Originally published in: Journal of Language and Social Psychology vol. 39 (2020) no. 1, pp. 87-111.
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X19884619*

POSTPRINT

Janin Roessel[1]
Christiane Schoel[1]
Dagmar Stahlberg[1]

Modern Notions of Accent-ism: Findings, Conceptualizations, and Implications for Interventions and Research on Nonnative Accents

Abstract: Nonnative-accented speakers face prevalent discrimination. The assumption that people freely express negative sentiments toward nonnative speakers has also guided common research methods. However, recent studies did not consistently find downgrading, so that prejudice against nonnative accents might even be questioned at first sight. The present theoretical article will bridge these contradictory findings in three ways: (a) We illustrate that nonnative speakers with foreign accents frequently may *not* be downgraded in commonly used first-impression and employment scenario paradigms. It appears that relatively controlled responding may be influenced by norms and motivations to respond without prejudice, whereas negative biases emerge in spontaneous responding. (b) We present an integrative view based on knowledge on modern forms of prejudice to develop modern notions of accent-ism, which allow for predictions when accent biases are (not) likely to surface. (c) We conclude with implications for interventions and a tailored research agenda.

Keywords: nonnative accents, modern forms of prejudice, norms, motivation to control prejudiced responding, bias awareness, methods

---

[1]University of Mannheim, Mannheim, Germany

Corresponding Author:
Janin Roessel, Department of Social Psychology, University of Mannheim, 68163 Mannheim, Germany.
Email: jaroesse@mail.uni-mannheim.de

> If as a nation we are agreed that it is not acceptable or good to discriminate on the grounds of skin color or ethnicity, gender or age, then by logical extension it is equally unacceptable to discriminate against language traits.
>
> —Lippi-Green (1997, p. 241)

With increasing international and interlinguistic exchange, nonnative accents have become an integral part of communication in globalized societies. Yet they will oftentimes trigger negative biases in spontaneous reactions (Pantos & Perkins, 2013; Roessel, Schoel, & Stahlberg, 2018), and ample research attests to prevalent discrimination against nonnative-accented speakers, particularly in employment and education (Fuertes, Gottdiener, Martin, Gilbert, & Giles, 2012; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Gluszek & Hansen, 2013). The traditional assumption that it is socially acceptable to express negative sentiments and reactions when faced with nonnative accents has also guided common research methodologies. Accordingly, deliberate evaluations of persons who speak in different varieties have been deemed appropriate in the investigation of nonnative accent prejudice and discrimination. The present theoretical article introduces a more nuanced view. After providing a brief overview on nonnative accent discrimination, we illustrate that nonnative speakers with foreign accents frequently may *not* be downgraded in such common employment and first-impression scenario paradigms. We link these apparent inconsistencies to norms and motivations to respond without prejudice against nonnative-accented speakers. To reconcile contradictory findings, the present article then applies models of modern prejudices to develop modern notions of accent-ism. From that vantage point, we can expect that negative biases may not surface in person-based evaluations, particularly under conditions that allow for controlled information processing and responding. However, discrimination may still unfold in various ways and under various circumstances. We will discuss conditions under which negative biases may or may not surface, and conclude with recommendations for interventions and a tailored research agenda in the last sections.

Cornerstone: Nonnative Accents—Salience and Discrimination

Modern, globalized societies rely on exchange across language borders. Most speakers who do not grow up with the target language will usually retain a distinct accent (Birdsong, 2006; Moyer, 2004). Accordingly, nonnative accents can be seen as a natural and largely inevitable companion of internationalization and interlinguistic communication. Even though accents just refer to a particular manner of pronunciation (Giles, 1970), they bear intriguing salience.

Social categorization and preferences based on accents emerge early in life (Kinzler, Dupoux, & Spelke, 2007), among monolingual as well as bilingual children (DeJesus, Hwang, Dautel, & Kinzler, 2017; Souza, Byers-Heinlein, & Poulin-Dubois, 2013). Humans appear wired for attending to accents (Kinzler, Shutts, & Correll, 2010),

which may even be more potent in capturing people's attention than visual cues, such as skin color (Kinzler, Shutts, DeJesus, & Spelke, 2009; Pietraszewski & Schwartz, 2014; Rakić, Steffens, & Mummendey, 2011). Moreover, nonnative accents were hypothesized and shown to trigger negatively biased spontaneous reactions (Pantos & Perkins, 2013; Roessel et al., 2018). Given almost inevitable attention and spontaneous negative biases, which may anchor impression formation (see also research on thin slices: Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000), it is vital to understand nonnative accent prejudice.

Overview papers reflect that nonnative accents emerge as a stigma and attest to prevalent discrimination (e.g., Fuertes et al., 2012; Giles & Watson, 2013; Mai & Hoffmann, 2014). Reaction tendencies to the disadvantage of nonnative-accented speakers are evident across various levels—stretching from implicit distancing (Reid et al., 2012) and nonconformity (Mazzurega, Paladino, & Vaes, 2013) to manifest discrimination—be it during incidental encounters, within the housing market, at universities, or at work (see Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Reviews point to education, employment, and sales/media as the most important contexts of discrimination for nonnative-accented speakers (Fuertes et al., 2012; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Gluszek & Hansen, 2013). Intriguingly, even speakers displaying nonnative accents that are deemed attractive, such as French, or that may be associated with competence stereotypes, face downgrading and discrimination (e.g., Cargile, Maeda, Rodriguez, & Rich, 2010; Deprez-Sims & Morris, 2010; Huang, Frideger, & Pearce, 2013; Mai & Hoffmann, 2014). It appears that differential attractiveness of accents and associated group stereotypes may moderate the extent (rather than the direction or occurrence) of negative biases toward nonnative speech (e.g., Hendriks, van Meurs, & Van Der Meij, 2015; for spontaneous biases against positively as well as negatively viewed nonnative accents, see Roessel et al., 2018).

Accented Speakers Evaluated: Traditional Research Approaches and (Absent) Biases

Witnessing prevalent discrimination against nonnative speakers, several authors noted that whereas strong norms exist nowadays against discrimination and prejudice in general, the normative climate is rather lenient regarding the expression of negative attitudes toward accents (e.g., Giles & Watson, 2013; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Lippi-Green, 1997; Moyer, 2015; Ng, 2007). Compunctions are thought to occur less regarding language-based cues versus race- or group-based evaluations. Moreover, accents themselves may offer rationalizations of negative person evaluations because of presumed communication issues, and prejudice regarding speech cues may not be recognized as such. Ura, Preston, and Mearns (2015) concluded that "prejudice against speakers who have accents is still not considered a social taboo" (p. 558). Accordingly, person evaluation tasks and experiments that generally allow for deliberate responding have commonly been employed in research and deemed appropriate for investigating listeners' reactions (see Fuertes et al., 2012; Ura et al., 2015).

Recent work draws a picture that is more ambiguous. When considering the past years from 2013 to 2018, several articles partly documented no overt downgrading of nonnative (vs. native) speakers (e.g., in the United States: Bauman, 2013; Dragojevic & Giles, 2016; Goatly-Soan & Baldwin, 2018; Livingston, Schilpzand, & Erez, 2017; Wang, Arndt, Singh, Biernat, & Liu, 2013). This was also evident in conference contributions[1] (in the United States: Horn, Shen, & Behrend, 2015; Khan & Dang, 2015; Khan, Dang, & Nielssen, 2018; in Italy: Mazzurega et al., 2013; in Poland: Hansen, 2017; but see also Davis et al., 2014; Lou, 2018). Pantos and Perkins (2013) even documented overcorrection tendencies in a U.S. sample: Participants actually favored the nonnative over the native speaker in guilt ascriptions in a mock trial scenario. This mirrors our own unpublished research on the evaluation of native speakers versus nonnative speakers with foreign accents in Germany. Across seven studies with employment or impression formation scenarios (N_{total} = 787)—with different nonnative accents and designs—no significant downgrading effects emerged on the study level (with only one exception for a subgroup comparison). If anything, the overall meta-analytic effect tended toward a descriptive upgrading of the nonnative-accented compared with native speakers (for more information, see the supplemental material online). Taken together, these findings highlight that downgrading of nonnative-accented speakers does not emerge as consistently, as to be expected when assuming that accent discrimination is openly displayed and socially acceptable.

