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Attitudes to LX speech: performance and status evaluations in group work

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

to

The Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication
Birkbeck College, University of London

2017

Declaration

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

James McCloskey

Abstract

Against a backdrop of increasing internationalisation in higher education, this study employed a matched guise technique to investigate L1 speakers' evaluations of an LX speaker*. Seventy five UK students were asked to rate an idea put forward by an L1 speaker and predict the status this individual would enjoy in future group work in terms of receiving opportunities to contribute, receiving positive evaluations, and exerting influence. A separate group of 150 UK students heard the identical idea delivered by a LX speaker, rated at a level of language proficiency of approximately IELTS 6.5, and made the same evaluations. Results indicated that the majority of students in the second group reported some comprehension difficulties and rated the LX user as being less than able to meet the linguistic demands of group work in university. For these L1 raters, the LX speaker was expected to suffer a significant status loss compared to the equivalent L1 speaker. In terms of L1 rater differences, findings also revealed that students with high levels of on intercultural competence, specifically high motivational cultural intelligence (MCQ), were better able to process LX speech compared to those with low MCQ, with an effect size of $R=.42$. High MCQ was also linked to more positive evaluations of the LX speaker's ideas, intellectual and academic ability, and language proficiency. Results suggest the extent to which some LX speakers may suffer an expectations 'disadvantage' in group work relative to L1 speakers, and the role that MCQ plays in the processing and evaluation of LX speech.

* This dissertation will adapt an 'L1' versus 'LX' dichotomy to avoid the strong monolingual bias associated with traditional 'native speaker' versus 'non-native speaker' or 'L1 speaker' versus 'L2 speaker' alternatives. Dewaele defines LX as any foreign language acquired after the age at which the first language(s) were acquired, or approximately the age of 3 (Dewaele, no date:1). The label 'LX' is not, therefore, indicative of a particular level of language proficiency.

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Introduction

The theme of this research is L1 user evaluations of LX speech. To set the scene, an example from the world of business will be considered. Hofstede (2010) described an attempt by IBM management to estimate the future career progression of a group of international staff (both L1 and LX users) participating on a training course conducted in English. Eight years later, a follow-up study revealed that management predictions had been largely inaccurate. The career potential of the L1 users had been consistently overestimated, whilst the potential of most LX speakers had been consistently underestimated.

Speculating on what shaped these particular evaluations, it is conceivable that factors such as fluency, accentedness, comprehensibility and the linguistic demands of task requirements played a part. These are the same variables under investigation in the present research, which will examine L1 evaluations of LX speech in the context of group work in a higher education setting. The focus of this study will be, firstly, the impact of L1 perceptions of LX comprehensibility and ‘adequacy of English’ upon status expectations, and secondly, whether L1 users who are more highly motivated to engage in cross-cultural interactions report more favourable evaluations of an LX speaker.

- 1.1 The internationalisation of higher education
- 1.2 English language entry requirements and testing
- 1.3 Setting English language entry requirements
- 1.4 Language issues in HE
- 1.5 Language attitudes and prejudice
- 1.6 Research aims
- 1.7 Methodology

1.1 The internationalisation of higher education

There has been a considerable growth in the number of overseas students attending university in the UK. Even mainstream media has taken an interest with headlines such as ‘Number of foreign students at top universities doubled in less than a decade’ (*Daily Telegraph*, 2015), this referring to the number of students at the 24 Russell Group universities. According to UKISA (2016), in 2014-2015, there were 436,585 overseas students studying in the UK. In terms of countries of origin, China was the largest with 89,540, with Indian students the second largest cohort at 18,320. The top EU-sending country was Germany with 13,675 students.

In terms of degree choice, business and management-type courses are the most popular, with 38.4% of registered students on these being from overseas. 33.1% of engineering and technology students and 26.3% of law students are also from overseas. There has been a particular growth in the number of international students studying at postgraduate level, with a total of 105,840 out of 151,355 obtaining postgraduate degrees in 2014-5. Of this 105,840, 81% were non-EU students. According to IDP Education, an international student placement service provider and co-owner of the IELTS examination (a test of English language proficiency), demographics and the growth of middle classes economies will mean that by 2025, Asia will constitute 70% of total global demand for higher education (IDP Education Australia, 2002).

This growth in demand is both accommodated and welcomed by institutions in English-speaking countries as higher education benefits from the rich diversity international students bring, and becomes increasingly reliant on the higher tuition fees paid by non-EU international students. Although UK government funding of all education has increased as a whole (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2016), a smaller proportion of this is now allocated to HE, following reforms which permitted universities to increase tuition fees for home and EU students from £3,375 per year in 2011–12 to a maximum of £9,000 per year in 2012–13. As a result of this switch to predominantly student-funded business models, institutions have increasingly developed marketing strategies and partnerships to reach out to lucrative non-EU overseas student markets.

With this growth, however, has come significant challenges, and according to Jenkins and Wingate (2015), departments and academic staff can face difficulties in integrating students from diverse linguistics, cultural and educational backgrounds, particularly given the lack of support available to both staff and students.

1.2 English language entry requirements and testing

In terms of English language entry requirements, all international students need to demonstrate a level of competency which is, in theory, commensurate with the demands of the courses they follow. IELTS, together with TOEFL, are the two major global providers of English language testing for admission to higher education institutions. IELTS operates in over 140 countries and is recognised by all universities in Australia, New Zealand, and the UK, as well as over 3,000 institutions in the US. (IELTS, 2014). Test scores range between 0 and 9 as indicated in table 1.1.

Overall IELTS band score	IELTS band descriptor
9	Expert user
8	Very good user
7	Good user
6	Competent user
5	Modest user
4	Limited user
3	Extremely limited user
2	Intermittent user
1	Non-user
0	No assessable information provided

Table 1.1: IELTS band scores (2014)

Overall scores are calculated on the basis (after averaging and rounding down) of four individual test components: speaking, writing, listening and reading, which are termed ‘sub-scores’. Both overall score and sub-scores can be half bands, e.g. 5.5, 6.5 etc. IELTS scores required for admission in to UK universities seem to approximately correspond with university rankings. Requirements also vary according to the type of course being applied for,

with linguistically-demanding programmes from social sciences and humanities requiring higher English language requirements than quantitatively-grounded programmes. Table 1.2 presents a selection of minimum language requirements for institutions appearing in *the Guardian's* UK university league table for 2017, (*The Guardian*, 2016). There were 119 universities listed in total, and from this three institutions were selected from the boundary of each quartile. The scores below all relate to the language requirements for postgraduate business / management courses, in other words, linguistically demanding course such as MSc Management / MSc Marketing or MBA.

Institution / rank according to <i>Guardian University Guide 2017</i>	Minimum English language requirement for business/ management (or equivalent) PG courses.	
	Overall score	Speaking sub-score
1. Cambridge	7.5	7
2. Oxford	7.5	7
3. St Andrews	7	6.5
30. SOAS	6.5	6.5
31. Manchester	7	6.5
32. Reading	6.5	not stated
60. Manchester Met.	6.5	5.5
61. De Monfort	6.5	5.5
62. Essex	6.5	5.5
90. Roehampton	6.5	5.5
91. Brighton	6.5	5.5
92. Cardiff Met.	6.0	5.5
117. Cumbria	6.0	5.5
118. London Met.	6.0	5.5
119. Glyndwr	6.0	6.0

Table 1.2: Sample of IELTS requirements for postgraduate management courses (source, universities' own individual admission webpages)

As can be seen in table 1.2, the median minimum requirement for all institutions was 6.5 overall, with a minimum of 5.5 in speaking. Out of 119 UK institutions, only Oxford and Cambridge set a minimum language score of 7.5 overall with 7.0 in speaking. The degree to which students either marginally meet or significantly exceed these minimum language requirements can only be speculated upon, this being commercially sensitive data. However, given the competition for non-EU students' tuition fees in particular, and the average IELTS test scores shown in table 1.4, it is likely that the lower ranking universities are accepting more students with little or no more than the minimum language requirements compared to higher ranked institutions.

Given that the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA) monitors quality and conducts peer reviews across UK higher education institutions, reporting on aspects such as course planning and the effectiveness of teaching and learning, it might be asked: 1) Why language requirements indicated in table 1.2 should vary so significantly across what are essentially similar courses in terms of content? 2) What minimum level of language *should* objectively be recommended for these courses?

In terms of the wide range of language requirements set for similar courses, it has been suggested that some have been 'softened' in order to maintain revenue streams. Under a freedom of information request, *The Daily Telegraph* reported in 2012 that 66% of UK institutions are accepting students with no more than IELTS 6.0 overall, describing the policy as using the 'cash cow' which is overseas tuition fees 'to plug holes in budgets' (Daily Telegraph, 2012), and citing Prof Geoffrey Alderman, a former academic chairman of the University of London, who stated that institutions were setting entry requirements 'deliberately low in order not to discourage students'. Refuting this criticism, *Universities UK*, an advocacy organisation, stated: 'It is in no one's interest for international students to come to the UK if they are unable to finish their courses because they are struggling with the language' (Times Higher Education, 2012, para19).

This sentiment, while noble, does not necessarily tally with qualitative findings. For example, in an ethnographic survey of international postgraduate students attending a UK university, Brown (2008:14) noted that although all students had achieved the minimum language requirement of 6.0, 'the majority felt disadvantaged by particularly poor spoken English, and suffered feelings of anxiety, shame and inferiority. Low self-confidence meant that they felt

ill equipped to engage in class discussion and in social interaction which used English as the medium of communication.’

In terms of what language levels *should* be set, IELTS themselves make the following recommendations to institutions (table 1.3):

Band score	Linguistically demanding academic courses, e.g. business, management, (humanities/social sciences)	Linguistically less demanding academic courses, e.g. STEM subjects
7.5-9.0	Acceptable	Acceptable
7.0	Probably acceptable	Acceptable
6.5	English study needed	Probably acceptable
6.0	English study needed	English study needed
5.5	English study needed	English study needed

Table 1.3: IELTS official guide for educational institutions (IELTS, 2014)

On the basis of the above recommendations, only 2 from 119 UK universities (Oxford and Cambridge) currently have sufficiently robust admission policies in place, both requiring 7.5 overall. However, in terms of speaking skills required, the situation is arguably more problematic since the minimum requirements for sub-scores are typically 0.5 below the overall required score. Referring back to table 1.2, on page 11, it can be seen that at least 50% of the 119 institution listed required just 5.5 in speaking as a minimum score. Furthermore, it can be seen by referring to table 1.4, that typically students score ‘jagged’ profiles, i.e. passive skills are usually superior to the active / productive skills of speaking and writing. This makes it more likely that students will be entering institutions with speaking sub-scores below their overall scores.

Country of origin	‘passive skills’		‘active skills’		Average overall IELTS score
	Average listening sub-score	Average reading sub-score	Average writing sub-score	Average speaking sub-score	
1. China	5.9	6.1	5.3	5.4	5.7
2. Malaysia	7.1	7.0	6.1	6.6	6.8
3. Germany	7.7	7.5	6.6	7.3	7.3
4. France	7.0	7.2	6.1	6.6	6.8
5. Italy	6.7	7.2	5.9	6.5	6.6

Table 1.4: Average IELTS scores in 2015 for test takers from top five countries sending students to the UK, (excluding countries where English is 1st or official languages, Republic of Ireland / Nigeria / India), UKISA (2016), and IELTS (2016)

In ‘Staff and Students’ Perceptions of English Language Policies and Practices’ (Jenkins & Wingate, 2015), interviews and questionnaires revealed that most lecturers felt that even if students had met the necessary IELTS requirements, competency levels were still lower than necessary for their courses. In addition, some lecturers reported that many students arrived mistakenly believing their levels were appropriate, only to struggle later. One lecturer reported that some students were reluctant to seek support as they refused to believe they had any difficulties given that they had already been accepted on the basis of meeting the college requirement. Another lecturer reported that, in order to secure high-paying students, their institution knowingly accepted international students without the necessary language skills, resulting in failure rates of up to 50%. Wingate and Jenkins (2015:12) summarise the situation as characterised by a weakening of English language requirements in order to meet financial targets:

The entry requirements need to be kept fairly low to attract students who did not achieve the scores required by more prestigious universities. However, at the same time the requested IELTS scores are seen as signalling insufficient language competence that will impede successful study and access to high-stakes careers. It seems that the common solution to this dilemma is to admit the students anyway.

In order to address the borderline language skills of some international students after admission, many institutions in the UK offer pre-sessional or in-sessional EAP (English for Academic Purposes) courses. These are usually provided free and funded through top-slicing of revenue from tuition fees. Whilst figures/costs for these provisions are not published, *the Telegraph* (2012) reported that Bath (currently ranked 10 in UK) spend an average of £220 per student on language support in 2010, whilst the University of Chichester (currently ranked 75) spent £903 per student. This suggests that lower ranking universities recognize that the minimum level of English at which students are being accepted may not be sufficient to enable them to cope adequately in their studies.

Whilst language support services can be of high quality, their downside is that they are usually optional, not compulsory. Though students may eagerly sign up at the start of an academic year, within weeks attendance can fall sharply due to a lack of study time, timetabling clashes, and the fact that coursework and assessment demands are much likely to be given priority over making marginal improvements in language proficiency. This is particularly the case with postgraduate courses, which are more intensive and relatively short in length, with courses running from October to June, including 6-7 weeks of vacation. Furthermore, language centre teaching staff often face the challenge of providing *generic* support for students belonging to a wide range of academic departments within which the genres of academic discourse, both written and spoken, may have little in common.

1.3 Setting English language entry requirements and testing

In terms of how institutions set IELTS requirements, in Hyatt & Brooks' (2009) survey '*Investigating stakeholders' perceptions of IELTS as an entry requirement for higher education in the UK*', the authors collected detailed information from fifteen UK institutions. They found that 1) IELTS entry requirements varied 'starkly' across and within institutions, 2) That there was no consistent pattern between entry requirements and types of programme, 3) That admission teams were the key 'gatekeepers' and set language requirements according to *their* perceptions of what levels of language were required for a particular programme, whilst also taking into account its marketability. Somewhat dishearteningly, the authors concluded: 'A majority of institutions surveyed felt there was a significant tension between the setting of standards for admission and the economic institutional imperative to recruit, which we would

argue are common and growing aspects of an increasingly marketised higher education context.’ (Hyatt & Brooks, 2009:25)

Overall, there seem to be three issues related to the setting of minimum language requirements in UK HE institutions. Firstly, evidence indicates that higher ranked universities who attract greater numbers of applicants can ‘afford’ to set higher minimum language requirements while lower ranked institutions cannot. Secondly, all institutions (except Oxford and Cambridge) set minimum language requirements below those recommended by IELTS. 50% of institutions in table 1.2 are prepared to accept speaking scores of 5.5 for admission to business or management courses. According to IELTS, a score of 9.0 is ‘expert’, 8.0 is ‘very good’, 7.0 is ‘good’ and 6.0 is ‘competent’. Scores below 6.0 could therefore be accurately described as *less than competent*. Thirdly, the strategy of admitting students with questionable language skills and *then* providing language support is unlikely to be effective. Finally, international students who just meet minimum language requirements might be exposed to negative evaluations, either by L1 speakers, other more linguistically competent overseas students, or by academic staff and administrators.

It is important to note that the focus of the present research is on what might be termed LX speakers with ‘borderline language skills’. There are, of course huge numbers of international students from all continents who will far exceed these levels.

1.4 Language issues in HE

There is considerable evidence that insufficient language proficiency can sometimes negatively impact an individual speaker and their classmates. For example, Cathcart et al (2006), in a survey of international business school students studying in the UK, found that although all students had met or exceeded the institution’s language requirements, they regarded these as low, and sometimes reported feeling ill-equipped to participate in class or group discussion. Students reported that any language weaknesses displayed were quickly identified by other students, both L1 speakers and other more proficient LX speakers, some of whom expressed doubt about their ability to perform effectively on the course. This caused high levels of stress for the lower-level international students. Wei (2015) reported that the

even mental health issues such as depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress symptoms, could be linked to perceived language discrimination.

Further repercussions of borderline language proficiency have been identified by Kuo (2011), who found in a US study that some international students believed home students associated an inability to communicate fluently in English with low intelligence. A similar link has been observed by Novie & Rienties (2016), who noted that L1 speakers tend to associate language proficiency with academic competency.

In many areas of university life, LX speaker language proficiency is closed to scrutiny. For example, many challenges faced in reading, listening and writing will largely go unnoticed and have less impact upon academic performance since performance might be compensated for, to some extent, through extra hours of study. However, one context in which language differences are highly visible and open to scrutiny is group work, where members are only able to view and evaluate the language performance of others.

In particular, evaluations and attitudes may be revealed in groups when marks are awarded collectively, for example, on the basis of a group presentation or group writing task, and where preparation for such tasks requires high degrees of unstructured or unprepared interactions, such as brainstorming or discussion. Peacock and Harrison (2010) noted that home students may perceive some international students as a threat, to the extent that insufficient language ability might lower the whole group's performance and thus marks, while Zhong (2013) in a study conducted in New Zealand, reported that some international students withdrew from fully participating in group work for fear of negative evaluations of their language ability. However, there may be other explanations behind such attitudes or evaluations *other* than perceived levels of proficiency. As Parks and Raymond (2004) observed, even if international students possess good communication skills, they might still be discriminated against and allocated subordinate roles in group work.

Overall, some international students may be said to face two challenges. Firstly, the struggle they may face in dealing with the linguistic demands of their course, and secondly, the negative evaluations they may face from L1 and other LX speakers

1.5 Language attitudes and prejudice

The suggestion that LX speakers who are fully equipped to deal with the demands of higher education may *still* be discriminated against shifts discussion from evaluations of language adequacy, towards attitudes to LX speech more generally; attitudes being defined as a psychological tendency triggering formation of either favourable or disfavourable evaluations of a particular object (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Evidence of negative attitudes towards LX speech have been well documented. For example, Sawir et al. (2012) discussed international students' concerns about L1 attitudes towards their own voice tones, the authors citing a bilingual Indian student educated in English-speaking classrooms her whole life who stated that she was reluctant to participate in seminars for fear of negative evaluations of her accent.

That prejudice towards and stereotyping of international students can occur, by both L1 speakers and other LX speakers too (Jon, 2012), seems undeniable, with accent, fluency and accuracy acting as an obvious trigger. The rapid globalisation of higher education has led to numerous qualitative surveys in which terms such as 'neo racism' (Lee, 2007) and 'microgression' (Sue, 2010) have even been used to describe the injustices suffered by some international students. Such findings disappoint and appear to indicate a degree of intolerance towards 'the other', a lack of empathy and cultural sensitivity, and a failure to appreciate the efforts international students often make in attempting to integrate. Lee (2007), for example, found that international students in the US reported that some staff, faculty administrators reacted with frustration to accented speech; with a double standard seeming to operate for European accents, which were tolerated and appreciated, whilst Asian accents could be 'equated with stupidity'.

It also seems likely that individual differences may make L1 speakers more predisposed to evaluate some varieties of English unfavourably. As Lippi Green (1997) noted, even when LX speech is perfectly clear, some will still simply resist making the effort necessary to process it, believing it to be beyond them. Arguably, this might impact self-efficacy, creating a wariness of LX speakers, and possibly an unwillingness to seek out or engage fully in cross-cultural encounters.

Overall, it could be said that *some* international students, though certainly a minority, suffer two forms of injustice. Firstly, students marginally meeting 'soft' minimum language

requirements set by institutions may discover that their levels of language proficiency are insufficient to function adequately, particularly on linguistically-demanding courses containing high levels of student-centred interaction. In this case, some students might be described as ‘willing’ victims, if initially unknowing, since they may not have otherwise achieved higher entry requirements, and attending would be preferable to exclusion. Secondly, there seems to be evidence that LX speech may, in itself, trigger negative evaluations; that is, some varieties of English are judged less favourably than others, either as a result of genuine difficulties in comprehension or a general lack of willingness to engage. These issues and others will be explored fully in the literature review chapter.

1.6 Research aims

There three areas where the present study aims to make a contribution:

1. Investigating L1 evaluations of LX speaker proficiency

Typically, language attitude experiments control for variables such as grammar, vocabulary, pitch and fluency, leaving foreign *accent* as the only manipulated variable (e.g. Giles 1971, Fuertes 2011). However, as Garrett (2010) points out, such manipulations produce inauthentic speech samples. In the real world, LX speakers do not typically produce patterns of speech which are identical to L1 speakers in all features *other* than accent. For example, it might be expected that fluency and language accuracy might drop in tandem with lower levels of proficiency, as would rhetorical functions such as the ability to engage a stranger in small talk, argue with conviction, or soften a moment of tension with an appropriate joke.

Ignoring the role of *proficiency* in experimental designs allows the claim that accent discrimination can be neatly positioned alongside other forms of discrimination such as racism, sexism and ageism (Lippi Green, 1997). Where research does factor in language proficiency, samples of speech may be labelled vaguely as ‘intermediate’ or ‘advanced’, or described in terms of ‘how many years’ the individual producing the sample had studied or lived in an English-speaking context. In most cases, no accurate and objective level of language proficiency is factored in. Generally, this sole focus on accent independent of proficiency level is *not* problematic since much language attitudes research is non-context specific. However, in the case of attitudes towards LX speech in a higher education setting, perceptions of proficiency or ‘adequacy of English’ related to a particular task are central.

The focus of the present research is not, therefore, concerned with attitudes towards *accented* speech specifically, but towards speech of a specific category of proficiency (approximately IELTS 6.5 in speaking). It could therefore be said that the origin of the accent is, to a large extent, irrelevant in the present study. In fact, during the piloting of the experiment, no respondents were actually able to correctly identify the nationality of the speaker, (this was perhaps understandable given there were no visual clues, photographs or videos). The study will investigate L1 evaluations of a two-minute sample of LX speech which has been objectively rated at 6.5. L1 speaking raters will be required not only to evaluate the quality of the idea that they hear, but also to decide how well equipped they believe the speaker would be to function effectively in future group work.

Investigating perceptions of ‘adequacy of English’ in an experimental setting should help quantify evaluations of ‘borderline’ LX speakers, which have only been gauged through qualitative research methods previously. Of all HE stakeholders (international students themselves, academic staff, admissions officers, registry, and English language testing bodies), current L1 speaking university students are arguably well informed to judge what levels are required to function effectively in groups. This data might be particularly useful in defence or support of any suspicions that institutions may not have a clear understanding of the linguistic demands of their courses, and may instead weaken entry requirements in order to hit financial targets.

2. L1 raters make status predictions of the LX users

Typically language attitudes research has focused upon a relatively small number of measures, the most common being perceptions of social attractiveness (sometimes termed ‘solidity’ or ‘pleasantness’) and status (or competence). This notion of status, however, lacks specificity and is usually measured as simply high or low. For example, typically RP accents are judged to be of higher status than regional accents. Given that the context of the current research is group work, a more precise measure of status are needed to capture L1 users’ expectations of where the LX user might be placed in future group hierarchies.

The theoretical framework of the present research is that of expectation states (Berger 1980). This theory predicts that hierarchies emerge in small groups on the basis of so-called ‘status characteristics’. These characteristics include those such as age, gender, qualifications, experience or job title; their hierarchy-shaping power derives from stereotypical beliefs associated with them. For example, for a status characteristic such as dominant body

language, there may be a consensual stereotype that an individual displaying this characteristic should be deferred to more within group interactions. According to Berger (1980), higher status in group work results in three observable benefits: being allowed more opportunities to contribute, receiving more positive evaluations for those contributions, and generally being more influential. Predictions of the degree to which the LX speaker may enjoy these three same benefits will constitute the measure of ‘status’ in the current research.

According to Bunderson & Barton (2003), language fluency, accent and grammar can all act as status characteristics. The present research will attempt to ascertain the extent to which such features are linked to status evaluations of LX speakers, and seek to quantify the degree to which, if any, an L1 speaker enjoys a ‘status advantage’ over an equivalent LX speaker. No previous research has adapted such a framework to investigate quantitatively the potential status losses associated with language proficiency. This is particularly needed today as the internationalization of higher education continues at pace.

One further status-related measure introduced in the present study is that of ‘intellectual and academic ability’. In previous studies, it has been reported that lower estimates of language competency have been viewed by classmates as signaling lower intellectual or academic ability. The present research will also therefore measure L1 raters’ perceptions of the LX speaker’s ‘intellectual and academic ability’, and attempt to identify relationships with the measures previously introduced: comprehensibility and adequacy of English.

3 Investigating L1 motivation to engage with LX speakers

Finally, as previously mentioned, one factor which may predict those who report low levels of comprehensibility and unfavorable evaluations of and attitudes towards LX speech is motivation: specifically, motivation to fully engage in contexts characterized by cultural difference and a lack of confidence in overcoming any communicative obstacles they may encounter.

The present research will use the concept of motivational cultural intelligence (MCQ), described as an individual’s self-efficacy, confidence and curiosity when interacting in unfamiliar cultural contexts (Van Dyne et al., 2008), to investigate if high levels of L1 MCQ correlate with favourable evaluations of an LX speaker. The concept of cultural intelligence has not previously been investigated quantitatively as a predictor of positive evaluations towards LX speech.

1.7 Methodology

The core of the present study is a matched-guise test, which is an experimental technique found in sociolinguistics designed to elicit the true feelings a particular community has (in this study L1 students) to a specific category of speech (an LX user rated 6.5 in speaking).

After hearing the LX speech sample, L1 raters will report 1) the level of comprehensibility they experienced, 2) how 'adequate' they judge the level of language proficiency to be for the demands of group work, and 3) their own levels of motivational cultural intelligence.

The L1 raters will then be divided into groups according to low, moderate or high levels of these three measures, and comparisons made with their evaluations of the LX speaker's idea quality, intellectual and academic ability, and future status in group work activities.

2 Literature Review

The literature review will begin by examining LX speech and describing how language acts as a trigger for categorisation and, therefore, inevitably, stereotyping. It will then introduce and discuss measures used in previous research to describe the certain characteristics of LX speech, including comprehensibility, intelligibility, accentedness and fluency (though, of course, L1 speech can be described using the same measures).

Next, there will be a survey of the language attitudes literature, with a particular focus on research into the experiences on LX students in Western universities. The following two sections will focus on status expectations and group work, and introduce the concept of cultural intelligence, another key variable in the present study. Finally, the research gap will be presented.

2.1 LX speech

1. Ingroups, outgroups and linguistic stereotyping
2. Comprehensibility
3. Intelligibility
4. Accentedness
5. Sensitivity to accentedness
6. Accent preferences
7. Language fluency

2.1.1 Ingroups, outgroups and linguistic stereotyping

Fishman (1971:3) stated that ‘language is not merely a carrier of content... language itself is content’. Speaking in a non-standard way may incur costs, for example, some LX speakers may experience information loss caused by phonological divergences from the norms present in that speech variety (Munro & Derwing, 1995). Other costs may be incurred by the negative associations a speech pattern has with a particular speech community. As Lindeman (2005:188) stated, ‘evaluations of language varieties can be understood as evaluations of the groups who speak them rather than of language *per se*.’

According to Tajfel (1974), within the framework of social identity theory, an individual's self-view is maintained and strengthened through association with positively valued in-groups, with outgroups more likely to be viewed negatively. Social identity describes 'an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership', (Tajfel, 1981:63). Even in experimental contexts in which ingroups and outgroups are randomly assigned by the toss of a coin, ingroup members consistently exhibit favouritism by allocating greater rewards to other in-group members (Brewer, 1979). In other words, there is no need for intergroup conflict or a conflict of interest to exist for in-groups to favour its own members, and others may be seen as 'outsiders' based on relatively trivial differences.

Interpersonal attraction further reinforces the solidarity of in-groups resulting in those seen as dissimilar being treated less favourably. Where the in-group is a majority advantaged group, a certain asymmetry can occur, termed 'mindful minorities and mindless majorities' (Simon et al. 2001), in which the majority display little or no concern for the particular needs or desires of a subordinate group. The strength of in-group identification may be so strong that when individuals interact with out-group members, even outside of a group context, they may still seek to identify characteristics which maximize differences between them.

From an evolutionary perspective, sensitivity to language differences has been explained as a mechanism which enabled social categorization and a means to distinguish friend from foe in primitive societies when our ancestors looked alike and rarely travelled far (Edwards, 2009). Certainly, there is evidence that we develop a preference for our own L1 accent from a very young age, as early as 5 months according to Kinzler et al. (2007). This can also be seen in children expressing a preference for forming friends with others speaking their L1 (Kinzler et al., 2007). According to Flege (1984), who asked listeners to distinguish French-accented English from American English varieties in increasingly shorter speech samples, accented speech could be identified in segments as short 30 milliseconds. It has even been shown that a foreign accent can be identified in samples of speech played backwards (Munroe et al., 2003), as well as in languages not even spoken by the listener Major's (2007). It is clear therefore that accent allows an immediate method of categorization. Giles and Johnson (1981) suggested that language is probably a more significant factor in categorising others than ethnicity because being an acquired characteristic, it is a more potent signal of an individual's identity. Similarly, according to Usunier (1998), in an increasingly globalised

and culturally homogenous world, language will remain a key differentiator. Such categorisation of others, inevitably leads to stereotyping.

The labels ‘native speakers’ and ‘non-native speakers’, for example, despite being common descriptors in both applied linguistics and English language teaching, are themselves stark social categorisations which hint subtly at a unique and superior status enjoyed by L1 users, and the ‘absence’ of such for ‘non-natives’. These categorisations seem laden with stereotype content, for example, in the assumption that an LX user is probably less proficient in speaking or writing compared to an L1 user (when this is often, of course, not the case), or in the area of language teaching, that L1 teachers are, by default, ‘expert’ and somehow better qualified to teach.

Allport (1954) described stereotypes as exaggerated beliefs which rapidly enable us to identify and classify objects on a daily basis and may, to some extent, be emotionally flavoured. They can be viewed from an individual perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 2001), i.e. as an individual cognitive process, or from a social perspective, i.e. when a stereotype has permeated the collective thinking of a particular group. Operario & Fiske (2001) stated that we stereotype within milliseconds. According to Allport (1954), stereotyping is an inevitable process of the human mind. It is inevitable in that once the prevailing attitudes of a community or culture have been absorbed into an individual’s ‘mental software’, they may operate automatically and unconsciously; as Gudykunst & Kim (2003) observed, we may not have any awareness of the categorizations we make. According to Allport (1954), however, the inevitable outcome of stereotyping is prejudice. So long as categorization occurs, prejudice follows.

Before turning to the theme of language as a trigger for stereotyping and prejudice, it is important to distinguish between stereotype *activation* and *application*. In other words, we can have access to stereotypical or prejudicial views without them being ‘our own’. The activation process describes one by which a particular stereotype becomes accessible to an individual (Kunda & Spencer, 2003), however, whether that stereotype is actually influential in informing judgements or shaping behaviour is a separate process. Kunda & Spencer claim that in cross-cultural contexts, the extent to which activated stereotypes are applied depends upon our motivation to avoid prejudice. Conversely, any individual motivation to proactively

engage in cross-cultural contexts would, therefore, presumably, also make the application of stereotypes less likely.

In terms of language attitudes, the linguistic stereotyping hypothesis states that even short extracts of speech from low-prestige communities or outgroups can trigger negative attributions (Kang & Rubin, 2009). According to Gudykunst & Kim (2003), such stereotypes are most likely to be activated when we are not ‘communicating mindfully’ or when experiencing some anxiety. Part of the diffusion process by which linguistic stereotypes become social in nature is through their reinforcement in the media or popular culture. For example, in a survey of US cartoons broadcast on cable, network and Public Broadcasting services across the USA, LX accents are more likely to be used to mark villainous characters (Dobrow & Gidney, 1998). In addition, in Hollywood blockbusters, ‘baddies’ have shifted over the last 40 years from having British R.P. accents to Russian, South African, Middle Eastern or more latterly, Eastern European accents, all depending upon the social and political climate and media-induced fear of the day.

Reverse linguistic stereotyping is a further but surprising example of the way in which stereotypical or prejudicial evaluations may be triggered spontaneously for no good reason at all. In a particularly revealing experiment, Rubin (2002) provided support for the argument that negative evaluations of LX speakers may not be a product of qualities inherent in LX speech itself, but based on stereotypical beliefs of the community that the speech sample is *believed* to represent. Rubin found that L1 raters reported high levels of accentedness, and lower levels of comprehensibility and recall when exposed to a lecture recording produced by an L1 *American English speaker*, when that recording was accompanied by a photograph of an individual from an ethnic minority. In other words, the mere suggestion that the speaker was an LX triggered negative attitudes, lowered motivation to engage and generated poorer evaluations. Such responses were, arguably, triggered heuristically, rather than mindfully, with attitudes towards what was perceived to be LX speech possibly influenced by either episodes in personal histories, or prevailing campus stereotypes.

In Spencer-Rodgers’s (2001) investigation of stereotypes held by NS towards LX speakers at a Californian university, it was found that the mean favourability of the international students was equivalent to that of devalued ethnic minorities. Kraut’s (2014) investigation into the attitudes of L1 users towards LX speakers found that although contact with LX speakers was

overwhelmingly positive (86%), those who expressed negative attitudes were found to both hold negative stereotypes and had experienced discomfort in previous communicative interactions.

However, on a positive note, evidence provided by Kang et al. (2015) suggested that the barriers between in and outgroups can be bridged and stereotypes challenged. They described an experiment which brought together L1 undergraduate students and LX teaching assistants (TAs), against a background of complaints regarding the language inadequacy of TAs. After the two groups were provided the opportunity to cooperate together on a one-hour puzzle-solving task, researchers found that teaching assistants were suddenly rated more highly for both comprehensibility and instructional competence, providing support for Allport's contact hypothesis (1954), which predicts that negative attitudes and stereotypes towards outgroups can be overcome through meaningful exposure. Matsuura, Chiba, & Fujieda, (1999) similarly found that exposure to a particular accent promotes comprehensibility and willingness to engage, even if actual intelligibility is not enhanced.

2.1.2 Comprehensibility

For researchers, four commonly investigated measures are comprehensibility, intelligibility, accentedness and fluency. Comprehensibility describes the reported difficulty an individual experiences when processing particular varieties of speech (Munroe & Derwing, 1995). It is a subjective rating, although there are high levels of inter-rater reliability across evaluations (Derwing & Munroe (2013). Low levels of self-reported comprehensibility have been confirmed through functional neuroimaging research (magnetic resonance imaging, MRI scans), which can identify particular neural systems which see greater activity when more cognitive effort is required Van Engen & Peelle (2014). These neural markers (Wild et al., 2012) are less likely to be present in the case of L1 speech comprehension, in which acoustic input tallies effortlessly with an individual's existing knowledge of particular lexical and phonological items.

According to Lev-Ari & Keysar (2010), a positive effect of increased 'processing fluency' is that a message can sound not just more pleasant, but more truthful. In an experiment which required L1 raters to judge simple trivial statements such as 'ants don't sleep', the authors found that when spoken by an L1 speaker such statements were judged as more credible, a

product, they argued, of processing ease. According to Lev-Ari and Keysar people misattribute the effort involved in processing speech with the truthfulness of an utterance. Even when raters were informed that the LX was merely conveying a message originating from an L1 speaker, the messages continued to be rated lower on credibility. The authors suggested that this indicated that prejudice towards a certain speech community represented by the LX could be ruled out, leaving difficulty in processing LX speech as the sole explanation. Interestingly, when respondents were pre-informed that they were susceptible to this particular bias, they were able to reverse evidence of it when processing mild accents, but were unable to do so for heavy accents.

2.1.3 Intelligibility

Intelligibility is an objective measure of what an individual is actually able to understand in a particular utterance (Derwing & Munro, 2009). Often this measure refers to a subject's ability to transcribe word-for-word a sample of LX or L1 speech, or correctly answer true/false or short answer questions. According to Deterding & Kirkpatrick (2006), in situations where the difference between the phonology of the speaker and listener's L1 is greatest, intelligibility levels will fall more, with some deviations from L1 'standards' significant enough to result in messages being entirely unintelligible. However, less severe deviations merely result in the listener being required to 'work harder' in processing the message. Of course, the intelligibility of an LX can drop in any given language. For example, according to van Wijngaarden (2001), fluent LX speakers suffered a reduction in intelligibility equivalent to that of reducing L1 speech by 3 to 4 decibels: this in an experiment which compared America-Dutch speakers living in the Netherlands with L1 Dutch speakers.

It has been suggested that some responsibility for any reduced intelligibility of LX speech could rest with listeners and their ineffective listening strategies (Zielinski, 2008). In her text *The listener: No longer the silent partner in reduced intelligibility*, Zielinski argues that when processing LX speech, in any language, L1 listeners' expectations can be misguided. For example, in identifying the content carrying words of LX English speech, L1 English listeners are guided by the rule that any utterances are accompanied by a series of stresses. Being a stress-timed language, syllables in key content words in English are stretched and stressed resulting in patterns of strong and weak forms, with 'chunking' occurring as long

stretches of speech are logically divided into shorter segments, typically with a stressed syllable at the end of each chunk. If L1 users assume this same pattern also applies to LX users' English and 'tune in' for these patterns, there is the risk that the speaker may not be fully intelligible. An important implication of this analysis being, that with appropriate guidance and exposure to a target accent, intelligibility may improve.

Finally, it has been claimed that awareness of the extra effort required to process accented speech can cause listeners to report difficulties in comprehension even when full intelligibility does occur. For example, Derwing and Munro (1995) reported that Mandarin-accented speakers rated moderately to be 'heavily accented' were still perceived as 'perfectly' comprehensible. Generally, levels of intelligibility are higher than levels of subjective comprehensibility, i.e. L1 subjects may perceive LX speakers to be more difficult to understand than they actually are. This could incur costs for the speaker, since according to Cargile et al. (1994), greater processing effort often corresponds to negative attitudes.

2.1.4 Accentedness

Accentedness is the perception of how strong an individual believes an accent to be. Derwing (2003:554) defines accentedness as 'the degree to which the listener believes an utterance differs phonetically from native speaker utterances'. Munro (1998:139) stated that a LX accent deviates in 'partially systematic ways from the speech characteristics of native speakers'. Our accents are influenced by our geographical origin, native language or social class (Carlson & McHenry, 2006). Like comprehensibility, it is a subjective rating, although there will be a high degree of consistency amongst raters, irrespective of whether raters are L1 or LX users (Flege, 1987). Defined from a listener's perspective, Flege (1995:233) stated 'listeners hear foreign accents when they detect divergences from English phonetic norms along a wide range of segmental and supra-segmental i.e. prosodic dimensions'.

