
What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?	105
Do you more often agree with policies that are liberal or conservative?	82
What is your ZIP code?	97
Choose one or more races/ethnicities that you consider yourself to be:	105
Were you born in the US?	104
Is English your first language?	104
Speak a language other than English	105
What is your level of confidence in the non-English language that you know best?	94
What other language(s) do you feel confident in?	77

Attitudinal Survey:

	Overall			
	Match	**Mismatch**	**Foreign--Native**	**Native-Foreign**
Sociableness	197	87	43	44
Friendliness	236	105	54	51
Willingness to Befriend	234	105	54	51
Kindness	242	106	53	53
Politeness	200	88	45	43
Cooperativeness	236	107	54	53
Multilingual Ability	239	103	50	53
Sophistication	246	103	54	49
Intelligence	235	101	52	49
Attractiveness	250	108	55	53
Occupation	237	103	53	50
Socioeconomic Status	250	108	55	53
Political Orientation	236	107	56	51

Number of Responses Based on Participant Ethnicity:

	White				Other Ethnicities			
	Match	**Mismatch**	**FN**	**NF**	**Match**	**Mismatch**	**FN**	**NF**
Sociableness	92	46	26	20	74	38	15	23
Friendliness	106	55	33	22	90	44	17	27
Willingness to Befriend	108	56	33	23	86	44	18	26
Kindness	112	55	32	23	88	46	18	28
Politeness	95	47	27	20	75	38	15	23
Cooperativeness	109	56	33	23	88	46	18	28
Multilingual Ability	112	55	32	23	86	43	15	28
Sophistication	111	54	33	21	94	44	18	26
Intelligence	106	52	32	20	89	44	17	27
Attractiveness	114	56	33	23	93	47	19	28
Occupation	107	54	32	22	90	44	18	26
Socioeconomic Status	114	56	33	23	93	47	19	28
Political Orientation	108	56	33	23	89	45	19	26

Number of Responses Based on Participant Multilingual Ability:

	Less Multilingual				More Multilingual			
	Match	**Mismatch**	**FN**	**NF**	**Match**	**Mismatch**	**FN**	**NF**
Sociableness	73	37	24	13	77	37	10	27
Friendliness	84	43	27	16	92	46	16	30
Willingness to Befriend	83	46	28	18	93	44	16	28
Kindness	86	45	27	18	94	46	16	30
Politeness	72	38	24	14	80	37	11	26
Cooperativeness	85	45	27	18	92	47	17	30
Multilingual Ability	85	44	26	18	93	45	15	30
Sophistication	90	46	28	18	95	44	17	27
Intelligence	84	43	27	16	91	43	15	28
Attractiveness	91	46	28	18	96	47	17	30
Occupation	90	44	26	18	86	44	17	27
Socioeconomic Status	91	46	28	18	96	47	17	30
Political Orientation	88	45	28	17	91	46	17	29

References

Boberg, C. 1999. "The Attitudinal Component of Variation in American English Foreign (a) Nativization." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18.1: 49-61. Web.

Cichocki, Wladyslaw. Harriott, Phillip. "Accentedness Ratings of English Loanwords by Acadian French Listeners." Revue québécoise de linguistique 222 (1993): 93–106. DOI:10.7202/602771ar

Goffman, Erving. "On Face-work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction." (1955): 319-46. Print.

Hall-Lew, L., E. Coppock, and R. L. Starr. 2010. "Indexing Political Persuasion: Variation In The Iraq Vowels." *American Speech* 85.1: 91-102. Web.

Jaggers, Zachary. 2016. "Practicing What the Party Preaches." Talk presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV 45). Simon Fraser University.

Kohli, Rita, and Daniel G. Solórzano. "Teachers, Please Learn Our Names!: Racial Microagressions and the K-12 Classroom." Race Ethnicity and Education 15.4 (2012): 441-62. Web.

Lambert, W. E., R. C. Hodgson, R. C. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum. "Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages." The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 60.1 (1960): 44-51. Web.

Lev-Ari, S., & Peperkamp, S. (2014). An experimental study of the role of social factors in language change: The case of loanword adaptations. Laboratory Phonology, 5(3), 379-401.

McLaughlin, Clare. "The Lasting Impact of Mispronouncing Students' Names." *NEA Today*. National Education Foundation, 1 Sept. 2016. Web.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1968. Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems. The Hague: Mouton.