Faced with absent downgrading, researchers raised the possibility that accents themselves may not suffice for discrimination in the absence of negative social group stereotypes (de Souza, Pereira, Camino, Souza de Lima, & Torres, 2016), or that nonnative accents may not matter that much in employment settings and the workplace (Horn et al., 2015). A similar trend emerged decades ago regarding the decline of reported racial and ethnic prejudices (see Brown, 2010; Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002)—followed by a cautious note that one should not conclude that people are blind to skin color, or that discrimination will no longer be a problem. Instead, this line of theorizing and research highlighted that awareness for biases and norms may trigger cautious responding, and that negative spontaneous affect will often persist below the surface of reporting, or even below consciousness. Against this background, the accumulating findings on absent negative accent biases may illustrate that people have normative concerns, and are sensitive toward biases and discrimination against nonnative-accented speakers (see also Pantos & Perkins, 2013; Wang et al., 2013).

Our own research in Germany speaks to this possibility. We assessed motivations to respond without prejudice against nonnative-accented speakers based on scales that were developed in the late 20th century to better understand the change in reported attitudes toward Black people (Plant & Devine, 1998). In our samples (N_{total} = 496), 90% of participants or more evidenced high average scores on items such as "I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward accented speakers." (see supplemental material available online). This provides initial evidence for prevalently endorsed nonprejudice goals and a general normative climate that does not freely tolerate discrimination against nonnative-accented speakers (Crandall et al., 2002). As illustrated in the initial quote by Rosina Lippi-Green (1997), sensitivity to

discrimination based on linguistic cues should indeed be the logic extension to the sensitivity regarding discrimination based on other categories, given prevailing general norms of tolerance and egalitarianism. If we assume that nonnative accents trigger perceptions such as "foreign," "other," "immigrant," or "stigmatized nationality," they may also elicit norms of tolerance and antidiscrimination.

Introducing Modern Notions of Accent Prejudice

Within the past years, internationalization has increased on various levels; working and living abroad and in international/interlinguistic environments has become a widely shared experience and constitutes a reality in different work environments and at universities—in Europe and beyond (Crystal, 2010). The initial evidence for high motivations to respond without prejudice toward nonnative-accented speakers complements this picture. Such a climate requires an adapted view on prejudice against nonnative-accented speakers, which moves away from expecting overt expressions of negative sentiments to more modern forms of prejudice.

Conceptualizing Modern Accent-ism

The current picture of reactions toward nonnative-accented speakers points to key characteristics of modern prejudices: on the one hand, prevalent norms against prejudice—as outlined above, and on the other hand, basic negative affect and negative associations, which can be presumed to be triggered automatically and lead to spontaneous biases (Brown, 2010). Such spontaneous negative biases were generally found with implicit association tests (IATs), comparing fast valenced reactions with native versus nonnative speech (see Álvarez-Mosquera & Marín-Gutiérrez, 2018; Mitchell, 2009; Pantos & Perkins, 2013; Roessel et al., 2018). The IAT implementation reduces controlled responding and triggers more spontaneous, automatic reactions, as relevant for the present argument. We would like to underline that these basic reactions are not necessarily implicit in the sense of being unconscious (Gawronski & De Houwer, 2014). Because of different interpretations linked to the implicit–explicit distinction, we rely on the terminology of spontaneous versus controlled or deliberate responses (see also Maass, Castelli, & Arcuri, 2000; Sritharan & Gawronski, 2010). On the more controlled or deliberate side, most people want to adhere to common norms, wherein tolerance and being nonprejudiced is highly valued. Various models of modern forms of prejudice offer conceptualizations of this gap between spontaneous negative associations and normative concerns, which can assist in understanding potential modern forms of prejudice against nonnative-accented speakers.

Our conceptualization of modern accent-ism was inspired by the integrative framework of different types of modern racial prejudices by Gawronski and colleagues (Gawronski, Peters, Brochu, & Strack, 2008; Sritharan & Gawronski, 2010). This framework incorporates people's drives to be consistent (e.g., with self-views to be nonprejudiced) against the gap or conflict with spontaneous negative reactions. As illustrated in Figure 1, basic negative (particularly affective) reactions constitute the common ground

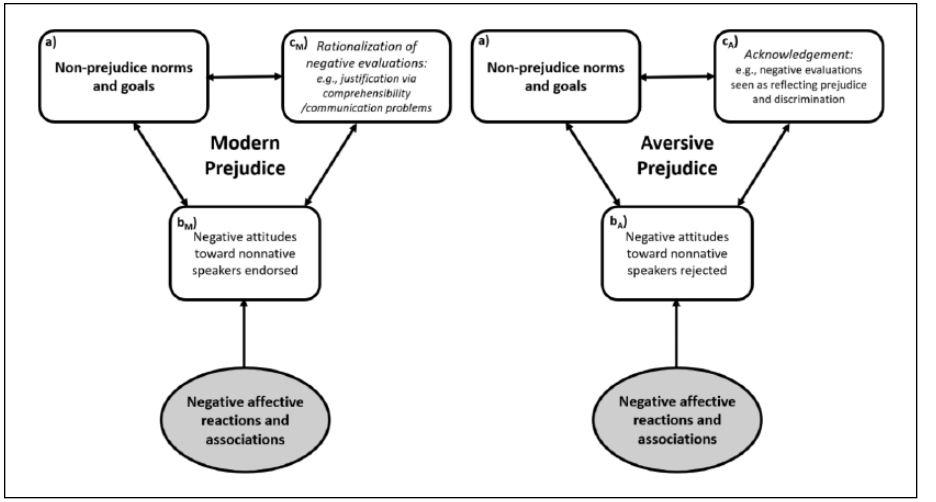

Figure 1. Visualization of modern forms of prejudice against nonnative-accented speakers.
Note. The ellipses reflect spontaneous associations. The triangles above reflect possibilities for cognitive consistency. Subscript M highlights *m*odern and A *a*versive prejudice.
Source. Adapted from Gawronski et al. (2008).

for different forms of prejudice. With norms against prejudice on the one hand and spontaneous biases on the other hand, it has generally been noted in the prejudice literature that people may either express negatively biased views and evaluations—if they can rationalize them to not be prejudice-based, or suppress and control them (see Monteith, Arthur, & McQueary Flynn, 2010; Wang et al., 2013). We apply these ideas to two common conceptualizations of modern prejudices as depicted in Figure 1.

If people commonly express negative views and rationalize these, this mindset is characteristic of conceptualizations of *modern prejudice* (Brown, 2010; Sritharan & Gawronski, 2010; see also Crandall & Eshleman, 2003, who described the "prejudiced personality" of modern days in terms of a "justification personality," p. 437). Applied to nonnative speakers in particular, most evidently people may exaggerate comprehensibility issues linked to disfluency to justify the expression of negative evaluations (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Accordingly, lower comprehensibility ratings emerged as a mediator for negative evaluations of nonnative-accented speakers among perceivers who also expressed relatively high prejudice in questionnaires (de Souza et al., 2016; Hansen & Dovidio, 2016). By means of such rationalizing, people can endorse norms of tolerance and maintain their egalitarian self-concept (a in Figure 1) despite negative attitudes and reactions toward nonnative-accented speakers (b_M in Figure 1) because prejudice and discrimination are not interpreted as such (c_M in Figure 1).

The findings on absent accent biases and high personal norms against prejudice, however, imply that many people want to display unbiased or positive attitudes toward

nonnative-accented speakers—and, therefore, oftentimes will need to control spontaneous negative reactions. This is characteristic of conceptualizations of *aversive prejudice* (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010). Herein, people sincerely want to be tolerant and open toward nonnative-accented speakers because of personal antiprejudice motivations and views (a and b_A in Figure 1), and they recognize discrimination as an issue (c_A in Figure 1). Therefore, they (consciously or unconsciously) experience a conflict with the almost inevitable negative affect. Such aversive prejudice may trigger avoidance of interactions (e.g., Kim, Roberson, Russo, & Briganti, 2019) or (over)correction of negative reactions (see, e.g., Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010). Supporting this idea, a negative correlation between spontaneous biases and deliberate evaluations of nonnative (compared with native) speakers was documented by Pantos and Perkins (2013): The stronger the spontaneous (and presumably perceived) negative biases were, the more people corrected their evaluations to the point of overcorrection (i.e., favoring the nonnative speaker; see also Mendes & Koslov, 2013).