The presence or strength of a foreign accent may be explained in terms of the age an L1 is learned, the so-called age of onset (Flege, 1988). Lenneberg (1967) argued that an LX accent is inevitable when learning commences after a critical neurologically-determined period. Learning the LX prior to this so-called critical period, said to be around puberty, means a speaker is more likely to acquire an L1-like accent. Other factors said to influence accurate

accent acquisition include exposure to that language, e.g. length of residency in countries where that language is spoken, an individual's aptitude for language learning, and phonological similarities between the target language and the speaker's L1 (Piske, 2001).

The notions of language 'norms' or a 'standard language' are, of course, controversial insofar as they require identification of what a standard actually *is*, and whether any such identification can be separated from judgments of who actually speaks that so-called standard. Usually these 'standards' or 'norms' identify varieties spoken by the educated elite and are associated with the politics, education and commerce of a particular nation. These high-status standards such as R.P., Standard American Network, Parisian French or Castilian Spanish, are usually not the varieties of the majority and typically exclude local varieties. According to Milroy (1999), in 'standard language ideology' cultures, such as Britain, where there is argued to be a belief in the 'correctness' of certain linguistic forms, those using the 'wrong' forms will typically be from ethnic minorities or lower social classes. Non-standard accents, including foreign-accented speech, may therefore be seen as lower status and trigger prejudicial or discriminatory behaviour. Protesting this injustice, Derwing points out (2009), that *everyone* speaks with an accent and no one accent is inherently better than another.

2.1.5 Accent preferences

Evidence suggests LX speakers often value the sense of identity their accent signals, and feel frustrated when their variety of English is deemed inferior to L1 models. For example, Sasayama (2013) found that although a group of Japanese university students preferred American-accented speech rather than Japanese-accented variety, they expressed a desire for their own variety of accented speech to become internationally acceptable. It seems that especially in countries or regions with historical or institutional connections with the English language, a larger number of LX speakers report a preference for preserving their particular variety of accented speech, perhaps as a sign of defiance. For example, a survey of Hong Kong students indicated that the majority preferred not to imitate L1 standards but to retain their HK-accented English provided that they were intelligible (Li, 2009). However, and highlighting the crucial role that situation and the prevailing social, economic and political factors play in such research, Giles and Edwards (2010) observed that LX speakers who do make attempts to conform to local varieties may risk social marginalization. For example, the

term *vendido* (sell-out) may be attributed to Mexican-American speakers who prefer to emulate standard US-accented varieties. It seems, therefore, that different contexts can demand different degrees of convergence or divergence from L1 speaker 'norms'. For example, if LX users are conversing with other accented LX users, it has been noted that attempting to emulate L1 patterns is no longer regarded as a priority so long as communication is not impaired (Jenkins, 2007).

Overall, however, there seems to be stronger evidence of a desire by LX users to adopt 'L1-like' in their pronunciation, often to mitigate the risk of negative evaluations (Sasayama 2013). For example, a study of English as a second language (ESL) learners revealed that the vast majority strongly agreed that it was important to have good pronunciation, with some wishing to sound 'native like' (Derwing, 2003). An investigation into the language preferences of students and teachers with Chinese as a L1 (He and Li, 2009) revealed that the vast majority preferred an L1-like accent, with the majority regarding British and American varieties most desirable. A study of Chinese attitudes towards L1 and LX varieties of spoken English revealed that the reason L1 types were preferred because they reflected the entrenchment of L1 models in previous language learning contexts (Xu et al., 2010). This, despite the acknowledgement that a plurality of Englishes exist and are equally valid. Driving further the preference for L1 models may be the social aspiration. According to Callon, Gallois, and Forbes (1983), upwardly mobile minority groups aspire to replicate the accent of the dominant majority, particularly where the advantages they enjoy are apparent.

2.1.6 Language Fluency

Language fluency describes the production of fluid language, as opposed to a hesitant or halting flow. As Derwing & Monroe (1999) point out, fluency is a necessary but not sufficient requirement for language proficiency. An L1 speaker, for example, may be fluent but lack a sufficient range and accuracy of grammar or lexis, or range of communicative strategies to be considered proficient. According to Segalowitz (2010), there are three facets to fluency: cognitive fluency, the underlying mental processes which underlie production; utterance fluency, the measurable features of production which result from this cognitive fluency (e.g. words per minute, silent pauses per minutes etc.); and perceived fluency, the

judgement of fluency an observer makes based the utterance fluency. According to a study by Bosker et al. (2014), perceived fluency, judged in terms of pauses, reformulations, repetitions and silence, applies to both L1 and LX speakers alike, challenging the preconception that L1 speakers are, by default, fluent.

In terms of listener preferences, higher speech rates or degrees of fluency (both actual and perceived) are associated with higher degrees of competency and social attractiveness, a preference which applies across all languages (Brown, 1980). In addition, there is evidence that listeners prefer a rate of speech marginally quicker than their own (Street et al., 1983), though in certain contexts, for example, when involving explanations of an abstract or complex nature, slower speech is valued more highly. Furthermore, speech characterised by hedges and hesitations has been shown to negatively impact perceptions of authoritativeness (Brown, 1980). Interestingly, in more high stakes or formal settings, listeners are both more aware of slower paced speech than in informal situations, and more likely to associate slow speech with lower intellectual competence (Street et al., 1983). In the context of the present research in which L1 raters will evaluate the intellectual and academic ability of a speaker significantly less fluent than other L1 group members, it might therefore be expected that the LX speaker suffers unfavourable evaluations.

2.1.7 Perceptions of and adaptation to LX speech

Familiarity with a particular accent seems to be significant factor in evaluations of LX speech but may be attributed to multiple individual differences. For example, Kraut & Wulff (2013) found that the interplay of variables such as gender of the listener, their language family and the level of proficiency of the accented speaker impacted ratings of comprehensibility. Similarly, Kennedy and Trofimovich (2008) found that familiarity with a particular accents resulted in better understanding of LX speech and more favourable ratings of accentedness and comprehensibility.

There is evidence too that even if LX speech initially poses a challenge in terms of intelligibility for some L1 users, it can be adapted to. According to Bradlow and Bent (2008), who investigated adaptation to Chinese-accented English, speech perception processes are ‘highly flexible’ and able to adapt to speech that ‘deviates substantially’ from L1 norms. The

authors claimed that L1 speakers are able to adapt to accented speech within minutes. Clarke & Garrett (2004) similarly reported that adaptation to LX speech can occur with exposure to as little as two to four sentences. In some cases, adaption is sufficient for LX users' performance to be equated with L1 speech (Clarke & Garrett, 2004). However, as Lang (2013) points out, such experimental designs do not usually require the processing of speech in natural real-time settings. Measures used to gauge adaption and intelligibility, such as producing transcripts, judging comprehensibility or answering comprehension questions, may rely, to an extent, upon processing or judging speech within a delayed timeframe.

Gass and Varonis (1984) found that prior exposure to LX accents in general or a specific accented individual improved intelligibility, a further rise in intelligibility resulting from familiarity with the subject matter conveyed. However, Matsuura, Chiba and Fujieda (2003) have argued that although exposure improves an individual's self-efficacy and motivation to engage when processing LX speech, resulting in higher comprehensibility, *actual intelligibility* remains unaffected by such exposure.

In terms of the process by which LX speech can be adapted to, it is not clear to what extent listeners are actually adapting to the phonetic shifts or deviations they hear or whether intelligibility improves as a result of relying to a greater extent on sentence-level contextual information and clues to inform meaning (Trude et al., 2013). Trude et al. showed that in cases where ambiguity between the vowel sounds /I:/ and /i/ was produced in accented speech, listeners' ability to adjust over time with exposure to extracts of the speech was limited. Furthermore, adaption was similarly limited even when such vowel ambiguities were produced in extracts of L1 speech.

Summary

This section has introduced a number of themes central to the present research, in particular, how L1 or LX speech can be associated with status. Our discussion of 'in' and 'outgroups' confirm the human tendency to promote one's own self-interest and status over those perceived as different, with evidence to suggest stereotyping of LX students occurs on university campuses, albeit by a small proportion of L1 users. In terms of commonly used measures to evaluate speech, the one central to the present study is comprehensibility,

particularly so given the indications that some L1 users may experience low comprehensibility due to genuine cognitive strain or prejudice and a lack of motivation to genuinely engage.

2.2 Language attitudes

This section will examine what language attitudes are, how they may be triggered, and how researchers have and continue to access them. It will then present findings, from non-context specific research, on attitudes and evaluations of both L1 and LX speech.

1. Attitudes to non-standard speech
2. Accessing language attitudes
3. Interpreting speech
4. Attitudes towards L1 varieties
5. Attitudes towards LX varieties

2.2.1 Attitudes to non-standard speech

An attitude may be defined as ‘a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour’ (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Attitudes may be described as a tripart structure consisting of cognitive, affective and behavioural elements. The cognitive component results in a judgement of the attitude-object, for example, whether a speaker sounds competent or not. The affective component expresses either a positive, neutral or negative feeling towards that same object at a certain degree of intensity, and the behavioural component is a predisposition to act in a particular way towards that object.

The attitudes we hold and evaluations we make may not be apparent to ourselves, though be clearly visible to others. As Gudykunst (2004:142) notes, ‘...the problem is that we mistakenly think we perceive strangers in an unbiased way’. According to Gudykunst (2001), we use the experience we accumulate through direct and indirect experience of intercultural communication to navigate future interactions, making attitudes a heuristic summary of previous experience which may be triggered each time we encounter a particular speech variety.

Attitudes towards varieties of speech may be said to mirror our perceptions of those that speak such varieties (Edwards, 1982). In other words, whether we react positively or negatively towards an individual speaker may be informed by the view we have of that

individual's wider community. However, attitudes may be triggered without such evaluations. For example, we might react favourably to a speech variety perceived as musical. According to Cargile et al., (1994), language attitudes are primarily concerned with affect rather than cognition since it is the sound itself which triggers a particular reaction, rather than a cognitive appraisal or identification of that particular accent. The inherent value hypothesis (Giles et al, 1974) suggests that certain varieties of language *do* actually sound more pleasing to the ear, more logical or more correct sounding.

The language attitudes literature also points to the role perceptions of language proficiency play in triggering attitudes. For example, Deprez-Sims & Morris (2010) argued that negative evaluations of LX speech may be based, to some extent, on legitimate concerns over an individual's communicative competency. A view echoed by Cargile (1994), who stated that negative evaluations stem from difficulties in processing accented speech, and Bresnahan et al. (2002) who associated negative attitudes with lower levels of intelligibility. According to Brent and Barlow (2003), general language competence rather than accent is the chief cause of communication breakdown, and therefore, possibly, a source of the stored 'heuristic summaries' Gudykunst described.

A further factor impacting the presence or intensity of a negative reaction to LX speech is the degree of control a speaker is perceived to exert over their speech. According to Gluszek & Dovidio (2010), where a speaker is perceived to be responsible for an accent, i.e. the accented speech is considered to be, to some extent, reversible, negative evaluations are more likely as the LX speaker is considered to be voluntarily refusing to disregard that devalued characteristic. An uncharitable L1 rater might therefore attribute certain varieties of accented speech as being 'poorly learnt'.

2.2.2 Accessing language attitudes

Research aimed at accessing attitudes can be problematic since the three attitude components (cognition, affect and behaviour) may not necessarily occur together, and where they do, may not be aligned (LaPiere, 1934). Although, according to Festinger (1957), there *is* a tendency for each attitudinal component to be aligned (cognitive dissonance theory suggesting that we prefer for our judgments, emotions and actions to be in sync), the need for social desirability

may influence the responses we provide in attitude surveys. We may, for example, choose to conceal suggestions of prejudice or any negative affect, preferring instead to project positive self-images and act in a manner thought socially acceptable, concealing attitudes which could be perceived as racist, regionalist or sexist.

Experimental research has attempted to obtain measures of both explicit and implicit attitudes. Explicit attitudes refer to those a subject is fully aware of and able to articulate, while implicit attitudes refer to those which are unconscious or automatically displayed (Petty et al., 2012). Once more, however, these explicit and implicit attitudes accents may not necessarily be aligned. For example, McKenzie (2015) found that in a survey of UK born university students, explicit attitudes toward linguistic variations revealed under direct questioning were generally positive, yet when presented with and asked to rate Asian samples of speech implicitly, the speech samples were downgraded on metrics of solidarity and status relative to UK accented samples.

Given that providing socially acceptable responses may distort findings, researchers have typically sought to access implicit attitudes through indirect means. For example, in an employment interview context, if two groups of respondents were asked to judge the suitability of a speaker for a high status occupation, and each group heard and judged different speech varieties (e.g. L1 and LX varieties), then different evaluations could be attributed to differences in attitudes towards those varieties. Research into language attitudes uses such ‘matched guise’ techniques, which were developed by the social psychologist Wallis Lambert in the 1960’s.

In Lambert’s original experiments, French speaking Canadians were invited to rate samples of speech in English and French produced, unbeknownst to them, by the same speaker. Lambert’s matched guise approach prompted a wave of similar investigations into language attitudes, most notably by Howard Giles and his associates. Since Lambert’s ground breaking studies, fifty years of research has produced a body of literature spanning both attitudes to L1 and LX speech across a range of contexts and languages. The most common attributes studied, the so called ‘three factor group’ (Lambert 1967), are competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. The broad picture to emerge has been that ‘standard accents’ are consistently rated highly for competence and status, whilst regional, ethnic or LX varieties rate higher on integrity and attractiveness.

The majority of research into language attitudes has focused on English as a second language, no doubt because of the prevalence of English as a lingua franca. However, as Ng (2007:111) notes, this is evidence that ‘the burden of convergence or code switching disproportionately leans on the part of bilinguals whose L1 is not English’. This is probably largely due to lower levels of bilingualism among L1 English speakers, but also to the courtesy of LX speakers who use English to accommodate them. It is arguably unfortunate that any LX speaker who has made considerable effort to learn English has, by doing so, left themselves exposed to negative evaluations, particularly when UK speakers may complacently expect others to accommodate their own language ‘shortcomings’, even when abroad.

2.2.3 Interpreting speech

Research has shown that the range of evaluations we feel confident in making based on different varieties of language is considerable. For example, according to Giles et al. (1995) the stronger the non-standard accent the less persuasive message content is. Other commonly measured traits have included intelligence, trustworthiness or loyalty. However, the range of individual characteristic listeners feel confident in inferring from mere speech samples goes further. For example, women rated samples of male speech and reached a consensus on which males had hairy chests or muscular frames, even though their guesses were unrelated to the actual characteristics of the speakers (Collins 2002). Similarly, Krauss et al. (2002) found that raters felt confident predicting extraneous traits such the height of speakers from speech samples. Such heuristic thought processes (termed ‘representativeness’) have been similarly observed in non-language contexts. For example Kahneman (2011) described an experiment in which raters were more likely to judge prolific readers as 6ft 6” rather than 5ft 6”, when clearly no objective rationale for such judgement existed. These examples indicate the readiness with which speech varieties can trigger ‘fast’ rather than ‘slow and deliberate’ thinking, a sentiment echoed by Rakic (2011) when observing that ‘people react to the first available and meaningful information to categorise others’.

2.2.4 Attitudes towards L1 varieties

Before considering the literature on attitude to LX speech, it is worth briefly recognising that varieties of ‘native’ speech also trigger positive or negative reactions. In early research Giles (1970) found that in the UK, speakers using received pronunciation (RP), which is commonly associated with high socioeconomic status, political and media usage, were rated high on expertise but low on trustworthiness. Further research by Giles (1971) indicated that standard accented speakers were rated higher on the quality of their arguments than non-standard speakers. In contrast, regional accents, such as South Welsh, rated much higher on personal integrity and social attractiveness but lower on expertise. Research has also compared attitudes between those from different English nations. For example, Wilson and Bayward (1992) asked New Zealanders to rate varieties of English including their own for intelligence and likability. Results showed that Australian and Canadian speakers were both considered more intelligent and likeable than New Zealand speakers (!).

In a range of specific contexts too, accent acts as a gateway to discriminatory evaluations. In a legal context, Birmingham -accented speakers were thought more likely to be guilty of blue-collared crimes than RP speakers (Dixon et al., 2002). Similarly, Seggie (1983) found that broadly accented Australian speakers were considered to be more probably guilty of violent crimes, whilst RP speakers were thought more likely to have committed white-collared crimes such as embezzlement, presumably signalling the link between ‘standard’ language varieties and high status. More recently, a 2012 poll conducted by the executive communications consultancy The Aziz Corporation (*Daily Telegraph*, 2012) found that for UK respondents, 61% of business executives viewed a home-counties accent as being commensurate with business success, with 40% associating a Liverpoolian accent with a lack of success, and 70% having serious concerns over employing someone speaking a working class Essex accent.

In an educational context, Seligman et al, (1972) asked school teachers to evaluate the written work of students submitted together with an audio recording of that student’s speech. Written work was consistently downgraded when it was presented alongside less prestigious speech varieties, the implication being that inferences related to social background led to lower evaluations of academic ability. However such may evaluations apply not only to students. *The Guardian* (2016) reported on the so-called ‘Downton effect’, where even today Northern

or Midland-accented trainee teachers were recommended by their supervisors 'to lose their regional accents in order to be better 'role models' for schoolchildren.'

2.2.5 Attitudes towards LX speech

The attitudes, intolerance and range of information inferred heuristically from varieties of L1 speech inevitably apply to judgments of LX speech. According to Lippi-Green (1997), LX speakers may be victims of both prejudicial attitudes and negative stereotyping. Munro et al. (2006:71) states that 'individuals with a foreign accent may be perceived negatively because of the stereotypes or prejudices that accent can evoke in a listener.' Although the focus of this section is on attitudes towards LX varieties of English speech, similar evaluations can, of course, be found in other languages, for example, Yzerbyt et al. (2005) showed that both French and Belgian French speakers regarded Belgium speakers (i.e. non-standard) as less competent than French speakers.

In terms of attitudes to spoken varieties of English, a meta-analysis of 20 independent studies by Fuertres (2011) found that speakers of standard accents were rated more favourably in terms of status, solidarity and dynamism than LX speakers, though it could not be determined whether these attitudes were a function of the speech itself, or the ethnicity of the speaker. Generally speaking, LX speakers are viewed as lower in status (Kalin & Rayko, 1978; Lindemann, 2005) particularly when there are associated issues of comprehensibility (Bresnahan et. At., 2002).

Although negative attitudes towards a variety of speech may be triggered by the recognition of a particular stigmatised community, there is evidence that such knowledge of social identity is not essential. Lindemann (2003) suggested that attitudes towards LX speech could result from a *general* bias against LX users. In a study where L1 raters evaluated samples of Korean-accented English, Lindemann showed that despite the fact that only 8% of respondents correctly identified the accents as Korean, stereotypical judgements were still triggered, and speakers were judged lazy, uneducated and incompetent. This, in contrast to the typical stereotype that Koreans are both intelligent and hardworking. As Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) noted, it is probably mistaken that accent acts as a cue to identifying a particular group membership, rather identification operates at a subconscious level with

stereotypes triggered by a speaker's similarity to other accents the listener has been exposed to previously.

Summary

This section has considered how language evaluations of both L1 or LX speech may be triggered by comprehension difficulties, negative affective reactions, recognition of a particular devalued community or a general bias or prejudice against 'non-standard' speech in general.

2.3 Language attitudes in the workplace and HE

Language attitudes may vary according to context: who the speakers are, what situation they are in and with what at stake. For example, there might be different judgement of an Indian-accented speaker using English 1-to-1 socially after work in the UK, or presenting in English in a high-stakes business meeting in China.

This section will focus on two contexts in which attitudes to language have been researched and that are relevant to the current research: the workplace and higher education. Attitudes within the workplace are relevant because the hypothetical setting for the present experiment is a group task (designing an advertising campaign) of the type typically found in work. Often, group work tasks on business or management programmes are designed to replicate real-life business scenarios. Such tasks are seen as a way of developing some of the soft skills (communication, team working, and leadership) that employers often require.

1. Language attitudes in the workplace
2. Language attitudes in the higher education
3. Language discrimination and microaggressions
4. Cultural differences and language attitudes
5. Foreign language anxiety
6. L1 speaker engagement
7. Changing attitudes
8. Predictors of language attitudes

2.3.1 Language attitudes in the workplace

How individuals speak has been found to impact both job prospects and workplace interactions. Brennan and Brennan (1981) reported that Mexican-American accented English speakers were expected to be more suitable for low-status occupations, while Kalin et al. (1986) found that 'stable discrimination' was identified in the ranking of English, German, South Asian and West Indian speakers (in this order) for jobs that ranged from high to low prestige. Tsalikis (1991) found that Americans perceived accented salespersons as less competent, less intelligent and less knowledgeable.

Language requirements for a particular position can also be a cover for blatant discrimination. Ng (2007) describes how requiring L1-levels of proficiency as a specific job requirement is a subtler, more indirect way to separate out those of a particular nationality, and one where legislation, should it even exist, can be challenged on the basis of arguments citing business needs and anecdotal examples of miscommunication. Ng contrasts such calculating discrimination with 'myth-driven discrimination', which she describes as genuine, yet mistaken beliefs in stereotypes pertaining to accented speakers. For example, a shop owner might believe that workers with non-standard accents drive customers away.

Field research in highly corporate contexts also points to language discrimination. Behfar (2006) reported that LX speakers in a London-based bank felt that L1 speakers received a disproportionate amount of credit in team meetings and that sometimes L1 users with less expertise were assigned more prestigious assignments due to their accents. One individual commented that an employee who spoke 'the Queen's English' was given 'fast track' face-time with clients despite being relatively underqualified. In addition, it was common for managers to receive complaints from clients who equated 'difficult accents' with 'low quality customer service'.

In a Harvard Business Review interview, the Swedish founding CEO of ABB, Percy Barnevik (an LX speaker), provided anecdotal evidence of his own intolerance towards less proficient LX speech:

(ABB is a Swedish-Swiss multinational corporation specialising in robotics and automation and employed 210,000 employees worldwide at the time of this interview.)

There is great potential for misunderstanding, for misjudging people, for mistaking facility with English for intelligence or knowledge. I'm as guilty as anyone. I was rushing through an airport last year and had to return a phone call from one of our managers in Germany. His English wasn't good, and he was speaking slowly and tentatively. I was in a hurry, and finally I insisted, "Can't you speak any faster?" There was complete silence. It was a dumb thing for me to say. Things like that happen every day in this company. (Harvard Business Review, 1991:3)

In a major longitudinal study of the challenges of using English as a lingua franca in the workplace, Neeley et al. (2009) found that LX users reported spending more time on tasks, particularly written tasks; felt that they were dominated in meetings by L1 users; experienced difficulties in delivering oral presentations, and felt that their LX speech meant that they were less able to access people and knowledge that was essential to their role. In addition, they reported a decreased sense of belonging to cross-national teams and were unable to chat informally and network as well as they would like. Generally, unevenness in language proficiency triggered cycles of emotionally distressing responses ranging from withdraw to engagement, see figure 2.1.

Where disparities in English competency do trigger negative emotion, three responses may occur: withdrawal, exclusion and code-switching. Withdrawal describes situations where individuals fall silent in group settings due to self-doubt over the adequacy of their English. Exclusion describes other members' decision to sideline members with whom communications might be problematic. Code switching describes the preference for bilingual speakers to revert to their L1 as a means of mitigating anxiety-inducing communication. In Neeley's research context, these three responses in turn triggered negative responses in LX users; perceptions of disrespect and frustration at what was interpreted as a lack of effort from NS to work collaboratively.

Neeley stated continued: ‘Our data shows that in the presence of uneven lingua franca proficiency, LX English speakers experienced negative emotions. They felt fear and anxiety, as well as embarrassment and shame about how they sounded when trying to communicate in English.’ (Neeley et al., 2009:23). In addition, ‘European respondents noted that even though English was the agreed medium, they were at times irritated by the UK partner’s failure to appreciate that they were communicating with those for whom English was not the mother tongue.’

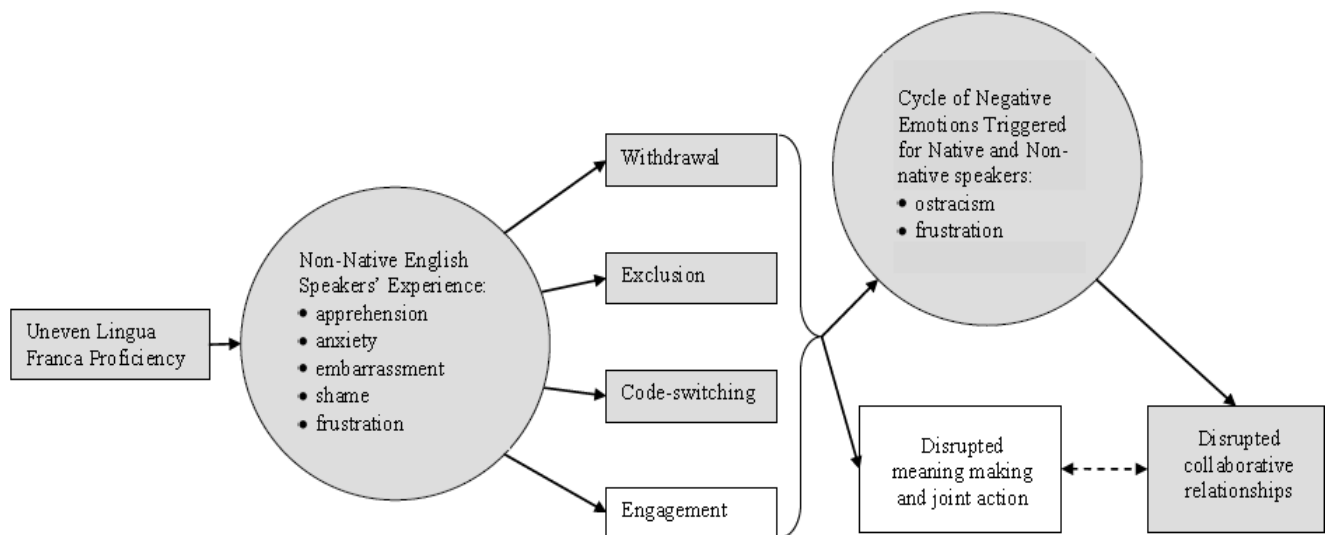


Figure 2.1: The effects of uneven language proficiency on collaboration (Neeley et al., 2009)

Neely (2012) also described how in English as a lingua franca settings, LX speakers felt a sense of status loss, performance anxiety and reduction in self-assessed levels of fluency. According to Steele (1995), such evidence points to the possibility of diminished status acting as a self-fulfilling prophecy or stereotype threat, where stigmatized individuals experience a fear of confirming negative perceptions. Such a threat has been shown to significantly impair intellectual performance. For example, those with a pessimistic explanatory style are likely to make internal attributions of cause (i.e. blame themselves), and are more likely to suffer learned helplessness.

However, a different picture is painted by Rogerson-Revell (2007:117) in a study of the challenges of using English for business communication. It reported a degree of sensitivity and appreciation of the efforts made by LX speakers, some even conceding that being a L1 user in international contexts granted them an ‘unfair advantage’. However L1 comments such as ‘they always speak better English than I speak their native language’, were

counterbalanced by LX speakers' LX speaker views such as: 'Of course I think I should improve my English but I also think that native speakers should make greater efforts (actually, most of them make none) in order to be properly understood by non-native speakers.'

As previously mentioned, the meta-analysis of attitudes by Fuertes et al. (2011) concluded that high stake and formal contexts, particularly those related to employment and recruitment, elicited the strongest preferences for standard accents. However, other research has contradicted these findings. For example, Cargile (1997) found that within the context of an employment interview, a Mandarin-accented speaker was judged no different to an American-accented speaker in terms of attractiveness, yet in a university classroom context the same LX speaker was deemed less attractive. Context, it seems, is a very significant factor in language attitudes research.

2.3.2 Language attitudes in higher education

This section will examine attitudes and reactions to international students studying in English-speaking environments focusing, in particular on attitudes to language and group work interactions. The picture described will suggest the presence of a degree of cultural intolerance and stereotyping which, as previously mentioned, may be a trigger for negative attitudes and evaluations. Given, in particular, the high percentage of Asian students studying in HE globally, and, arguably, the greater cultural differences which are perceived to exist compared to continental European students studying in the US or UK, research has tended to predominantly focus on Asian students in Western universities.

Lindemann (2005) investigated how US L1 speakers of English perceived varieties of English spoken by international students from 58 countries. The term 'broken English' was assigned to all speakers with the exception of some Western Europeans. Most negatively evaluated were Chinese speakers. Lindemann's methodology involved map-labelling and country-rating. 213 participants were asked to look at a map of the world and categorise the type of English spoken in different locations. France and Germany were the most positively rated areas, while Russia, Mexico and China were rated lowest on comprehension. The country rating task invited participants to rate the English spoken in 58 countries in terms of the degree to which that variety was considered correct, friendly, and pleasant. Mexicans and

Chinese were described most frequently as getting the most ‘wrong’ and were also described in most detail. This identification of Mexican speakers ‘getting it wrong’ might have probably related to large immigrant populations in the country (see figure 2.2).

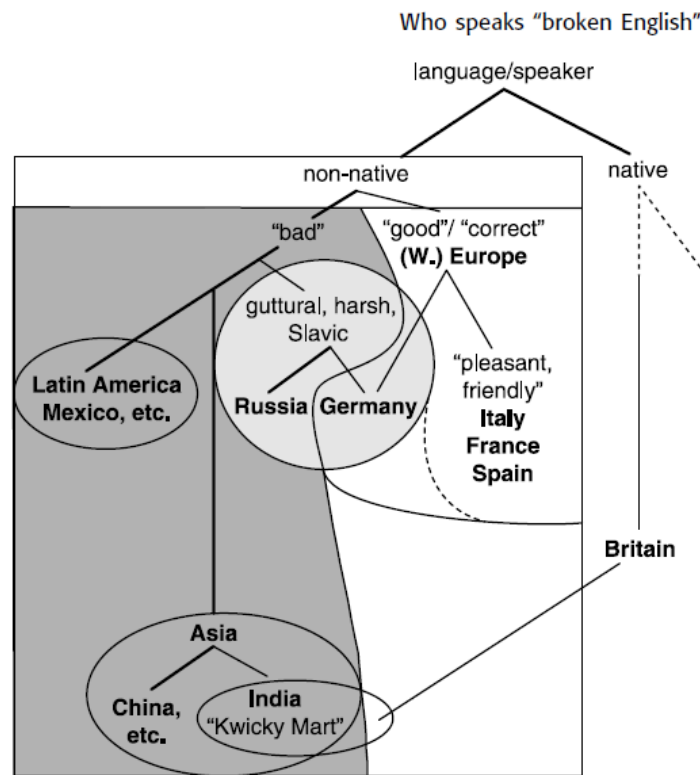


Figure 2.2: US listeners’ categorization of non-US varieties. Thicker lines denote more salient subcategories, Lindemann (2005)

Lindemann noted that, generally, speaking with an accent from countries viewed as ‘adversaries or competitors’ were evaluated more severely, as were those belonging to larger immigrant populations in the US. The author speculated that the reason for down rating evaluations of Asian-accented speakers may be related to participants’ experience of Asian teaching assistants who would more typically teach difficult courses for which students might receive poorer grades. Overall, Lindemann’s research provides strong evidence for viewing unfavourable attitudes and evaluations as an extension of attitudes towards the communities speech varieties represent, rather than as a product of some inherent quality of the language itself.

Other research in North America has focused on student attitudes to LX speaking teaching assistants. Rubin and Smith (1990) found that 40% of undergraduate students they sampled said they would prefer to avoid classes taught by LX speaking instructors. Rubin (1992) also

found that student perceptions of the strength of a foreign accent were predictive of teaching quality ratings assigned to that individual and comprehension of course content. However, where students had persevered and continued classes taught by LX instructors, their comprehension of content improved, as did the ease with which they fully understood. This suggests a role for motivation and self-efficacy in enhancing intelligibility.

LX speakers may also perceive other varieties of LX speech unfavourably. Evidence for this is being provided by a large-scale ongoing study (McKenzie, 2015) exploring Japanese university students' attitudes towards UK, US and East Asian forms of English. Preliminary analysis of data collected suggests Japanese students' underlying evaluations of forms of English spoken in specific Asian countries outside of Japan seem to be broadly unfavourable. This tallies with previous research (McKenzie 2013) which found that Japanese rated Chinese and Indian varieties of English as lowest on measures of *both* status and social attractiveness, which is unusual in that these two measures typically correlate inversely, i.e. high status accents are usually rated lower on pleasantness and vice versa (Garrett, 2010). In the case of Japan, evidence of these attitudes may be problematic given Japan's major drive (MEXT 30) to internationalise its higher education sector and welcome international students from other Asian countries.

2.3.3 Language discrimination and microaggressions

In a large-scale survey of international students enrolled at University of California, L.A. Hanassab (2006) found that between 8 and 21% of students had experienced discrimination when interacting with classmates. The 8% figure representing the number of European students who experienced discrimination, 20% representing the figure for African students and 21% for Asian students. Although there were comments embracing the cultural and linguistic diversity found on campus, the survey also elicited reports from LX users of being ignored by college professors, feeling stupid in front of L1 users, a hostile environment because of an ignorance of cultural differences, and the idea that European students were treated more favourably than Asian students by domestic staff and students. Nishimuta (2008) reported on discrimination described by Japanese undergraduate and postgraduate students at British universities, with around 40% of those surveyed claiming to have been discriminated against due to poor communication skills.

In their paper *Welcome to America? International student perceptions of discrimination*, Lee & Rice described how discrimination was most commonly perceived amongst Asian, African, Latin American, and the Middle Eastern rather than European students. The authors commented that ‘too often, a ‘foreign’ accent, particularly Asian accents, was equated with ‘stupidity’ and sometimes even ridiculed, whereas European accents were more tolerated and appreciated’ (Lee & Rice, 2007:2).

The literature on subtle yet damaging forms of bias and negative evaluations of international students might be summed up by the concept ‘microaggression’. Sue (2010:24) defined microaggressions as ‘brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership’. Given the brevity of such violations, there may even be uncertainty as to their occurrence or prevalence. In a discussion of prejudice and discrimination Crocker et al. (1991) introduce the term ‘attributional ambiguity’ to describe how individuals face uncertainty as to whether what they perceive to be discrimination really is just that. This uncertainty stems from the fact that prejudice can be quite subtle or indirect in its manifestation. Examples of microaggressions experienced by international students in the USA and reported through the academic literature have been categorised by Kim & Kim (2010), see table 2.1. (The table is adapted from Kim & Kim’s original and more narrowly focuses on areas directly related to the current research, i.e. classroom interaction with peers and groupwork and the ability to communicate effectively in English, whilst ignoring outside classroom, curriculum, institution varieties of microaggression.)

Theme	Microaggression	Message
Classroom ascription of intelligence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An international student is perceived as unintelligent because of an accent 2. An international student's silence is interpreted as being incompetent 	<p><i>"You are unintelligible and unintelligent"</i></p> <p><i>"You have nothing valuable to contribute to the class"</i></p>
Pathologizing cultural values / communication styles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You should be more assertive 2. Poor grades given to international students because of their lack of active questioning or commenting 	<p><i>"Assimilate to the dominant culture"</i></p> <p><i>"You need to speak up more in class in order to receive a positive evaluation"</i></p>
Invisibility	American peers dismiss ideas of international students during group projects / discussion	<i>"You have nothing productive to contribute to the group"</i>
Favouritism	Preferential treatment is given to American students for teaching assistantships	<i>"You are incompetent at presenting ideas clearly"</i>

Table 2.1: Examples of microaggressions experience by international student in the USA, adapted from (Kim & Kim, 2010)

2.3.4 Cultural differences and language attitudes

Arguably, some of the stereotypical views indicated in table 2.1 result not solely from evaluations of language competence, but rather from an inability to think and behave effectively in cross-cultural situations. For example, a lack of willingness to communicate may not necessarily be a consequence of language ability. Holmes' (2006:14) qualitative exploration of the experiences of Chinese students studying at a New Zealand university suggested that 'Chinese students' rules for communication, face negotiation, and maintaining roles, harmony and relationships were not compatible with the New Zealand rules for competent classroom communication.' As Holmes (2004) noted, Chinese students found classrooms practices in the West such as volunteering answers, criticizing, raising questions, commenting, interrupting, or seeking clarification possibly immodest.

Japanese students studying in Western universities might similarly receive negative evaluations for what could be explained by cultural differences. For example, in Western contexts, group work is more typically characterised by open spontaneous discussion, interjection and initiative taking (Samovar & Porter, 2001), such learning styles are ingrained and encouraged throughout pre-tertiary classroom dynamics. However, in Japanese culture, listening may tend to be viewed as an active, rather than passive form of attention, and longer periods of contemplation or silence followed by brief comments would not be uncommon. In addition, open disagreement with another might be seen as threatening the harmony of the group (Viswat & Kobayashi, 2008). Such types of interaction might possibly be misconstrued by those unfamiliar with these tendencies as an unwillingness to engage or disinterest in the topic of discussion. If so, then negative and wholly unjustified stereotypes may take root.

According to Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern (2002) the role of intercultural communication has been underestimated as an explanation of prejudice and discrimination; there also being evidence to suggest that emotions are key predictors of intergroup attitudes (Stephan and Stephan, 1996). Intercultural communication emotions are said to be a predictor of language attitudes with twice the power of stereotypes. They arise from an individual's emotional responses to previous intercultural communication experiences. Where previous experiences have been negative, emotional-laden and highly memorable because of cultural or linguistic barriers, prejudiced attitudes are more likely to be triggered. Their research employed a survey consisting of such items as 'I find it unpleasant to listen to foreign students who speak with a strong accent', 'I rarely feel annoyed when talking to foreign students who have poor English skills' and 'I sometimes feel uncomfortable when interacting with foreign students because of cultural barriers'. They found that American students who felt frustrated, impatient, and uncomfortable when encountering communication obstacles with the international student community were significantly more likely to hold prejudicial attitudes towards international students. In this research, authors had hypothesised that those who had had little prior intercultural exposure would be more likely to display negative intercultural communication affect given their unfamiliarity with accented speech communities and cultural differences. However this was not the case, the authors actually concluded that 'high levels of social contact with members of an ethnolinguistic outgroup may have the unfortunate effect of making intercultural communication difficulties more psychologically salient' (Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002:624)

A final observation is that such prejudicial views may be self-reinforcing. As Derwing and Munro (1997) noted, prejudice impacts self-efficacy, and doubts over one's ability to understand may lead to less engagement in such interactions. The experience of prejudice and avoidance in group interactions has reportedly had psychological impacts upon international students, resulting, in some cases, in anxiety and an unwillingness to communicate or engage.