The distinction between modern and aversive prejudice offers a framework to understand how endorsed attitudes and evaluations are aligned with normative concerns. Whereas modern prejudice has been conceptualized as a trait, aversive prejudice has been linked to situations triggering the aversive conflict described earlier (Brown, 2010). Modern prejudice habitually allows for expressions of negative attitudes if they can be rationalized. By contrast, people endorsing rather positive attitudes will try to behave in nonprejudiced ways despite spontaneous negative biases—as we assume for many instances based on the empirical evidence on absent biases we presented in the beginning. However, control is not always possible, and negatively biased reactions and evaluations may emerge under various conditions and circumstances. In the following, we will therefore discuss when negative biases are more or less likely to surface.

Protective Normative Climate, but Prejudices Released: When to Expect Negative Biases?

Various models ranging from the realms of person perception and impression formation to attitudes commonly point to the importance of motivation and ability/opportunity to control prejudiced reactions (see, e.g., Fazio & Olson, 2003; Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999; Friese, Hofmann, & Schmitt, 2009). Accordingly, biases are expressed if motivation is either low (i.e., the case of *the unmotivated social perceiver*), or if motivation is given, but controllability and resources for deliberation are low (i.e., the case of *the motivated, but thwarted social perceiver*, see Pendry & Macrae, 1994). In the following, we will review the current, scattered empirical evidence for nonnative accents in this regard.

The Unmotivated Social Perceiver. Low motivation may stem from different variables. We outlined the importance of norms before. Hence, biases are likely openly expressed

without salient normative concerns. Even though these instances may be relatively rare given a general climate against prejudice, they still exist depending on the population or target. People vary in their endorsed prejudiced beliefs. Accordingly, more negative evaluations of nonnative-accented speakers emerged among perceivers with higher social dominance orientation (Hansen & Dovidio, 2016), higher ethnocentrism (Neuliep & Speten-Hansen, 2013), and higher prejudice reported on respective scales (de Souza et al., 2016; Ura et al., 2015; for experimentally induced negative beliefs, see Koval & Fitzimons, 2016; Montgomery & Zhang, 2018). Even if people do not harbor prejudicial beliefs of a more general nature, normative concerns can be presumed to be low for (recognized) targets that are tied to acceptable prejudices (without normative protection, see Crandall et al., 2002; Franco & Maass, 1999). For instance, stronger spontaneous biases against Arabic accents (measured with an IAT) correlated positively with downgrading of "Arabic accents" in a questionnaire in a U.S. sample (Mitchell, 2009). In this case, the identification as Arabic may have released the expression of prejudice (in line with findings on open expressions of prejudice against Arabs/Muslims at that time, see Lane, Banaji, Nosek, & Greenwald, 2007). Similarly, instructions focusing on voice-/language-based evaluations may trigger less normative concerns than a focus on person-based evaluations (for such a tendency in our own research, see supplemental material available online). Conversely, correction tendencies may be enhanced given perceptions of the accent or the associated group as stigmatized in a way that raises normative concerns (e.g., a tendency of more positive evaluations for accents linked to more stigmatized groups in Germany, such as Turkish and Russian, compared with French, see supplemental material available online; see also Axt, Ebersole, & Nosek, 2016; Deprez-Sims & Morris, 2010; Hofmann, Gschwendner, & Schmitt, 2005; Mendes & Koslov, 2013).

On the target side, normative concerns can also be expected to be low for nonnative accents arising from perceivers' own native language (e.g., Germans evaluating German-accented English, Roessel, Schoel, Zimmermann, & Stahlberg, 2019; see also Hendriks, van Meurs, & Reimer, 2018; Lehnert, Krolak-Schwerdt, & Hörstermann, 2018; Zhoux, 2014) because concerns about being or appearing prejudiced against one's own group are quite unlikely to arise (Mendes & Koslov, 2013). Moreover, such "own accents" are less likely to elicit perceptions of foreignness (Roessel et al., 2019) with associated motivations for tolerance or normative concerns. In a similar vein, a number of studies reported downgrading of regional nonstandard accents (e.g., Dragojevic, Berglund, & Blauvelt, 2018; Rakić, 2017), and initial evidence attests to a divergence regarding downgrading of regional, but not of nonnative, accents (Khan & Dang, 2015; Khan et al., 2018; but see also Davis et al., 2014, and Gutierrez, Hebl, & Moreno, 2015; Hopkins, 2015, for mixed evaluations given ethnic accents).

Furthermore, motivations to respond without prejudice may be corrupted (or not come into play) when personal concerns or emotions outweigh normative concerns (Fiske et al., 1999; Hofmann, Gschwendner, Nosek, & Schmitt, 2005; Sinclair & Kunda, 2000). For instance, evaluations of nonnative (vs. native) service agents where more negative given negative outcomes in a service encounter (but not if the outcome was positive; Wang et al., 2013). Such a scenario may offset the relevance of norms,

also by providing a justification for negative evaluations (even to those who would otherwise not do so). Similarly, one may assume that also the (biased) anticipation of negative outcomes (such as impaired learning environments due to anticipated communication problems) fuels negative reactions, as commonly voiced in university settings (see Gluszek & Hansen, 2013; Moyer, 2015; Rao, 1995). Thus, for nonnative-accented speakers, expected outcome dependency—otherwise deemed important for overcoming biased initial perceptions (see Fiske et al., 1999)—might actually exacerbate initial wariness and preconceptions (for downgrading evaluations in a learning scenario, see Sanchez & Khan, 2016). Personal concerns may not only be triggered in a concrete setting or situation but also by macro-level factors. For instance, times of economic and social uncertainty may enhance threat perceptions and aversion against cues to foreignness (see Moyer, 2015, for such reasoning regarding nonnative accents; see also Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002). Taken together, normative concerns and motivations to be nonprejudiced may be offset in situations with heightened personal concerns, also as justification processes are more readily available and negative affect is likely increased.

The Thwarted Social Perceiver. Even if motivation against prejudice is given based on personal values or the situation—as we assume for many cases—spontaneous negative biases may leak out if the opportunity or ability for control and more deliberate responding is low (Friese et al., 2009; Pendry & Macrae, 1994). This pertains to the reactions or behaviors of interest, which may be more or less difficult to control, as well as to perceivers' regulatory resources in the situation.

Regarding *difficult to control reactions*, processing constraints linked to the automaticity of reactions and bias awareness play a role. Spontaneous and fast reactions imply lower controllability and enhanced reliance on automatic associations (Friese et al., 2009; Maass et al., 2000). Negative biases toward nonnative accents were repeatedly found with IATs, which are based on this principle (e.g., Pantos & Perkins, 2013; Roessel et al., 2018). Responses that are by nature difficult to control, and which may imply less awareness, are nonverbal displays (e.g., posture and facial reactions) and physiological reactions (Maass et al., 2000). Negative facial reactions were found to emerge specifically for nonnative foreign accents (more so than for native accents; Davis et al., 2014), which corroborates the picture of spontaneous biases toward nonnative speakers. It is conceivable that biases may further reveal themselves in subtle linguistic cues, such as language abstraction (e.g., Franco & Maass, 1999; see also Beukeboom, 2014)—with the subtleties of language usually being difficult to control (Maass et al., 2000).

Taken together, spontaneous negative biases may leak out in less controlled, and usually more subtle channels—with pertaining measures often diverging from more controllable direct and overt ratings or behaviors (e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Mendes, Blascovich, Hunter, Lickel, & Jost, 2007). For instance, one study found that biased evaluations of nonnative speakers were not evident on rating scales, but emerged by tendency in openly written attributions (Wang et al., 2013). Other studies observed negative biases toward nonnative-accented speakers in a subtle

Table 1. When Are Negative Biases Controlled or Suppressed and When Might They Surface? A Summary of Factors.

When to expect control or suppression? ↘
- ↘ Given norms/normative concerns against prejudice in society or in the situation
- ↘ Given motivation/personal standards against prejudice

When do biases surface? ↗
- ↗ The unmotivated social perceiver:
  - High (general) prejudice among perceivers
  - Low normative concerns
    - Accent-associated target group does not bear normative protection/is tied to acceptable prejudice
    - Accents arising from the same L1 in a foreign language, natively spoken regional/ethnic varieties
  - Personal concerns outweigh normative concerns
- ↗ The thwarted social perceiver:
  - Low controllability of reactions/behavior
    - Lacking (bias) awareness
    - High spontaneity of reactions
  - Low capacity to monitor responses
    - Low regulatory resources
    - Situational constraints

conformity paradigm rather than in reported liking (Mazzurega et al., 2013), and in product choices rather than competence ratings (Livingston et al., 2017; but see also Hendriks et al., 2015). Despite being subtle, such biases may hinder nonnative speakers, for instance, by negatively influencing social interactions or attributions of competence (see also Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012; for self-fulfilling prophecies, see Russo, Islam, & Koyuncu, 2017).