2.3.5 Foreign language anxiety

An unwillingness to communicate matches one of the indicators of foreign language anxiety (FLA), (Horwitz et al., 1986). There are said to be three components to foreign language anxiety: communication apprehension (a fear or shyness when speaking in public settings), anxiety for fear of negative evaluation, and anxiety over testing. Eysenck (1979) reported that the experience of anxiety is also likely to reduce cognitive abilities and quality of task performance as cognitive effort is directed to self-concern and non-relevant tasks while distracting from and competing with the mental processing effort required to perform. According to Eisenberger & Lieberman (2005), neuroimaging reveals that a real or perceived drop in status, which is associated with FLA, can have significant effects equivalent to that of physical pain.

From Horwitz et al.'s conceptualization of FLA emerged a 33 item Foreign Language Anxiety Scale, which has been widely utilised across English as a foreign language (EFL) and higher education contexts. For example, Woodrow (2006) found in a survey of Chinese students studying on a university foundation course preparing for postgraduate study in Australia that there was a significant relationship between oral performance and FLA, with the prime stressor identified as discomfort when interacting with L1 speakers.

Zhong (2013) reported on the experience of Chinese students studying in group work in tertiary education in New Zealand focusing particularly upon student's willingness to communicate (WTC). Amongst those with the least positive attitude to group work and general class interactions were those who expressed fear of speaking up when there were errors contained in their English. This was accompanied by a fear of losing face or status as a result of the judgements of peers. To quote one participant, '...you can't afford to have people say that you are not good in your grammar, messy in your speaking or you haven't got

enough vocabulary. Neither can you afford to have people look down upon you.’ (Zhong, 2013:746)

Further evidence of fear of negative evaluation can be found in a survey of Taiwanese students studying in the US which revealed a reticence to speak up (communication apprehension) in front of American peers (Swagler & Ellis, 2013). Fear of negative evaluation can impact motivation. For example, Morita (2004) conducted a qualitative multiple case study that examined the experiences and strategies employed by Japanese students attending a Canadian college. Of chief concern to all individuals was the need to be recognized as legitimate and competent members within their classroom contexts, despite concern of how their level of English proficiency was perceived and their general inability to function fully in discussion-based activities. One student remarked that she feared being constructed as ‘not very intelligent’ because she experienced difficulties in expressing herself logically in English. Students also reported a sensitivity to the feedback and evaluation of their peers or tutors, and where feedback was positive or encouraging they felt a fresh sense of confidence and engagement. In contrast one individual described the feeling of marginalization and powerlessness which came when others stopped encouraging or inviting her to join discussion. The phenomenon of foreign language anxiety

2.3.6 L1 speaker engagement

In their exploration of the experience of international students studying in Australia, Voleta and Ang (1998) raised the question of whether L1 speakers genuinely did struggle with comprehensibility / intelligibility or whether they simply lacked a motivation or willingness to engage, and had a low tolerance of ‘broken English’. As they observed, there seems to be some doubt whether communicative breakdowns are real or whether they are simply due to a lack of goodwill. Their research concluded that Australian students argued that international students would prefer to keep within their own group, while international students themselves perceived Australians to lack interest in interacting with them and preferred to remain amongst their own compatriots. The authors concluded that communication, being a two-way process, required greater effort from both parties in order to avoid overt ethnocentric attitudes.

Harrison and Peacock (2007:6), who conducted a series of focus groups into the benefits and challenges of internationalisation, concluded ‘Interactions between UK students and some groups of international students can be limited, problematic or non-existent. The sheer fact of proximity does not appear to offer significant gains for the internationalisation agenda.’ Specifically, there was evidence of stereotyping from home students. For example, although L1 users had more individualised notions of European students, discourse related to other groups was more generalised with a range of nationalities simply being referred to as Chinese or Muslim. Overseas students were categorised as being shy, or all sticking together, introverted, having nothing in common with home students of being ‘being difficult to get to know’, Harrison and Peacock (2007). The same authors also cited issues related to the perceived poor level of English proficiency of some international students, and the idea that this negatively impacted their own learning experience. For example, one responded ‘When we got put into groups, there were people I didn’t want to work with because of their level of English’ (Harrison & Peacock, 2017:5). This perception of poor English led to the attitude that those with poor English skills were ‘hard work’; and the observation that extra effort or ‘mindfulness’ would be required to prevent misunderstanding or awkwardness. The authors reported that L1 speakers could be easily put off by failures and were generally unwilling to make the necessary effort in social contexts; they ‘just wanted to relax and have a laugh.’

Such negative evaluations of language and motivation to engage is not exclusive to L1 speakers. Jon (2012) investigated the experience of Asian students studying in a Korean university on courses mainly taught in English. This context, in which Koreans were effectively the ‘home’ or ‘domestic’ students, revealed very similar power dynamics to those seen in Western universities. Jon (2012) described that Asian international students arrived in Korea hoping to make friends with Korean students to enable their cultural adjustment, but experienced difficulty in meeting them due to a lack of opportunities and cultural differences. Domestic students tended to hold a superior position in their relationships with international students. There was evidence that Koreans preferred to seek friendships with those from politically and economically powerful nations, for example with Japanese students, reflecting a degree of shared youth culture, whilst displaying prejudice to those from developing Asian countries. When ‘devalued’ Asian nationalities responded by tending to keep to their own groups, Korean students felt further disinclined to initiate contact.

2.3.7 Changing attitudes

Language attitudes can shift according to the relative social standing of groups within populations. For example, there is evidence that the strength of the standard language ideology in Britain has been in decline (Bishop, Coupland, & Garrett 2005). According to Garrett (2010), R.P. is gradually losing prestige as American accents become more favourably rated for status, perhaps an indicator of the current rate of internationalisation. In 1986, Kalin et al. observed that, at that time, there was a general disapproval of professionals such as bankers or teachers having a foreign accent. Thirty years on, the degree to which this sentiment is still valid would depend to a great extent on where attitudes are surveyed. In London, where according to latest census data (ONS, 2012) 36.7% of London's population was foreign born, it is unlikely to still hold true.

Still, as Ng (2007:119) observed, 'language reflects the power behind it and may rise or fall in prestige and currency depending on wider cultural and political changes'. Recently with UKIP's rise in the UK and a nationwide discussion of the pro and cons of EU migration, Nigel Farage's often reported comment that he felt uncomfortable or awkward when hearing foreign languages on a train (ITV, 2014) and other similar comments have the power both to distance relationships between in and outgroups and fuels fears of negative evaluation.

The extent to which students exposure to such diverse international communities reduces or accentuates differences, is actually difficult to gauge. Some evidence suggests communities prefer to segregate themselves to a degree. According to a survey from The UK Council for International Student Affairs (UKCISA, 2004), international students tended to be much closely integrated with their other international students with 59% responding that most of their friends with international, 32% responding that most friends were a mixture of UK and international students, and only 7% stating that their friends were mainly from the UK. In a *Guardian* article entitled 'Why don't UK students make friends with those from overseas?' (2014.b), a variety of reasons were suggested to explain why both international and British students tend to stick together, citing cultural differences (e.g. British drinking culture), differences in financial or housing situations, and prejudice.

2.3.8 Predictors of language attitudes

Investigations into individual differences which predict language attitudes have also centred on a number of personality traits such as tolerance of ambiguity, neuroticism and extraversion, and ethnocentrism. According to Sumner (1906:13), ethnocentrism as ‘a view of things in which one’s own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scales are rated with reference to it...’ A study by Giles (1971) revealed that the ethnic identity of the individual rater had a significant effect on attitudes to accented speech with those with strong ethnic identities preferring L1 speaker varieties. In Kalin and Ryoko’s (1978) study, LX speakers and standard-accented job candidates were matched high or low status vacancies on the basis of speech samples alone. Respondents with higher levels of ethnocentricity displayed greater degrees of discrimination in the job vacancies they assigned. According to Gudygunst (2004:106), the tendency towards ethnocentrism is ‘natural and unavoidable’, ‘everyone is ethnocentric to some extent’. Once more, these findings also offer further confirmation for social identity theory and our preferences for in-group over out-group members.

In terms of the ‘Big Five’ personality traits, Dewaele & McCloskey (2015) found that high levels of extraversion and tolerance of ambiguity, and low levels of neuroticism were associated with significantly higher levels of foreign accent appreciation, while Seravalle (2011) found that lower levels of tolerance of ambiguity related to harsher evaluations of comprehensibility, accentedness, pleasantness, status and competence in LX speakers. Furthermore, extraversion and neuroticism have been linked to general cultural competence (Wilson & Fischer, 2013), which we could speculate might predispose individuals to have more favourable attitudes toward outgroups.

Overall, as Gluszek and Dovidio (2010:219) observe, in terms of the prime drivers of negative attitude and evaluations of accented speech, ‘it remains unclear whether prejudice or perceived and actual problems in comprehension exert the most influence’. In addition, there appear to be other factors at work too, for example, expectations of the level language proficiency for a particular context, experience of previous interactions, intercultural competence, as well as individual personality traits.

Summary

This section has explored evaluations of LX speech in both work and study settings. There appears to be striking similarities in both contexts in terms of reported feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, and of being underappreciated. In the face of reactions, LX users have at times, and perhaps understandably, been hesitant to exhibit proactive behaviours for fear of negative evaluation. This discussion has also raised the possibility that such negative evaluations are unlikely to be accounted for purely in terms of language features, such as comprehensibility, fluency or accent. It seems likely that cross cultural barriers, previous personal histories of failed cross-cultural interactions and stereotyping are also contributing factors. To this extent, arguably a greater responsibility should lie with LI users in adapting to and welcoming those who might otherwise be viewed as outsiders.

2.4 Group work and status expectations

This section will describe how in the earliest stages of group formation, there is a search for expertise and an emergence of performance expectations. These expectations can shape and preserve hierarchies which allow some members to dominate at the expense of other. Often these early expectations are formed on the basis of heuristic or stereotypical thinking. As we have seen in the previous sections, consensual stereotypes already exist which devalue the competencies or influence of ‘outgroup’ members, in group work contexts too, these stereotypes might also be brought into play in.

1. Group work in higher education
2. Identifying expertise in group work
3. Expectation states theory
4. Language as a status characteristic

2.4.1 Group work in higher education

Cooperative learning, or working in groups has become an increasing common form of pedagogy in universities (Tsay & Brady, 2010). Group work has the advantages of promoting cooperation and interdependence, developing communicative, collaborative and critical thinking skills and individual accountability in groups (Johnson et al, 1991). On management or business programmes, group tasks are often designed to replicate tasks found in workplace, having the added benefit of promoting the development of soft skills often sought by employers such as leadership, team and trust building and conflict resolution. Shifting responsibility for learning from tutors or lecturers to students demands that students are actively engaged and possess the language skills to make such learning and collaboration possible. Equipped with these skills, Tsay & Brady (2010) found that successful cooperative learning was a strong predictor of academic success.

With the increasing growth of international student numbers in the UK, it is typical, particularly at a postgraduate level, for group work to feature some degree of uneven language proficiency. However, group work is not without other challenges too. These include, according to Burdett (2003), appearance of free riders, marking policies which do not reflect actual contribution, lack of support or direction from academic departments, and the difficulty of accommodating individuals from different cultural backgrounds. According to Holmes (2004), for some Chinese students, such cultural differences may include their tendency towards a collectivist orientation, reliance on lecturers rather than other students as a source of learning, and the desire to conform and act in a manner which, first and foremost, preserves group harmony.

2.4.2 Group work

As far as the functioning of multicultural teams is concerned, much research has focused upon the negative processes which prevent optimal performance from being obtained. For example, multicultural teams may display high levels of ethnocentrism (Cramton & Hinds, 2005) and in group biases (Salk & Brannon, 2000). According to Behfar et al. (2006:1), members of multicultural teams are faced with ‘the challenge of how to utilise individual members’ strengths while minimizing coordination losses from communication problems,

language differences, varying work styles and misunderstanding'. In their review of the challenges faced by multicultural teams, the authors identified issues such as intergroup prejudices, negative reactions to accented speech and the equating of lower fluency with lack of intellectual ability. In addition, problems arose in terms of credit being taken for language ability; that is, resentment arising when fluent members taking credit purely because of their capacity to articulate more effectively the views of the group,

According to Brett et al. (2006) too, accents and fluency are issues. Team members lacking fluency struggle communicatively to impart their knowledge or expertise, whilst they can be viewed with frustration by other members and perceived as incompetent. An additional obstacle in international teams is the activation of linguistic stereotypes of certain nationalities. For example the labelling of individuals from some countries as 'reserved', 'silent' or 'direct' (Henderson, 2005). Behfar et al. (2006) concluded that language differences in multinational teams necessitated addressing issues of 'devalued intelligence', 'unfair privilege', 'status', and 'appropriately granting credit for work'.

2.4.3 Identifying expertise in groups work

According to Bunderson & Barton (2003), groups' effectiveness in terms of decision making and problem solving depends to a large extent on their ability to recognise and leverage their collective knowledge and expertise. However, since expertise and knowledge are intangible, non-observable traits, group members typically rely upon inferences from so-called status characteristics.

Expectation states theory (Berger, 1966), begins with the assumption that when groups are faced with some collective goal to accomplish, members seek out information to gauge the likely usefulness of other group members' contributions, and to assess the value of their own contributions too. These evaluations, which may be more akin to hunches or guesses, shape actions in so far as group members need to decide who to listen attentively to, who to interrupt, when to speak up or keep quiet, or who to take sides with when conflict arises. The expectations of group members are likely to be similar when individuals share cultural beliefs. Attribution errors are made when group members mistakenly identify and defer to those who

only *seem* authoritative, whilst mistakenly overlooking those members who give the impression of being less competent. The result of such errors, according to Bunderson & Barton (2003:560), 'is squandered human capital and underperforming groups'.

That inequalities evolve naturally in problem-solving groups even where there are minimal status differences was first established by Bale in the early 1950s. He identified three types of spontaneously occurring inequality; inequality of participation, that is particular members were naturally granted greater opportunities to participate in decision making processes than others; inequality of evaluation, meaning that particular members' contributions were rated more favourably than others; and inequalities of influence, i.e. particular members were able to exert greater influence over other members (Bale et al. 1951). These inequalities were found to be inter-correlated and self-reinforcing in that once hierarchies of participation, evaluation and influence were established, they were relatively stable and estimates of performance contribution relied as much on previous evaluations of performance as upon actual performance. Bale's research focused on groups which initially were formed on the basis of minimal differences in status characteristics.

However, when groups were formed in which visible status differences were *clearly present* from the outset, for example in terms of race, educational background or occupation, then it was found that these status differences *instantaneously* created power / prestige hierarchies. The strength of these expectations was particularly pronounced when members were not acquainted. That is to say, group members would make heuristic guesses about the competencies of others based on certain stereotypical beliefs.

2.4.4 Expectation states theory

Expectation states theory (Berger et al., 1972) was grounded in the research of Bale et al. (1951) and offers an explanation of how such interpersonal hierarchies emerge in situations where individual members *are* markedly differentiated. It examines how attitudes, stereotypical thinking, and evaluations of other group members shape interactional behaviour, particularly in contexts in which individuals are striving toward a shared goal such as in work or educational settings. According to Berger (1980), the theory is relevant in contexts

where there is a clear objective, a clear difference between the notions of success and failure, and the belief that contributions from all group members are required to attain success.

Wagner & Berger (1997) define the prompts which shape group hierarchies as ‘status characteristics’. These are the cues by which we gauge the relative expertise of others. They are defined by Berger (1980:482) as ‘any characteristic of actors around which evaluations of and beliefs about them come to be organised’. From these status characteristics are triggered status beliefs. These are stereotypical evaluations about the attributions or particular positive or negative skills associated with possessing certain status characteristics.

Examples of status characteristics include age, race, gender, education, pay or rank within an organisation or even physical attractiveness. Although status characteristics trigger *expectations* as to the potential value of a group participant, actual performance may differ. It is improbable, for example, that those who are highly educated would in every case be more competent at a particular task. However, such members who are highly educated might at least be perceived as more competent, and these expectations alone would shape hierarchies within that group (Berger 1980).

Social hierarchies have long been regarded by social psychologists and sociologists as imposing constraints upon behaviour (Berger, 1966). According to Oxoby (2002:305), these hierarchies ‘ingrain individuals with stereotypes and preconceptions that distort and feedback upon beliefs’. As Berger (1980) explained, once a certain power prestige order or hierarchy has emerged, it tends to be self-fulfilling. For example, if an individual believes their status and value to a group is relatively high, then they would be more likely to offer opinions confidently and defend them more vigorously in the face of criticism. In contrast, if expectations of an individual are lower, including their own expectations, then they may be more cautious in venturing opinions and be less confident in preventing interruptions. Recognition of one’s lower status is likely to be self-perpetuating and reinforcing. According to Spencer, Steele, and Quinn (1999), exposing individuals to stereotypical beliefs related to their assumed lack of competency is likely to provoke anxiety and result in poorer performances in that domain. As Oxoby (2002:303) summarises, once a hierarchy has emerged, ‘the result is a self-fulfilling prophecy in which high status individuals out-perform their low status counterparts, thereby confirming expectations and making similar status-consistent successes and failures more likely in the future.’

This self-fulfilling prophecy tendency is also reinforced by what Foschi's (1996) calls 'double standards' theory. This describes how the performance of high status individuals in a group is typically scrutinised less critically than that of a low status member. When a high status member performs well, this is seen as consistent with their status. If a low status individual performs to the same level, that performance would be more critically scrutinized since it would seem inconsistent with prior expectations. High status individuals may therefore be judged more leniently. Furthermore, being a high status member legitimizes the right to exhibit dominant behaviour over other members, often with the tacit support of other group members (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003).

As a simple example, women are stereotypically regarded as more caring, compassionate and supportive than men, so in small group task where those particular qualities were thought relevant to the successful achievement of a goal, women would enjoy greater status and observable advantages in group interactions. At the same time, men would more probably reign in attempts to be influential, whilst instances of positive contributions from women would serve to strengthen that existing hierarchy (Wagner & Berger, 2002).

Status characteristics are also said to be either specific or diffuse (Berger et al. 1997). For example, the stereotypical belief that males perform more effectively than women in tasks demanding mathematical ability makes 'mathematical ability' a specific status characteristic *if* mathematical ability relates to the particular skillset required of a task. In contrast, status characteristics are said to be 'diffuse' if they are *general* in nature and not directly related to the requirements of a particular task. Intelligence, gender or age, for example, would be examples of diffuse status characteristics, being associated with general capabilities applicable to a wide range of task types. Diffuse status characteristics become salient where specific status characteristics are absent. When group members rely on these diffuse characteristics, they are essentially relying upon weaker stereotypical beliefs.

In the search for clues to identify expertise in group tasks, both specific and diffuse status characteristics will be regarded as task relevant and taken into consideration unless they have been explicitly dissociated in terms of relevance from the task at hand. This is known as the burden of proof principle. Berger (1980), stated that for diffuse status characteristics such as education or occupation, the competence that these are thought to signal will be considered

relevant unless they have been specifically disassociated. For example, men might be regarded as more competent even in a gender-neutral task unless there is evidence to suggest that the higher status of males is irrelevant, Ridgeway (2001).

According to Berger et al. (1966), the accumulative effect of higher status expectations within a group is that an individual will:

1. be given more opportunities to participate by other group members
2. be more likely to make contributions
3. will be more likely to have those contributions judged positively
4. will be more influential overall in the group proceedings.

Consistent with these findings, Van der Vegt et al. (2006) reported that high-status individuals in teams are more motivated to contribute and actually received the support of team members in doing more than is required, whilst low status individuals suffer from low self-efficacy and are likely to invest less effort into the task at hand. Individuals enjoying high status 'attention holding power' would more probably be the focus of activity in groups and have more influence in decision-making (Keltner et al., 2000).

There is strong support for the predictive power of expectation states theory. Often experimental designs involve manipulating respondents into believing that ideas are being put forward by high status individuals, then observing the extent to which those ideas are accepted. For example, in one experimental design (Wagner et al., 1986), participants were placed in separate rooms and exchanged opinions via a keyboard with the only information known about the other participants being their name and gender. Yet, in a context where gender was deemed salient, just this information was sufficient to create observable differences in patterns of agreement and influence, or the ways in which one participant deferred to the other. Ridgeway and Correll (2004) sum up this significant body of research by saying that the identical, performance, idea or product seems more impressive when delivered by a higher rather than lower status person.

Status characteristics are relevant to the current research since it will be hypothesised that general language competency is a status characteristic capable of impacting performance expectations across a range of measures in a group work context.

2.4.5 Language as a status characteristic

According to Gudykunst & Kim (2003), language is one of the most salient clues in social interactions. Ridgeway (2001) states that when it comes to group contributions, what is more important is not what you say, but how you say it, meaning that, for example, intonation, rapid, fluent speech are important verbal clues. Language ability can be described as a specific status characteristic since we can identify between different levels of it, and have beliefs or expectations about how well individuals will perform in relation to a particular task. In this respect, it is similar to reading ability, which Berger et al. (1972) place in the same category. However, both reading ability and language skills might also be considered as diffuse in contexts where they were deemed less relevant (Berger, 2002). For example, for a university professor who is an expert in a particular field, his or her status is not diminished if their language proficiency (in any language) is weak, however, their status as a teacher from a student's perspective may be diminished if they are required to teach in German and their German proficiency is intermediate.

Bunderson & Barton (2003) put forward a typology of status cues based upon the well-established distinction between diffuse and specific characteristics, adding the new dimensions of 'attributes' and 'behaviours', see table 2.2. Attributes are defined as indicators such as age, race and educational background; essentially demographic metrics which remain static. Behaviours are the actions observable in actual group interactions such as language, assertiveness or body language.

According to this model the four categories of status cues vary in terms of validity and reliability. With, for example, specific cues regarded as being more significant (valid) predictors of expertise, and attributes rather than behaviours regarded as more accurate indicators of competence.

In Berger et al.'s (1997) classification of status cues, (table 2.3) a distinction is made between 'task' and 'categorical' cues. These parallel specific and diffuse status characteristics in that categorical cues suggest a general competency, whilst task cues are related to a particular task. Indicative cues relate to actual behaviours which demonstrate task competence (i.e. performance) or explicit claims to expertise. Expressive cues, which add an additional layer

In the context of the current research, many of the status cues contained in the previous two models may be excluded since the only variables manipulated in the present experiment are accentedness, fluency and grammatical accuracy. Having removed irrelevant variables from the two previous models, the status characteristics in table 2.4 can be identified as salient. Social category cues have been retained since these could be activated by accented speech. Gender and age have also been retained because, as will be seen, the two other L1 speakers, who together with the LX speaker will be evaluated in the experiment, differ in terms of these status characteristics, and it could be predicted that if status is redistributed from the LX to an L1 speaker, an older male group member might enjoy a greater gain in status than a younger female member.

	Diffuse	Specific
Attributes	category cues (race, ethnicity, gender) Age cues Social	
Behaviours	Language cues (accent, grammar)	Non-verbal task confidence cues (factual tone, fast/fluently speech)

Table 2.4: Detectable status cues and expertise in groups, Bunderson & Barton (2002) and Berger et al. (1997) combined.

There are three reasons why this expectations states framework is particularly applicable to the present research. Firstly, students are often assigned to groups by departments and members and are unlikely to know each other. This makes the search for expertise among members a particularly important one. Secondly, unlike those formed in the workplace, groups are not assigned on the basis of expertise in or knowledge of a particular field. Typically, students will be assigned to groups randomly while perhaps taking into consideration gender or nationality balances. As a consequence, individuals are likely to possess very similar profiles in terms of age, academic background, experience etc. This homogeneity increases the likelihood that diffuse status characteristics will become salient in identifying performance potential. Finally, course grades in HE are increasingly being

assigned on the basis of group tasks, such as a written reports or presentations. The high-stakes outcome of group work is likely to incentivize or motivate students to be highly engaged in the evaluations they make during the status organizing period.

Summary

This section has introduced the theoretical framework for the present research, expectation states theory, and identified language fluency, accentedness and accuracy as potential status characteristics. In the search for expertise in groups in the workplace, such language status clues would arguably assume less importance given that more specific and highly valued expertise, experience and skills would probably be apparent. However, given the absence of such indicators in student group work contexts, language status cues are more likely to be salient.

2.5 Working cross-culturally

This section will introduce the concept of intercultural competence and focus on one particular measure of this ‘cultural intelligence’. In the present research, it will be hypothesised that one of the four components of cultural intelligence, motivational cultural intelligence, will account for differences in evaluations of LX speech.

1. Intercultural competence
2. Predicting intercultural competence
3. Cultural intelligence

2.5.1 Intercultural competence

‘Intercultural communication refers to interactions between speakers who have different first languages, communicate in a common language, and, usually, represent different cultures’ Chua & Morris (2009:178). The ability to function effectively in such settings requires intercultural competence. Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) discuss over twenty conceptualisations of intercultural competence, noting that they describe at their core the ability to function (think and act) effectively in situations characterised by cultural diversity. For example, Fantini & Tirmizi (2006:12) define intercultural competence as ‘the ability to function effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself’. Similarly, Deardorff (2006:247) describes intercultural competence as ‘the ability to develop targeted knowledge, skills and attitudes that lead to visible behaviour and communication that are both effective and appropriate in intercultural interact’.

Deardorff’s framework of intercultural competence, grounded in a survey of internationally known intercultural scholars (Deardorf 2006b), established five key components: attitudes, knowledge, skills and internal and external outcomes. In terms of ‘attitudes’, relevant attributes include those of openness, respect for others, curiosity and the motivation to move beyond one’s typical comfort zone and seek out opportunities for intercultural interactions.

Within these interactions, individuals are motivated to listen attentively and tolerate ambiguity.

The second component, 'knowledge', refers to an awareness of the extent to which one's own perspectives are culturally shaped and an understanding of other worldviews; 'skills' refers to the behavioural and cognitive means by which this knowledge is accumulated; for example, listening, analysing and relating. For the individual, 'internal outcomes' are generated in terms of developing a flexibility and adaptability in coping with intercultural encounters, and particularly in terms of empathy: 'Once empathy is developed, individuals are able to see from others' perspectives and to respond to them according to the way in which the other person desires to be treated', Deardorff (2010:88). Finally, 'external outcomes' refer to the actual visible success derived from the effective and appropriate communication and behaviour.

For Deardorff, developing attitudes conducive to intercultural competence requires reflective questioning. The following questions are adapted from a series Deardorff's (2010) proposed related to the development of intercultural competence in educators, but are also applicable to a wider range of contexts:

- Am I open to those from different cultural backgrounds?
- Do I prejudge those from different cultural backgrounds?
- Do I evaluate others based upon my own cultural perspectives?
- Do I value those from different cultural backgrounds?
- Am I eager to learn about those from different cultural backgrounds?

There is evidence that higher levels of intercultural competence may have a direct impact on evaluations of LX speech. Eunkyong Albert (1999) found that undergraduate students who underwent intercultural training were more likely to experience higher comprehensibility and make more favourable evaluations of LX competency, as well as feeling more positive affect towards the speaker, greater sympathy for their situation, and fewer attributions of 'personal blame' towards the speaker.

2.5.2 Predicting intercultural competence

In their review of intercultural models and measurement tools, Leung et al. (2014) pointed out that though there is a broad consensus as to a definition of intercultural competence, the personal characteristics that underlie the construct vary considerably with over 300 separate variables identified. These they categorise as either 1) intercultural traits, 2) intercultural attitudes and world views, and 3) intercultural capabilities.

Intercultural traits include relatively stable patterns of behaviour, thought or emotion. For example, Herman et al. (2010) describe how higher levels of tolerance of ambiguity relate to more effective cross cultural communication and competence, while van Oudenhoven (2002) reported that emotional stability, social initiative and flexibility, and in particular cultural empathy, open-mindedness predicted the adjustment of 305 international business students.

Intercultural attitudes and intercultural worldviews describe the extent to which an individual positively views international encounters and the degree to which the world can be viewed from perspectives other than their own. For example, Bennett's (1986) 'intercultural development continuum' describes orientations ranging from a mono-cultural to a multicultural mindset, with those of the former often being members of a dominant culture with limited experience of cross-cultural encounters and being more likely to characterise others stereotypically. Leung et al.'s (2014) category of intercultural capabilities includes practical requirements such as linguistic proficiency and the demonstration of cultural intelligence, which will be one of the focuses of the present research. Cultural intelligence (CQ) (Earley & Ang, 2003), is a construct which spans all three of Leung's categories.

2.5.3 Cultural intelligence

Although an individual may possess interpersonal skills which enable them to interact effectively within their own culture, they may fail to translate those same skills into a different cultural context. According to Earley & Ang (2003:3), CQ is defined as the capability 'to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings.'

Cultural intelligence comprises four distinct dimensions (Earley & Ang, 2003).

Metacognitive CQ describes a reflective and self-guiding awareness of how to interact appropriately in cross-cultural contexts. Individuals with high levels of metacognitive CQ are well placed to question their own assumptions and monitor their performance and adjust strategies to ensure successful outcomes. Cognitive CQ describes an individual's knowledge of different cultural practices. These might include, for example, social or religious practices, language or gestures. This information may be accumulated through first-hand experience or through conscious learning. The third component, motivational CQ, describes an individual's self-efficacy, confidence and curiosity when interacting in unfamiliar cultural contexts. Those with high MCQ seek out and enjoy culturally diverse situations, and are able to overcome the challenges of situations characterised by cultural differences and ambiguity. Finally, behavioural CQ describes an individual's capacity to adapt their verbal and non-verbal behaviour to a particular context. Verbal adjustments might include changes in speed of speech, tone, accent or pausing, while non-verbal behaviour relates to body language and facial expressions.

CQ can be measured using a self-assessment tool called the Cultural Intelligence scale (CQS), developed by Earley & Ang (2003), which consists of five questions for each of the four dimensions. This tool has been shown to demonstrate high predictive validity, Van Dyne et al. (2008). The prompts for motivational CQ include:

- I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures.
- I am confident that I can socialize with locals in a culture that is unfamiliar to me.

For behavioural CQ the five include:

- I change my verbal behaviour (e.g., accent, tone) when a cross-cultural interaction requires it.
- I use pause and silence differently to suit different cross-cultural situations.
- I vary the rate of my speaking when a cross-cultural situation requires it.

These prompts describe a willingness and self-efficacy when approaching situations where cultural diversity is present (MCQ), and the ability to adjust one's usual patterns of

communication in such personal interactions (BCQ). According to Ng et al. (2012), motivational cultural intelligence is a particularly important component given that it possesses the power to develop metacognitive cultural intelligence. In other words, the more motivated we are to engage, the more likely we would be to also reflect upon our assumptions and behaviours in a given cross-cultural context and adjust these where necessary to enhance our effectiveness.

There are shortcomings to using tools such as the CQS. As Deardorff (2014) remarks, the CQS, together with many of the one hundred and forty other tools designed to measure intracultural competence, adopt self-report approaches, meaning that ‘the other half of the picture’, i.e. how culturally competent an individual *really* is through the eyes of others is not measured. Despite this, the inter-rater reliability of the CQS construct is high, with self-reported ratings closely matching those of 3rd person raters (Van Dyne et al., 2008).

In terms of predictors of CQ, the construct is closely related to a number of Big Five personality traits, which Ang et al. (2006) describe as antecedents or causal agents. For example, Eysenck & Eysenck (1985) found that metacognitive CQ is predicted by openness and conscientiousness. While Ang et al. (2006) reported that cognitive and motivational CQ are predicted by extraversion and openness, and behavioural CQ by agreeableness, extraversion, openness and neuroticism. In addition, Li et al. (2016) found that emotional stability also related positively to MCQ. Openness to experience was the only personality trait linked to all four CQ dimensions and therefore seems crucial for functioning effectively in cross-cultural situations, see figure 2.3. According to Earley & Ang (2003) the big five also act as moderators as on their own they have little impact on enhancing the cross-cultural effectiveness of an individual, if their CQ is low.

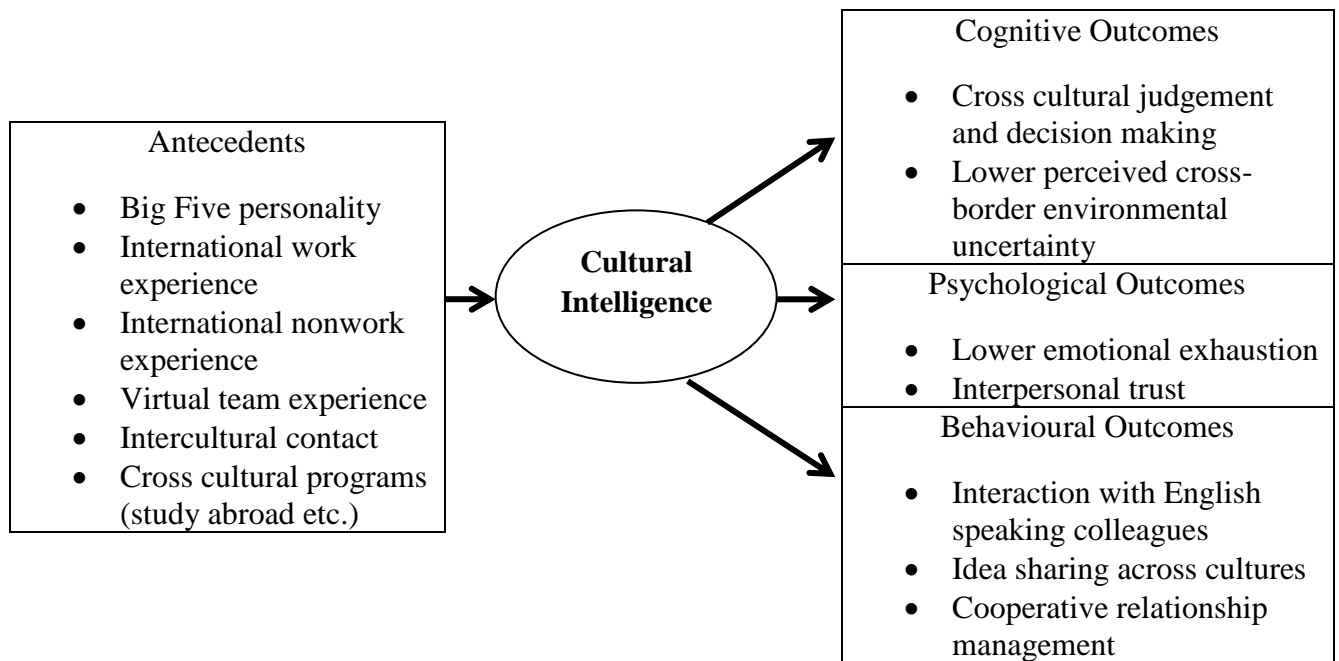


Figure 2.3: Key research findings linking antecedents to CQ, and CQ to intercultural effectiveness, adapted from Ng et al. (2012)

The majority of research to date utilising the CQS, has focused on interactions within the workplace. For example, high CQ had been shown to be related to the speed at which employees have adapted to multicultural teams, and also predicts superior task performance in multi-cultural settings. Specifically, Ang et al. (2007) and Imai & Gelfand (2010) found that those with higher MCQ were more motivated to cooperate than those with lower CQ and were more likely to invest greater effort in cross-cultural communications, particularly in the face of setbacks or ambiguity. Finally, Bücker et al. (2014), in a study of Chinese expatriates working overseas, found that higher levels of CQ were related to decreased communication anxiety and improved communicative effectiveness.

An important aspect of effective group functioning is the presence of trust, and higher levels of CQ has been shown to enhance trust in multicultural teams. Chua & Morris (2009) showed that individuals with low cultural intelligence exhibited decreased affect-based trust. Affect-based trust describes feelings of trust resulting from emotional closeness with others, while cognition-based trust relates to expectations of competence and future task performance. Individuals with lower affect based trust were found less likely to forge close emotional bonds with those from other cultures, than those with higher intercultural capability. This

finding tallies with Chua & Morris' (2009) finding that high MCQ is related to less anxiety, greater comfort in intercultural context, greater self-disclosure of personal information, and greater rapport.

Chua & Morris (2009:136) also speculated that in terms of cognitive based trust, 'individuals with low inter-cultural capability may rely more on pejorative stereotypes about cultural outgroups and thus hold negative expectations about the other's competence and reliability.' In other words, higher levels of CQ might be associated with lower levels of stereotyping and prejudice. Rockstuhl & Ng, (2008) similarly found that high motivational cultural intelligence can reduce the social categorization processes which classifies culturally distinct groups as outgroups.

Within the higher education domain, Lin et al. (2012) found that CQ predicted cultural adjustment when studying abroad after English ability and previous overseas experience had been controlled for. While Racicot (2016) reported that higher levels of motivational intelligence related to international students seeking out cultural experiences when studying abroad. Finally, Crowne (2008) found that higher levels of cognitive and behavioural CQ related to those with previous educational and employment experience in other cultures, while higher motivational CQ corresponded to those who had holidayed and travelled abroad most extensively.

Summary

This section has introduced the concept of motivational cultural intelligence as a possible predictor of favourable attitudes to and evaluations of LX speech. Given previous research has indicated that high levels of MCQ reduce the likelihood of categorizing others as 'outsiders' and increase the likelihood of increased trust and bonding within groups, it appears to be a promising candidate to predict favourable attitudes and evaluations in the present research.

3 The research gap

There are four areas in which the present research may provide some insights of value:

Firstly, against the backdrop of concerns expressed over possible softening of English language requirements in UK higher education, more research is required into what L1 users consider to be an adequate level of English for university study. As we have seen, qualitative surveys cited in this literature review have revealed instances of concern or accusation from both students and staff at perception of inadequate levels of English. This research aims to quantify some of these reactions.

Secondly, much of the literature on attitudes and evaluations to LX speakers focus exclusively upon accentedness, with little or no regard for the impact that language proficiency may have. As previously discussed, the likelihood that an LX user is *identical* to a L1 speaker in all elements of production, i.e. fluency and cohesion, lexical resources, and grammatical range and accuracy *other* than accent is highly unlikely. In addition, as Kraut & Wulff (2013) pointed out, not many studies have looked at the impact or interplay of language proficiency on accentedness.

Thirdly, there appears to be no literature reporting experimental research into the status expectations of international students in group work. Anecdotally, many, if not all English language support staff who work in close proximity to international students in the UK would probably confirm the frequency at which they hear ‘complaints’ about issues in group and classwork. Comments such as ‘not being listened to’, ‘not being given the chance to contribute’ or ‘not having my ideas taken seriously’ are extremely common in the opinion of this writer with twelve years’ experience of working alongside and meeting other EAP (English for Academic Purposes) tutors. Expectation states theory offers a framework through which 1. Status evaluations of an IELTS 6.5 student could be experimentally gauged, and 2. The status of the 6.5 speaker could be compared to that of an ‘equivalent’ L1 speaker through the matched guise approach. Furthermore, a recurring finding in qualitative research into evaluations of LX speech is that of an association between language competency and intellectual ability. This research aims to identify if evaluations of academic and intellectual ability can indeed be linked to lower levels of perceived language proficiency or comprehensibility.