Even if reactions are less subtle and more controllable (such as evaluations), the *capacity to monitor one's responses and adjust them* is of relevance. Self-regulation capacities may vary by person (e.g., working memory capacity, Kleider, Knuycky, & Cavrak, 2012) or with situational constraints (e.g., time restrictions or cognitive load, Friese, Wänke, & Plessner, 2006; Sczesny & Kühnen, 2004). With restrained regulatory resources, biases are more likely to surface. For instance, accent biases in speaker evaluations (with rating scales) were largely absent in quiet surroundings, but surfaced given additional noise in the studies by Dragojevic and Giles (2016). In real life, such adversarial conditions constitute a commonality rather than an exception for key judges—such as decision makers in work contexts, audiences listening to international presentations, and so forth (Greenwald, Banaji, & Nosek, 2015). This might be particularly detrimental in lingua franca contexts involving nonnative speakers and nonnative listeners because communicating in and listening to a nonnative language may itself be taxing (e.g., Duñabeitia & Costa, 2015; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Table 1 provides an overview of the factors discussed in this section.

A Modern Situation for Nonnative Speakers: Prospects, Interventions, and Challenges

In view of the considerations above, the situation for nonnative-accented speakers is (still) intricate because even despite good intentions hidden biases may leak out and reveal themselves, partially in more subtle ways, which makes them even more difficult to detect for all sides involved (see Barreto & Ellemers, 2015). In the following, we will discuss challenges and approaches for interventions.

Based on their framework for different types of prejudice (Gawronski et al., 2008), Sritharan and Gawronski (2010) highlighted that people's beliefs/reasoning and the underlying associations need to be changed to combat (modern) prejudice (see also Figure 1). Accordingly, a shift toward norms of tolerance for nonnative-accented speakers is crucial to begin with. Norms may facilitate recognizing negative biases and regulating evaluations (see Crandall et al., 2002; Monteith et al., 2010). In cases where normative concerns are not present (see previous sections), it may be helpful to externally activate these concerns. For instance, prejudice control instructions were shown to reduce biased evaluations among nonnative listeners sharing the same native language as the nonnative target person (a constellation where concerns may frequently not be activated; see Roessel et al., 2019). Next to forming situational norms, the induction of perspective taking among listeners, who were prompted to speak in a nonnative language themselves, also emerged as effective in reducing downgrading evaluations (Hansen, Rakić, & Steffens, 2014).

To further facilitate bias acknowledgement, it is a desirable aim to disable the justification tool of referring to comprehensibility issues as a means of rationalization. This is critical for people who more habitually or generally endorse modern prejudice (i.e., negative attitudes and expression of negative views with rationalizations) as well as for situations that may trigger rationalizations (e.g., when negative outcomes are expected or when negative reactions leak out, see previous sections). Importantly, communication involves the speaker and the listener; and communication models explicitly highlight the importance of *comprehension skills* on the side of the listener (see Fiedler, 2007). Subjective comprehensibility ratings are typically lower than objective intelligibility, and even strongly accented speakers may be highly intelligible (Munro & Derwing, 1995a, 1995b). Moreover, people are well able to adapt to nonnative speech (e.g., Baese-Berk, Bradlow, & Wright, 2013; Ogden, 2018)—facts that should be taught and spread among the public (see also Lippi-Green, 1997).

Furthermore, averting spontaneous negative associations themselves is necessary to tackle all components (see Figure 1; Sritharan & Gawronski, 2010). However, changing basic associations appears difficult to achieve. Lai et al. (2016) have shown that none of nine common interventions (e.g., evaluative conditioning, exposure to counterstereotypical exemplars) was effective in altering spontaneous associative biases (measured by the IAT) over a longer period (the effects had vanished after a day). The approach of internalizing antiprejudice goals and aiming at *deautomatizing* the activation of spontaneous negative associations (rather than changing them in the first place) appears more promising, but also requires considerable motivation and practice

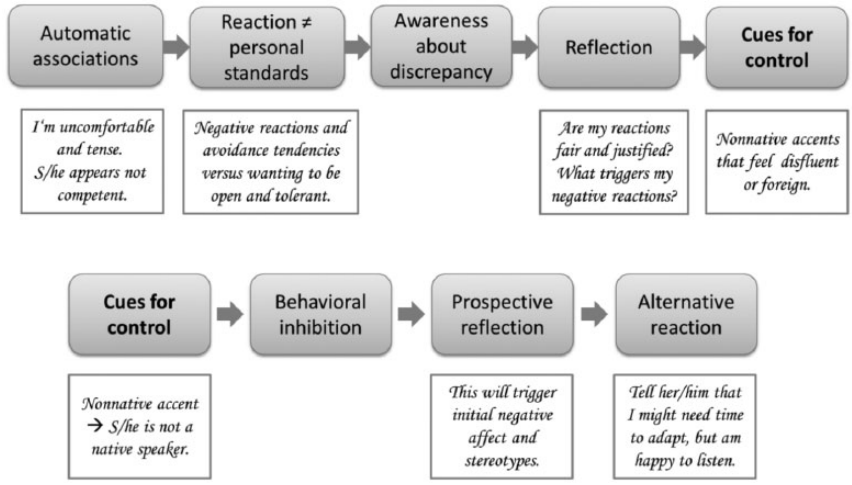

Figure 2. The self-regulation of prejudice model adapted to nonnative-accented speakers.
Note. In a first step (top row), discrepancies between one's reactions and personal standards are acknowledged. Reflection enables the identification of cues that trigger negative reactions. In a second step (bottom row), the perception of these cues triggers behavioral inhibition, which allows for prospective reflection and alternative reactions.
Source. Adapted from Monteith et al. (2010).

of suppression and control (Crandall et al., 2002; Monteith et al., 2010). Internalized egalitarian/antiprejudice goals have indeed been found to inhibit the activation of stereotypes (Amodio, Devine, & Harmon-Jones, 2008; Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, & Schaal, 1999), and research attests to the effectiveness of a (gender) bias habit-breaking intervention for behavioral outcomes (Devine et al., 2017). In their *self-regulation of prejudice* (SRP) model, Monteith et al. (2010) established the importance of cues that signal the danger of biases in the internalization process. Nonnative accents might bear an asset in this regard due to their intriguing salience (once biases are acknowledged as such). Figure 2 illustrates the steps relevant to the SRP targeting nonnative-accented speakers. Specific emotions (such as frustration) may also serve as a cue for regulation, and alternative reactions may be trained in terms of implementation intentions with *if—then* plans (see Kim et al., 2019, for recommendations tailored to nonnative accents in the workplace). Crucially, the aim is to automatize the inhibition of biased responses and the initiation of alternative reactions, which otherwise require deliberation and control, based on the established cues for control.

Interestingly, previous research has only focused on category-based internalized control (e.g., based on biological gender, ethnic group membership, see Amodio et al., 2008; Moskowitz et al., 1999). However, perception-based or feature-based influences (e.g., regarding voice or physical appearance) have been found to be particularly difficult to monitor, even if people intended to do so (see Blair, Judd, & Fallman, 2004;

Sczesny & Kühnen, 2004). Hence, perception-based influences—as suggested for nonnative accents via disfluency and foreignness (see Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012; Dragojevic & Giles, 2016; Roessel et al., 2018)—might pose a particular challenge for recognizing biases and exerting control (see also Dragojevic, Giles, Beck, & Tatum, 2017; Goatly-Soan & Baldwin, 2018). In the studies by Dragojevic and Giles (2016), the main effect of accent downgrading disappeared to nonsignificance when the speakers' ethnicity was made salient (i.e., presumably a better learned cue for correction). Accordingly, it appears to be an important aim to train nonnative accents (and initial disfluency or affective reactions) as cues for correction in their own right. Encouragingly, participants were able to control their biases in prior studies given heightened perspective taking or specific instructions (Hansen et al., 2014; Roessel et al., 2019). However, less detectable perception-based biases might paradoxically leak out for certain weak accents or intelligible, but particularly strong accents (see Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; and van Meurs & Hendriks, 2017, for a review on accentedness). Pertaining investigations could profit from extensive audio material varying along perceptual dimensions.