Finally, research utilising the construct of cultural intelligence has almost exclusively focused upon workplace contexts, for example, on expatriate adaptation or leading teams. However, CQ, and MCQ in particular, would seem equally applicable to educational contexts in which there is a need for individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds to work closely and effectively in group work.

The present research will investigate whether individuals with high MCQ are less likely to experience difficulty processing LX speech, more likely to engage with, more likely to perceive a LX speaker rated at IELTS 6.5 as adequate, and more likely to make positive evaluations of their future status.

4 Hypotheses

1. **Idea rating**

The LX speaker's quality of idea will be rated lower than the L1 speaker's.

2. **Status Expectations**

Overall status expectations for the LX speaker will be lower than for the L1 speaker.

3. **Comprehensibility**

Higher evaluations by L1 users of LX speaker comprehensibility will be linked to higher evaluations of idea quality, intellectual and academic ability, and overall status expectations.

4. **Adequacy of English**

Higher evaluations by L1 users of the LX speaker's adequacy of English will be linked to higher evaluations of idea quality, intellectual and academic ability and overall status expectations.

5. **Motivational Cultural Intelligence**

Higher levels of MCQ among L1 users will be linked to higher evaluations of the LX user's comprehension, adequacy of English, idea rating, academic and intellectual ability, and overall status expectations.

5 Methodology

This section will set out the steps involved in planning, creating, piloting and modifying the present experiment.

1. Ethics approval
2. Research setting
3. Research design
4. Key measures
5. Creating speech samples
6. Recording the LX speaker version
7. Authenticity/recognition checking of LX speaker recording
8. Raters

The present research consists of two parts. The first is a matched guise experiment, which seeks to identify whether L1 raters differ in their evaluations of an L1 and LX speaker delivering the same idea during a group meeting, figure 5.1. A matched guise experiment (Lambert, 1967) is one which attempts to uncover implicit rather than explicit attitudes to or evaluations of a variety of speech. At the core of the experiment is a ‘deception’ in which raters evaluate two speech samples thinking they belong to two different individuals from separate speech communities, when in fact they are responding to a bi-lingual speaker adopting the ‘guise’ of a speaker from the second community. Any differences between evaluations are said to reveal attitudes towards the second variety of language.

Figure 5.1, sets out the design for the present matched guise experiment. In this particular variation two groups of raters will be used, randomly assigned from the same general population. The content of the speech sample relates to a piece of group coursework, typical of that found on an undergraduate or postgraduate management course, in which group members present ideas individually for discussion. In group 1, three ideas are proposed by three L1 speakers. In group 2, the third speaker is the bilingual speaker in the LX speaker guise. Raters will also rate the ideas of L1a and L1b in both groups (marked ‘fillers’). These ratings are important because similar ratings by the two different groups of raters (N=75 and N=150) will confirm that both groups of raters are representative of the same general population.

The second part of the study, figure 5.2, adopts a correlational approach to identify any links between the 3 key variables under investigation (highlighted in green boxes):

- 1) The ability to process LX speech (measured by ‘comprehensibility’)
- 2) Expectations as to what is a sufficient level of language proficiency needed to perform effectively in groups (measured by ‘adequacy of English’)
- 3) Motivation to engage in situations characterised by cultural difference (measured by ‘motivational cultural intelligence’).

Figure 5.1: Matched guise experiment

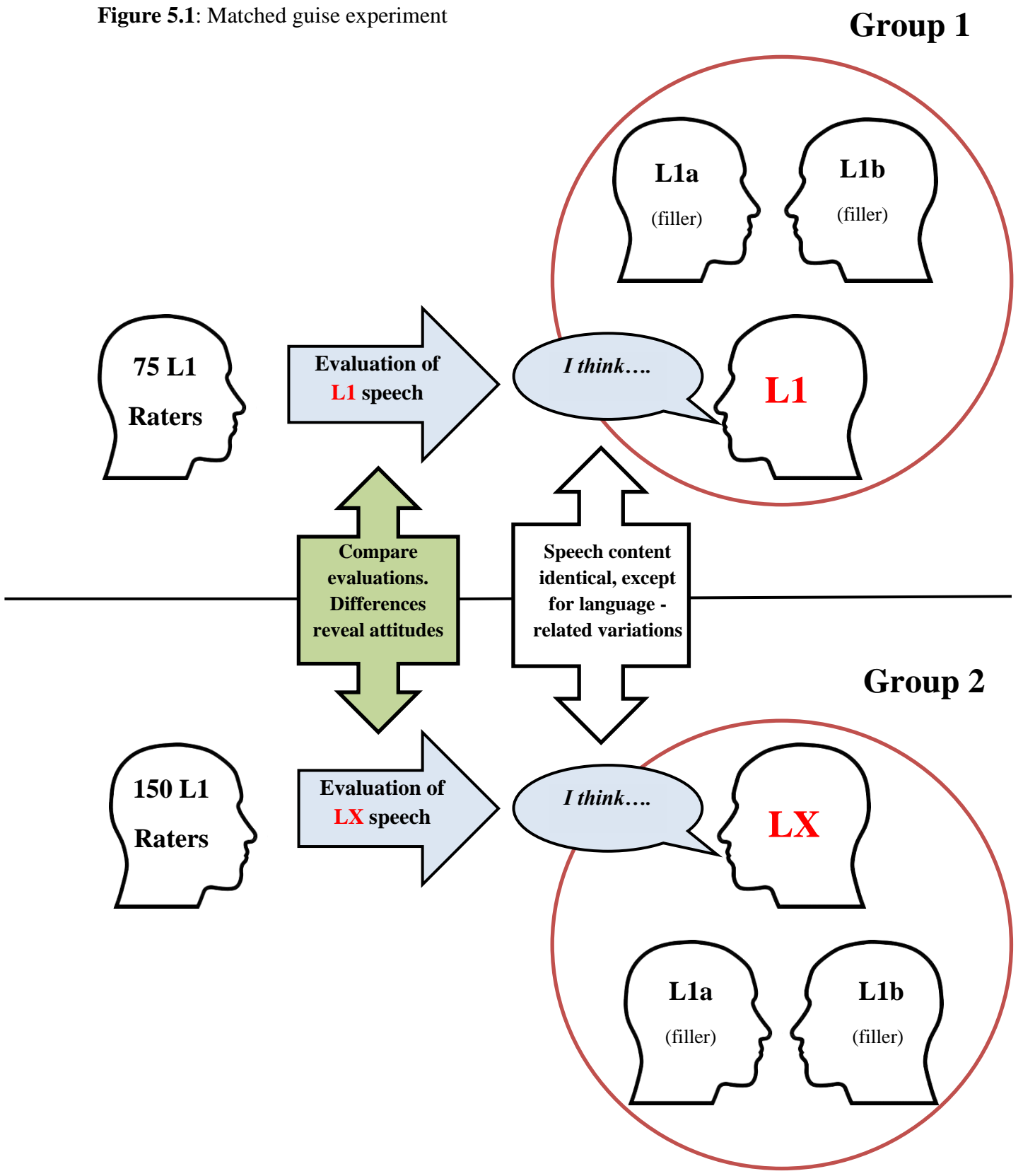
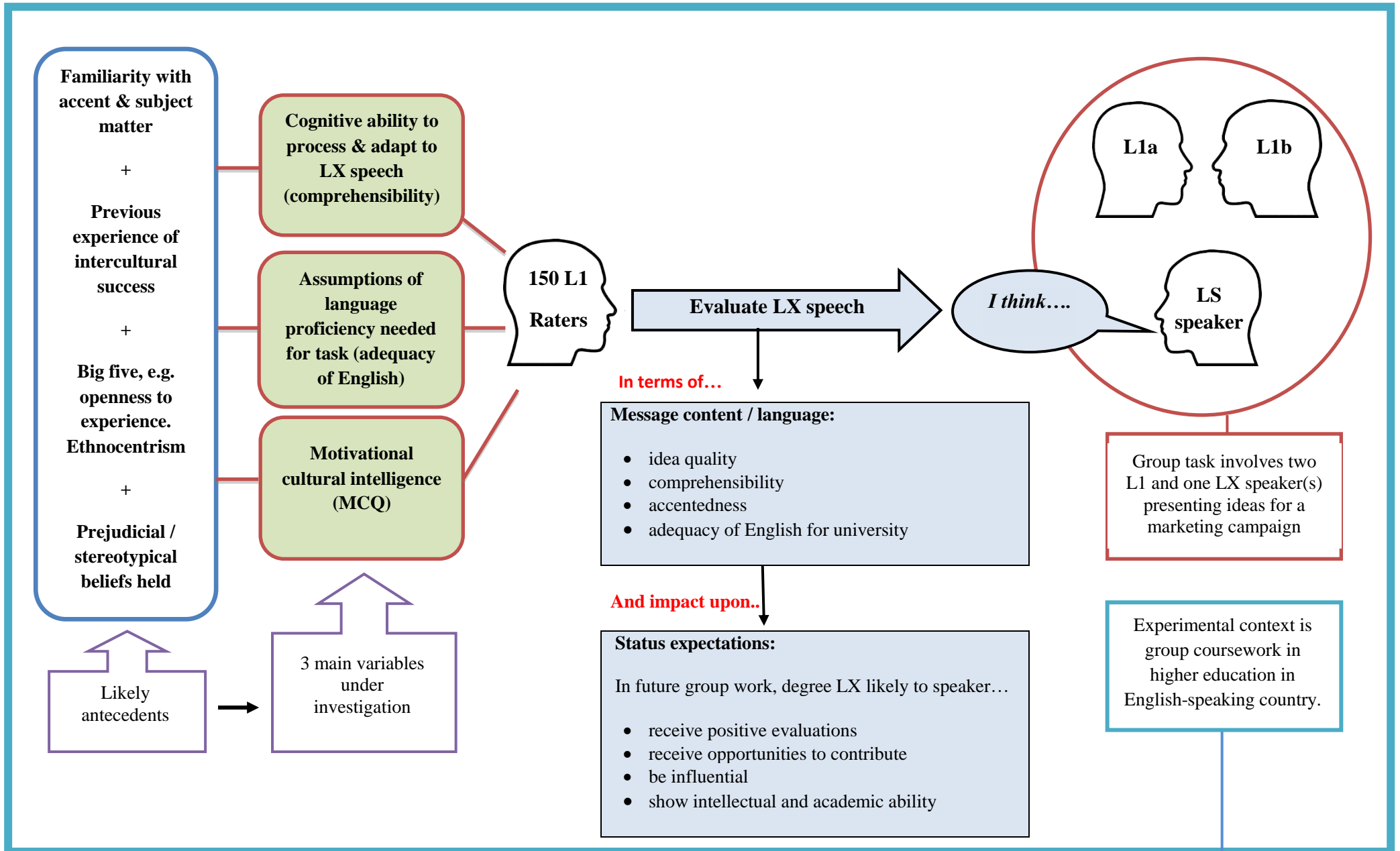


Figure 5.2: Research context and key variables



5.1 Ethics approval

Ethics approval for the present study was granted by Birkbeck College. Permission was also sought from Imperial College since their students were used to produce the sample recordings, all of the raters for the pilot study, and approximately 10% of raters for the actual experiment.

5.2 Research setting

The hypothetical setting this experiment is group work on a business, management or marketing course at university. Specifically, three group members have been tasked with designing an advertising campaign to promote the launch of a new eco-friendly car. Two of the group mates are L1 speakers, the third is an LX speaker. Each member takes it in turn to describe briefly their idea for the advertising campaign, providing examples and justifications where appropriate. The setting is supposed to be one where the speech is natural and largely unscripted, though not necessarily fluent; the speech of all three participants is characterised by the kind of pauses and reformulations that would be found when thinking aloud and constructing and presenting abstract content. Although unscripted, the L1 raters evaluating the speech samples were told that the group participants had prepared notes in advance of the meeting.

5.3 Research design

The research design adopts two techniques. The first uses a matched guise, experimental framework to establish if, and to what extent, evaluations of the LX speaker and the ‘equivalent’ L1 speaker differ from each other. The second is a correlational analysis to investigate whether individual rater differences can be linked to evaluations made in the matched guise experiment.

As previously discussed, the measuring of implicit language attitudes of evaluations has the advantage of avoiding social desirability bias, i.e. respondents are likely to underreport any judgements which might be viewed unfavourably. The matched guise (Lambert, 1960)

technique involves using a single bilingual speaker to produce the language features of two separate speakers. In theory, using a single speaker, as opposed to two, controls for variables such as voice quality / timbre or loudness (Cargile & Giles, 1997). In the ‘single group’ version of a matched guise, raters are usually distracted from realising that two spoken texts have been produced by the same speaker by the insertion of numerous other ‘filler’ texts, and although ratings are elicited for all speech samples, the focus of the experiment is solely upon the pair spoken by the bilingual speaker.

There are three main drawbacks to adopting a matched guise methodology. Firstly, there is difficulty in ensuring that the bilingual speaker sounds authentic when adopting the ‘pretend’ guise (Bresnahan et al., 2002). Secondly, respondents may still have reservations about expressing negative evaluations (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). Despite the fact that the matched guise seeks to elicit implicit rather than explicit attitudes, such implicit attitudes must still be stated. Whether required to comment on comprehensibility, accentedness or status of a LX speaker, there may still be some hesitancy in expressing views which could be seen as prejudiced or small-minded. These reservations would probably have the effect of understating negative attitudes or stereotyping.

Thirdly, as with other such experimental approaches, the matched guise is open to the criticism of artificiality in that a vocal stimulus alone is too limited a stimulus, with a single instance of an accent not being representative of an entire speech community (Garrett, 2010). However, this criticism is more applicable to experiments in which the key manipulated variable is accent, e.g. comparing a L1 speaker to that of a French, Mexican or Japanese accented speaker. In the present experiment, the focus is not primarily concerned with attitudes to a monostylistic instance of Mandarin-accented speech (and, as will be discussed shortly, the pilot experiment revealed that the *only* respondents who were able to correctly identify the accent as Mandarin were other Chinese speakers), but with attitudes and evaluations of LX speech rated IELTS 6.5.

Despite, these drawbacks, Garrett (2010) highlighted two key positive attributes of the matched guise technique. Firstly, it is likely to be more accurate than eliciting explicit language attitudes. Secondly, due to its large scale use across a wide variety of contexts, findings have tended to confirm a consistent pattern in attitudes to non-standard speech in frequently investigated measures such as status, social attractiveness and dynamism.

The present study adopts a ‘paired matched’ guise approach, meaning that rather than using a single group of raters, it uses two groups randomly generated from a single population. This method avoids the needs for fillers and guarantees raters will not identify the ‘deception’ at the heart of the design since neither of the two groups will hear the same speaker twice.

The present experiment also varies in two further aspects from ‘traditional’ approaches. Firstly, the only variable typically manipulated in matched guise experiments is accent. However, in the current study, rate of speech and grammatical accuracy will also be manipulated so as to produce a sample of speech which could be rated as approximately IELTS 6.5. This speech would therefore be more authentic and representative of an international student at university. As Garrett (2010) points out, when considering LX speech, features such as accent, accuracy, intonation, and fluency are likely to co-vary. It would be inauthentic no control for all other aspects and vary just one.

Secondly, matched guise experiments typically use speech which is content-neutral, so for example, raters might hear samples of speech describing the features of a town or building. Content-neutral samples are desirable so that raters do not react either favourably or unfavourably to a speaker based upon the actual content of what is said. However, in the present study, one of the aims *is* the evaluation of content. This should also have the benefit of switching focus away, in the raters’ minds, from accent and language to content. If raters were invited to rate samples of speech specifically on measures such as friendliness or intelligence, it would become immediately clear that the focus of the experiment was language attitudes. In contrast, the present experiment was introduced to L1 raters as an exercise in evaluating ideas and status *only*, and it was only *after* all L1 raters had submitted all evaluations of idea and status for all group members (with no option to return and amend those evaluations), that they were then asked to evaluate the comprehensibility, accentedness and adequacy of English of the LX speaker. Prior to this point, the fact that one of three participants in the group work scenario happened to be a LX speaker might not have seemed of great significance.

In the present study, L1 speakers listener-raters (N=225) were invited to participate in an online experiment in which they would be asked to rate the ideas and expected status of group members in a HE context. The raters were randomly assigned to two groups, 1 (n=75) and 2 (n=150), supplied with a personalised password, and direct to one of two separate

websites where the experiment was hosted. There, raters were able to listen to audio recording of three students presenting their ideas for a piece of coursework. See figure 5.3. Raters in both groups heard group members describe exactly the same ideas, the only difference being that for group 1 raters, the third speaker raters heard was a native British speaker, and for group 2 raters, the third speaker heard was a LX speaker. The manipulated variables were accent, fluency and grammatical and lexical accuracy.

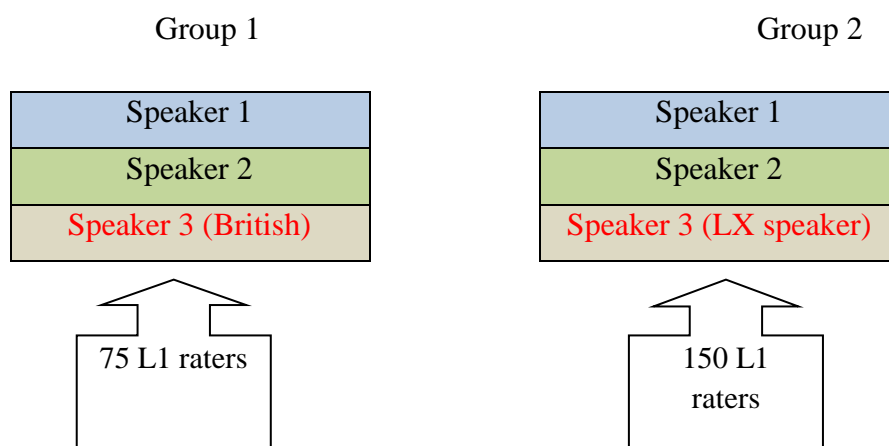


Figure 5.3: matched guide design

5.4 Key measures

The measures the experiment recorded were as follows, figure 5.1:

Online experiment	Group 1 raters	Group 2 raters
Part 1	Idea rating for all participants	Idea rating for all participants
	Status expectations for all participants	Status expectations for all participants
Part 2	X	Comprehensibility of speaker 3 (LX speaker)
		Accentedness of speaker 3 (LX speaker)
		Adequacy of English of speaker 3 (LX speaker)
Part 3	Motivational cultural intelligence	Motivational cultural intelligence
	Other variables, age, gender etc.	Other variables, age, gender etc.

Table 5.1: Data collected from groups 1 and 2

Note: That for group 2 raters, all evaluations for idea and status were submitted (with no option to return and amend) before any questions (Part 2) were introduced which would have revealed the focus of the experiment to be speaker 3.

(In addition tolerance of ambiguity, extraversion, neuroticism and behavioural cultural intelligence were also surveyed, though findings for these variables will not be reported as part of the present research.)

Idea rating

Raters were asked to rate the ideas presented by all group participants on a Likert scale of 1-7, with 1- a very poor idea, 4 – and average idea, and 7 = excellent idea

Status expectations

Berger (1980) described that higher status group members will enjoy more opportunities to perform, will have their contribution evaluated more positively, and will exert more influence over others. These same status shaping and reinforcing characteristics were used as the basis for the following prompt:

*Make predictions about how this individual might do in future group work.
To what extent do you agree with the following statements?*

7 = Strongly agree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

1 = Strongly disagree

In future group work, this speaker is likely to...

... receive opportunities to contribute to the group task

... receive positive evaluations for their contributions

... be influential in group decisions

An ‘overall status evaluation’ measure was calculated by combing the three above elements.

An additional measure was also recorded:

In future group work, this speaker is likely to...

... demonstrate strong intellectual and academic ability

7 = Strongly agree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

1 = Strongly disagree

This measure ‘intellectual and academic ability’ was added as an approximate equivalent of the metric ‘competence’, frequently measured used in matched guise experiments, and in light of qualitative findings suggesting that lower language proficiency may be associated with lower intellectual ability.

In terms of the wording for the status evaluation prompts, the phrase ‘is likely to receive opportunities / positive evaluations’ was used to deliberately force raters to consider how *others* might respond to the LX speaker in future group work . This wording was intended to reduce any social desirability bias or ‘emotional baggage’ associated with downgrading a particular speaker. Such phrasing is common in political polling where, for example, respondents are invited to state not how *they* will personally vote in a particular election, but to predict the vote share a particular party might achieve.

Comprehensibility

This measure was elicited using the following prompt:

How easy/difficult was it for you to understand him?

7 = Very easy to understand

1 = Very difficult to understand

Accentedness

If you could detect a foreign accent, how strong would you say it was?

7 = No foreign accent

1 = Very heavy foreign accent

(Respondents were also allowed the opportunity to replay any of the recordings at any time.)

Adequacy of English

This measure was introduced so as to implicitly gauge raters’ subjective notion of what level of language proficiency is required to cope effectively with the demands of group work at university, and explicitly rate the LX speaker’s perceived level of proficiency. The rationale

for this prompt being concerns over the language proficiency of *some* international students in the media, by academics and students, as well as in relation to official IELTS guidelines which suggest institutions should set considerably higher requirements. The wording for the survey prompt was as follows:

Do you agree with the following statement? The level of English spoken by this individual is sufficient for group work at university.

7 = Strongly agree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

1 = Strongly disagree

Motivational cultural intelligence

The tool used in the present study was Ang et al.'s (2007) Cultural Intelligence Scale (CQS). According to Ang and Van Dyne (2008) the four-part scale (measuring metacognitive, cognitive, behavioural and motivational CQ) was found valid and reliable across time and various international contexts.

The present study focused on MCQ as a promising candidate to predict more favourable attitudes towards LX speakers since it could be regarded as the fundamental trigger for the other three components to come into play. Without the initial motivation or curiosity to engage in situations characterised by cultural difference, it is unlikely whether cognitive, metacognitive or behavioural CQ would make a significant difference.

Bucker et al (2015) argued that the four dimensions are too closely correlated to be distinguishable. Based upon a review of 27 empirical CQS studies tests, it was found that in the majority of cases, there was no test for discriminate validity, and that the four subscales were usually combined into a single scale. They also argued that since the majority of participants in the experiments they reviewed were undergraduate students, often with little or no experience of extended cross cultural encounters other than on holiday (which does not provide opportunities for significant cross cultural learning), that such respondents would find it more problematic to differentiate between some items the CQS measures.

When considering the five items which comprise the motivational CQ scale below, this criticism seems valid to the extent that items such as ‘(3) *I am sure that I can deal with the stress of adjusting to a culture that new to me...*’ and ‘(4) *I enjoy living in cultures which hare new to me*’ would seem problematic unless respondents actually had experience of living or studying abroad. As Bucker et al. (2015) continued, ‘the development of a valid and reliable measure of CQ remains a work in progress’.

There are five items on motivational CQ scale *

1. *I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures.*
2. *I am confident that I can socialise with locals in a culture that is new to me.*
3. *I am sure I can deal with the stresses of adjusting to a culture that is new to me.*
4. *I enjoy living in cultures which are new to me.*
5. *I am confident that I can get accustomed to the shopping conditions in a different culture.*

Biographical data collected

Biographical prompts included gender, age, nationality, whether the rater was an undergraduate or postgraduate, whether their first language was English (the results of any respondents who said ‘no’ were excluded), and whether they considered themselves monolingual bilingual, or multilingual. (In terms of Group 2 raters (150), 101 described themselves as monolingual, 20 described themselves as bilingual, 20 as multilingual)

* Cronbach alpha to be report on in data screening section

5.5 Creating speech samples

I decided that the LX speaker sample used in the matched guise experiment should be of a Mandarin speaker. This choice was made on the basis that the largest group of overseas students in the UK are from China.

The first step in the process involved identifying bilingual speakers of English and Mandarin who might be suitable candidates to produce the bi-lingual recording required. An

advertisement was placed on the electronic notice board of a central London university. This produced 20 replies of whom six stated that they were fully bilingual. These six students were then emailed a short text and asked to make a recording of themselves reading a text aloud in British and Mandarin accented versions. The list was then reduced to two candidates on the grounds that only two were totally indistinguishable from a L1 English speaker in terms of pronunciation. The candidates were one male and one female.

Upon meeting both individuals it became quickly apparent that although ‘perfectly’ bilingual speakers (by a ‘maximal’ definitions of bilingualism), they had doubts over their ability to adopt a Mandarin-accented British accent at will. It quickly became evident that the task would require significant preparation and rehearsal to accomplish. Since the male speaker was more committed to dedicating the time necessary, for this reason alone, a male voice was chosen to be the focus of the experiment. However, a recording of this female was still used in the final experiment, hers being the second of the three ‘native speakers’ to feature.

The British-accented ‘guise’ for the male bi-lingual speaker was produced first. This was relatively straightforward and involved supplying a list of notes to use as prompts for the speaker to speak from. A script was not prepared in advance to avoid the impression of reading. After a number of attempts the speaker (mainly to overcome the nervousness of being recorded), the bilingual speaker had produced a short spontaneous sample of speech; spontaneous in the sense that it included natural pauses, rephrasing and frequent changes in pace. A transcript of this recording was then created, which served as the basis for generating an authentic sounding LX (Mandarin accented) version. This process involved three stages.

The first stage involved researching and annotating the script with the phonological features of ‘standard’ Mandarin-accented speech. Sources were used to inform process included ‘The Pronunciation of English by Speakers from China’ (Deterding, 2006), ‘A Study of Pronunciation Problems of English Learners in China’ (Zhang & Yin, 2009), and ‘Main Influence of the Chinese Language on English Learners’ (Zhu, 2009). All sources agree that there is no ‘single-style’ Mandarin-accented speaker, just as there is no single-style British-accented speaker, with Mandarin speakers being spoken in Chinese provinces geographically spread over a vast area, with many speakers exposed to or conversant in different dialects, particularly with grandparents in rural areas. However, there was consensus regarding the typical types of intrusion which can appear in English spoken by Mandarin speakers.

For example, in terms of phonology, English consists of 20 vowels and 24 consonants, some of which do not appear in Chinese, namely /i/, /u/, /au/ and /æ/ and consonants /ð/, /θ/ and /r/. Other phonemes may appear to be the same but may be articulated differently, for example, the consonants /b/, /d/ and /g/ are unaspirated (i.e. not produced an audible puff of breath) and voiced in English but are aspirated and unvoiced in Chinese. Other challenges include the lack of consonant clusters in Chinese which can result in the addition of epenthetic vowels after word-final plosives, so for example ‘and’ might be pronounced [ændə]. Chinese is also a tonal language, meaning that a shift in pitch will change the meaning of the words, even if the pronunciation of the word is otherwise identical, for example ma ma ma ma (麻媽罵馬) produced with four different tones means ‘the hemp's mother scolds the horse’. In contrast, being a non-tonal language, English does not use tone to convey lexical meaning and is typically only used instead to convey the emotional state of the speaker.

In terms of intonation, speakers of Asian tonal languages may be perceived by some as monotone (meaning an absence of intonation) when speaking in English (Hincks & Edlund, 2009). According to Pennington and Ellis (2000), this occurs as a result of the *removal* of pitch movements, which as mentioned, serve solely to distinguish between lexical items in tonal languages. The authors suggested that since pitch movements in tonal languages are learnt and stored as discrete items, speakers face challenges in English where pitch variations (intonation) coincide not with lexical meaning, but function such as communicating attitudes or emotions.

This could mean that replicating L1 speaker stress patterns becomes problematic. So, for example, in the following sentence, pitch rises on ‘I’ and ‘he’ switch according to context and the intended meaning of the speaker. Without such stressed segments, speech could sound flat.

‘I don’t think he should get the job.’ versus ‘I don’t think he should get the job.’

The second stage involved deciding the type of minor errors to insert into the LX speaker version. As previously discussed, this matched guise experiment sought to manipulate not just accent, but also three separate components of linguistic proficiency: lexis, grammar and fluency. To ascertain the range and frequency of lexical and grammatical errors, a short survey was conducted of Mandarin speakers. Twenty Mandarin speakers, all who were officially IELTS graded at between IELTS 6.0 and 7.0 in speaking, were recorded delivering

short presentations of between three and four minutes as part of a coursework task on a pre-session English course at a London university. All recordings were then analysed for errors, the results of which can be seen in appendix A. The analysis revealed that for a 2.00 minute piece of spoken text, the average number of errors made by speakers averaging IELTS 6.5-7.0 should be approximately nine. With the most common grammatical errors made in descending order of frequency: article errors, sentences structure / word order errors, countable vs uncountable errors, tense error, agreement errors and word class errors.

I decided that errors which had the potential to significantly impact comprehensibility should be excluded since the aim was to provide an instance of LX speech that might cause some strain for the listener but not result in a complete breakdown of comprehension. The following types of errors were therefore omitted: basic sentences structure errors including active/passive voice, word omission, and 'wrong word used'. To counterbalance these omissions, the number of minor errors was increased, including errors related to use of articles and preposition, subject + verb agreement, simple tense and word class. Below can be seen both the original transcript (created after the speech sample had been spontaneously produced by the L1 speaker), and a second version used by the LX speaker with minor errors added (highlighted in red).

Original L1 speaker transcript

So for this advert I was thinking of u.. of ..using a famous person – perhaps a sports star or maybe a film star – err, and my vision of it was that... this person looks into the camera and says “This is a green car.” it could be a movie star or a singer or someone f.. from the Olympics... maybe a cyclist or something. I was also thinking of... incorporating the theme of a green lifestyle err... so.. maybe.. the celebrity is clearly very healthy.. maybe nice skin... like really nice smile err... also.. the car maybe being driven in the countryside or in the mountains - somewhere really.. green. And maybe the celebrity has his sports gear... maybe his golf clubs in.. the back of the car. Erm... I think it's most important to focus... on the... on the emotion that the scene will create. Something along the lines of er... it being really glamorous and green and healthy. Err.. probably be music playing in the background.. quite dramatic err... clearly driving through a really nice area. Err... and again I think at the end it's important that it's this 'a green lifestyle'... and at the end the celebrity should look into the camera again and say “This is a green car.” And then obviously the logo would come up at the end.

LX speaker script with error inserted (in red) (...) = word omitted

So for this advert I was thinking of u.. of ..using **the** famous person – perhaps **(a)** sports star or maybe **(a)** film star – err, and my vision of it **(was)** that... this person look**(s)** into the camera and says “This is a green car.” it could be a movie star or a singer or someone f.. from the Olympics... maybe a cyclist or something. I was also think**(ing)** of... incorporating the theme of a green lifestyle err... so.. maybe.. the celebrity is clearly very healthy.. maybe nice skin... like really nice smile err... also.. the car may being driven in the countryside or in the mountains - somewhere really.. green. And maybe the celebrity has his sports gear... maybe his golf clubs in.. **(the)** back of the car. Erm... I think it’s most important **(to)** focus... on the... on the emotion that the scene will create. Something along the line**(s)** of er... it being really glamorous and green and healthy. Err.. probably be music **plays** in the background.. quite dramatic err... clearly driving through a really nice **areas**. Err... and again I think at **(the)** end it’s **importantly** that it’s this ‘a green lifestyle’... and at **(the)** end the celebrity should look in**(to)** the camera again and say “This is a green car.” And then obviously the **logos** would come up at the end.

Given the difficulty the bilingual speaker was experiencing in ‘posing’ as an authentic Mandarin-accented English speaker, I decided that a third source of guidance could come from a fellow Mandarin speakers. Using the second script above, three male Mandarin speakers were asked to produce recordings in which they would read from the script in English. Of these three, one produced a version which featured clear intrusions from their L1, but not to the extent that comprehensibility was likely to be impacted (a copy of this recording is supplied on the accompanying CD labelled ‘Audio recordings’).

The LX speaker version in this experiment was therefore informed by three sources: a review of the literature reporting typical Mandarin intrusions, an analysis of the common grammatical errors of twenty Mandarin speakers averaging IELTS 6.5-7.00, and a recording of a Mandarin speaker delivering the version of the script with minor errors added.

5.6 Recording the LX speaker version

The requirements of the audio recording were discussed in detail with the bilingual speaker, who fully recognised that all of the pronunciation features presented, particularly those of tonal patterns and problems of consonant clusters, were features of Mandarin intrusions common when speaking English. However, since this particular bilingual speaker had been brought up in the UK from early childhood and had only spoken Mandarin at home, he had never actually produced such accented speech himself. On a number of occasions he observed that despite perceiving the subtle sound shifts clearly, trying to replicate them faithfully was a very unusual and challenging process. After a significant amount of time spent rehearsing, it was decided that the most accurate method of producing the LX speaker version should involve ‘shadowing’. This involved the bilingual speaker wearing headphones and listening to recorded versions by the ‘genuine’ 6.5 speaker, and replicating (shadowing) the same production features a fraction of a second later. With 4-5 hours of meeting, coaching and private practice, he was able to spontaneously produce the pronunciation patterns and ready to generate sample recordings in the Mandarin-accented guise. In total six versions were created, all of which varied slightly in terms of pausing, hesitation. These six versions were combined into a single version using the software Audacity. It was necessary to combine such a number of samples because, ironically, the bilingual speaker found it impossible to speak at length without the accidental intrusion of L1 English phonemes.

In terms of fluency, the length of the LX speaker version was longer (2.00 minutes) than the L1 version (1.30). This reduction in fluency would be expected. As discussed previously, it would be possible but unlikely that an LX speaker of approximately 6.5 IELTS would possess the same fluency of a L1 speaker, but vary only in terms of accentedness. When discussing fluency in the context of matched guise approach, Cargile & Giles (1997) pointed out that their Japanese /American bilingual speaker experienced difficulties in trying to replicate L1 speaker rates of fluency whilst at the same time producing Japanese-accented speech. In their experiment, a 2 minute 6 second extract of L1 standard-American speech became naturally extended to 3 minutes and 2 seconds in a ‘heavy and disfluent’ Japanese accent. In the current study, an increase in length of 25% seemed within a reasonable range for a moderately-to-heavily accented speaker of IELTS 6.5. (The sample was actually rated by 56% of the 150 L1 raters in the actual experiment as being moderately-to-heavily accented.)

As mentioned, the female bilingual speakers was used in her ‘British-English guise’ as speaker number 2, and a further postgraduate student was used to produce a recording for speech sample one. In all, four recordings were used in the matched guide experiment.

The accompanying CD contains these four recordings:

1. Recording 1: male speaker (L1 speaker a)
2. Recording 2: female speaker (L1 speaker b)
3. Recording 3: male speaker ‘as’ ‘L1 speaker’ (L1 speaker)
4. Recording 4: male speaker in ‘LX speaker guise’ (LX speaker)
- +
5. Recording 5: male, genuine mandarin LX speaker (IELTS 6.5)

The male used for recording 5 as a guide to the bilingual speaker was a genuine IELTS 6.5 Mandarin speaker. The close similarities between recordings 4 and 5 should be immediately obvious given that recording 5 was that ‘shadowed’ to produce recording 4. Transcripts for the two other L1 speakers (a & b) shown below:

L1 speaker b (male)

Ok, well I just want to tell you about my ideas for the TV ad.. campaign. Erm.. I think what we should do is err.. provide lots of information about the cars benefits. Er.. and emphasise on its innovation and the eco-friendly nature of the car. So for example, I think we should err.. emphasize that the car uses cutting edge technology ... which results in pollution and emissions being cut by 50% compared to petrol engines. And consequently... also emphasise the fact that this will save 30% on fuel costs. I think we should also say that the car is made from recycled materials. One of the other benefits is that .. because of the nature of the car... it will result in lower car taxes. As far as the advert is concerned, I don’t think we should have any visual tricks in the advert ... it’s just a clear description of the car which appeals to logic. I think we should show the car being driven in the advert.... But perhaps without ant music in the background... so just really quiet .. pictures of the car being driven along the road. And maybe reinforce the message with key words on the screen showing some facts and figures on the performance. And at the end of the advert, perhaps surprise them with the fact that it is a hybrid car... with a slogan or a message saying, for example, introducing the new green car.. for information go to www.greencar.com.

L1 speaker b (female)

Um.. I think for the idea... an idea for this TV ad is to challenge the misconceptions people have about eco-cars. Um.. some believe that... only eco-cars are a niche market. So we need to try and broaden the appeal of eco-cars so that more people would be willing to buy them. And um.. to do that we need to tackle four of the main myths that surround eco-cars. For example... um... people think that they are underpowered and slow whereas, in fact, they can be powerful and fast. And some people think they're difficult to drive or even like feel different when driven. And another thing is that some people think that they need to be recharged every few hours, whereas in actual fact it can be driven for up to 400 miles without a recharge. And final thing is that um.. some people think it's costly to run and unreliable whereas it's perfectly affordable for average families. And um.. have most of the features that a normal car would have. So I think we need to show this by portraying a fun, comfortable car with all the expected features and that it sets a new standard for cars.

5.7 Authenticity/recognition checking of LX speaker recording

In order to check the authenticity of the LX speaker recordings, it was listened to online by 23 undergraduate / postgraduate students, a mix of L1 and LX speakers. Each was presented a drop down menu of 25 different nationalities and invited to identify the accent they heard and state the degree of degree of certainty they felt about the choice:

- *I am certain I know*
- *I think I know*
- *I'm not sure*
- *I have no idea*

Of the 23 participants nine were Chinese. All nine correctly identified the speaker as being Chinese, selecting either 'I am certain I know' or 'I think I know'. Of the remaining 14 participants (all non-Chinese), none correctly identified the nationality of speaker as Chinese. Overall, this rating exercise proved some objective reassurance that other Chinese speakers recognised it as belonging to their own speech community. As previously mentioned,

however, it is important to note that although great care was to make the recording as authentic sounding as possible, the focus of the research was not specifically an investigation into attitudes to Mandarin-accented speech.

Interestingly, the same raters were also invited to rate the nationality of the British speaker guise and of the same 23 only 10 correctly identified the British-accented speaker as being British. This suggests the difficulty some LX speakers may have in identifying not only the nationality of other LX speaker, but also of correctly identifying L1 models. In the context of this study, the fact that no non-Chinese speakers identified the speaker as being Chinese is of no significance, as Lindemann (2003) pointed out, it is not necessarily for a listener to correctly identify an accent in order to have a negative or positive reaction to it.

5.8 Rating the language proficiency of the LX speaker speech sample

Defining English language proficiency is problematic, whether judging L1 or LX speakers. In one conceptualization of proficiency, ‘complexity, accuracy and fluency’ (CAF) (Skehan, 1989), ‘complexity’ refers to the cognitive effort required to process speech rather than interactional demands of speech, with ‘accuracy’ describing the extent to which output conforms to the norms or rules of L1-like speech, and ‘fluency’ referring to calculations such as phonation time ratio, which calculates the total amount of time speaking in a recording divided by the total length of the recording. However, it seemed that the most logical means of determining the language proficiency of the LX speaker sample was to use the IELTS scoring system, given that it is overwhelmingly the English test of choice for UK universities.