Besides (training) control, fostering the adaptation to nonnative accents on a broader scale emerges as a vital avenue for reducing the perceptual influences of disfluency, foreignness, and the accompanying negative affect. For instance, a heightened presence of nonnative-accented characters in the media (instead of silencing them, Dragojevic, Mastro, Giles, & Sink, 2016; Gluszek & Hansen, 2016) might facilitate habituation (for the role of media adaptation for regional accents, see Smith, Holmes-Elliott, Pettinato, & Knight, 2014). Given valued and competent characters, this approach could further help change stereotypic associations and negative affect (Bounds Littlefield, 2008; Lippi-Green, 1997)—where preconceptions or negative reactions could less bias interaction outcomes. Accordingly, indirect and parasocial contact via the media may pave the way for real contact (Ioannou, Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2018; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010).

Taken together, researchers and stakeholders are encouraged to gauge the normative climate in a given context. Communicated norms may be a starting point that can cause minds and hearts to follow (Crandall et al., 2002). In this process, knowledge on accent adaptation and higher intelligibility than perceived comprehensibility, recognizing that everyone can be in the same situation, and perspective taking may be tools for disabling justification mechanisms for displaying and acting on negative reactions. Increasing bias awareness is an integral part of tackling modern as well as aversive prejudice. It is essential to recognize one's biases given that it is crucial how one handles them. Rather than avoidance, engaging in interlinguistic nonnative interactions may modulate spontaneous reactions by opening the way for adaptation and understanding.

A Tailored Research Agenda for Nonnative Accents

The intriguing challenge of modern prejudices lies in the fact that they often remain unrecognized and unchallenged because they influence behaviors in a more subtle way (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015), and they may remain hidden in common research

paradigms. From that vantage point, we would like to conclude with the following thoughts and recommendations for research on modern accent-ism.

Investigating Discrimination Given Modern Prejudices

When it comes to capturing discrimination against nonnative-accented speakers, paradigms asking for person evaluations may not be timely, as outlined in the previous sections. Unexpected null findings or relatively positive evaluations may be interpreted against this background. Discrimination emerges in various disguises, which may be more subtle. In general, researchers should consider the reaction or behavior of interest (with the bias awareness, controllability, and processing constraints they presumably impose), and adjust the measurement accordingly (see Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Gawronski & De Houwer, 2014; Maass et al., 2000). Hidden biases toward nonnative-accented speakers may reveal themselves in more subtle (and partly less controlled) ways, for instance, in nonverbal behaviors (e.g., frowning and avoidant postures), avoidance (e.g., length of an interaction), attributions, memory biases, and descriptions of behaviors (see previous sections). Measures that capture spontaneous and automatic responses—which may or may not be conscious—can offer valuable indicators to anticipate such biases. Moreover, investigating the moderating influence of cognitive load or stress inductions may offer further insight into when and how biases surface. However, this approach requires additional considerations because people may also free resources by employing an *acceptability* heuristic in terms of reporting presumed socially acceptable responses without further deliberation (see Dijker & Koomen, 1996).

Scrutinizing Modern Forms of Accent-ism

Modern forms of prejudice against nonnative-accented speakers should be investigated in their own right to gain a better understanding of their workings. Figure 1 illustrates the relevant factors. Spontaneous associations may, for instance, be assessed with measures such as auditory IATs (see Álvarez-Mosquera & Marín-Gutiérrez, 2018; Lehnert et al., 2018; Pantos & Perkins, 2013; Roessel et al., 2018). Normative views and goals may be assessed with motivation scales, such as the motivation to respond without prejudice scales (Plant & Devine, 1998; see supplemental material available online for an adapted version) or the motivation to control prejudiced reactions scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; see also Gawronski et al., 2008). Eminent to *modern prejudice* is the justification/rationalizing component, which prevents recognitions of biases and discrimination (see Gawronski et al., 2008; Sritharan & Gawronski, 2010), and may be assessed with rating scales (see Brown, 2010). Parts of the *measure of prejudice against accented English* by Ura et al. (2015) appear suitable for this purpose, containing items such as "Speakers with accents are [less assertive][less adapted to American culture][more overbearing] than native English speakers" or "It is irritating when a sales associate has an accent." Whereas such a scale may capture different degrees of modern prejudice (with habitual rationalizing) and allow for expecting (rationalized) expressions of negative views on the person-level, paradigms

tailored to capturing rationalizations via comprehensibility or language issues (see de Souza et al., 2016) would also be applicable to investigating these dynamics context-based in different situations.

Aversive prejudice is difficult to capture with a questionnaire or single paradigm (Brown, 2010). Instead, it has been characterized by the gap between spontaneous biases versus endorsed positive beliefs and motivations. The characteristic control motivations, which contrast the almost inevitable negative affect, may often trigger tendencies of overcorrection (see, e.g., Fazio & Olson, 2003; Mendes & Koslov, 2013). If assessed in the same study, one might expect a negative correlation, with stronger corrections (e.g., more positive evaluations) for stronger spontaneous biases (see Pantos & Perkins, 2013)—or no correlation (particularly given rating scales), with generally positive evaluations irrespective of spontaneous biases. Such patterns may be investigated as predictors of behavioral outcomes, such as avoidance (e.g., conversation duration).

The expression of prejudice and pertaining norms are not static phenomena (see Brown, 2010; Moyer, 2015). Taking a broader perspective, it would be desirable, therefore, to join efforts for a longitudinal comprehensive meta-analysis on evaluations and reactions toward nonnative versus native accented speakers with different samples (from different countries; see also Hansen & Birney, 2018), and comparable measures on more versus less controllable outcome variables.

Bias Awareness and Self-Regulation

It appears essential to investigate bias awareness, which is the starting point for self-regulation, control, and change (see also Figure 2). As stated previously, it may be easier to correct for category-based reactions than for perception-based associations—and in parallel for clearly noticeable frustration rather than subtle feelings of discomfort. Comprehensive meta-analyses, such as the one suggested above, may therefore also track the implemented speakers' perceptual features regarding intelligibility, comprehensibility, and foreignness. Meta-analytic approaches or specifically tailored studies may also shed light on whether bias awareness is particularly pronounced for nonnative accents that are (explicitly) associated with stigmatized groups—where the necessity for correction may be most striking and overcorrection might be most likely (Wegener & Petty, 1995). By contrast, raising bias awareness in the first place may be needed for fellow nonnative speakers whose accent originates from the same native language as the listeners. A projection of own-accent shame (Beinhoff, 2014; Dewaele & McCloskey, 2015) may partially feed into this downgrading, so that bias awareness for self-shame and denigration may be a valuable starting point as well.

Research on bias awareness and self-regulation offers further avenues that may spur research as well as intervention approaches (e.g., see Forscher, Mitamura, Dix, Cox, & Devine, 2017; Hahn & Gawronski, 2019; Perry, Murphy, & Dovidio, 2015). Bias literacy trainings have already proven effective on a broader scale (Devine et al., 2017). Creating a should–would discrepancy questionnaire (Monteith & Mark, 2005) tailored to nonnative-accented speakers could be a fruitful complementation. In a first step, people indicate how one should react in various situations. In a second step, they

indicate how they would react (e.g., avoiding interactions and feeling uncomfortable), which makes discrepancies visible. Such a questionnaire and interventions that train using the SRP model (see Figure 2)—also highlighting additional influences of perceptions next to categorizations—should be implemented to foster awareness and education about possibly hidden biases against nonnative-accented speakers. Moreover, it appears vital that people have realistic expectations of accent strength because negative violations may add negative affect (Dragojevic, Tatum, Beck, & McAninch, 2019; Hansen, Steffens, Rakić, & Wiese, 2017). Kim et al. (2019) offer recommendations for interlinguistic work environments, which target norms, avoidance behavior, and dealing with affect. This practical discussion can well be aligned with the theoretical ideas presented here, and may be extended beyond work contexts.

Conclusion

The present work draws attention to potential modern forms of accent prejudice that may not be as overtly expressed as has commonly been presumed. In modern global societies, being tolerant and unbiased toward nonnative-accented speakers may well be a prominent social norm. This view cautions conclusions that nonnative accents do not matter in employment and the workplace, or that they are not potent enough to trigger biases or discrimination. The present work shall encourage researchers to consider their findings in light of social norms and motivations. This perspective also opens new avenues for research regarding hidden versus unlashed prejudices, norms and motivations, differential bias awareness for different accents and perception-based influences, self-regulation, and new roads for education and interventions. Preconceptions and prejudices should not hinder communication across linguistic borders. In conclusion, we should be aware of the following quote and extend it: "The intellectual health of the planet is dependent on multilingualism" (Crystal, 2010, p. 369)—and on people's competence in recognizing and overcoming initial biases to nonnative-accented speakers.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to the editors of this special issue, Magdalena Formanowicz and Caterina Suitner, and to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback on this work.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

ORCID iD

Janin Roessel https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4371-4682

Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Note

1. With a focus on available abstracts from the following conferences: Association for Psychological Science, European Association of Social Psychology, International Conference on Language and Social Psychology, and Society for Personality and Social Psychology.

References

Álvarez-Mosquera, P., & Marín-Gutiérrez, A. (2018). Implicit language attitudes toward historically White accents in the South African context. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *37*, 238-248. doi:10.1177/0261927X17718349

Ambady, N., Bernieri, F. J., & Richeson, J. A. (2000). Toward a histology of social behavior: Judgmental accuracy from thin slices of the behavioral stream. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *32*, 201-271. doi:10.1016/S0065-2601(00)80006-4

Amodio, D. M., Devine, P. G., & Harmon-Jones, E. (2008). Individual differences in the regulation of intergroup bias: The role of conflict monitoring and neural signals for control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *94*, 60-74. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.94.1.60

Axt, J. R., Ebersole, C. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2016). An unintentional, robust, and replicable pro-Black bias in social judgment. *Social Cognition*, *34*, 1-39. doi:10.1521/soco.2016.34.1.1

Baese-Berk, M. M., Bradlow, A. R., & Wright, B. A. (2013). Accent-independent adaptation to foreign accented speech. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *133*, 174-180. doi:10.1121/1.4789864

Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2015). Detecting and experiencing prejudice: New answers to old questions. In J. M. Olson & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, (Vol. 52, pp. 139-219). Burlington, MA: Academic Press.

Bauman, C. (2013). Social evaluation of Asian accented English. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, *19*, 9-20. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol19/iss2/3

Beinhoff, B. (2014). Perceiving intelligibility and accentedness in non-native speech: A look at proficiency levels. *Concordia Working Papers in Applied Linguistics*, *5*, 58-72. Retrieved from http://doe.concordia.ca/copal/documents/6_Beinhoff_Vol5.pdf

Beukeboom, C. J. (2014). Mechanisms of linguistic bias: How words reflect and maintain stereotypic expectancies. In J. Laszlo, J. Forgas, & O. Vincze (Eds.), *Social cognition and communication* (pp. 313-330). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Birdsong, D. (2006). Age and second language acquisition and processing: A selective overview. *Language Learning*, *56*, 9-49. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9922.2006.00353.x

Blair, I. V, Judd, C. M., & Fallman, J. L. (2004). The automaticity of race and Afrocentric facial features in social judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *87*, 763-778. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.87.6.763

Bounds Littlefield, M. (2008). The media as a system of racialization: Exploring images of African American women and the new racism. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *51*, 675-685. doi:10.1177/0002764207307747

Brown, R. (2010). *Prejudice: Its social psychology* (2nd ed.). Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cargile, A. C., Maeda, E., Rodriguez, J., & Rich, M. (2010). "Oh, you speak English so well!" U.S. American listeners' perceptions of "foreignness" among nonnative speakers. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, *13*, 59-79. doi:10.1353/jaas.0.0062

Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*, 414-446. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.414

Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 359-378. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.82.3.359

Crystal, D. (2010). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language* (3rd ed.). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, M. D., Pivik, K., Hewitt, A., Hudson, A., Black, K. B., Senkbeil, J., & Warlick, C. (2014, February). *An investigation of language accent's influence on emotional reactions and perceptions of intelligence*. Poster presented at the 15th Annual Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Austin, TX.

de Souza, L. E. C., Pereira, C. R., Camino, L., Souza de Lima, T. J., & Torres, A. R. R. (2016). The legitimizing role of accent on discrimination against immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *46*, 609-620. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2216

DeJesus, J. M., Hwang, H. G., Dautel, J. B., & Kinzler, K. D. (2017). Bilingual children's social preferences hinge on accent. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, *164*, 178-191. doi:10.1016/j.jecp.2017.07.005

Deprez-Sims, A.-S., & Morris, S. B. (2010). Accents in the workplace: Their effects during a job interview. *International Journal of Psychology*, *45*, 417-426. doi:10.1080/00207594.2010.499950

Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Cox, W., Kaatz, A., Sheridan, J., & Carnes, M. (2017). A gender bias habit-breaking intervention led to increased hiring of female faculty in STEMM departments. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *73*, 211-215. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2017.07.002

Dewaele, J.-M., & McCloskey, J. (2015). Attitudes towards foreign accents among adult multilingual language users. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, *36*, 221-238. doi:10.1080/01434632.2014.909445

Dijker, A. J., & Koomen, W. (1996). Stereotyping and attitudinal effects under time pressure. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *26*, 61-74. doi:10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199601)26:1<61::AID-EJSP737>3.0.CO;2-#

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 1-52). San Diego, CA: Elsevier Academic Press.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gluszek, A. (2012). Accents, nonverbal behavior, and intergroup bias. In H. Giles (Ed.), *The handbook of intergroup communication* (Vol. 36, pp. 87-99). New York, NY: Routledge.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., & Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 62-68. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.82.1.62

Dragojevic, M., Berglund, C., & Blauvelt, T. K. (2018). Figuring out who's who: The role of social categorization in the language attitudes process. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *37*, 28-50. doi:10.1177/0261927X17706942

Dragojevic, M., & Giles, H. (2016). I don't like you because you're hard to understand: The role of processing fluency in the language attitudes process. *Human Communication Research*, *42*, 396-420. doi:10.1111/hcre.12079

Dragojevic, M., Giles, H., Beck, A.-C., & Tatum, N. T. (2017). The fluency principle: Why foreign accent strength negatively biases language attitudes. *Communication Monographs*, *84*, 385-405. doi:10.1080/03637751.2017.1322213

Dragojevic, M., Mastro, D., Giles, H., & Sink, A. (2016). Silencing nonstandard speakers: A content analysis of accent portrayals on American primetime television. *Language in Society*, *45*, 59-85. doi:10.1017/S0047404515000743

Dragojevic, M., Tatum, N. T., Beck, A. C., & McAninch, K. (2019). Effects of accent strength expectancy violations on language attitudes. *Communication Studies*, *70*, 133-150. doi:10.1080/10510974.2018.1526815

Duñabeitia, J. A., & Costa, A. (2015). Lying in a native and foreign language. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, *22*, 1124-1129. doi:10.3758/s13423-014-0781-4

Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An individual difference measure of motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *23*, 316-326. doi:10.1177/0146167297233009

Fazio, R. H., & Olson, M. A. (2003). Implicit measures in social cognition research: Their meaning and use. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *54*, 297-327. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145225

Fiedler, K. (2007). Frontiers of research on social communication: Introduction and overview. In K. Fiedler (Ed.), *Social communication* (pp. 1-24). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Fiske, S. T., Lin, M., & Neuberg, S. L. (1999). The continuum model. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual-process theories in social psychology* (pp. 254-321). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Forscher, P. S., Mitamura, C., Dix, E. L., Cox, W. T. L., & Devine, P. G. (2017). Breaking the prejudice habit: Mechanisms, timecourse, and longevity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *72*, 133-146. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2017.04.009

Franco, F. M., & Maass, A. (1999). Intentional control over prejudice: When the choice of the measure matters. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *29*, 469-477. doi:10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199906)29:4<469::AID-EJSP938>3.0.CO;2-S

Friese, M., Hofmann, W., & Schmitt, M. (2009). When and why do implicit measures predict behavior? Empirical evidence for the moderating role of opportunity, motivation, and process reliance. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *19*, 285-338. doi:10.1080/10463280802556958

Friese, M., Wänke, M., & Plessner, H. (2006). Implicit consumer preferences and their influence on product choice. *Psychology & Marketing*, *23*, 727-740. doi:10.1002/mar.20126

Fuertes, J. N., Gottdiener, W. H., Martin, H., Gilbert, T. C., & Giles, H. (2012). A meta-analysis of the effects of speakers' accents on interpersonal evaluations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *42*, 120-133. doi:10.1002/ejsp.862

Gawronski, B., & De Houwer, J. (2014). Implicit measures in social and personality psychology. In H. T. Reis & C. M. Judd (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in social and personality psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 283-310). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gawronski, B., Peters, K. R., Brochu, P. M., & Strack, F. (2008). Understanding the relations between different forms of racial prejudice: A cognitive consistency perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *34*, 648-665. doi:10.1177/0146167207313729