Objectively evaluating the LX speaker sample presented two challenges. Firstly, the speech sample was relatively short, at 2.00 minutes, in contrast to a full IELTS speaking test which lasts between 11 and 14 minutes. Secondly, the official, speech band descriptors are strictly confidential and are only made available to trained examiners during testing periods. Despite this, it was felt that a reliable score could be generated by having the speech sample rated by a number of official IELTS examiners using IELTS *public* band descriptors, which are widely available, see appendix B. These ‘public’ descriptors are essentially the same as the full versions with around 25% less detail / guidance provided.

Seven current (in 2013) IELTS examiners were contacted and invited to rate the sample according to the IELTS public band descriptors. They were told that their marks would be processed anonymously and their ‘grades’ regarded as ‘impressionistic’, given the short sample of speech, and not as ‘official’ ratings, since examiner contracts forbid examiners from making from such judgements.

The results of the seven raters can be seen in table 5.2. It can be seen there was a spread of evaluations, which is entirely expected given the short sample of speech rated, but also a clear pattern of the speaker being strongest on lexical resource and weakest on pronunciation.

4 assessment criteria	IELTS speaking band			Average	Average rounded score
	6	7	8		
Fluency and cohesion	xx	xxxxxx		6.75	7
Lexical resource	x	xxx	xxxx	7.37	7
Grammatical range & accuracy	xx	xxxx	Xx	7.00	7
Pronunciation	xxxxx	xxx		6.37	6
Average score				6.87	6.75

X = level where LX speaker judged to be

Table 5.2: English language proficiency of LX speaker guise

The fact that lexis was rated highly was entirely consistent with the fact that the LX speaker was in fact word-for-word identical to that produced spontaneously by the L1 speaker, other than the addition of a few minor errors. The script did include, for example, some quite low frequency idiomatic expressions that only advanced users of English would be likely to use appropriately, for example, ‘along the lines of’. Table 5.3 provides a full analysis of the average scores awarded by the IELTS raters.

	Official IELTS public band descriptors (British Council, 2015)	Commentary
Fluency and cohesion	approx IELTS 7	
	‘speaks at length without noticeable effort or loss of coherence’	Speaker produced continual flow of language for duration of recording
	‘may demonstrate language-related hesitation at times, or some repetition and/or self- correction’	Language related hesitation present ‘err’ ‘erm’
	‘uses a range of connectives and discourse markers with some flexibility’	E.g. <i>So for this advert / and my vision of it (was) that / I was also thinking.. and again, I think at the end it’s...</i>
Lexical resource	approx IELTS 8	
	‘uses vocabulary resource flexibly to discuss a variety of topics’	Decent range of lexis, all used appropriately: <i>vision glamorous, green, background, incorporating, theme, emotion, scene, dramatic, obviously</i>
	‘uses some less common and idiomatic vocabulary and shows some awareness of style and collocation, with some inappropriate choices’	Good range of low frequency chunks: <i>looks into the camera, incorporating the theme of... something along the line(s) of... my vision of it ..., sports gear ...in the back of the car.</i>
Grammatical range & accuracy	approx IELTS 7	
	‘uses a range of complex structures with some flexibility’	Range used: e.g.: <i>So for this advert, I was thinking of using.. ...and again I think at the end, it’s important that..</i>
	‘frequently produces error-free sentences, though some basic grammatical mistakes persist’	‘Frequent’ may be generous but speech sample was short: Examples of perfectly accurate phrasing: <i>it could be a movie star or a singer or someone from the Olympics... maybe a cyclist</i> <i>Also, the car may being driven in the countryside or in the mountains - somewhere really green</i> Basic errors = articles, agreement etc.
Pronunciation	approx IELTS 6	
	‘uses a range of pronunciation features with mixed control / not sustained’	Exact match: e.g. some linking of phrases, some intonation for emphasis, some chunking of phrases
	‘can generally be understood throughout, though mispronunciation of individual words or sounds reduces clarity at time’	Exact match: some issues with individual words – word stress and sounds: <i>lifestyle, Olympics, healthy</i>

Table 5.3: Analysis of language proficiency of sample text and band descriptors

(One observation regarding the IELTS criteria is that mistakes are not over-penalised in band 6.0 and 7.0. In other words, scores are awarded for using or attempting to use language, and even at IELTS band 7.0, for grammar, it is permissible for ‘basic grammatical mistakes to persist’)

Overall, the speaker was rated as between 6.87. Given the use of seven IELTS trained and standardised raters, it seemed reasonable to judge the speaker as approximately 6.5 in speaking.

5.9 Pilot and testing

Although the research aims were broadly established from the outset of this project, they did narrow and shift through the piloting process. The pilot experiment tested was different from the final version in that the three original recordings were of a L1 British speaker, and two non-L1 speakers: an Indian-accented speaker and a Chinese-accented speaker. However, this presented a serious methodological issue. Because the experiment adopted a ‘paired matched guise’ approach (i.e. using two separate groups of raters rather than one), it was essential that evaluations elicited from the two groups to identical stimuli matched. Evidence that the same stimuli triggered the same evaluations from group 1 and group 2 would ensure that the process of randomized allocation to those groups had been successful. Using two out of three LX speakers made this checking less reliable. It was therefore decided to use two L1 speakers in each group, meaning that ratings for these could be reliably compared across both two groups.

In addition, the majority of raters in the pilot study were LX speakers themselves. An original hypothesis had been that LX speakers might be harsher judges of other LX speakers after Ballard (2013) found that LX speakers judged other LX speakers more severely on comprehensibility and ‘acceptability of accent’ than L1 speakers did, on the basis that LX speakers are typically less familiar with the accents of other LX speakers. However, it was decided that adopting this approach would require a very much larger sample size than was feasible given the diversity of LX speakers that might participate. It was therefore decided to focus exclusively upon L1 speaker evaluations of LX speech.

There were, in fact two pilots launched, both of which at the end requested participants to assess (the complexity of) instructions, provide comments on question formatting, rate the quality of the recordings and add any other comments. The first pilot was launched on June 19th 2013, and was halted within two days in the light of a particularly pertinent item of feedback. On this version of the pilot the question related to status required participants to make just *one* overall evaluation. The exact wording was:

Having listened to his idea, do you agree with the following statement?

In future group work, this speaker is more likely than an average member to receive opportunities to contribute to the group task, to offer contributions to the task, to receive positive evaluations for these contributions, and to be influential in group decisions.

7 = Strongly agree, 4 = Neither agree nor disagree, 1 = Strongly disagree

The feedback from one respondent was “*I would have different opinions for each of the 4 options given rather than lumping them together*”. The assumption in the original question was that the four items were closely correlated, being four facets of the same dimension (Berger, 1980). However, separating out these questions in the second version of the pilot proved valuable and subsequently revealed that the LX speaker might, for example, receive positive evaluation for their contribution, yet still receive many less opportunities to contribute. A 2nd pilot was launched on June 24th which separated the three elements and instructed raters to respond to each in turn.

In future group work, this speaker is likely to...

... receive opportunities to contribute to the group task

... receive positive evaluations for their contributions

... be influential in group decisions

The two pilots also differed in that they included questions related to intelligibility, however these questions were dropped from the final version since the questions had to appear on a later screen and probably functioned more as a memory test, with raters having already spent some time awarding scores for idea and status.

A final difference was that the original pilot versions spread the rating of the three speakers over three separate web screens, without the facility for a rater to go back a page and adjust a rating in the light of a later speakers' performance. Spreading ratings over three screens resulted in the first speaker tending to receive a conservative 'middle' ranking for idea and status, presumably to 'leave' room for the possibility that subsequent speakers might be greatly superior or inferior. This pattern of response was quite evident in the pilot results. To counter this, the final version allowed all three speakers to be rated simultaneously on the same screen. Raters were also allowed to listen to the speakers in any order they chose, or indeed to listen to any recording more than one. This was also partly to prevent the LX speaker from receiving unfavourable ratings on the basis of being heard last after two L1 speakers, as Cargile & Giles (1997) noted when positioning samples of Japanese speech *after* samples of standard American speech.

The pilot studies also invited a range of comments that proved useful,

How easy were the instructions to follow?

- *All instructions were very easy to follow*
- *Most instructions were easy to follow*
- *Sometimes I didn't know what to do*
- *I found most of it confusing*

Did you have problems hearing the voice recordings?

- *Everything was fine*
- *I had some problems*
- *I had many problems*

What did you think of the quality of the recordings?

- *The quality of recordings was good*
- *The quality of recordings was average*
- *The quality of recordings was poor*

The 23 pilot participants who heard the LX speaker were also invited to comment on how spontaneous and ‘genuine’ the speaker sounded, table 5.4. The wording of the question was:

A question about the how 'natural' speaker 3 sounded. Remember that in the instructions at the beginning of the task you were told that the all 3 group members were speaking from their notes. I think speaker 3...

	Responses
<i>sounded like a non-native speaker of English speaking without notes.</i>	8
<i>sounded like a non-native speaker of English speaking from notes.</i>	11
<i>sounded like a non-native speaker of English reading from a script, word for word.</i>	4
<i>didn't sound like a genuine non-native speaker of English.</i>	0

Table 5.4: Perceptions of LX audio

That some thought the speaker might be reading word-for-word was a small concern, and perhaps an inevitable limitation of the matched guise approach, however, this perception might also be attributed to the slightly monotone delivery which, as previously discussed, can characterise the accented speech of those whose L1 is a tonal language. It was perhaps more reassuring and of greater significance that no participant in the pilot selected the fourth option, that the speaker ‘didn’t sound like a genuine non-native speaker of English’, when in fact this was actually the case.

5.10 Pilot results, feedback and modifications

Due to the relatively small samples involved, the results were not analysed statistically, however, the raw scores, shown in table 5.5, were in fact a very accurate precursor to the results in the actual experiment in that 1) The quality of idea was rated as approximately the same for both L1 and LX speaker, and 2) Status expectations for the LX speaker were lower, most noticeably in terms of their likely future influence.

	L1 speaker	LX speaker
Idea rating (1-7)	4.2	4.1
Speaker is more likely than average to...		
...to receive opportunities to contribute to the group task (1-7)	4.5	3.8
...to receive positive evaluations for their contributions (1-7)	4.8	4.7
...to be influential in group decisions (1-7)	4.4	3.1

Table 5.5: Performance expectations from pilot: L1 vs LX speakers

The pilot also revealed a number of other adjustments to me made, such as spelling, rewordings, and simplification of drop-down boxes for inputting data. Overall, the piloting process proved extremely useful in creating a more focused final version, which can be seen in appendix C.

In addition, it was decided that it was not practical to collect intelligibility ratings for the speech samples. In the original pilot study these were collected but had to be collected immediately after raters had heard the ideas presented. However, collecting this data seemed to distract from aim of assessing idea content and status evaluations, and to move the intelligibility questions to a later screen on the website would have relegated them to more of a memory test. They were therefore omitted.

5.11 Development and experiment launch

The survey was constructed on an online platform called Bristol Online Surveys, a platform for research used by over 130 UK universities, public bodies and companies. It was launched on 18th of November 2013 and closed on 24th Feb 2014.

Participants (see table 5.6) for the experiment were recruited in various ways, mainly by advertising on the student websites of approximately 15 universities. Contact with staff who actually posted links to the experiment was made through a professional networking website for EAP (English for Academic Purposes) website, called BALEAP. An advertisement was also placed on a new website (in 2013) called ‘Call for Participants’ which now promotes academic research for over 390 universities worldwide.

It was clearly stated on all advertising that the survey was *only* open to those whose first language was English (this was also checked on the survey itself and a small number of participants were excluded after stating that their first language was not English). All respondents were offered a £5 amazon voucher to complete the survey. When responding to the advert they were instructed to make contact through an official UK university email account (one ending ac.uk). If a participant made contact, for example, via a hotmail or yahoo account they received a standard email reply back requesting them to make contact once again via their university account. These accounts always included the name of participants (e.g. joebloggs@royalholloway.ac.uk), and therefore allowed a degree of monitoring to ensure that all participants were firstly, genuine students, and secondly, not completing the survey multiple times. Upon agreeing to participate in the survey, respondents were emailed a unique username and password which enabled them to log onto the BOS platform which hosted the survey. This ensured that participants could not complete the survey without first making contact to the researcher by email.

Raters' institutions	Number of raters	% of total	% of overseas students 2012/13 in this institution (UKCISA, no date given)
Royal Holloway, University of London	49	21.8	31.2
Sheffield Hallam University	40	17.8	13.9
University of Reading	33	14.7	24.8
Imperial College	24	10.7	36.8
University Leicester	24	10.7	27.6
Birkbeck College, Uni of London	15	6.6	9.1
8 other institutions	40	17.8	
	225	100%	

Table 5.6 institutions from which participants were recruited

5.11 Raters

It was decided that it was not necessary to balance the two groups of raters equally (group 1 consisted of 75 L1 raters, and group 2 consisted of 150 L1 raters), this was because the more valuable data pertaining directly to LX speaker evaluations would only come from group 2. However, it was essential to ensure that both groups could be shown, with a high degree of probability, to be from the same general population.

The procedure to randomize placement of participants to either group 1 or 2 was very simple. As participants made email contact to request participation on the experiment, they were assigned to either group 1 or 2 according to a 1:2 ratio. For example, for the first three participants to sign up, the first was assigned to group 1, and the next two assigned to group 2. For the next three participants, the same procedure was repeated. The researcher kept a record of every participant who had been assigned to group 1 or 2 in order to monitor allocation, and once a survey had been completed a tick was placed against their name. Occasionally, a participant would volunteer to participate in the experiment and then not complete it. In this case, a reminder would be sent after one week. If after two weeks they had still not participated, their name was removed. The vast majority of participants completed the survey within 24 hours of receiving their survey link, password and username. Amazon vouchers were sent out electronically every few days. Table 5.7 shows the distribution of participants to the two groups.

	Group 1	Group 2
Number	75	150
Female%	69.3%	70.7%
Undergrad %	72.0%	74.7%
Mono%	66.6% (n=50)	66.3% (n=101)
Bi + Multilingual	33.4% (n=25)	32.7% (n=49)

Table 5.7: Analysis of L1 raters

In addition to the clear evidence of similarity in the profiles of the two groups above, the groups' ratings of the two filler speakers showed close similarity, table 5.8.

	Group 1(N= 75)	Group 2(N=150)
Idea rating for filler 1 (L1a)	4.88	4.74
Idea rating for filler 2 (L1b)	5.19	5.11

Table 5.8: Group 1 and 2 ratings of ‘filler’ ideas indicating

6 Data Screening

This section presents the normality of each variable's distribution, the presence of outliers, and a calculation of the internal consistency for the key survey components using Cronbach's Alpha. In addition, and taking each key variable in turn, any particularly interesting or unusual features of the data sets will be highlighted.

1. Normality of distribution
2. Missing cases
3. Distributions and outliers
4. Outliers for the rating of comprehensibility
5. Other outliers
6. Internal consistency of personal psychometric measures
7. Ratings of the LX speaker
8. Comprehensibility
9. Accentedness
10. Adequacy of English
11. Status expectations
12. Intellectual and academic ability

6.1 Normality of distribution

Normality of the data tests were conducted to identify which statistical methods would be appropriate to employ. The Shapiro-Wilks Normality Test (on SPSS) was used as a goodness of fit test. The hypotheses:

Ho: the distribution of the data set and a normal one are the same

Ha: the distribution of the data set and a normal one are different

If the P-value calculated is greater than 0.05, Ha can be rejected and the data set can be regarded as normal (Ho). All data sets in table 6.1, were therefore non-normally distributed; this tallied with visual inspections.

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	Df	Sig.
Quality of idea rating for NS (L1 Speaker)	.934	75	.001
NS predicted to receive opportunities in future group work	.932	75	.001
NS predicted to receive positive evaluation of idea in future group work	.946	75	.003
NS predicted to be influential in group in future group work	.953	75	.007
NS judged to display strong intellect and academic ability	.938	75	.001
Quality of idea rating for LX Speaker	.940	150	.000
LX Speaker predicted to receive opportunities in future group work	.945	150	.000
LX Speaker predicted to receive positive evaluation of idea in future group work	.950	150	.000
LX Speaker predicted to be influential in group in future group work	.950	150	.000
LX Speaker judged to display strong intellect and academic ability	.936	150	.000
LX Speaker rating for accentedness	.917	150	.000
LX Speaker rating for comprehensibility	.723	150	.000
LX Speaker rating for adequacy of English	.786	150	.000
Raters' overall Motivational Cultural Intelligence	.949	150	.000

Table 6.1: Results of Shapiro-Wilks Normality Test

6.2 Missing cases

There were no missing cases. The online survey was constructed to ensure that respondents could not proceed to the next section without inputting all responses requested.

6.3 Distributions and outliers

Box-and-Whisker Plots were generated to gauge the frequency of outliers in all data sets. Figures 6.1 indicates the presence of a significant numbers of outliers in the data set for ratings of comprehensibility for the LX speaker.

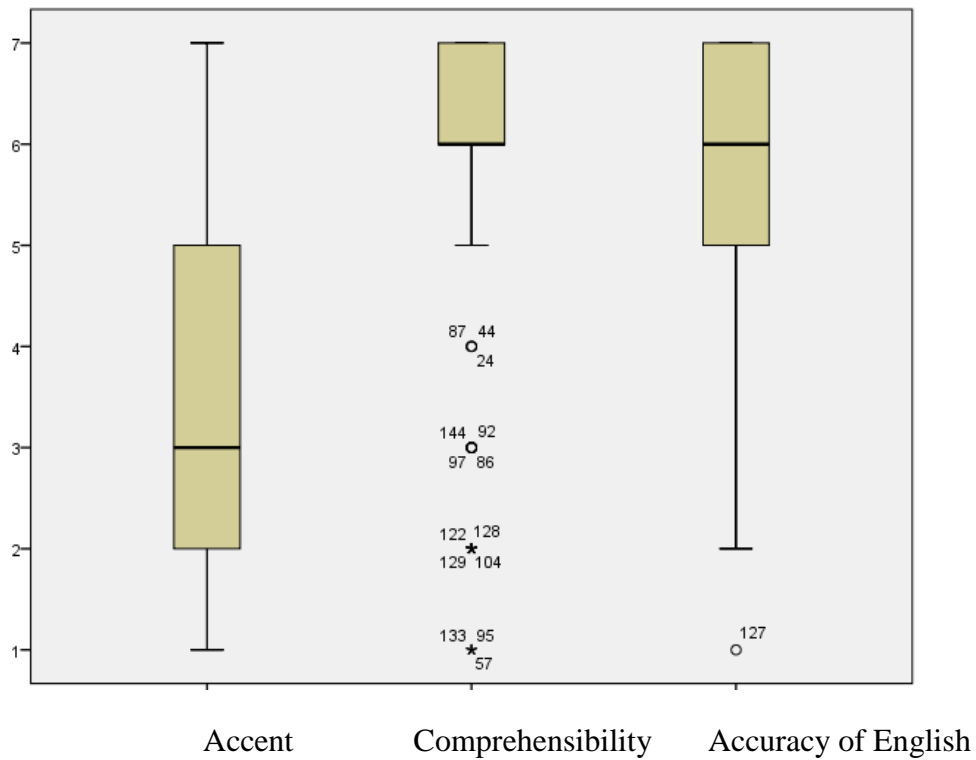


Figure 6.1: Box-and-Whisker Plots for evaluations of LX speaker

6.4 Outliers for the rating or Comprehensibility

Comprehensibility ratings for the LX speaker were heavily skewed. The high top and long tail (see Fig. 6.2) indicate that although raters generally considered the accented speaker to be highly comprehensible, there were a significant minority who did not, producing a long tail of lower ratings.

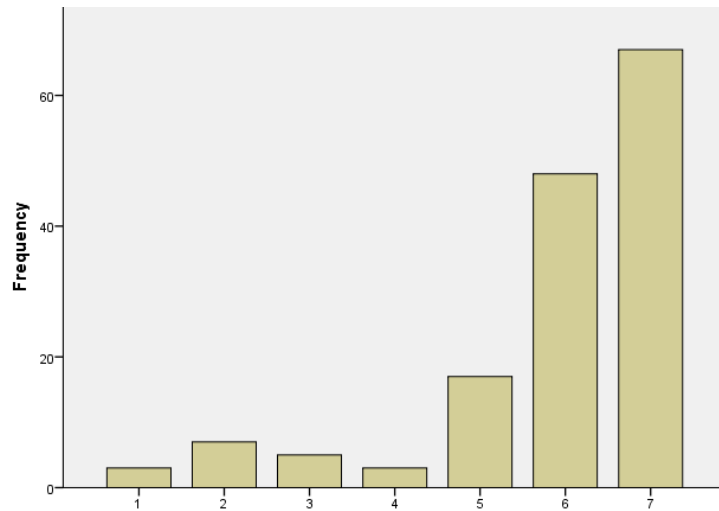


Figure 6.2: Histogram for comprehensibility evaluations of LX speaker

6.5 Other outliers

Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 show Box-and-Whisker Plots for all other measurements. They indicate that there were either no, or only isolated outliers present. All were included in subsequent data analysis since there was no sound rationale for their exclusion.

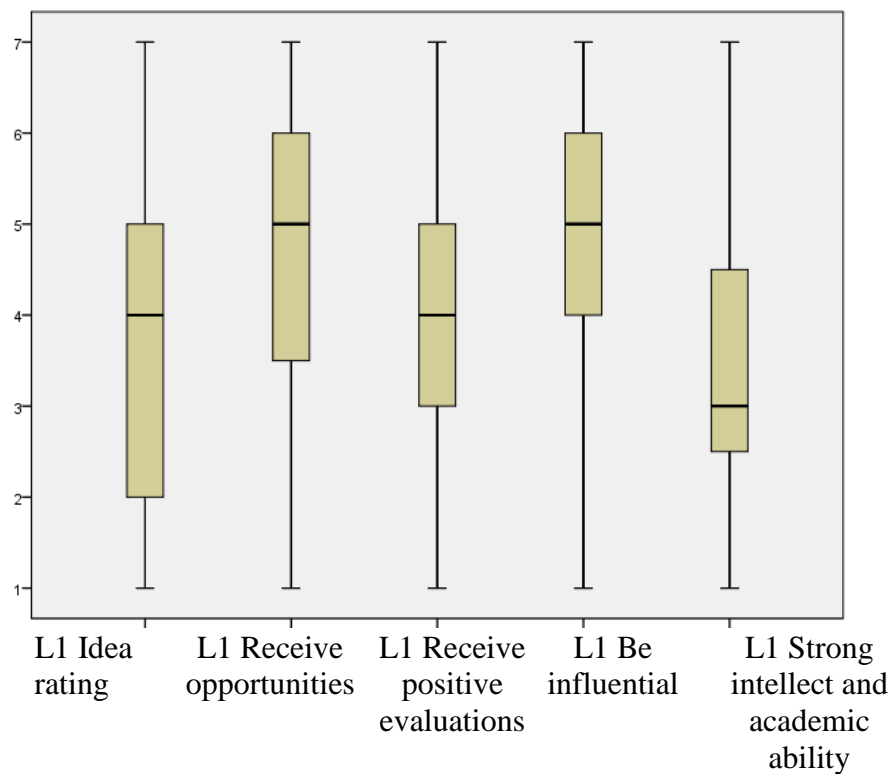


Figure 6.3: Box-and-Whisker Plots for evaluations of L1 speaker

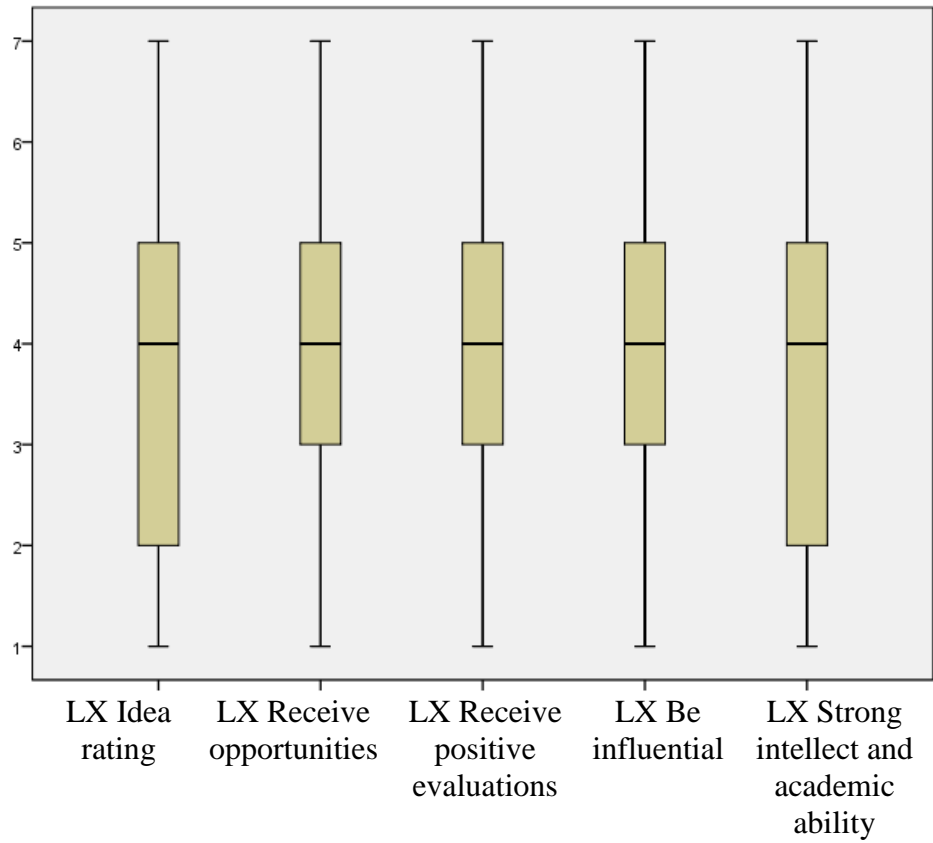


Figure 6.4: Box-and-Whisker Plots for evaluations of LX speaker

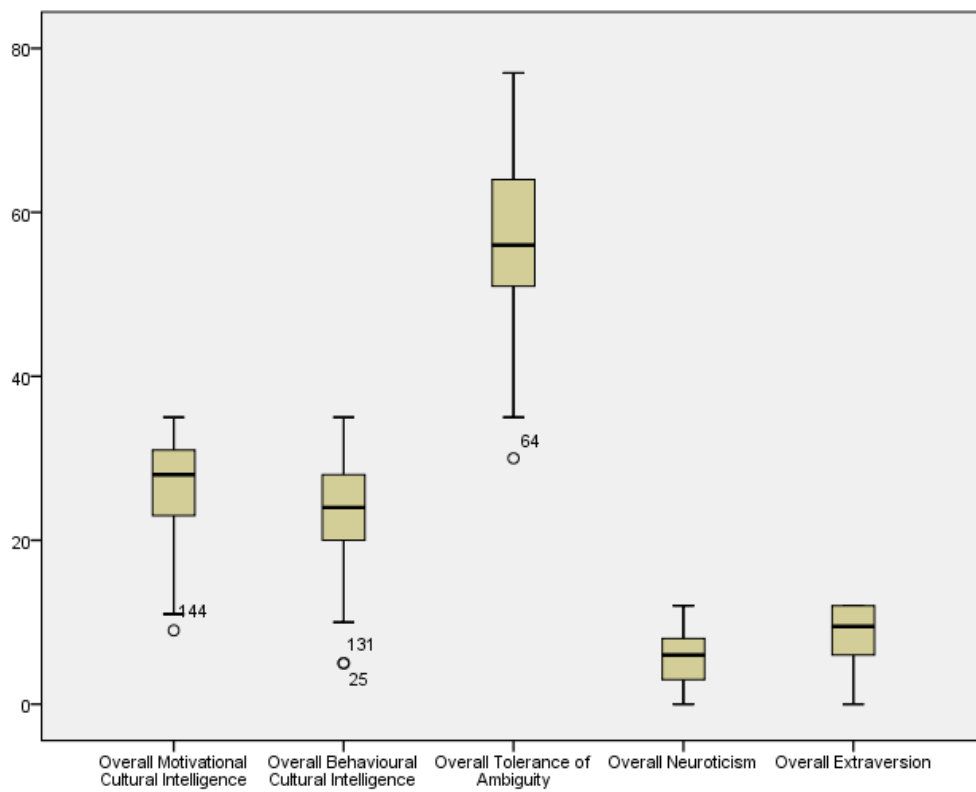


Figure 6.5: Box-and-Whisker Plots for individual characteristics of 150 raters of LX speaker

6.6 Internal consistency of personal psychometric measures

Cronbach's Alpha was calculated for the rating of motivational cultural intelligence to gauge the average correlation between the items listed in each survey. Table 6.2 indicates that the question five items generated good levels of internal consistency and should therefore be viewed as reliable indicators of the construct MCQ.

	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
Motivational CQ	.90	5

Table 6.2: Cronbach's Alpha for MCQ

6.7 Ratings of the LX speaker

The following section will describe how the LX speaker was rated in terms of:

1. Comprehensibility
2. Accentedness
3. Adequacy of English for group work at university
4. Idea rating
5. Intellectual and academic ability

6.8 Comprehensibility

In response to the following question:

How easy/difficult was it for you to understand him?

(7 = Very easy to understand 1 = Very difficult to understand).

The speech sample for the LX speaker was rated as largely comprehensible, with 76% of respondents giving scores of six or seven out of seven, see figures 6.6. However, 10% of

respondents rated the sample as 4 or less. Although a relatively small percentage, in the context of student groups consisting of five members, approximately one in two groups might include a L1 speaker participant who experienced a moderate to high degree of difficulty in processing speech at a similar level, with potentially negative consequences for that LX speaker. There were no significant differences between the raters of the LX speaker by monolingual raters and bi- and multilingual raters, see table 6.3.

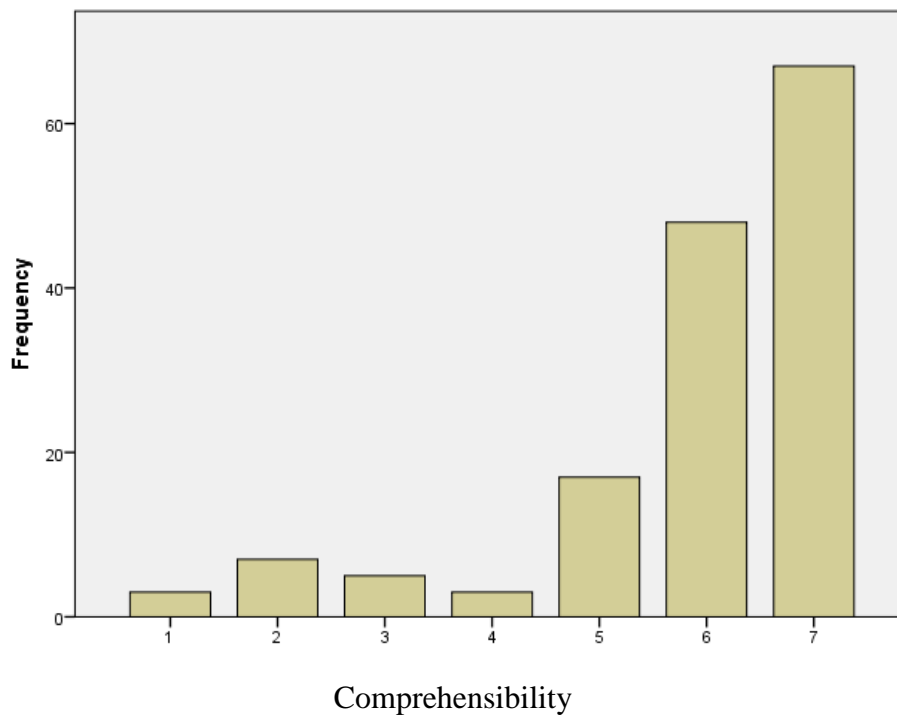


Figure 6.6: Histogram for Comprehensibility evaluations of LX speaker

Mono ratings	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Comprehensibility rating for speaker LX	101	5.85	1.403

Bi and multilingual ratings	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Comprehensibility rating for speaker LX	49	6.02	1.639

Table 6.3: Comprehensibility ratings for LX speaker monolingual vs bi- & multilingual raters

6.9 Accentedness

Respondents were invited to evaluate the strength of accent they perceived when listening to the LX speaker. Figure 5.10 shows that the sample of LX speech was rated as quite to heavily accented with 56% of respondents rating the accent between 1 and 3, assuming a score of 4 to indicate a moderately level of accentedness (see table 6.7).

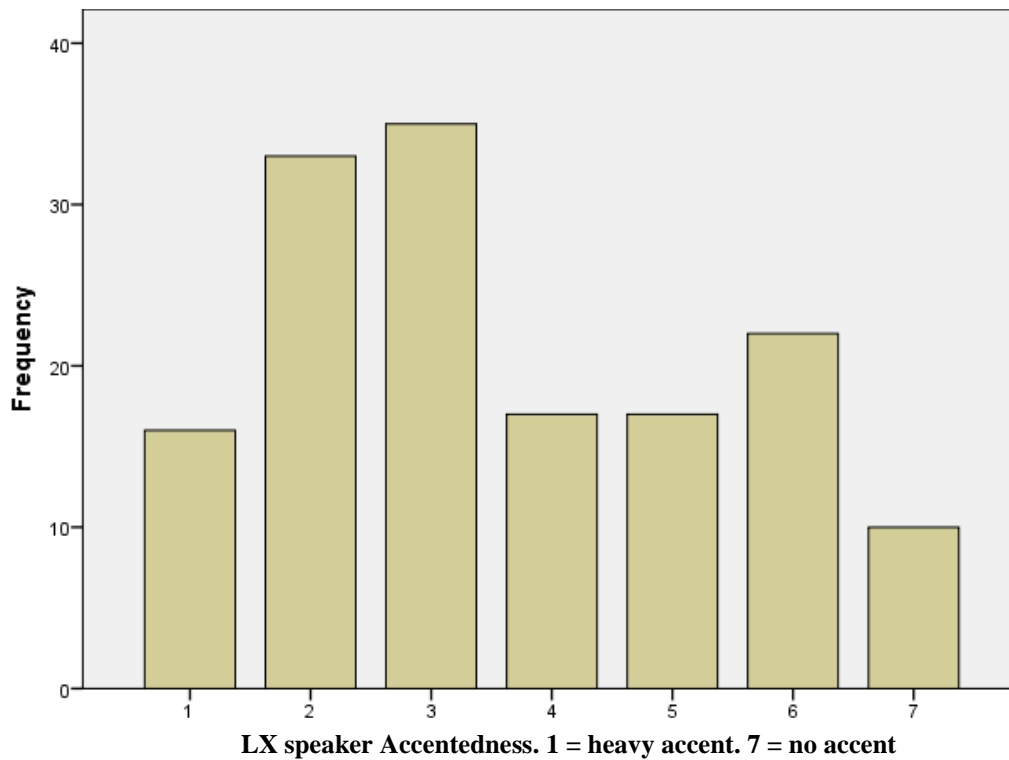


Figure 6.7: Accentedness rating for LX user.

6.10 Adequacy of English

This was measured by the prompt: Do you agree with the following statement?

The level of English spoken by this individual is sufficient for group work at university.

7 = Strongly agree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

1 = Strongly disagree

59% of respondents strongly agreed that the speaker has sufficient English (see figure 6.8), with 9% disagreeing mildly or strongly that the level was sufficient. It is noticeable that the distribution for this measure very closely resembles that for comprehension (figure 6.6).

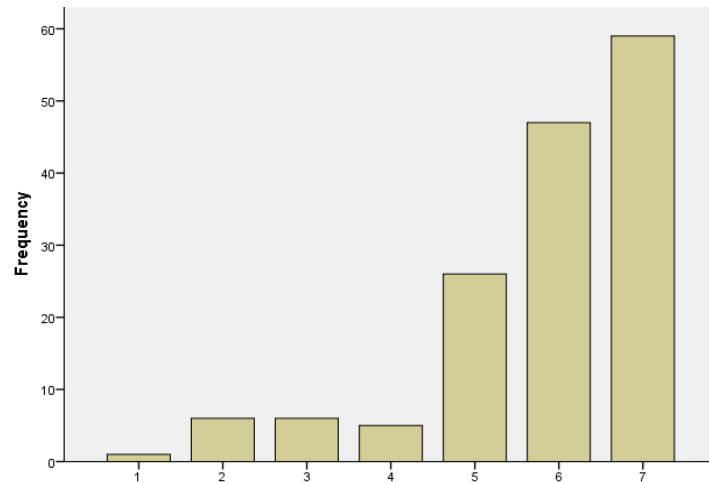


Figure 6.8: Histogram showing perceived adequacy of LX speaker English

Overall, the above data indicates that the LX speaker used for this research was rated:

- moderately to heavily accented (the consensus of 67% of raters)
- generally 'easy' or 'very easy' to understand, (the consensus of 68% of raters)
- generally possessing adequate language skills for the demands of group work at university, with 70% of raters agreeing or strongly agreeing. (However, this still left 30% of raters with either doubts about the speaker's adequacy of English, or clearly disagreeing that it was adequate.)

Spearman's *rho* correlations for accentedness, comprehensibility and adequacy of English can be seen in table 6.4. These show, as previously described, that the moderately high accentedness of the LX speaker was not associated with lower comprehensibility or adequacy of English. However, as expected there was a strong link between perceptions of adequacy of English and comprehensibility.

		Accentedness	Comprehensibility	Adequacy of English
Accentedness	Correlation	1	.008	.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.926	.505
	N	150	150	150
Comprehensibility	Correlation	.008	1	.440
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.926		.000
	N	150	150	150
Adequacy of English	Correlation	.055	.440	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.505	.000	
	N	150	150	150
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).				

Table 6.4: Spearman's *rho* correlations for accentedness, comprehensibility & adequacy of English

This strong relationship between comprehensibility and adequacy of English seems intuitively correct given that any language judged low on comprehensibility would self-evidently be inadequate for university. On the other hand, there is also a clear conceptual difference between these measures. For example, it is easy to imagine clear, basic and highly comprehensible LX speech which not at an inadequate level for university.

However, if focusing on only those who reported lowest comprehensibility, a score of 1-4 (n=18, representing 12% of the total), then table 6.5 shows that these rated detected higher levels of accentedness and judged the speech less adequate for university.

	n	Comprehensibility	Accent	Adequacy of English
Comp 1-4	18	2.44	4.33	4.61
Comp 5-7	132	6.38	3.52	6.01
All	150	5.91	3.61	5.84

Table 6.5: Mean ratings for different levels of comprehensibility

Returning to table 6.8, the only significant Spearman's *rho* correlation for all 150 raters was between comprehensibility and adequacy of English (.44, $p=0.00$), two possible relationships might be speculated upon.