Giles, H. (1970). Evaluative reactions to accents. *Educational Review*, *22*, 211-227. doi:10.1080/0013191700220301

Giles, H., & Watson, B. M. (Eds.). (2013). *The social meanings of language, dialect, and accent: International perspectives on speech style*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Gluszek, A., & Dovidio, J. F. (2010). The way they speak: A social psychological perspective on the stigma of nonnative accents in communication. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *14*, 214-237. doi:10.1177/1088868309359288

Gluszek, A., & Hansen, K. (2013). Language attitudes in the Americans. In H. Giles & B. M. Watson (Eds.), *The social meanings of language, dialect, and accent: International perspectives on speech style* (pp. 26-44). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Gluszek, A., & Hansen, K. (2016). *What does speaking with a foreign accent mean? Content analysis of newspaper articles*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/289952201_What_does_speaking_with_a_foreign_accent_mean_Content_analysis_of_newspaper_articles

Goatly-Soan, S., & Baldwin, J. R. (2018). Words apart: A study of attitudes toward varieties of South African English accents in a United States employment scenario. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *37*, 692-705. doi:10.1177/0261927X18800129

Greenwald, A. G., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2015). Statistically small effects of the Implicit Association Test can have societally large effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *108*, 553-561. doi:10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Gutierrez, L., Hebl, M., & Moreno, C. (2015, May). *The effect of Mexican accent on compensation package negotiation*. Poster presented at the 27th Annual Convention of the Association for Psychological Science (APS), New York, NY.

Hahn, A., & Gawronski, B. (2019). Facing one's implicit biases: From awareness to acknowledgement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *116*, 769-794. doi:10.1037/pspi0000155

Hansen, K. (2017, July). *Reactions to foreign-accented immigrants and their implications for the media*. Paper presented at the 18th General Meeting of the European Association of Social Psychology (EASP), Granada, Spain.

Hansen, K., & Birney, M. (2018, June). *Perceptions of non-native speakers in Poland and the UK: A cross-cultural investigation*. Paper presented at the 16th International Conference on Language and Social Psychology, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Hansen, K., & Dovidio, J. F. (2016). Social dominance orientation, nonnative accents, and hiring recommendations. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *22*, 544-551. doi:10.1037/cdp0000101

Hansen, K., Rakić, T., & Steffens, M. C. (2014). When actions speak louder than words: Preventing discrimination of nonstandard speakers. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *33*, 68-77. doi:10.1177/0261927X13499761

Hansen, K., Steffens, M. C., Rakić, T., & Wiese, H. (2017). When appearance does not match accent: Neural correlates of ethnicity-related expectancy violations. *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, *12*, 507-515. doi:10.1093/scan/nsw148

Hendriks, B., van Meurs, F., & Reimer, A. K. (2018). The evaluation of lecturers' nonnative-accented English: Dutch and German students' evaluations of different degrees of Dutch-accented and German-accented English of lecturers in higher education. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *34*, 28-45. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2018.03.001

Hendriks, B., van Meurs, F., & Van Der Meij, E. (2015). Does a foreign accent sell? The effect of foreign accents in radio commercials for congruent and non-congruent products. *Multilingua*, *34*, 119-130. doi:10.1515/multi-2013-0048

Hofmann, W., Gschwendner, T., Nosek, B. A., & Schmitt, M. (2005). What moderates implicit-explicit consistency? *European Review of Social Psychology*, *16*, 335-390. doi:10.1080/10463280500443228

Hofmann, W., Gschwendner, T., & Schmitt, M. (2005). On implicit-explicit consistency: The moderating role of individual differences in awareness and adjustment. *European Journal of Personality*, *19*, 25-49. doi:10.1002/per.537

Hopkins, D. J. (2015). The upside of accents: Language, inter-group difference, and attitudes toward immigration. *British Journal of Political Science*, *45*, 531-557. doi:10.1017/S0007123413000483

Horn, R. G., Shen, R., & Behrend, T. S. (2015, May). *An exploration of accent and medium effects in employment interviews*. Poster presented at the 27th Annual Convention of the Association for Psychological Science (APS), New York, NY.

Huang, L., Frideger, M., & Pearce, J. L. (2013). Political skill: Explaining the effects of non-native accent on managerial hiring and entrepreneurial investment decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *98*, 1005-1017. doi:10.1037/a0034125

Ioannou, M., Al Ramiah, A., & Hewstone, M. (2018). An experimental comparison of direct and indirect intergroup contact. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *76*, 393-403. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2017.11.010

Khan, S., & Dang, T. (2015, May). *Stereotypical impressions of accented speech: Japanese vs. LA accents*. Poster presented at the 27th Annual Convention of the Association for Psychological Science (APS), New York, NY.

Khan, S., Dang, T., & Nielssen, J. (2018, March). *Stereotype based compensation effects: Impressions of the female SoCal accent*. Poster presented at the 19th Annual Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP), Atlanta, GA.

Kim, R., Roberson, L., Russo, M., & Briganti, P. (2019). Language diversity, nonnative accents, and their consequences at the workplace: Recommendations for individuals, teams, and organizations. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *55*, 73-95. doi:10.1177/0021886318800997

Kinzler, K. D., Dupoux, E., & Spelke, E. S. (2007). The native language of social cognition. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *104*, 12577-12580. doi:10.1073/pnas.0705345104

Kinzler, K. D., Shutts, K., & Correll, J. (2010). Priorities in social categories. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 581-592. doi:10.1002/ejsp.739

Kinzler, K. D., Shutts, K., DeJesus, J., & Spelke, E. S. (2009). Accent trumps race in guiding children's social preferences. *Social Cognition*, *27*, 623-634. doi:10.1521/soco.2009.27.4.623

Kleider, H. M., Knuycky, L. R., & Cavrak, S. E. (2012). Deciding the fate of others: The cognitive underpinnings of racially biased juror decision making. *Journal of General Psychology*, *139*, 175-193. doi:10.1080/00221309.2012.686462

Koval, C. Z., & Fitzimons, G. (2016, January). *Sounding American: Beliefs about accent controllability affect prejudice against nonnative English speakers*. Poster presented at the 17th Annual Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP), San Diego, CA.

Lai, C. K., Skinner, A. L., Cooley, E., Murrar, S., Brauer, M., Devos, T., . . . Simon, S. (2016). Reducing implicit racial preferences: II. Intervention effectiveness across time. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *145*, 1001-1016. doi:10.1037/xge0000179

Lane, K. A., Banaji, M. R., Nosek, B. A., & Greenwald, A. G. (2007). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: IV. What we know (so far) about the method. In B. Wittenbrink & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Implicit measures of attitudes* (pp. 59-102). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Lehnert, T. E., Krolak-Schwerdt, S., & Hörstermann, T. (2018). Language and nationality attitudes as distinct factors that influence speaker evaluations: Explicit versus implicit attitudes in Luxembourg. *Language & Communication*, *61*, 58-70. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2018.01.005

Lev-Ari, S., & Keysar, B. (2010). Why don't we believe non-native speakers? The influence of accent on credibility. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *6*, 1093-1096. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.05.025

Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology and discrimination in the United States*. London, England: Routledge.

Livingston, B. A., Schilpzand, P., & Erez, A. (2017). Not what you expected to hear: Accented messages and their effect on choice. *Journal of Management*, *43*, 804-833. doi:10.1177/0149206314541151

Lou, N. M. (2018, June). *Language-based prejudice: Individual differences, contextual influences, and the impact on non-native speakers' well-being*. Symposium at the 16th International Conference on Language and Social Psychology, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Maass, A., Castelli, L., & Arcuri, L. (2000). Measuring prejudice: Implicit versus explicit techniques. In D. Capozza & R. Brown (Eds.), *Social identity processes: Trends in theory and research* (pp. 96-116). London, England: Sage.

Mai, R., & Hoffmann, S. (2014). Accents in business communication: An integrative model and propositions for future research. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *24*, 137-158. doi:10.1016/j.jcps.2013.09.004

Mazzurega, M., Paladino, M.-P., & Vaes, J. (2013, March). *The role of accent and language competence on conformity toward nonnative speakers*. Paper presented at the 55th Conference of Experimental Psychology (TeaP), Vienna, Austria.