1. That comprehensibility, to some extent, had a causal effect upon perceptions of adequacy. Intuitively, we might suppose that ratings for adequacy decrease as processing effort increases.
2. That perceptions of adequacy had a causal effect upon comprehension. Although this might seem less likely, literature has suggested that lower comprehensibility can be associated negative attitudes towards LX speech (Cargile et al., 1994, Lippi Green, 1997, Rubin 2002). That is, raters experienced low self efficacy or decreased motivation to engage with what they heuristically judge to be poor or broken English.

6.11 Status expectations

Status expectations varied considerably between all speakers and will be discussed fully in the results section. In terms of comparisons between the L1 and LX speakers, the focus of the matched guide experiment, the distributions were as shown in figure 6.9.

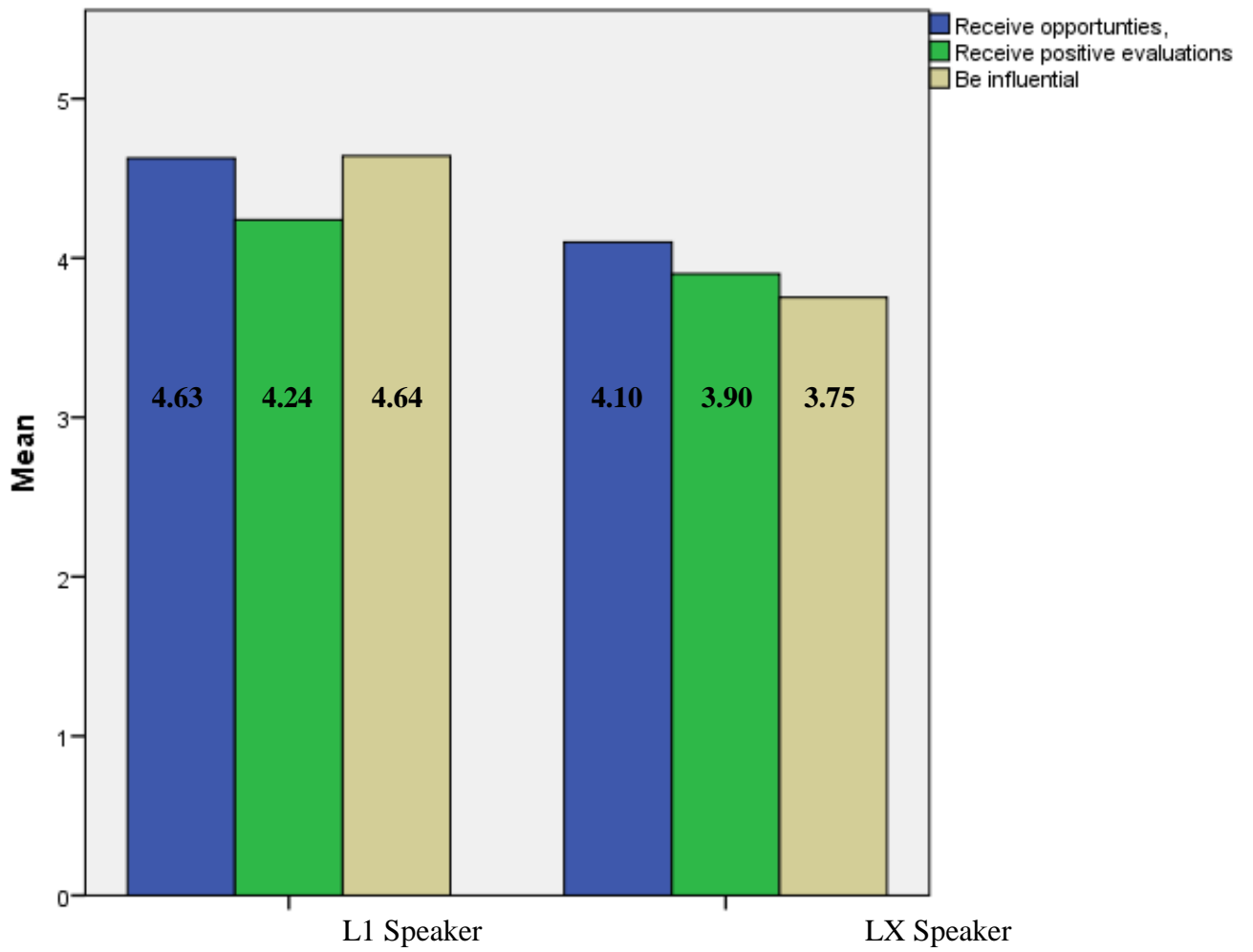


Figure 6.9: Evaluation of individual status components

6.12 Intellectual and academic ability

Figure 6.10 shows that, as with idea rating, the L1 and LX speakers were rated almost the same for intellectual and academic ability.

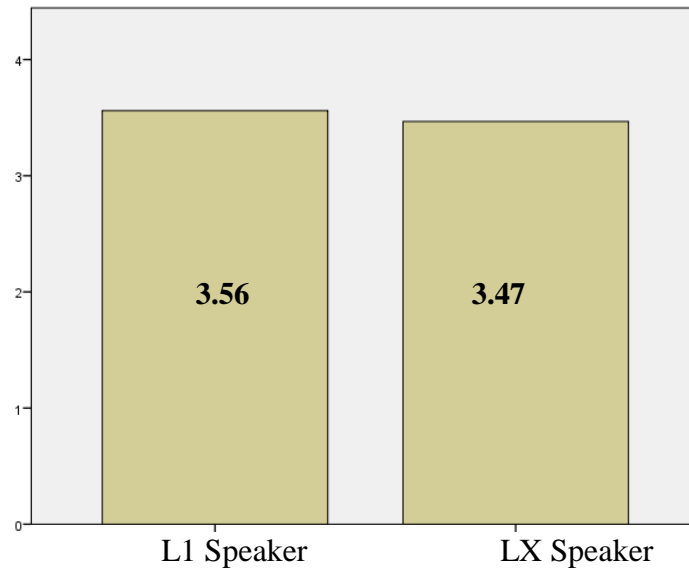


Figure 6.10: Intellectual and academic ability ratings

7 Results

7.1 Hypothesis 1: Idea quality

The LX speaker's quality of idea will be rated lower than the L1 speaker's.

7.1.1 Descriptive statistics

Figure 7.1 illustrates the similarity between the quality of idea ratings for the L1 and LX speakers. Raters in Group 1 (N=75) heard three L1 speakers deliver three ideas. Raters in Group 2 (N=150) heard two ideas delivered by L1 speakers, and the third idea delivered by an LX speaker. The quality of each was rated at between 1 and 7.

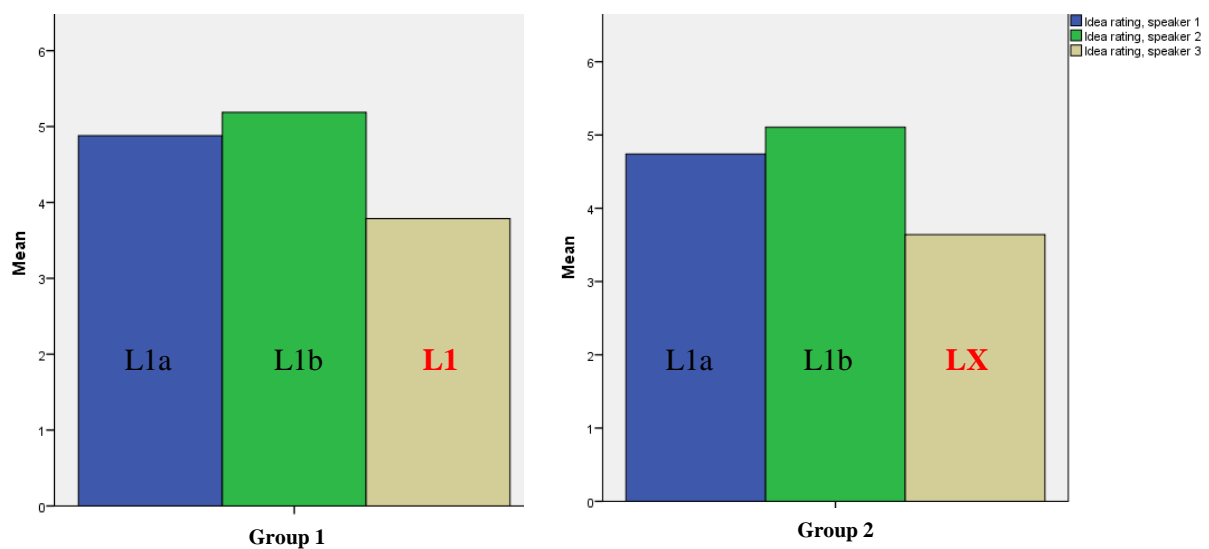


Figure 7.1: Quality of idea ratings for groups 1 and 2

Figure 7.2 indicate that there was only a minimal difference between ratings of the L1 and LX speakers.

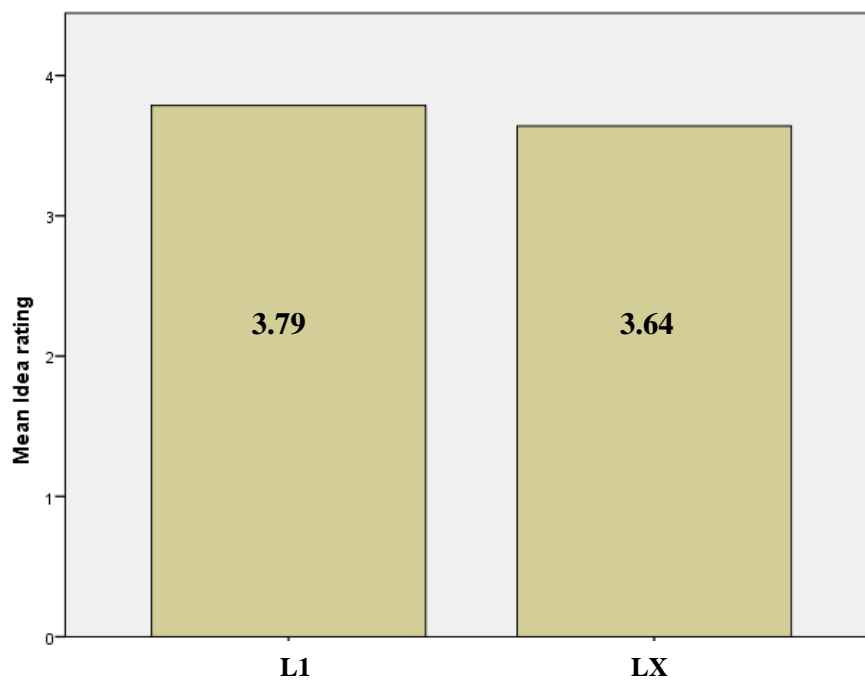


Figure 7.2: Comparison between L1 and LX speakers for quality of idea

A Mann-Whitney test was used to compare the means of these two independent groups. It indicated that there was no significant difference between the ratings of the NS (Mdn 4) and the LX speaker (Mdn 4), $U = 5405$, $p = .483$.

Both ratings have the characteristics of being from the same population. This result was wholly consistent with the pilot study.

These results appear welcome from an LX speaker perspective in that there was no statistically significant cost associated with speaking level 6.5 IELTS English.

The results also suggested that the effort required to process message content (only 55% of raters thought the LX speaker very easy to understand, see table 5.7), and the relatively high ratings of accentedness (56% of raters perceived the accent of the LX speaker to be between quite and very heavy, see table 5.9), had no significant impact upon the clarity of idea.

If considering 'idea quality' as a measure of objective performance, the LX speaker's contribution to the group was not significantly different than the L1's.

7.2 Hypothesis 2: Status expectations

Overall status expectations for the LX speaker will be lower than for the L1.

Overall status expectation was calculated by totalling three separate predictions:

1. The likelihood that the speaker will receive opportunities to contribute in future group work
2. The likelihood that the speaker will receive positive evaluations in future group work
3. The likelihood that the speaker will be influential in future group work

7.2.1 Descriptive statistical analysis

Figure 7.3 indicate that L1 raters expected the L1 speaker to enjoy a higher status in future group work than the LX speaker.

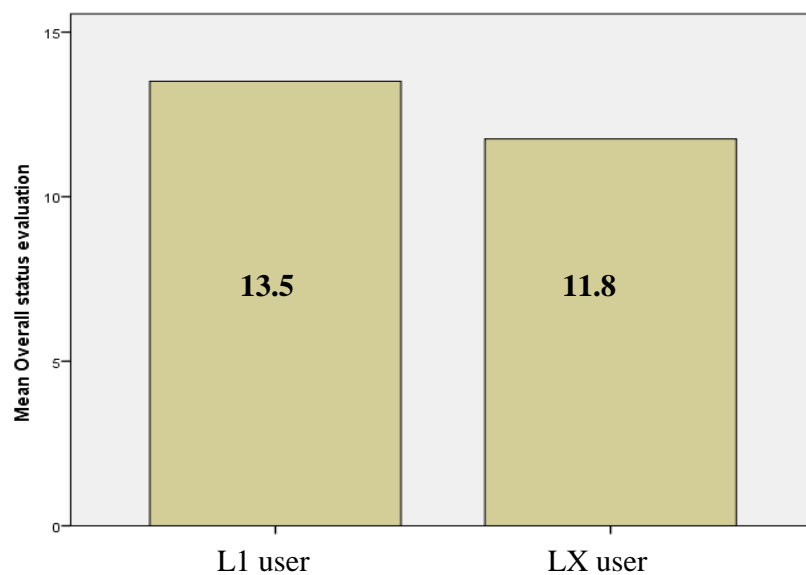


Figure 7.3: Overall status expectations for L1 and LX speakers

A Mann-Whitney test then indicated that the overall status of the L1 speaker was higher (*Mdn* 14) than that of the LX speaker (*Mdn* 12), $U = 4148$, $p = .001$, $r = .22$

7.2.2 Further post-hoc analyses

This section describes three observations based upon closer analysis of the status data sets. Firstly, of the three individual components which constitute overall status, ‘being influential’ in future group fell most markedly for the LX speaker. Secondly, falls in status for the LX speaker were matched by a corresponding increase in status for the remaining two L1 group members. This redistribution effect further created a larger ‘status gap’ between LX and L1 speakers. Finally, bi- and multilingual raters were found to evaluate the LX speaker more severely in terms of status expectations.

In terms of the first observation, three individual components make up ‘overall status expectations’:

1. The likelihood of receiving opportunities in future group work
2. The likelihood of receiving positive evaluations in future group work
3. The likelihood of being influential in future group work

As can be seen in figure 7.4, of the three components, ‘being influential’ showed the most significant fall for the LX speaker, dropping from an average of 4.64 to 3.75 when all raters (mono, bilingual and multilingual) were included.

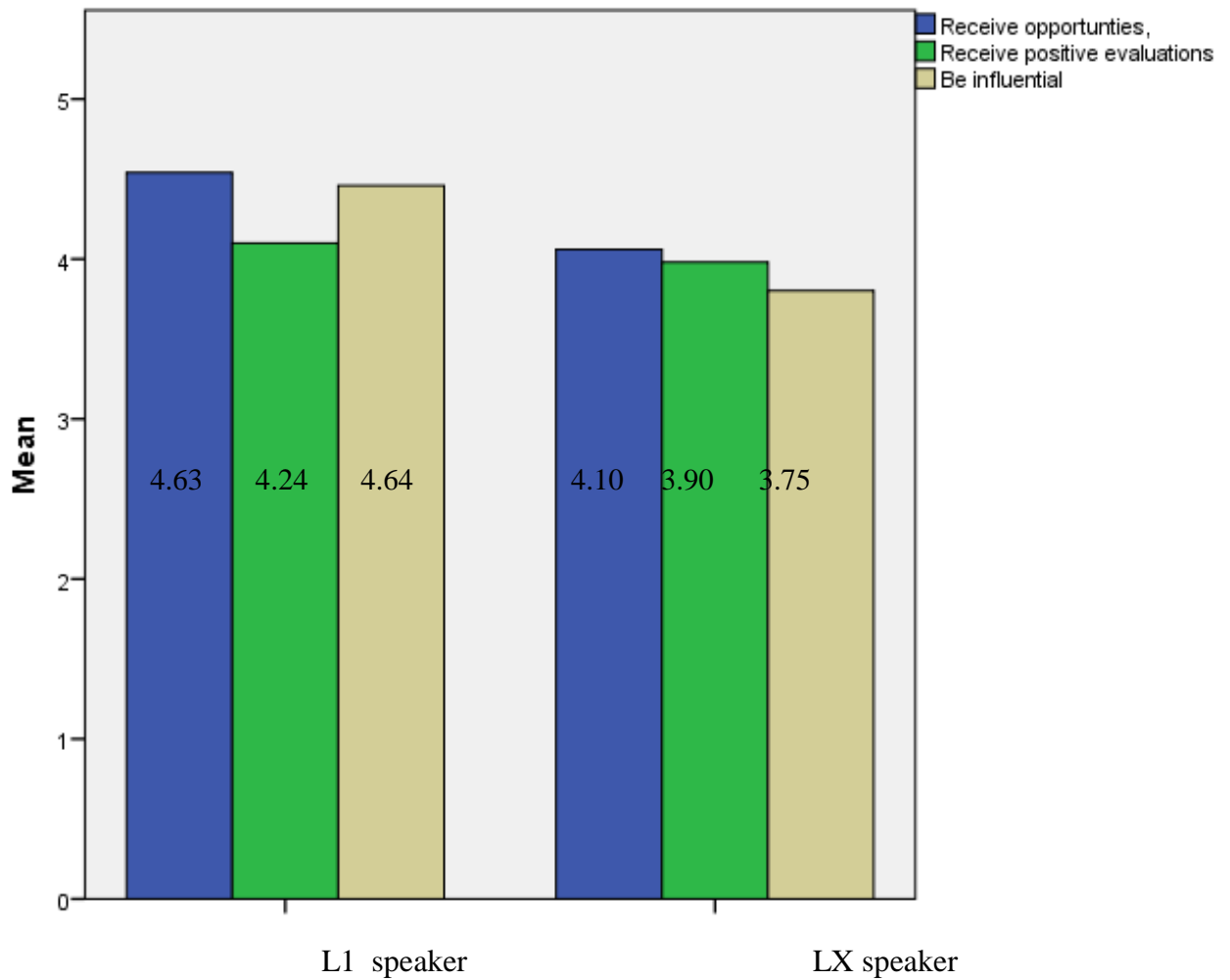


Figure 7.4: Evaluations of individual status components for L1 & LX speakers

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that the expectation that the LX speaker would receive opportunities to contribute in future group work was lower (*Mdn* 5) than that of the L1 speaker (*Mdn* 4), $U = 4148$, $p = .001$, $r = .22$.

It was also indicated that the expectation that the LX speaker would be influential in future group work was lower (*Mdn* 4) than that of the L1 speaker (*Mdn* 5), $U = 3670$, $p = .000$, $r = .29$.

In terms of the redistribution of status away from the LX speaker and towards the two L1 speakers, Table 7.1 shows that **lower** status expectations for the LX speaker were accompanied by a small **rise** in the status of the other two NS group members.

	Group 1 means (N=75)	Group 2 means (N=150)
L1 Overall status expectation	14.61	15.28
L1 Overall status expectation	14.39	15.07
L1 /LX Overall status expectation	13.51 (L1)	11.75 (LX)

Table 7.1: Redistribution of status from LX speaker towards L1speakers

Shown visually, figure 7.5, the rises in the status expectations for the two L1 speakers increases the status ‘gap’ for the LX speaker.

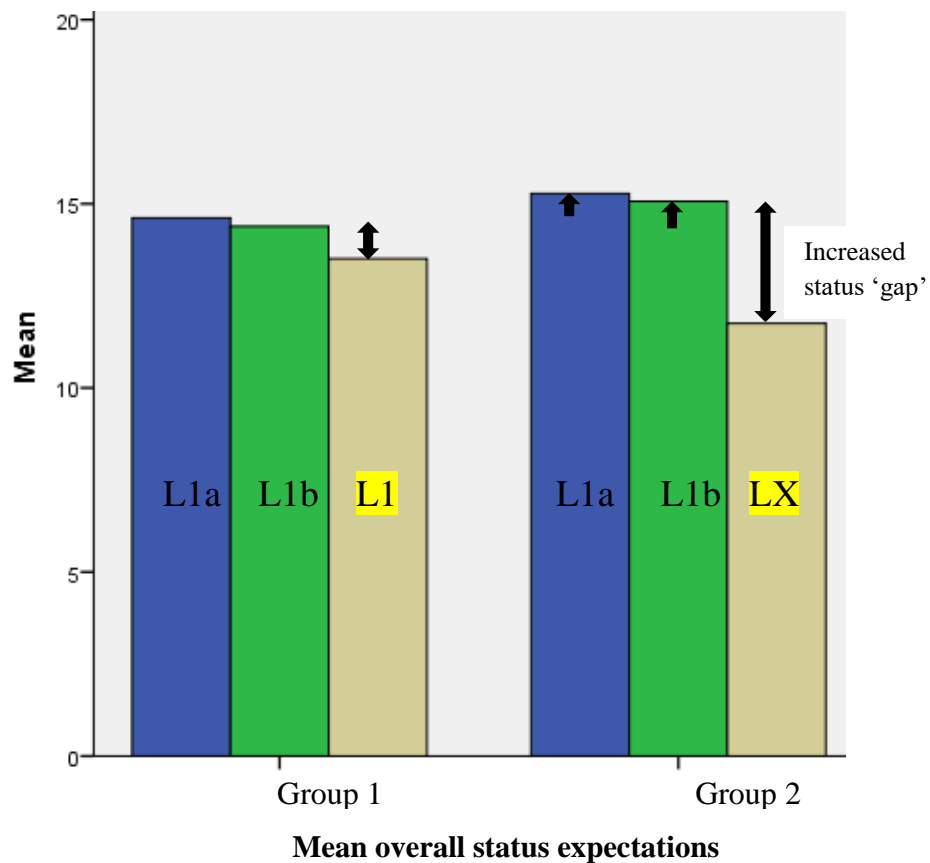


Figure 7.5: Mean overall status expectations individual groups members

The largest redistribution effect was observed for the status component ‘being influential’ in future group work. As can be seen in table 7.2 and figure 7.6, when the ‘being influential’ evaluation for LX speaker 3 fell relative to that of the NS, the corresponding evaluation for speakers 2 and 3 increased. It is quite noticeable that for this status component, speaker 3 shifted from being regarded as jointly the most influential speaker (in L1 guise) to being the least influential (LX guise) by a substantial margin.

	Group 1 means (N=75)	Group 2 means (N=150)
Be influential, Speaker 1, L1a	4.68	4.94
Be influential, Speaker 2, L1b	4.40	4.53
Be influential, Speaker 3, L1/LX	4.64 (L1)	3.75 (LX)

Table 7.2: Redistribution effect for ‘being influential’

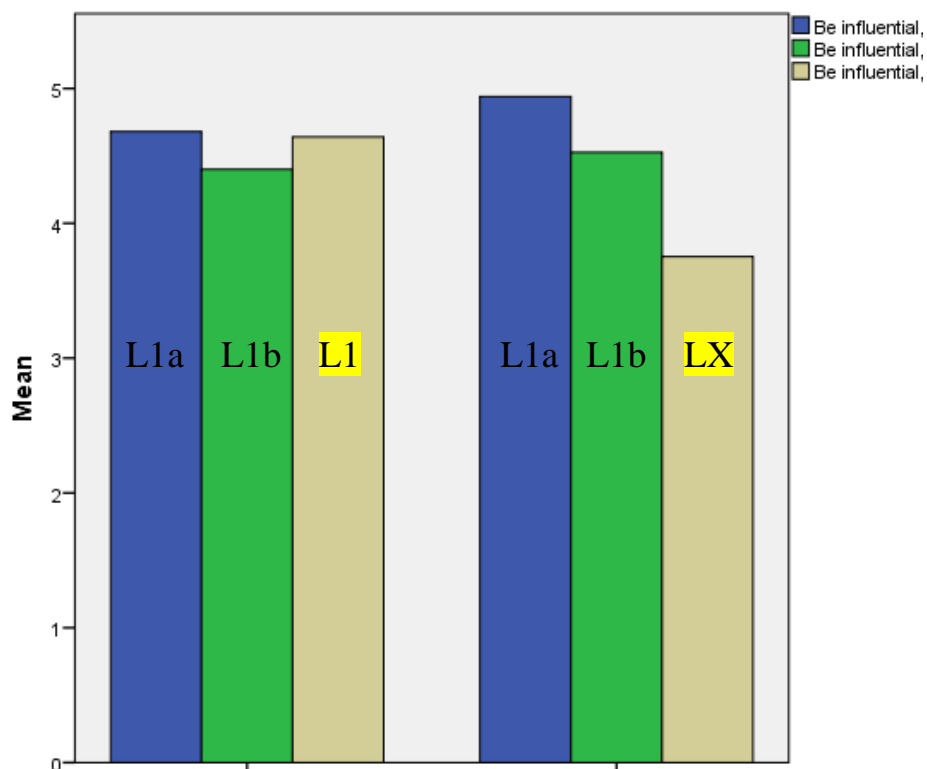


Figure 7.6: Redistribution effect for ‘being influential’

One unexpected aspect of this study was the relatively high number of L1 raters who identified themselves as being either bilingual or multilingual. It was not initial intention of this study to investigate differences between these groups, but such was the number of those declaring themselves bi or multilingual (49 out of a total of 150 L1 raters) that it was thought possible to conduct separate post-hoc analysis of these groups.

Table 7.3 shows that for bi and multilingual raters the gap between performance expectations for the L1 and LX speakers was larger than for monolingual raters.

	Monolingual raters		Bi and multilingual raters	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
Overall status L1 speaker	50	13.1	25	14.3
Overall status LX speaker	101	11.8	49	11.6

Table 7.3: Mean overall status expectations for bi and multilingual raters

While for monolingual raters only, there was no significant difference between the overall status evaluations of the L1 and LX speakers ($p=.070$), a Mann-Whitney test indicated that for bi- and multilingual raters only the overall status of the L1 speaker was higher (*Mdn* 15) than for the LX speaker (*Mdn* 11), $U = 342$, $p = .002$, $r = .36$.

This is to say, that the only statistically significant difference in status expectations for the LX speaker when rated by all 150 raters was driven entirely by bi and multilingual raters.

One interest post-hoc finding, see table 7.4, was that bi- and multilingual ratings consistently evaluated the L1 speaker **more favourably**, than LX speaker, though there were no significant differences found. While in three of the four same status components, the LX speaker was evaluated **less favourably**.

	Ratings of L1 speaker		Ratings of LX speaker	
	Mono raters (n=50)	Bi/Multi raters (n=25)	Mono raters (n=101)	Bi/Multi raters (n=50)
Idea rating	3.72	3.92	3.70	3.51
Receive positive evaluations in future group work	4.54	4.80	4.06	4.18
Receive opportunities in future group work	4.10	4.52	3.98	3.73
Be influential in future group work	4.46	5.00	3.80	3.65

Table 7.4: Idea and status expectation, mono versus bi- and multilingual raters

In terms of ‘being influential’, bi- & multilingual raters were most harsh, judging the expected influence of the NS 5.00 compared to just 3.54 for the LX speaker.

The contrast between ‘bi & multilingual raters’ and monolingual raters for ‘being influential’ can be seen in figure 7.7.

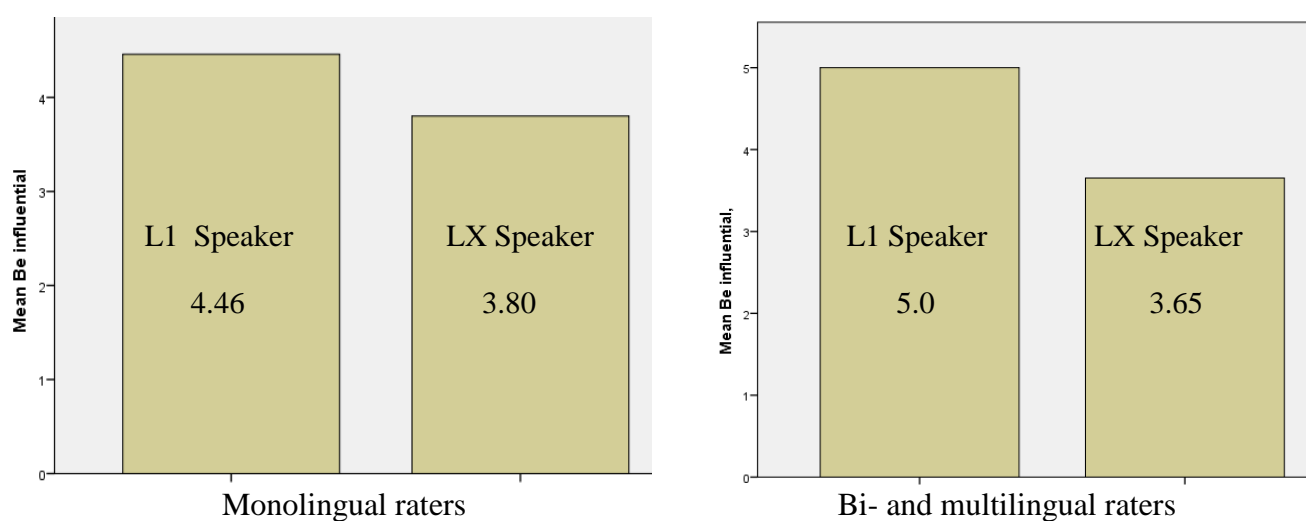


Figure 7.7: ‘Being influential’ as judged by mono vs bi- and multilingual raters

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that for monolingual raters, the expectation that the LX speaker would be influential in future group work was lower (Mdn 4) than that of the L1 speaker (Mdn 5), $U = 1873$, $p = .009$, $r = .21$

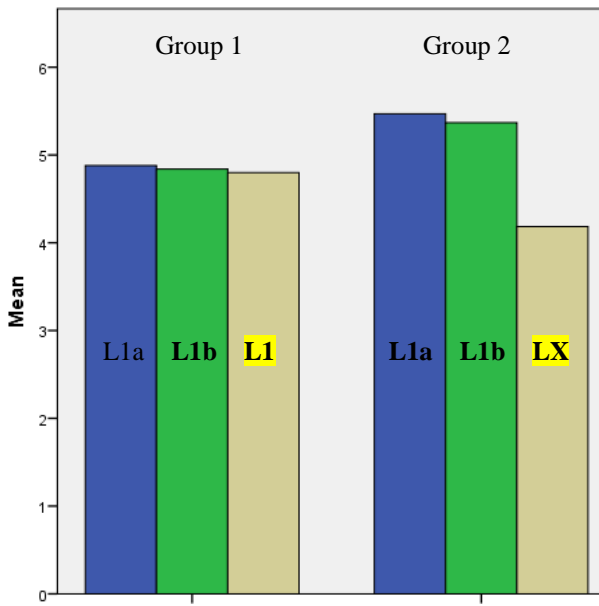
For bi- and multilingual raters, the expectation that the LX speaker would be influential in future group work was lower (Mdn 4) than that of the L1 speaker (Mdn 6), $U = 287$, $p = .000$, $r = .44$

For bi- and multilingual raters, the redistribution of ‘status components’ away from the LX speaker and towards the L1 speaker was to such an extent that these increases *themselves* were statistically significant. Table 7.5 shows these significance and effect sizes.

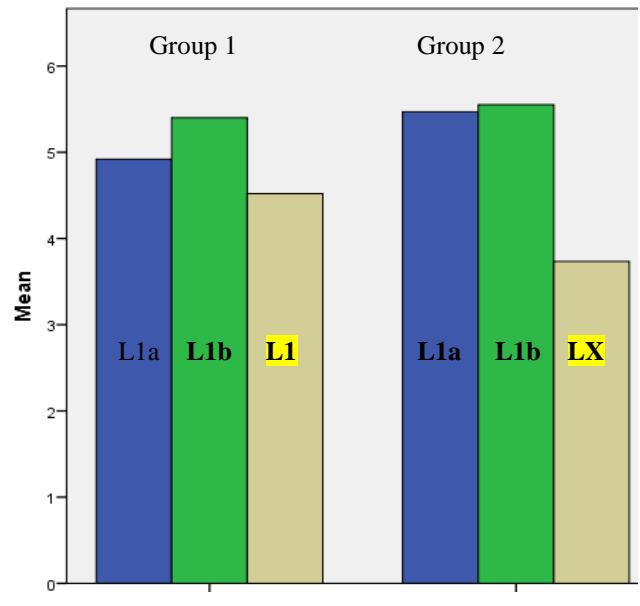
		Significance	Effect size r
Speaker 1 (L1a)	Receive opportunities	0.042	0.27 (increase)
	Receive positive evaluations	0.039	0.24 (increase)
	Be influential	0.043	0.26 (increase)
Speaker 2 (L1b)	Receive opportunities	0.056	0.22 (increase)
Speaker 3 (LX)	Receive positive evaluations	0.022	0.26 (decrease)
	Be influential	0.000	0.44 (decrease)

Table 7.5: Significance & effect size swing from LX speaker to L1 speaker, for bi- & multilingual raters

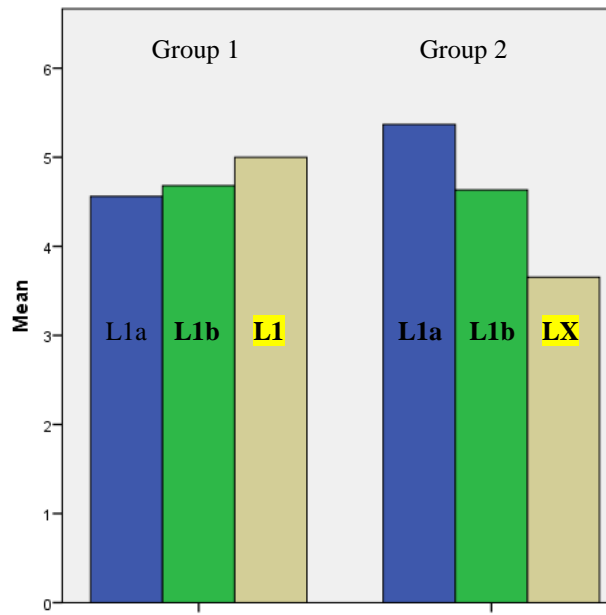
Interestingly, the results above indicate that all statistically significant status was ‘redistributed’ from the LX to L1 speaker L1a *only*, not L1b. It could be hypothesized that because speaker 1 was a more mature (postgraduate) male speaker and speaker 2 was a young female (aged just 19), that the status characteristics of age and gender explain this patterns. A pattern that would be entirely consistent with expectations states theory. Figures 7.8 a-c, clearly indicate how starkly status evaluations fall for the LX speaker



a. Redistribution for receiving opportunities (bi & multilingual raters only)



b. Redistribution for receiving positive evaluation (bi & multilingual raters only)



c. Redistribution for being influential (bi & multilingual raters only)

Figures 7.8 a, b, c: Redistribution of status components for bi-and multilingual raters

7.2.4 Hypothesis 2: Interpretation of results

Overall status expectations for the LX speaker will be lower than for the L1 speaker.

Hypothesis 2 was confirmed by this particular data set. An LX speaker rated approximately 6.5 in IELTS speaking by seven IELTS examiners was shown to suffer status costs when compared to an 'equivalent' L1 speaker. For all 150 raters the effect size of this status cost was $r = .22$, a small to medium effect. For bi- and multilingual raters, r increased to $.36$, suggesting that the raters in this study were harsher judges of the LX speaker.

Of the individual status components (receiving opportunities to contribute, receiving positive evaluations and being influential in future group work), the LX speaker was downrated most noticeably on being influential. For monolingual raters this fall was small to medium ($r = .21$), however for bi- and multilingual raters the effect size was $.44$, approaching $.5$ which would be considered a larger effect (Field, 2005).

That 'receiving positive evaluations' fell by the smallest margin for the LX speaker seems broadly consistent with the earlier finding that in terms of 'quality of idea' the L1 and LX speakers were rated almost identically. Given that their ideas were evaluated similarly, there is less reason why future evaluations should differ significantly either. However, it could be argued that the fact that the LX speaker was expected to receive less positive evaluations for their contributions compared to the L1 speaker *at all*, suggests a mild insistency given that quality of idea rating were rated almost identically (hypothesis 1).

7.3 Hypothesis 3: Comprehensibility

Higher evaluations by L1 users of LX speaker comprehensibility will be linked to higher evaluations of idea quality, intellectual and academic ability, and overall status expectations.

7.3.1 Descriptive statistical analysis: comprehensibility

All 150 respondents rated the LX speaker rated for comprehensibility, with 1 = ‘very difficult to understand’ and 7 = ‘very easy to understand’. The histogram of responses can be seen in figure 7.9.

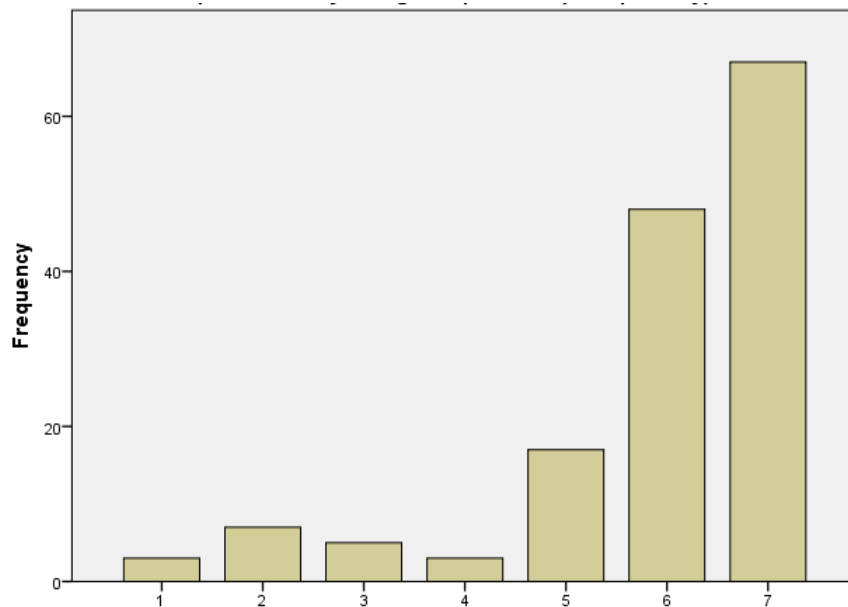


Figure 7.9: Comprehensibility rating for the LX speaker

7.3.2 Inferential statistics

It can be seen in table 7.6 that for all 150 raters there were small significant correlations between comprehensibility and mean evaluations of quality of idea, intellectual ability and overall status. Slightly stronger correlations were found for monolingual speakers, table 7.7.