Mendes, W. B., Blascovich, J., Hunter, S. B., Lickel, B., & Jost, J. T. (2007). Threatened by the unexpected: Physiological responses during social interactions with expectancy-violating partners. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 698-716. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.698

Mendes, W. B., & Koslov, K. (2013). Brittle smiles: Positive biases toward stigmatized and outgroup targets. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *142*, 923-933. doi:10.1037/a0029663

Mitchell, W. J. (2009). *The audio implicit association test: Human preferences and implicit associations concerning machine voices* (Master thesis). Retrieved from https://scholarworks.iupui.edu/handle/1805/1966

Monteith, M. J., Arthur, S. A., & McQueary Flynn, S. (2010). Self-regulation and bias. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 493-507). London, England: Sage.

Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2005). Changing one's prejudiced ways: Awareness, affect, and self-regulation. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *16*, 113-154. doi:10.1080/10463280500229882

Montgomery, G., & Zhang, Y. B. (2018). Intergroup anxiety and willingness to accommodate: Exploring the effects of accent stereotyping and social attraction. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *37*, 330-349. doi:10.1177/0261927X17728361

Moskowitz, G. B., Gollwitzer, P. M., Wasel, W., & Schaal, B. (1999). Preconscious control of stereotype activation through chronic egalitarian goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*, 167-184. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.167

Moyer, A. (2004). *Age, accent and experience in second language acquisition: An integrated approach to critical period inquiry*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Moyer, A. (2015). *Foreign accent: The phenomenon of non-native speech*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Munro, M. J., & Derwing, T. M. (1995a). Foreign accent, comprehensibility, and intelligibility in the speech of second language learners. *Language Learning*, *45*, 73-97. doi:10.1111/j.1467-1770.1995.tb00963.x

Munro, M. J., & Derwing, T. M. (1995b). Processing time, accent, and comprehensibility in the perception of native and foreign-accented speech. *Language and Speech*, *38*, 289-306. doi:10.1177/002383099503800305

Neuliep, J. W., & Speten-Hansen, K. M. (2013). The influence of ethnocentrism on social perceptions of nonnative accents. *Language & Communication*, *33*, 167-176. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2013.05.001

Ng, S. H. (2007). Language-based discrimination: Blatant and subtle forms. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *26*, 106-122. doi:10.1177/0261927X07300074

Ogden, D. C. (2018). Cognitive effort in comprehending non-native speech decreases with listening experience. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *143*, 1951. doi:10.1121/1.5036395

Pantos, A. J., & Perkins, A. W. (2013). Measuring implicit and explicit attitudes toward foreign accented speech. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *32*, 3-20. doi:10.1177/0261927X12463005

Pendry, L. F., & Macrae, C. N. (1994). Stereotypes and mental life: The case of the motivated but thwarted tactician. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *30*, 303-325. doi:10.1006/jesp.1994.1015

Perry, S. P., Murphy, M. C., & Dovidio, J. F. (2015). Modern prejudice: Subtle, but unconscious? The role of bias awareness in Whites' perceptions of personal and others' biases. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *61*, 64-78. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2015.06.007

Pietraszewski, D., & Schwartz, A. (2014). Evidence that accent is a dedicated dimension of social categorization, not a byproduct of coalitional categorization. *Evolution & Human Behavior*, *35*, 51-57. doi:10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2013.09.005

Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*, 811-832. doi:10.1177/0146167205275304

Rakić, T. (2017, July). *Catch 22: Competent or warm: How occupational label and accent influence person evaluation*. Paper presented at the 18th General Meeting of the European Association of Social Psychology (EASP), Granada, Spain.

Rakić, T., Steffens, M. C., & Mummendey, A. (2011). Blinded by the accent! The minor role of looks in ethnic categorization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *100*, 16-29. doi:10.1037/a0021522

Rao, N. (1995, May). *The oh no! syndrome: A language expectation model of undergraduates' negative reactions toward foreign teaching assistants*. Paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, Albuquerque, NM.

Reid, S. A., Zhang, J., Anderson, G. L., Gasiorek, J., Bonilla, D., & Peinado, S. (2012). Parasite primes make foreign-accented English sound more distant to people who are disgusted by pathogens (but not by sex or morality). *Evolution & Human Behavior*, *33*, 471-478. doi:10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2011.12.009

Roessel, J., Schoel, C., & Stahlberg, D. (2018). What's in an accent? General spontaneous biases against nonnative accents: An investigation with conceptual and auditory IATs. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*, 535-550. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2339

Roessel, J., Schoel, C., Zimmermann, R., & Stahlberg, D. (2019). Shedding new light on the evaluation of accented speakers: Basic mechanisms behind nonnative listeners' evaluations of nonnative accented job candidates. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *38*, 3-32. doi:10.1177/0261927X17747904

Russo, M., Islam, G., & Koyuncu, B. (2017). Non-native accents and stigma: How self-fulfilling prophesies can affect career outcomes. *Human Resource Management Review*, *27*, 507-520. doi:10.1016/j.hrmr.2016.12.001

Sanchez, C. A., & Khan, S. (2016). Instructor accents in online education and their effect on learning and attitudes. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, *32*, 494-502. doi:10.1111/jcal.12149

Sczesny, S., & Kühnen, U. (2004). Meta-cognition about biological sex and gender-stereotypic physical appearance: Consequences for the assessment of leadership competence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 13-21. doi:10.1177/0146167203258831

Sinclair, L., & Kunda, Z. (2000). Motivated stereotyping of women: She's fine if she praised me but incompetent if she criticized me. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 1329-1342. doi:10.1177/0146167200263002

Smith, R., Holmes-Elliott, S., Pettinato, M., & Knight, R.-A. (2014). Cross-accent intelligibility of speech in noise: Long-term familiarity and short-term familiarization. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, *67*, 590-608. doi:10.1080/17470218.2013.822009

Souza, A. L., Byers-Heinlein, K., & Poulin-Dubois, D. (2013). Bilingual and monolingual children prefer native-accented speakers. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *4*, 1-6. doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00953

Spencer-Rodgers, J., & McGovern, T. (2002). Attitudes toward the culturally different: The role of intercultural communication barriers, affective responses, consensual stereotypes, and perceived threat. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *26*, 609-631. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00038-X

Sritharan, R., & Gawronski, B. (2010). Changing implicit and explicit prejudice evaluation model. *Social Psychology*, *41*, 113-123. doi:10.1027/1864-9335/a000017

Tausch, N., & Hewstone, M. (2010). Intergroup contact. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 544-560). London, England: Sage.

Ura, M., Preston, K. S. J., & Mearns, J. (2015). A measure of prejudice against accented English (MPAAE): Scale development and validation. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *34*, 539-563. doi:10.1177/0261927X15571537

van Meurs, F., & Hendriks, B. (2017). Native and non-native listeners' evaluation of degrees of foreign accentedness in English: A literature review. In *Proceedings Van Schools Tot Scriptie III* (pp. 102-111). Retrieved from https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/57214

Wang, Z., Arndt, A. D., Singh, S. N., Biernat, M., & Liu, F. (2013). "You lost me at hello": How and when accent-based biases are expressed and suppressed. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, *30*, 185-196. doi:10.1016/j.ijresmar.2012.09.004

Wegener, D. T., & Petty, R. E. (1995). Flexible correction processes in social judgment: The role of naive theories in corrections for perceived bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *68*, 36-51. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.68.1.36

Yzerbyt, V., & Demoulin, S. (2010). Intergroup relations. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (5th ed., pp. 1024-1083). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-6772-0

Zhoux, P. (2014, May). *Comparison of attitudes towards native and non-native English speech*. Poster presented at the 26th Annual Convention of the Association for Psychological Science (APS), San Francisco, CA.

Author Biographies

Janin Roessel is a postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Social Psychology at the University of Mannheim, Germany. Her research focuses on the effects of language varieties (particularly accents and linguistic categories) on social cognition and social perceptions. Further interests lie in the areas of self-compassion, impostorism, gender, and methodology.

Christiane Schoel is a social psychologist at the University of Mannheim, Germany. Her research interests include language attitudes and speaker evaluations, power motivation and leadership as well as consequences of social exclusion.

Dagmar Stahlberg is a full professor of social psychology at the University of Mannheim. Her research interests mainly focus on prejudice and stereotypes (e.g., gender stereotypes and leadership), positive illusions and self-compassion as predictors of behavior (e.g., quality of sleep and helping behavior), and the role of language in social perception with a focus on accents, dialects, and masculine generics.