		Quality of idea	Strong intellect & academic ability	Receive opportunities	Receive positive evaluations	Overall status
Comprehensibility	Correlation	.174	.173	.177	.244	.197
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.034	.034	.030	.003	.016
	N	150	150	150	150	150

Table 7.6: Spearman's *rho* correlations for comprehensibility

		Quality of idea	Receive opportunities	Receive positive evaluations	Overall status
Comprehensibility	Correlation	.309	.218	.255	.226
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.028	.010	.023
	N	101	101	101	101

Table 7.7: Spearman's *rho* correlations for monolinguals only

7.3.3 Comparing low, moderate and high levels of comprehensibility

A Kruskal Wallis test was used to investigate whether L1 raters who experienced low, moderate and high levels of the comprehensibility reported differences in idea quality, intellectual and academic ability, and overall status expectations for the LX speaker.

The boundaries for the three groups (low, moderate and high) were set approximately one standard deviation above (7.31) and below (4.43) the mean (5.91) as indicated in table 7.8.

The groups were unbalanced due to the negative skew of the data set, i.e. the LX speaker was generally regarded as highly comprehensible.

Mean / SD	Low	Moderate	High
5.91 / 1.48	0-5 (n=35)	6 (n=48)	7 (n=67)

Table 7.8: Boundaries of low, moderate and high comprehensibility

In terms of methodology, a Kruskal Wallis test was first performed in order to identify whether any differences between these three groups existed in relation to idea or status evaluations made. If significant differences between the three groups were identified at a significant level, a post hoc Man Whitney U test was used to identify between which particular groups these differences occurred. Either between low vs moderate groups (test 1), low vs high groups (test 2), or moderate vs high groups (test 3). A Bonferroni adjustment of the alpha for three Man Whitney tests ($= 0.05/3$) reduces the p-value to 0.0167.

Figures 7.10, 7.11 & 7.12 indicate the mean scores for the LX speaker based on these low, moderate and high comprehensibility groupings. It can be seen that across all measures higher levels of comprehensibility related to more favourable evaluations of the LX speaker, the one anomaly being a moderate level of comprehension and evaluations of intellectual and academic ability.

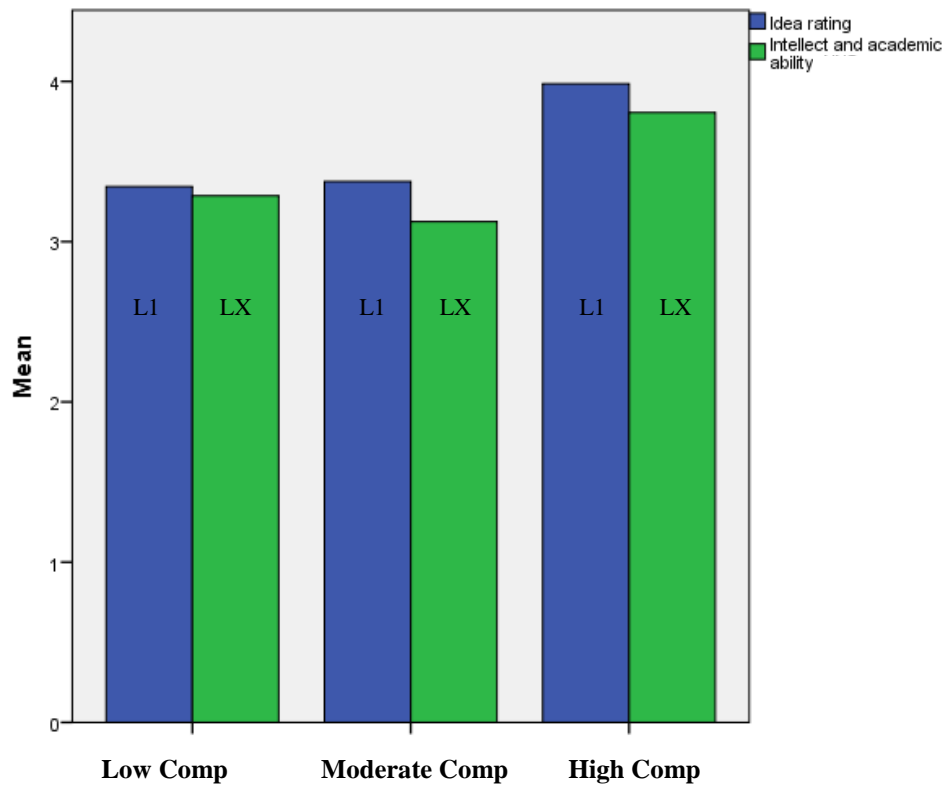


Figure 7.10: Idea quality and intellectual and academic ability ratings by raters reporting low, moderate and high comprehensibility

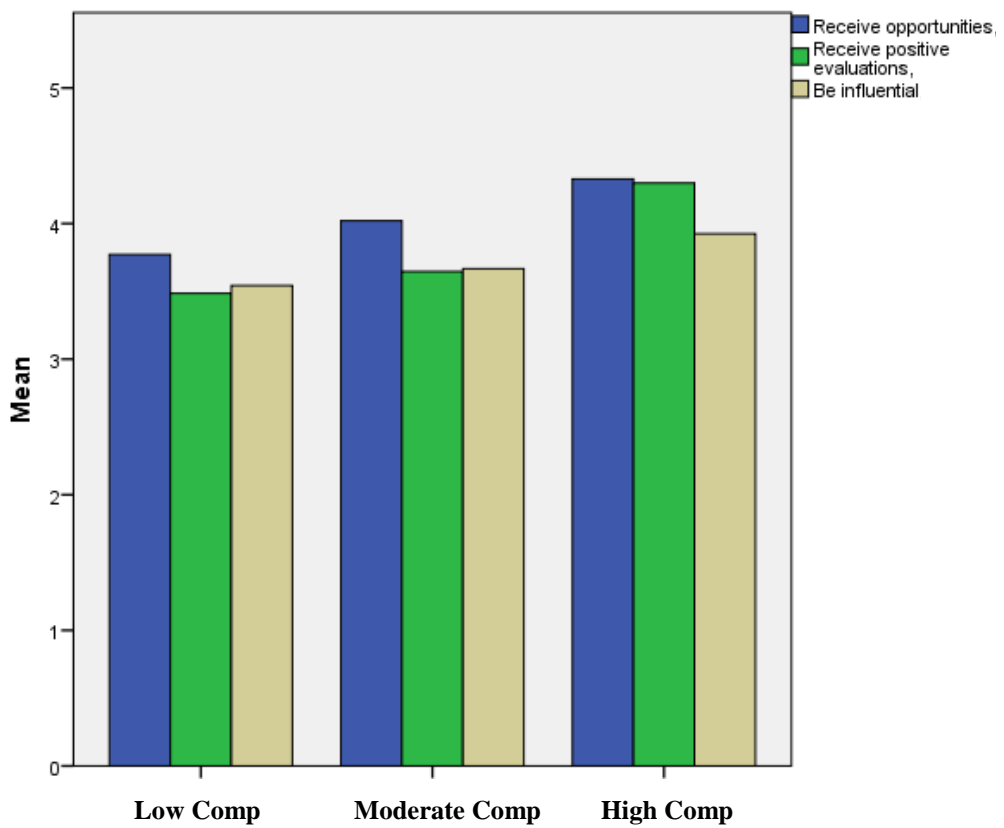


Figure 7.11: Status ratings of LX speaker by low, moderate and high comprehensibility raters

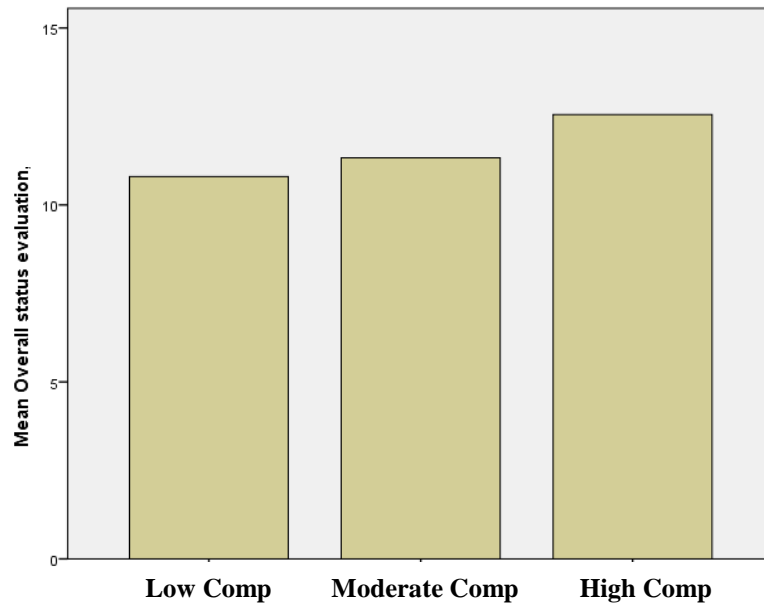


Figure 7.12: Overall status ratings by low, moderate and high comprehensibility raters

Kruskal Wallis tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between the estimates of intellectual and academic ability for the LX speaker by respondents who experienced different levels of comprehensibility ($H = 6.15$, $p = 0.046$), with a mean rank of 70.4 for low comprehensibility, 65.7 for moderate comprehensibility and 85.2 for high comprehensibility.

In addition, there was a statistically significant difference between the estimates of overall status of the LX speaker by respondents who experienced different levels of comprehensibility ($H = 6.48$, $p = 0.039$), with a mean rank of 64.6 for low comprehensibility, 70.2 for moderate comprehensibility and 85.0 for high comprehensibility.

Although the impact of comprehensibility had no significant impact on evaluations of idea quality for all raters, it did have a significant effect upon monolingual raters. Dividing monolingual raters according to low, moderate and high comprehensibility produced the groupings shown in table 7.9. Once more, because the distribution curve for comprehensibility was highly skewed to the right, the groupings were not equally balanced.

	Mean / SD	Low	Moderate	High
Comprehensibility of LX speaker (monolingual raters only)	5.85 / 1.40	0-5 (n=26)	6 (n=36)	7 (n=39)

Table 7.9: Low, moderate and high comprehensibility of LX speaker: monolingual raters only

The mean ‘quality of idea’ ratings are shown table 7.13.

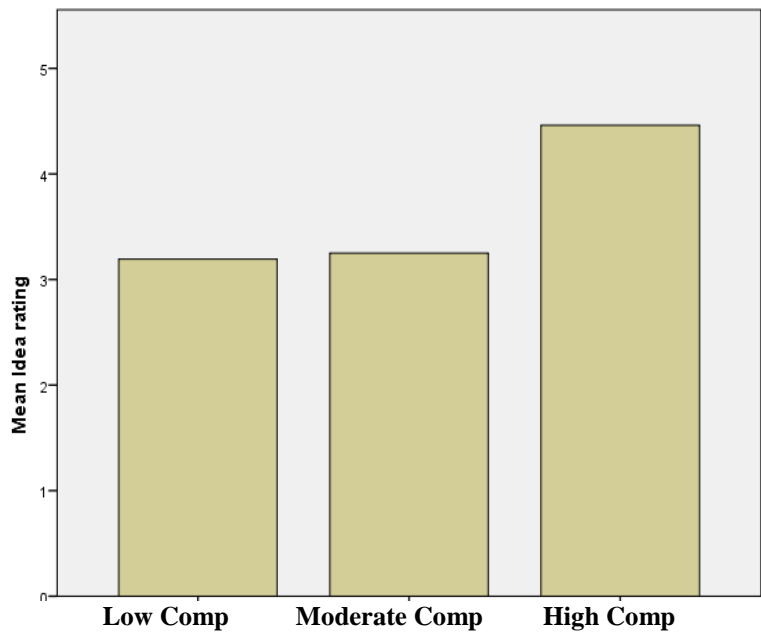


Figure 7.13: LX speaker idea ratings for low, moderate and high comprehensibility groups for monolingual raters only

A Kruskal Wallis test indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between the estimates of the idea quality for the LX speaker by monolingual respondents who experienced different levels of comprehensibility ($H = 10.90$, $p = 0.004$), with a mean rank of 42.7 for low comprehensibility, 44.1 for moderate comprehensibility and 63.0 for high comprehensibility.

Comparing the moderate to high comprehensibility groups, a Mann-Whitney test then indicated that the idea rating for the LX speaker was greater for respondents from the high comprehensibility group (Mdn 3) than for respondents from the medium comprehensibility group (Mdn 5), $U = 439$, $p = .003$, $r = .33$.

7.3.4 Hypothesis 2: Interpretation of results and post-hoc analysis

Comprehensibility described the self-reported difficulty raters experienced in processing the LX speaker. As expected, those exerting greatest effort in processing the LX speaker downgraded him across all metrics, other than intellectual and academic ability.

For all raters (N=150), statistically significant differences were found between low, moderate and high comprehensibility groups in respect of overall status and intellectual and academic ability. Significant differences in idea rating were only found for monolingual speakers.

In this experiment, the majority of raters found the LX speaker comprehensible. Since 77% of raters judged the LX speaker as either 6/7 or 7/7 for comprehensibility (see table 7.10), it could be argued that the terms ‘moderate’ comprehensibility is misleading.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very difficult to understand	Difficult to understand	Quite difficult to understand	Neither easy or difficult to understand	Quite easy to understand	Easy to understand	Very easy to understand

Table 7.10: Labelling of comprehensibility scale

However, a further post-hoc analysis indicated that even between these two ratings of comprehensibility (6/7 and 7/7), there was a significant reduction in ratings of the LX speaker, and particularly for monolingual speakers, see table 7.11.

	Number	Mean idea rating	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean strong intellectual and academic ability
Comprehensibility of LX speaker rated 7/7 (= very easy to understand)	39	4.46	4.49	4.00
Comprehensibility of LX speaker rated 6/7 (= easy to understand)	36	3.25	3.69	2.78

Table 7.11: Comparison between monolingual raters scoring six and seven for the LX speaker comprehensibility

Mann-Whitney tests were used to compare these monolinguals who rated the LX speaker as 6 or 7 in terms of idea rating, ‘receive positive evaluations’ and ‘intellectual and academic ability’:

1. For quality of idea rating, the ‘six’ group (*Mdn* 3) was lower than the ‘seven’ group (*Mdn* 5), $U = 439$, $p = .005$, $r = .33$, which represents a medium effect size.
2. For receiving positive evaluations, the ‘six’ group (*Mdn* 4) was lower than the ‘seven’ group (*Mdn* 5), $U = 468$, $p = .011$, $r = .29$, which represents close to a medium effect size.
3. Finally, for intellectual and academic ability, the ‘six’ group (*Mdn* 2.5) was lower than the ‘seven’ group (*Mdn* 4), $U = 391$, $p = .001$, $r = .39$, which represents a medium effect size.

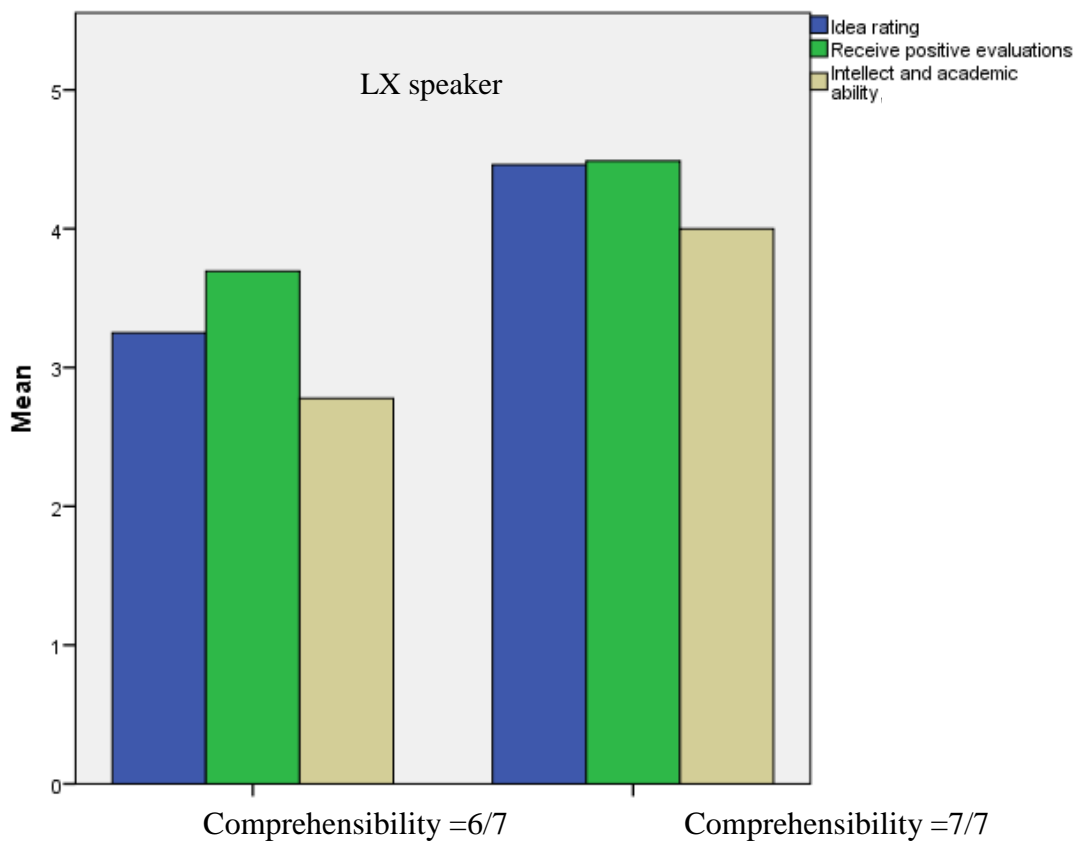


Figure 7.14: Idea and status ratings of LX speaker by monolinguals awarding six or seven for LX speaker comprehensibility

These effect sizes shown in figure 7.14 appear quite considerable, even surprising, given the marginal differences in comprehensibility. For example, in terms of idea rating, it might be

expected that this measure would begin fall only at the point at which the effort required to process the message content impacted intelligibility, rather than at a point where the speaker was still judged ‘easy’ to understand.

A final post-hoc showed that for raters who judged the LX speaker as fully comprehensible (7/7), 3 evaluations exceeded those of the L1 speaker, while 2 showed lower ratings.

	N	Mean idea rating	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group	Mean strong intellect and academic ability
L1 speaker	75	3.79	4.63	4.24	4.64	3.56
LX speaker comprehensibility =7 (42.6%)	67	3.99	4.30	4.33	3.93	3.81
LX speaker comprehensibility =1-5 (23.3%)	35	3.34	3.77	3.49	3.54	3.29

Table 7.12: Comparing L1 and LX ratings (Comp = 7 & Comp =1-5)

(The rationale for combining those rating the comprehensibility of the LX speaker from 1 to 5 into a single group was that the separate measures would be too small.)

To conclude, when the LX speaker was evaluated as fully comprehensible, there were no ‘costs’ incurred for the LX speaker, other than in ‘being influential’. That is to say that for 43% of all raters the LX speaker was judged as favourably as the L1 speaker.

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that ‘being influential’ rating for the L1 speaker (Mdn 5) was greater than for the LX speaker when rated 7/7 for comprehensibility (Mdn 4), $U = 1828$, $p = .005$, $r = .24$. This, therefore, seemed to be a status cost for the LX speaker irrespective of their comprehensibility.

7.4 Hypothesis 4: Adequacy of English

Higher evaluations by L1 users of the LX speaker's adequacy of English will be linked to higher evaluations of idea quality, intellectual and academic ability and overall status expectations.

7.4.1 Descriptive statistical analysis: Adequacy of English

Respondents were asked to judge the extent to which they thought that the level of English spoken by the LX speaker was sufficient for group work at university. A score of 7 indicating that the English spoken was sufficient:

Do you agree with the following statement? The level of English spoken by this individual is sufficient for group work at university. 7 = Strongly agree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 1 = Strongly disagree

Figure 7.15 indicates that while 70% agreed that the LX speaker rated at IELTS approximately 6.5 was sufficiently competent, 30% had reservations or disagreed.

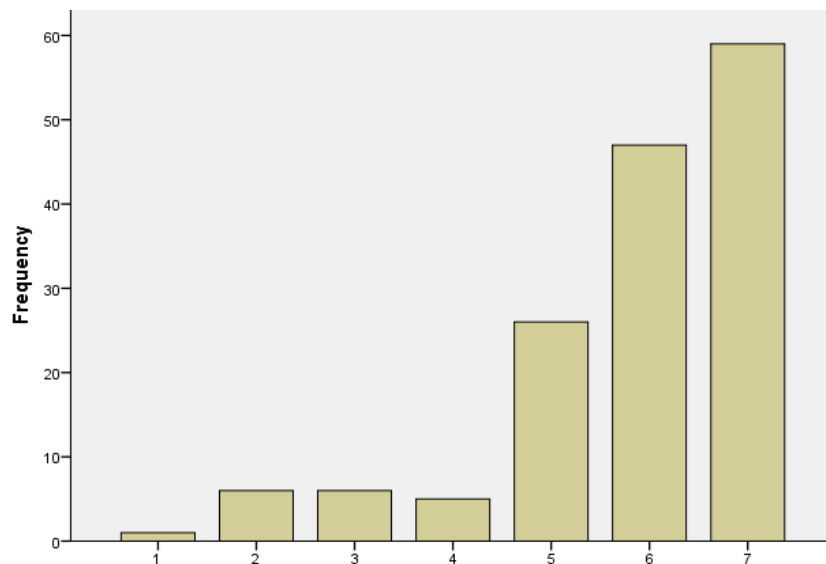


Table 7.15: Histogram for adequacy of English in group work at university

Table 7.13 (and figure 7.16) compare evaluations of the LX speaker and the ‘equivalent’ L1 speaker when rated at decreasing levels of ‘adequacy’. The data shows that when the LX speaker was rated seven out of seven for ‘adequacy of English’, there were no associated ‘costs’ associated with being a LX speaker (area highlighted in pink below), other than a slight fall in predicted influence (4.64 to 4.24). In fact, in terms of idea quality and intellectual and academic ability the LX speakers fared slightly more favourably than the L1. However, for those that rated ‘adequacy’ six (31.3%) or 1-5(29.3%) increasingly severe ‘costs’ were incurred, particularly in terms of ‘receiving opportunities’, ‘being influential’ and ‘demonstrating intellectual or academic ability’ in future group work.

	N	Mean idea rating	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group	Mean strong intellect and academic ability
L1 speaker	75	3.79	4.63	4.24	4.64	3.56
LX speaker adequacy =7 (39.3%)	59	4.0	4.61	4.32	4.24	3.83
LX speaker adequacy =6 (31.3%)	47	3.51	4.13	3.94	3.72	3.47
LX speaker adequacy 1-5 (29.3%)	44	3.30	3.39	3.30	3.14	2.98

Table 7.13: Comparison between L1 and LX speakers at decreasing rating of ‘adequacy of English’

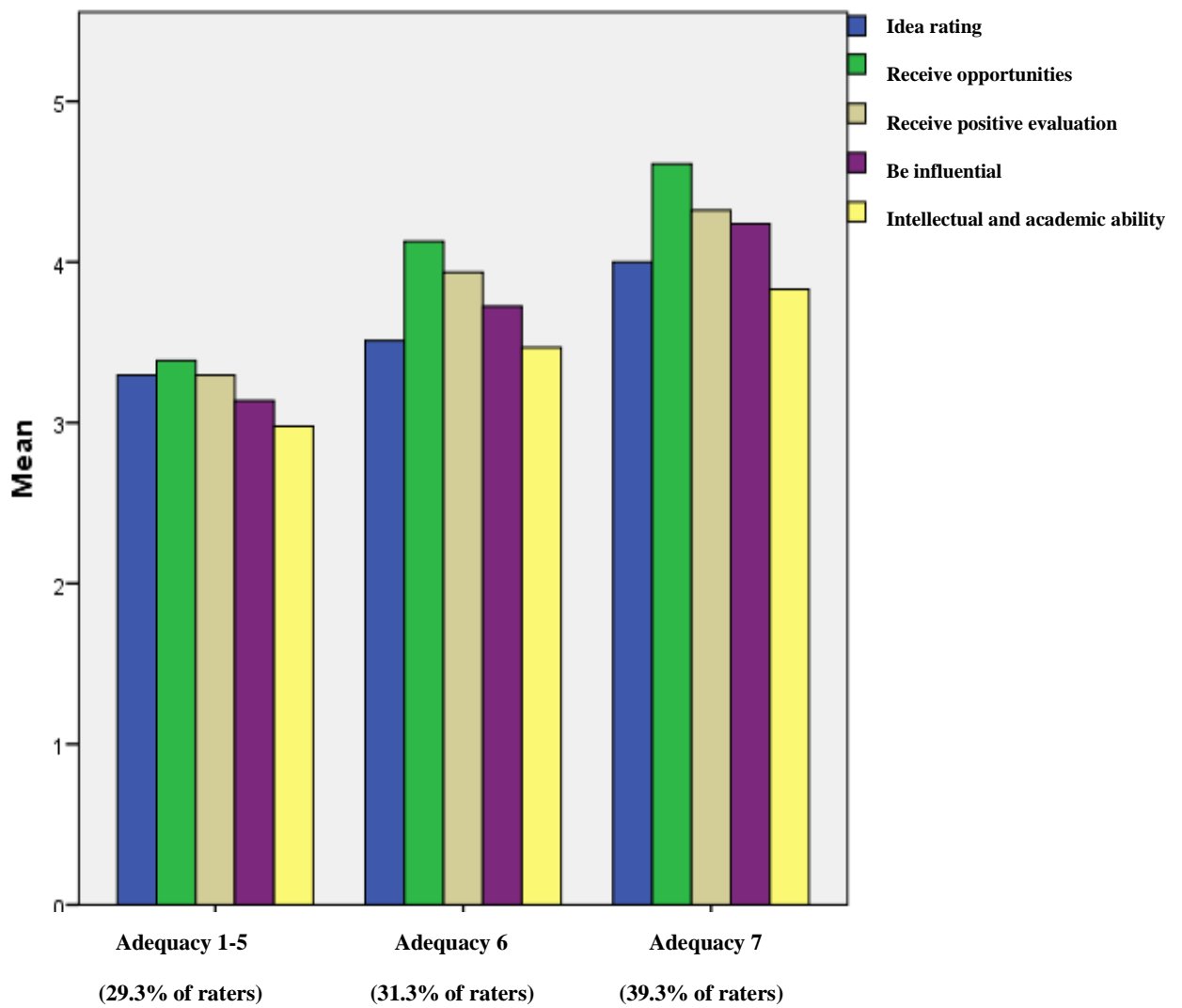


Figure 7.16: LX speaker status and idea ratings by level of adequacy of English

7.4.2 Inferential statistics

		Mean idea rating	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group	Mean strong intellect and academic ability	Mean overall status evaluation
Adequate level of English for group work at University	Correlation	.193	.344	.313	.289	.230	.457
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	.000	.000	.000	.005	0.61
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150

Table 7.14: Spearman's *rho* correlations for adequacy of English

Table 7.14 shows that across all seven recorded measures there were significant correlations between adequacy of English.

Comparing low, moderate and high levels of adequacy of English, following the same procedure applied to the measure of comprehensibility, three groups were generated according to ratings of the LX speaker adequacy of the English for group work at university, see table 7.15.

	Mean / SD	Low	Moderate	High
Adequacy of English of LX speaker	5.83 / 1.36	0-5 (n=44)	6 (n=47)	7 (n=59)

Table 7.15: Grouping for Kruskal Wallis analysis

Figure 7.15 shows the how overall status increases with higher evaluations of language competency.

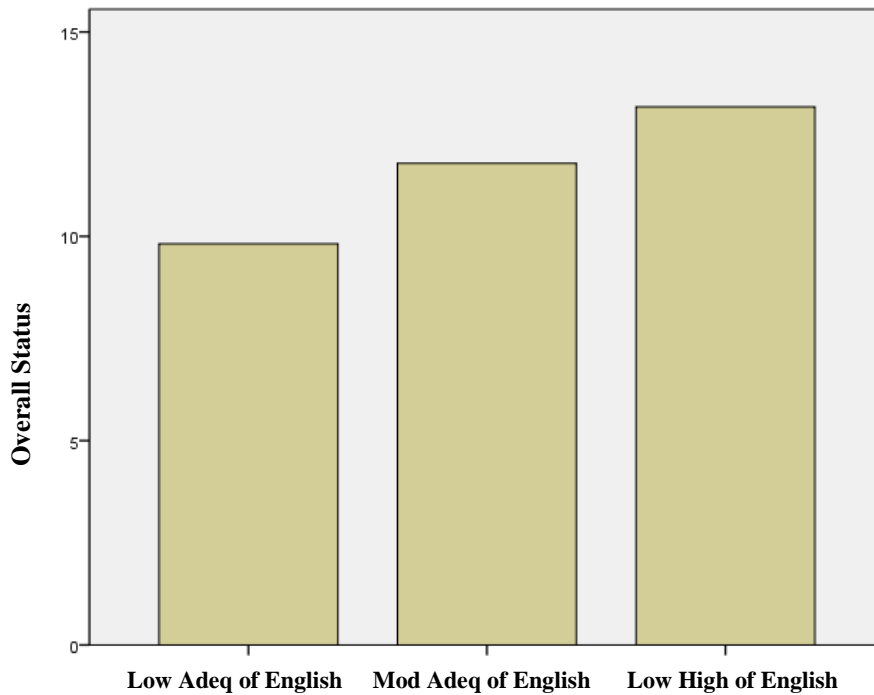


Figure 7.17: Adequacy of English vs overall status expectations.

A Kruskal Wallis analyses indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between evaluations of speaker's overall status by respondents who perceived different levels of adequacy of English ($H = 21.1, p = 0.000$), with a mean rank of 52.3 for low adequacy of English, 76.6 for moderate adequacy of English, and 91.9 for high adequacy of English.

A Mann-Whitney test then indicated that the overall status of the LX speaker speaker was greater for respondents from the high adequacy of English group ($Mdn 14$) than for respondents from the low adequacy of English group ($Mdn 10$), $U = 632.5, p = .000, r = .44$.

Further Kruskal Wallis analyses indicated that in terms of the three individual components of overall status:

1. There was a statistically significant difference between evaluations of speaker's likelihood of receiving opportunities to contribute in future group work by respondents who perceived different levels of adequacy of English ($H = 19.0, p = 0.000$), with a mean rank of 54.0 for low adequacy of English, 76.4 for moderate adequacy of English, and 90.8 for high adequacy of English.
2. There was a statistically significant difference between evaluations of speaker's likelihood of receiving positive evaluations in future group work by respondents who

perceived different levels of adequacy of English ($H = 14.2, p = 0.001$), with a mean rank of 56.8 for low adequacy of English, 76.6 for moderate adequacy of English, and 88.6 for high adequacy of English.

3. There was a statistically significant difference between evaluations of speaker's likelihood of being influential in future group work by respondents who perceived different levels of adequacy of English ($H = 14.2, p = 0.001$), with a mean rank of 57.4 for low adequacy of English, 75.0 for moderate adequacy of English, and 89.3 for high adequacy of English.

Finally, in terms of intellectual and academic ability:

- There was a statistically significant difference between evaluations of speaker's academic and intellectual ability by respondents who perceived different levels of adequacy of English ($H = 8.1, p = 0.018$), with a mean rank of 61.7 for low adequacy of English, 75.4 for moderate adequacy of English, and 86.8 for high adequacy of English.

In terms of quality of idea rating, although evaluations rose with higher ratings of adequacy, (see figure 7.16) the Kruskal Wallis result was marginally outside the bounds of statistical significance ($p=.067$)

7.4.3 Analysis

Overall, the evidence suggests that status, quality of idea evaluations and ratings for intellectual and academic ability decreased sharply when perceptions of 'adequacy of English' dropped below the maximum score of 7/7. In this respect, the trends closely match those found for varying levels of comprehensibility. That is, only 59 of raters judged the IELTS 6.5 speaker as having perfectly adequate language ability for group work at university and did not judge differences between the L1 and LX speakers in terms of idea quality, status and intellectual and academic ability. For the remaining 91 of raters, evaluations of idea quality, future status and intellectual and academic ability fell markedly with decreasing evaluations of adequacy of English.

7.5 Hypothesis 5: Motivational cultural intelligence

Higher levels of MCQ among L1 users will be linked to higher evaluations of the LX user's comprehension, adequacy of English, idea rating, academic and intellectual ability, and overall status expectations.

7.5.1 Descriptive statistics: cultural intelligence

Table xxx shows a histogram for the metric of motivational cultural intelligence for all 225 raters.

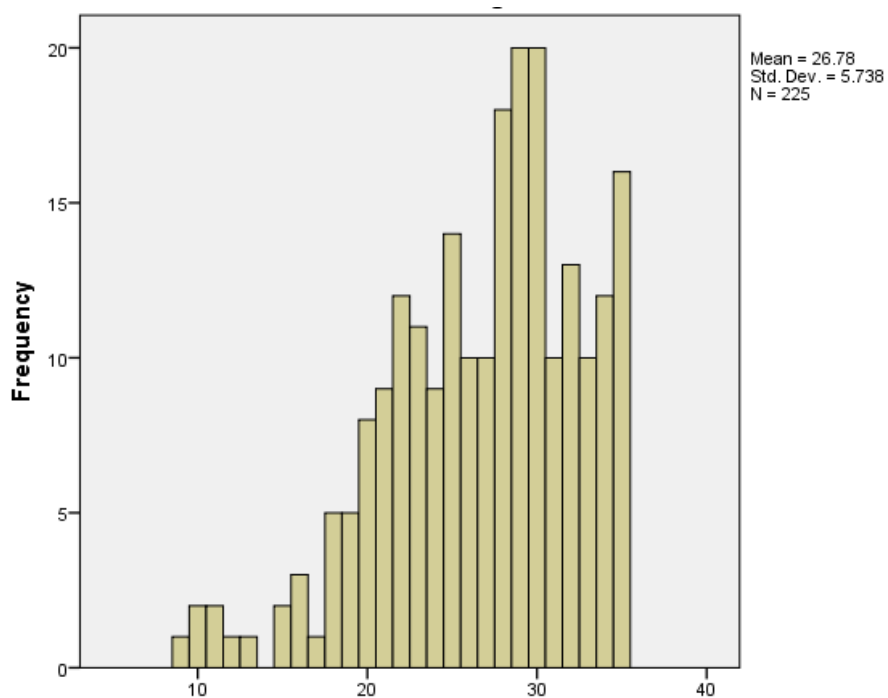


Figure 7.18: motivational cultural intelligence

It was noticeable (table 7.16) that levels of motivational CQ varied between monolingual, bilingual and multilingual groups.

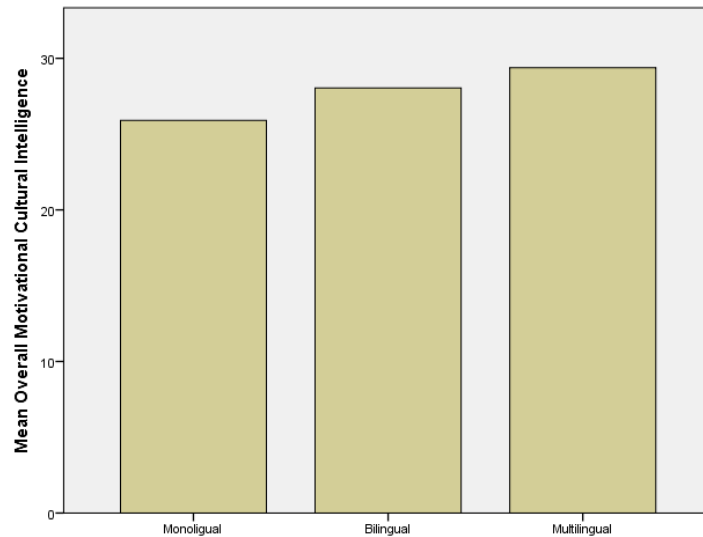


Figure 7.19: MCQ for mono, bi- and multilingual raters

7.5.2 Inferential statistical analysis

Before addressing hypothesis 5, the differences in MCQ between monolinguals, bi- and multilinguals will be considered. A Kruskal Wallis indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between these three groups: monolinguals (mean rank 102.1), bilinguals (mean rank 127.6) and multilinguals (mean rank 146.8). ($H = 14.35$, $p = 0.001$).

Mann-Whitney tests indicated significant differences in motivational cultural intelligence between monolinguals (Mdn 27) and bilinguals (Mdn 29), $U = 2597$, $p = .016$, $r = .17$, and significant differences between monolinguals (Mdn 27) and multilinguals (Mdn 32), $U = 1350$, $p = .001$, $r = .22$.

The Spearman's *rho* correlations for the 150 raters who evaluated the LX speaker are shown in table 7.16.

		Idea rating for LX	Comprehensibility rating for LX speaker	Adequacy of English rating for LX speaker	Intellectual and academic ability
Overall Motivational Cultural Intelligence	Correlation	.222	.354	.228	.196
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024	.000	.005	.016
	N	101 (monolingual only)	150	150	150

Table 7.16: Spearman's *rho* correlations for motivational cultural intelligence, and ratings of LX speaker comprehensibility and adequacy of English

It can also be seen in table 7.16 that there were small but significant associations between idea quality and MCQ for monolingual raters only. However, no significant Spearman's *rho* correlations were found associating MCQ with any status characteristics, for monolingual or bi or multilingual speakers.

7.5.3 Comparing low, moderate and high levels of MCQ

All 150 raters who evaluated the LX speaker were allocated into three groups low, moderate and high as described in table 7.17. Given that bi- and multilingual raters had, on average, higher levels of MCQ, they were disproportionately distributed across the 'moderate' and 'high' MCQ groups.

Mean / SD	Low MCQ	Moderate MCQ	High MCQ
27.16 / 5.59	0-22 (n=30)	23-32 (n=91)	33+ (n=29)

Table 7.17: grouping for low, moderate and high MCQ

Figure 7.20 shows that more favourable ratings of comprehensibility and adequacy of English were made by those in with higher levels of MCQ

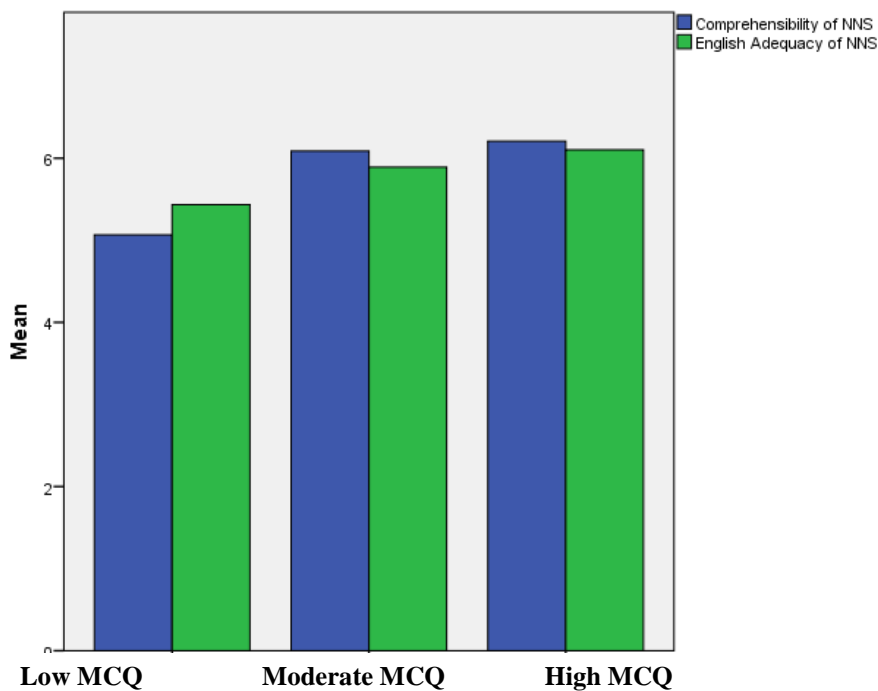


Figure 7.20: Comprehensibility and adequacy of English at low, moderate and high MCQ

A Kruskal Wallis indicated that in terms of comprehensibility ratings of the LX speaker there was a statistically significant difference between these three groups: low MCQ (mean rank 50.2), moderate MCQ (mean rank 78.4) and high MCQ (mean rank 92.4). ($H = 17.1$, $p = 0.000$).

Mann-Whitney tests indicated significant differences between the low MCQ group (Mdn 5.5) and high MCQ groups (Mdn 7), $U = 217.5$, $p = .001$, $r = .45$.

In terms of adequacy of English, there was also a statistically significant difference: low MCQ (mean rank 58.9), moderate MCQ (mean rank 78.3) and high MCQ (mean rank 83.8). ($H = 6.4$, $p = 0.040$).

As with the Spearman's *rho* correlation results, there was no evidence that varying levels of MCQ impacted status evaluations positively as hypothesized. Figure 7.21 shows small and inconsistent variability amongst the three levels of MCQ for all 150 raters.

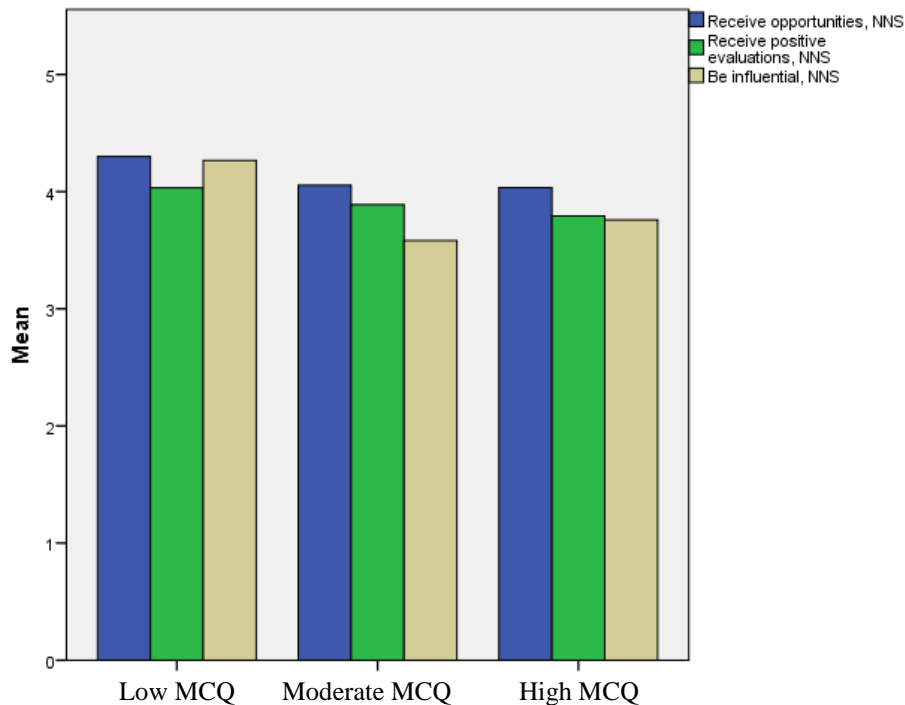


Figure 7.21: Individual status components at low, moderate and high MCQ

In this dataset, higher levels of MCQ suggest a greater ability to focus energy and function effectively in cross-cultural situations. The results indicate that those possessing high MCQ experienced less effort, discomfort or difficulty in processing the LX speech, and were more generous in their evaluations of adequacy of English.

8 Summary of all findings

Hypotheses	Finding
The LX speaker's quality of idea will be rated lower than the L1 speaker's.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hypothesis rejected. No significant difference found
Overall status expectations for the LX speaker will be lower than for the L1 speaker.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall status evaluations for LX speaker lower ($r=.22$) Lower status evaluations from bi-and multilinguals raters ($r=.36$) Evaluation of 'being influential' fell most for LX speaker Drop in status for LX speaker accompanied by rise in status evaluations for other two L1 speaker group members
Higher evaluations by L1 users of LX speaker comprehensibility will be linked to higher evaluations of idea quality, intellectual and academic ability, and overall status expectations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher comprehensibility related to higher evaluations of overall status, intellectual and academic ability Higher comprehensibility related to higher idea ratings from <i>monolinguals</i> only Small drop in comprehensibility from 7/7 to 6/7 caused significant falls in idea rating and intellectual and academic ability evaluations for monolingual raters (effect size .33 and .39 respectively).
Higher evaluations by L1 users of the LX speaker's adequacy of English will relate to higher evaluations of idea quality, intellectual and academic ability and status expectations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 39.3% of all raters ($N=150$) rated LX speaker's English as perfectly adequate and rated LX speaker as equivalent to L1 speaker across most status measures and quality of idea and intellectual and academic ability For remaining 60.7% of raters LX speaker evaluations dropped markedly with decreasing evaluations of adequacy Higher adequacy on English ratings related to large differences in status expectations (effect size of low vs high groups = .44) Higher ratings of adequacy associated with higher evaluations of intellectual and academic ability
Higher levels of MCQ among L1 users will be linked to higher evaluations of the LX user's comprehension, adequacy of English, idea rating, academic and intellectual ability, and status expectations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significantly lower levels of MCQ between monolinguals and multilingual raters For comprehensibility, the effect size of low vs high MCQ groups was $r=.45$, Spearman's <i>rho</i> correlation (.354) Significant Spearman's <i>rho</i> correlations for adequacy of English, intellectual ability and, for monolingual raters only, idea rating No statistically significant relationship between MCQ and status expectations

9 Discussion

This chapter will discuss more generally the key findings presented in the results section, commenting on the significance of each finding, and highlighting which findings support or contradict existing literature.

Hypotheses

1. Idea rating
2. Status expectations
3. Comprehensibility and adequacy of English
4. Motivational Cultural Intelligence

Implications

1. Implications for LX and L1 speakers
2. Implications for institutions

Limitations

1. Issues with an experimental design
2. Lack of multiple LX speaker samples
3. Experiment lacked measurement of affect
4. Group work is a process

9.1 Hypotheses

9.1.1 Idea ratings

It might have been expected that since only 55% of raters stated that the LX speaker was very easy to understand, that idea ratings would have suffered. However, the hypothesis that the idea rating for the LX speaker would be lower than for the L1 speaker was rejected, with ratings actually being extremely close for both speakers. Although this outcome was contrary to originally hypothesized, it was unsurprising since the pilot study had predicted the same outcome. This finding was also inconsistent with Ridgeway & Correll's (2004) claim that an identical, performance, idea or product seems more impressive when delivered by a higher rather than lower status person. However, that the ideas were rated so similarly does flag two possible inconsistencies, one within the present data set, and one in relation to previous research into persuasive speech.

The inconsistency within the present data set is that although idea ratings for the LX speaker were equivalent to those for the L1 speaker, when asked if the same LX speaker would receive positive evaluations in future group work, raters downgraded the LX speaker relative to the L1 speaker (table 9.1).

	L1 speaker	LX speaker
Idea rating	3.72	3.70
Receive positive evaluations in future group work	4.54	4.06

Table 9.1: Idea and 'receive positive evaluation' evaluations for monolingual raters

The data suggests that personally assigned evaluations were more generous than those expected from *others* in future group work. As mentioned in the methodology section, the phrasing of the status questions was designed so as to invite raters to 'detach' from their own perspectives and make judgements as to how others would respond, and by doing so remove any tendency to provide a socially desirable response. It could be the case, therefore, that raters were either more generous with their own scoring, or less charitable with the scoring of how others might evaluate the LX speaker.

In terms of persuasive speech, Apple et al. (1979) found that slow tempo of speech and monotone delivery were associated with low levels of persuasiveness. In addition Tsalikis et al. (1991) found that, when comparing extracts of LX with L1 speech within a persuasive selling context, there was a tendency to be more convinced by voices considered homophilous. On the basis of this research, these previous findings are not supported in that the slower speech of the LX speaker was ranked as favourably, in terms of content, as the L1 speaker.

9.1.2 Status Expectations

Evidence to support the hypothesis that overall status expectations for the LX speaker would be lower than for the L1 speaker was clear in the data. When compared to the overall status evaluations of the L1 speaker, evaluations of the LX speaker were significantly lower, though the effect size was relatively small ($r = .22$). Of the three individual status components ‘being influential in future group work’ showed the biggest fall for the LX speaker with $r = .29$, approaching a medium effect size. As previously noted, the redistribution of status away from the LX speaker to the remaining two L1 group members served to extend this status gap further, meaning that the disadvantage experienced by the LX speaker in this particular hypothetical scenario would have been considerable.

Data in this study provides support for Bunderson & Barton’s claim (2003) that language could be viewed as status characteristic, i.e. that there may in fact be an associated stereotype associated with being an accented, less fluent and less accurate speaker. If this is the case, the danger, according to the inevitably of prejudice perspective (Allport, 1954), is that such stereotypes, by dint of their very existence, are applied to individual members of that devalued group heuristically. Some LX speakers may therefore inevitably suffer prejudice, or to be specific, be subject to lower status evaluations *regardless* of their objective ability to perform in the task competently.

9.1.3 Comprehensibility and adequacy of English

Although, as previously described, there was an overall statistically significant difference between the status expectations for the L1 and LX speakers, it is when considering measures of comprehensibility and adequacy of English that more revealing status patterns emerge.

Findings showed that there were close similarities in how ratings of these two measures related to idea and status ratings, see table 9.2. It was clear, for example, that when the LX speaker was rated 7/7 for either adequacy or comprehensibility, they compared very similarly with scores for the equivalent L1 speaker, other than in terms of influence, where there were significant drops.

	N	Mean idea rating	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group	Mean strong intellect and academic ability
L1	75	3.79	4.63	4.24	4.64	3.56
LX speaker adequacy =7/7 (39.3% of all raters)	59	4.0	4.61	4.32	4.24	3.83
LX speaker comprehensibility =7/7 (42.6% of all raters)	67	3.99	4.30	4.33	3.93	3.81

Table 9.2: Comparison between L1 and LX speaker at highest levels of adequacy and comprehensibility. Shaded areas indicating little divergence between L1 and LX speaker ratings.

When lower levels of adequacy and comprehensibility are considered together, the impact upon all measures (status, idea rating and intellectual ability status) was considerable (see table 9.3), with harsher evaluations from those who rated the sample as 1-5 for adequacy than 1-5 for comprehensibility, despite the fact that this former grouping constituted a *larger* proportion of the 150 raters, 29% vs 23%. This suggests that concerns over the language ability had a *greater* impact on idea rating and all status components than issues with comprehension. As expected, the most significant gap between evaluations of the L1 and LX

speaker by those who judged adequacy 1-5, were in terms of ‘being influential’. However, it is also noticeable that lower ‘adequacy of English’ was also associated with lower ratings of intellectual and academic ability, supporting the qualitative evidence of such experiences reported in the literature review, e.g. Morita (2004) and Kim & Kim (2010).

	N	Mean idea rating	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group	Mean strong intellect and academic ability
Evaluations of LX speaker	75	3.79	4.63	4.24	4.64	3.56
Evaluations of LX speaker by those judging comprehensibility 1-5 (23.3% of all raters)	35	3.34	3.77	3.49	3.54	3.29
Evaluations of LX speaker by those judging adequacy of English 1-5 (29.3% of all raters)	44	3.30	3.39	3.30	3.14	2.98

Table 9.3: Comparison between L1 and LX speakers at low levels of adequacy and comprehensibility

The measure of ‘adequacy’ of English was intended to elicit L1 speakers’ expectations as to what level of English was necessary to conduct group work effectively at university. The findings suggest both good and bad news for a speaker rated IELTS 6.5. The good news being that for nearly 40%, 6.5 was rated totally adequate, and consistent with this, there were no status costs incurred for the LX speaker, other than in terms of being less ‘influential’. In fact, the ability to speak English to this level of proficiency may even be related to ratings awarded to the LX speaker for intellectual and academic ability being *higher* than for the L1 speaker (see table 9.4 blue shading).

	N	Mean idea rating	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group	Mean strong intellect and academic ability
L1 speaker	75	3.79	4.63	4.24	4.64	3.56
LX speaker adequacy =7/7 (39.3%)	59	4.0	4.61	4.32	4.24	3.83

Table 9.4: Comparison between L1 and LX speakers at levels of adequacy 7/7 & 6/7

However, for those L1 speaker who had doubts about the speaker's adequacy of English, or viewed it as clearly inadequate, serious status implications were recorded, see table 9.5, most noticeably in terms of the expectation that they would be influential.

	N	Mean receive opportunities	Mean receive positive evaluations	Mean be influential in group
Rating of L1 speaker	75	4.6	4.2	4.6
Ratings of LX speaker by those judging adequacy 1-5 (29.3% of all raters)	44	3.4	3.3	3.1
Effect size for L1 s LX speaker rated at 'adequacy 1-5'	75 vs 44	$r=0.38, p=.000$	$r=0.30, p=.001$	$r=0.47, p=.000$

Table 9.5: L1 and LX speaker ratings for those judging adequacy 1-5

Furthermore, that 30% of L1 raters scored the LX speaker 1-5 for adequacy seems to reinforce the validity of IELTS guidance that for linguistically demanding courses an IELTS score of 7.5 is actually more suitable. The fact that more than 50% of UK institutions accept students for linguistically demanding courses with an IELTS score of just 5.5 in speaking (see table 1.2, p11) suggests a worrying situation.

1.4 Motivational Cultural Intelligence

Lippi Green's (1997) comment that some L1 listeners seem incapable of understanding even the clearest LX speech (1997) suggested that a lack of genuine motivation to engage may be a factor in forming negative attitudes. In the present results, clear correlations can be seen between perceived adequacy of English and comprehensibility. However, it is unclear if one is a 'cause' of the other or, assuming there *is* a causal effect, what the direction of that cause /effect is. Did comprehension difficulties result in lower judgements of adequacy, or did a sense that the language was 'poor' decrease the motivation to engage, and thus comprehensibility?

However, the results in this study suggested that motivation to engage *does* play a clear role in increasing comprehensibility. There was a strong relationship found between MCQ and comprehensibility indicated by a Spearman's *rho* correlation of .354 and an effect size between the high and low MCQ groups of $r = .44$.

The mechanism by which high L1 rater MCQ results in higher comprehensibility ratings for the LX speaker is uncertain, but it could be hypothesised that an increased motivation to engage leads to greater or deeper cognitive processing of the message content itself. This process reduces the likelihood that the L1 rater will apply stereotypical labels to the LX speaker such as might be applied by those thinking 'fast'. This motivation to seek out and engage with those who are different also suggests a higher tolerance of ambiguity than those more reluctant to engage. The ability to engage with and process message content without being distracted or disturbed by deviations from so-called 'native norms' might have resulted in more favourable ratings of comprehensibility in this experimental setting.

Although, for monolingual speakers, a statistically significant relationship was found between MCQ and idea rating, no significant associations were found between MCQ and status. This was contrary to the original hypothesis, but might be explained, to some extent, by the wording of the prompts related to status. The 150 L1 raters were presented with this wording:

In future group work, this speaker is likely to:

- *receive opportunities to contribute to the group task*
- *receive positive evaluations for their contributions*
- *be influential in group decisions*

In other words, raters were asked how *others* would most likely respond to the LX speaker, rather than whether they *themselves* would offer opportunities and positive evaluations, or evaluate the LX speaker as influential.

A better wording would have been:

If you were in a group work with this speaker in future, would you:

- *be likely to offer them opportunities to contribute to the group task*
- *be likely to make positive evaluations for their contributions*
- *expect them to be influential in group decisions*

If this wording had been used, there may have been evidence found linking high MCQ and status evaluations, which may have been in line with Rockstuhl & Ng's (2008) observation that high motivational cultural intelligence can reduce the social categorization processes which classify culturally distinct groups as being of lower status.

One further observation is that the results in this study showed no correlation between higher levels of MCQ and ratings of accentedness. In fact, there was also found to be no relationship between accentedness and either comprehensibility and adequacy of English (see table 6.4). As discussed in the methods section, this somewhat surprising finding might be explained by the fact that the speaker adopting the matched guise was encouraged to produce an accented yet comprehensible audio sample.

9.2 Implications

There are a number of implications arising from the results of this study, these will be categorised in terms of implications for LX speakers and their group mates, and for institutions.

9.2.1 Implications for LX and L1 speakers

The present research has shown that an IELTS 6.5 speaker is likely to suffer a disadvantage in terms of status expectations when working with L1 classmates, and that, compared to an L1 speaker this disadvantage is likely to be greatest when in proximity to L1 speakers who have doubts about the speaker's adequacy of English. Furthermore, results suggest that the presence of a low status member in a group will result in the status of other members rising, thus compounding the disadvantage for LX speaker. As shown in table 9.6, the most significant lowering of expectations may be seen in terms of expectation that the LX speaker will be influential.

	N	Mean 'be influential in future group work'
Rating of L1 speaker	75	4.6
Ratings of LX speaker by those judging adequacy 1-5 (29.3% of all raters)	44	3.1

Table 9.6: L1 speaker expected influential in future group work compared to LX speaker

One implication is that in groups where LX 'low status' students are present, L1 speakers may attempt to capitalise upon or exploit the advantage their language competency grants them. Ridgeway & Correll (2004) described how a belief in one's own higher status manifests itself in a feeling of superior task ability, which may be likened to 'home team advantage'. Particularly in group work situations where there is competition for influence, for example when members are battling to have their ideas accepted over others', those of lower status are more likely to be interrupted, talked over, and have their own attempted interruption rejected (Berger, 1980).

There is also evidence that stronger speakers may intentionally exploit differences in language competency and ignore the views of the others in order to gain and increase their own advantage; a strategy described as operating in an 'ethnocentric mode' by Yoshikawa (1987). Leki (2001) found similar power dynamics at work in her study of L1 and LX speakers working together in groups. Not only were LX speakers routinely relegated to more trivial roles and afforded less opportunity to participate, but according to Leki (2001:60), 'consciously or not, L1 speakers appeared to be positioning themselves as experts, masters, or at least more senior members of a community of practice and their bi-lingual group mates as novices, incompetents, or apprentices.' Of the seventeen individuals Leki observed at close quarters, fifteen of them reported negative experiences in group work specifically because of 'a priori expectation on the part of domestic group members that the bilingual students would not or would not be able to make a significant contribution to the project.'

One LX student Leki (2001:54) interviewed commented: 'They didn't want to [include me in the group] in the beginning because I'm foreign . . . like until they see I'm good in something, they don't care about [me]. I've got to show myself first, that I'm good in something'. This experience tallies with Foschi's (1990) claim that for those with lower status characteristics there is a higher standard for proving incompetence and if behaviour suggesting incompetence is demonstrated, it is quickly regarded as being consistent with status expectations. Furthermore, it seems that for L1 speakers 'positioning themselves as experts [or] masters' seems to be a risk-free strategy as, according to Operario and Fiske (1998), high status members have little incentive to monitor or address displays of prejudice. In the words of Simon et al. (2001) they are the 'mindless majorities'. The results of this research seem, to some extent, to confirm the view of some L1 speakers that, stereotypically, LX speakers regardless of their language competency and adequacy of English, are likely to be less influential.

An example of how L1 speakers might exploit opportunities resulting from perceived weaknesses in status or language proficiency is suggested by data collected during the present study but not included as one of its hypotheses. This data centred on one of the Big Five personality traits: extraversion. Findings suggested that LX speakers who are perceived as lower status or less competent linguistically might be offered significantly less opportunities to contribute by L1 speaker scoring highly for extraversion; a possible explanation being that

an extravert would be less likely to refrain from interrupting, talking over or dominating group work in which an LX speaker participated.

Arguably, this home team advantage might manifest itself in a degree of complacency. In his discussion of ‘anxiety/uncertainty management’ (Gudykunst, 2004) proposed that the extent to which two interacting individuals feel either anxiety, or at its opposite extreme, complacency, will determine the effectiveness of that communicative exchange. So, for example, a LX speaker using English as a lingua franca may feel anxiety due to limited linguistic self-efficacy. In contrast, a L1 speaker might unintentionally communicate at a level, pace and register which renders the exchange ineffective for the LX speaker. Such complacency is likely to raise anxiety levels for the addressee and exacerbate any feelings of frustration or helplessness. An example of this complacency might be the tendency for a L1 user not to grade their language when interacting with LX speakers, but to freely use idiomatic or obscure vocabulary which could create significant barriers.

Further compounding this predicament is the observation that high status individuals often display exaggerated confidence while low status individuals underestimate their competence (Oxoby, 2002:303). This serves to reinforce and distort the hierarchy, as Oxoby continues: ‘The result is a self-fulfilling prophecy in which high status individuals out-perform their low status counterparts, thereby confirming expectations and making similar status-consistent successes and failures more likely in the future.’ Morita (2004) noted that in contrast to how L1 speakers may tend to underestimate the value and contributions of lower status members, the lower status individuals are conversely likely to overestimate the abilities of L1 speakers.

The main implication of the present study for LX speakers is that even when considered fully adequate in terms of language ability and/or fully comprehensible, they may still be stereotypically undervalued, particularly in terms of the level of influence they are expected to exert. In terms of implications for L1 speakers, linking language evaluations with status evaluations could result in a loss of expertise for a group, given that a group is effective only to the degree that it can leverage *all* the performance potential of its members.

9.2.2 Implications for institutions

According to Andrade (2006), universities have a limited understanding of the ‘achievement challenges’ of international students, and particularly of the impact of differences in language proficiency. There is perhaps the assumption that immersion alone within a diverse setting is sufficient to develop language cross-cultural awareness and skills. However, according to Bennett et al (2013), there is little mixing of monolingual local students with international students who do not have very high levels of English.

In terms of group work, researching the type and frequency of group dysfunctions arising from language or cultural issues should be a first step for academic departments. However, typically, group work issues in HE are seen as challenges to be overcome primarily by the students themselves: part of the justification for encouraging group activities in business schools, for example, is to encourage the development of the type of soft skills required in the workplace, including the resolution of issues or conflicts which might arise.

However, in many respects, the world of work and HE settings are quite distinct. In the workplace groups typically operate within particular organisational cultures with established norms of communication, and individuals are assigned to groups on the basis of particular expertise. This means there is a far greater need for interdependence. In addition, some form of hierarchy may be present in the workplace group work, if only in the selection of a team leader. In stark contrast, group work conducted in university differs in that no ground rules are usually established in advance; relationships with other members are likely to be perceived as short-term one-off interactions and viewed as ‘low stakes’; and prior professional work experience or experience of working in extremely diverse cultural contexts may be absent. In addition, as Carthcart et al. (2006) noted, there is typically no assigned time for group formation and development, nor any input within the curriculum which raises awareness of cultural differences, or how to interact effectively in cross-cultural settings. Furthermore, there is usually no upward reporting system or assessment of performance. The outcome of the university group work is typically just a ‘product’, for example, a jointly written report or jointly delivered presentation; there is typically no formal assessment of *process*. In fact, as Leki's (2001) pointed out, once groups are set up, staff are reluctant to intervene as departments may see dealing with intragroup conflict as a learning opportunity.

A more proactive approach by institutions might involve awareness raising activities to address potential issues which can occur in group work. An example of such an activity might be cross-cultural and accent awareness training to assist students of all nationalities in recognising the challenges others face and the need for greater cultural intelligence. Derwing et al. (2002) ran an eight-week course comprising of accent training (to assist comprehension of Vietnamese students) and developing cross cultural awareness. By the end of the course, attendees reportedly experienced significantly greater levels of confidence.

In terms of developing greater inter-cultural awareness, understanding and a willingness to challenge stereotypes, Allport's contact hypothesis (1954) may provide a relevant theoretical perspective. This posits that the most effective way to lesson prejudice between groups is interpersonal contact. The opportunity to interact meaningfully with stereotyped groups serves to build trust and appreciation for each other. However, in actuality, such opportunities to interact may not even occur in formally assigned group work. For example, according to Rientes et al (2014), allowing students to self-select their own groups, encourages the forming of monocultural groups. Cross-cultural learning could therefore be facilitated better by allocating students to groups of the basis of their language or cultural background.

A further example of how students can develop greater intercultural awareness is from training delivered by the Cultural Intelligence Centre. Livermore (2017) described how MBA students at the Harvard Business School received 360 degree CQ assessments at the mid and end point of their degree programme. The tool used measures others' perceptions of an individual's MCQ and BCQ (among other metrics) and involves personalised feedback and action plans for CQ development. Awareness raising provided by this 360 approach enabled students to improve their CQ competence by the end of the course.

The finding in the current study that different levels of motivational cultural intelligence might impact evaluations of LX speaker language (comprehensibility, adequacy of English, and, for monolingual raters, quality of idea) may have a further implication for institutions; that of challenging what could be called student 'automatic-pilot' behaviour. Cultural intelligence may be an example of a competency or trait, similar to driving, academic performance or popularity, which is prone to 'illusory superiority', or the tendency for an individual to overestimate the extent to which they display that ability or quality. As previously discussed, Lippi-Green (1997) suggested that there exists a category of L1 users who lack a genuine willingness to engage with LX speaker speech; this observation might be

extended to include those who genuinely do *feel* they engage effectively in cross-cultural context, but perhaps not to the extent they *actually* do. The Cultural Intelligence Scale may serve as a tool to promote greater self-awareness in contexts such as HE, where there exists a great diversity of nationalities but, possibly, stereotypes too. In order to challenge campus stereotypes associated with LX speakers, Correll & Ridgeway (2003) suggested it is important to discuss issues openly, not in a manner that might lend them legitimacy but so as to expose them as drivers of social inequality. Such awareness raising activities should also stress the benefits of prosocial behaviour, of being concerned for the rights of others and demonstrating empathy for those who are not communicating in their L1.

9.3 Limitations

This section will firstly identify and discuss limitations which may have either impacted the quality of this study's findings or its ability to address its research questions and hypotheses, and secondly, suggest how, if possible, such limitations might be avoided in future research.

9.3.1 Issues with an experimental design

As discussed in the methodology section, it is debatable to what extent findings from an experimental design such as matched guise used in this study might be replicated in real life group work contexts within higher education.

Regarding the present study, there are a number of factors which might should be raised. For example, the extracts of L1 and LX speech evaluated were relatively short, and the motivation of L1 raters to conscientiously evaluate them as they would in a higher-stakes group work leading to formal assessment might be questioned. In addition, the whole experiment was conducted online with no control for the settings in which responded actually heard the samples. Furthermore, the good quality of recordings with absence of background noise or 'café chatter' that might be typical of student group meetings might arguably have enhanced the comprehensibility and intelligibility ratings of the LX speakers for L1 raters.

Generating an authentic recording of a bilingual speaker ‘faking’ L1 speaker was considerable. Effort was made to check that it was genuinely perceived to be that of an L1 speaker, with twenty-three out of twenty-three raters not identifying the deception lying at the heart of the experiment. Furthermore, none of the seven IELTS examiners who rated the 6.5 sample judged it as ‘inauthentic’ in any way when asked. Nevertheless, the research burden of designing, producing and manipulating samples produced by a bi-lingual speaker was significant and the results could be open to criticism, particularly when there is evidence to suggest a simpler alternative procedure may be equally as effective. Soukup (2012) challenged the long-held assumption that without a deception at its core, a matched guise is effectively valueless, by comparing findings produced by matched guise and so-called ‘open guise’ approaches. In the open-guise variant, respondents *are told* at the outset that they will hear a single speaker adopting two different speech styles (in her experiment these were standard and local varieties of Austrian German). However, raters were still reportedly able to suspend judgement of this fact and assign different personality traits to the two varieties. It may be, therefore, that the elaborate staging of the matched guise experiment at the heart of the current research was unnecessary.

In mitigation, a number of characteristics of the present experimental design arguably allow more pertinent results to be found. Firstly, raters judged only samples of audio, rather than video; secondly, raters did not actually hear any actual group interactions since all recording amounted to monologues in which participants put forward their vision of the marketing plan; and thirdly, the extract of the audios were relatively short. These features meant that raters were not distracted or influenced by extraneous factors such as positive body language, eye contact or other physical attributes; secondly, that predictions of competency in future group work activities would have depended to a greater extent upon prior experience and stereotypes held (if the audio recordings had actually captured speakers participating in group work, competing for influence and dominance, then ratings would have simply reflected what L1 raters had observed, rather than what their *expectations* were). Finally, it could be argued that exposing raters to relatively short audio extracts encouraged more heuristic or stereotypical ratings, which lie at the heart of status expectations theory.

A final observation of the matched guise approach is that in today’s society, characterised by political correctness and/or awareness of the benefits to society of increased diversity, such an experimental design may not be as effective a tool as in previous generations. Today, we may display heightened caution in expressing any attitudes which could be negatively

construed. Many participants who volunteered as raters for the present study may have previously taken part in similar online experiments where at the heart were identifiable manipulations. After completing the current online survey, several raters made contact again describing how they had suspected, while actually completing the survey, that the true objective of the experiment somehow centred on the LX speaker. This raises questions of whether raters were actually expressing what they believed, or rather what they felt should be expressed in such an experiment. For example, the finding that the LX speaker received ratings identical to the L1 speaker in terms of idea quality, does appear inconsistent with the view that in future group work *others* would be less likely to evaluate the LX speaker's contribution favourably.

9.3.2 Lack of multiple LX speaker samples

A final criticism of the matched guise technique is that it utilises just a single example of audio which purports to be representative on a whole class of similar speakers. Garrett (2010) describes this as the 'community-authenticity' question. For example, in an investigation into Spanish-accented English, particular regional varieties of such speech might elicit different responses. Whether the selected speech extract be that of an RP speaker, Castilian Spanish speaker or Mexican immigrant, the limitation that there are no 'single style speakers' is self-evident. This issue is relevant to both guises of the L1 and LX speaker in the current experiment. L1 and LX samples produced by a different bi-lingual speaker may have produced different evaluations, possibly wider, possibly narrower. For example, imagining a spectrum ranging from a Southern working class British accent to a RP variety, the bi-lingual speaker in the current experiment certainly sounded close to the RP range. This might have had status implications in itself.

An approach could have been adopted in which raters evaluated numerous samples of speakers of different nationalities, all of whom had been judged reliably as approximately 6.5 in IELTS speaking. However, this approach would have significantly complicated the experiment in that, just as there are no single-style representatives of national or regional populations, nor are there single style representatives of an IELTS band 6.5; speakers typically display jagged profiles across the four speaking components: fluency, grammar,

lexis and pronunciation. For example, a speaker, might score 7, 7, 7 & 5 across these categories and score an overall 6.5, despite a 5 in pronunciation meaning that mispronunciations were frequent and would cause some strain on the listener. Instead of using multiple samples, it was decided to select a single sample of a 6.5 speaker which was both strongly accented, yet generally comprehensible (56% of raters judged the speaker to be moderately to heavily accented, while 77% of raters judged the speaker 6/7 or 7/7 for comprehensibility). The manipulation required in generating the LX speaker sample in this experiment was therefore calculated, but necessarily so. If the sample had been of a speaker, for example, rated highly for grammatical or lexical range and accuracy but low on comprehensibility, then the study would probably have produced results of very limited value, reporting simply that a speaker reliably judged by IELTS examiners as low on comprehensibility was similarly evaluated so by 150 L1 students.

9.3.3 Experiment lacked measurement of affect

Findings may have been more illuminating had L1 raters been asked to rate the LX speaker for affect, for example, by inviting ratings of 'pleasantness'. Such a measure would have contributed more from a language *attitude*'s perspective. The current research instead only sought 'cognitive' judgements, for example, regarding evaluations of status or intellectual ability. There may have been value in investigating the degree to which evaluations of status correlated to rating for affect, assuming ratings for the later were honestly provided. As discussed in the literature section, there is disagreement to the extent that evaluations of LX speech are primarily a consequence of affect or cognition.

9.3.4 Group work is a process

The present study might be considered limited in that the responses elicited from L1 raters provided only a snapshot of what may or may not occur from that point forward. Truckman's (1965) forming–storming–norming–performing model of group development describes how the process of socialisation and trust building can strengthen the cohesiveness of a group. Hesitancy to embrace out-group members may therefore only be an initial and short-lived occurrence. Evidence for status characteristics shaping the long terms group hierarchies might only be provided by qualitative longitudinal studies. Without such research there must

be a degree of speculation as to the longer term impact and consequences of language variability or competence within group work. In addition, any initial difficulties in achieving full comprehension of the LX speaker might be short lived, as Bradlow & Bent (2008) reported, comprehensibility may improve with exposure.

9.3.5 Potentially confounding issues

Results suggested that L1 raters with greater MCQ rated LX speakers more leniently. However, this experiment did not invite L1 raters to state their previous exposures to accented speech and specifically Mandarin-accented speech. Had this data been collected and controlled for, findings may have been different. Additionally, bi and multi-lingual raters typically exhibited high levels of CQ; however, it is not clear where it was their higher levels of CQ or their bi/multilingual backgrounds (with presumably higher levels of exposure to LX speakers) which accounted for leniency towards LX speakers in this experiment.

10 Conclusion

This section will revisit the research questions raised in the introduction, present final observations, and identify areas for further research.

1. Main research findings
2. Final observations
3. Further research

10.1 Main research findings

The introduction began by posing the following two questions. Firstly, to what extent, if any, do L1 judgements of LX speaker comprehensibility and language proficiency influence evaluations of task performance, and evaluations of future status? And secondly, do individuals with greater motivation to engage cross-culturally evaluate LX speech more favourably in terms of comprehensibility, task performance and status?

In terms of the first question, results from this study indicated that while lower comprehensibility levels and perceptions of adequacy of English impacted ratings of quality of idea and intellectual ability to some degree, the impact upon status expectations was more considerable, with large falls in status expectations in terms of being influential, receiving positive evaluations and receiving opportunities to contribute. Perceptions of weaker English had a greater impact on status evaluations in comparison to lower levels of comprehensibility, though both measures were clearly correlated to each other.

Interestingly, for those raters who scored the LX speaker fully comprehensible (42% of raters) and having a fully adequate English (39% of raters), the LX speaker was actually rated as superior to the L1 speaker in terms of idea rating, intellectual and academic ability, and in terms of receiving positive evaluations. However, the same raters simultaneously judged that the L1 speaker would be less influential. In this study, therefore, having perfectly adequate language ability and being fully comprehensible was insufficient to overturn the status advantages of the L1 speaker.

In terms of the role of motivational cultural intelligence in shaping the evaluations of the L1 speaker raters, findings did not suggest that higher MCQ impacted status evaluations, though

this may be explained, to some or a large extent, by the phrasing of questions which invited raters to speculate on how *others*, rather than themselves, would judge the LX speaker. However, with regards to MCQ and comprehensibility, there was strong evidence that those scoring highly for MCQ were far less likely to experience difficulty in processing the content of the LX speaker's message.

10.2 Final observations

That 42% and 39% of raters in this study judged the 6.5 rated LX speech as fully comprehensible and with totally adequate English for the demands of group work is clearly positive, albeit costs were incurred in terms of being less influential. However there are arguably significant implications of the reverse side of these figures: that 58% and 61% of respondents regarded the LX speaker as less than fully comprehensible and having less than fully adequate language skills for the demands of group work.

It is important to reiterate that this study focused on group work in a *linguistically demanding* subject. If the same levels of language competence had been investigated in the context of a STEM subject (science, technology, engineering and mathematics), then it is likely that the score for 'adequacy of English for X' would have been higher, though comprehensibility could have remained at the same level. Returning to the IELTS guidance (IELTS, 2014) that for linguistically demanding courses that at IELTS score of between 7.5 and 9.0 is acceptable, the results of this study seem to suggest that 6.5 is indeed insufficient. Given that within the UK, only Oxford and Cambridge universities required international students to achieve a minimum of a 7.0 IELTS, this study has provided some argument that UK institutions should consider reassessing and potentially raising language requirements for linguistically demanding courses. This might ensure that the status of international students in group work is protected to a greater degree, and that the expectations of L1 raters, and other LX speakers scoring between 7.5 and 9.0, are met.

The suggestion, however, that institutions should raise language requirements, though effective in theory, may not be practical since current business models might face collapse due to the lack of students capable of attaining higher IELTS scores. In addition, simply

raising language requirements may not address the issue of ‘listener responsibility’ that L1 speakers should display when functioning in cross-cultural settings.

In the present study, the LX speaker speech extract ‘fell short’ primarily in terms of fluency and pronunciation/accent, components which were scored 6.75 and 6.37 respectively by the IELTS examiners. In contrast, lexis and grammar were graded higher, reflecting the fact that the LX speaker sample had almost been a literal word-for-word duplicate of the spontaneously generated L1 version. Given this, it could be argued that the low scores assigned for comprehensibility, adequacy of English and status were largely a function of a difficulty or intolerance in processing *slower and accented* speech. The fact that in terms of comprehensibility, the difference in effect size between raters with low and high levels of motivational cultural intelligence was $r = .45$, suggests that for those *genuinely* motivated to engage ‘cross-culturally’, slower and accented speech was not a significant barrier, and suggests that greater open mindedness, patience and tolerance may be a significant driver of positive language evaluations. Displaying such behaviour may be more common within a work environment, but perhaps not totally widespread throughout all HE settings.

Overall, the contribution made from this study lies less so in the field of status expectations but more in area of intercultural competence. The results highlight the fact that L1 students are bringing to the ‘groupwork table’ much higher expectations of language competence, in regards to LX speakers, than are met by many of those students – especially those studying in the UK for the first time. It is also the case that since increasing numbers of students are entering English-speaking environments for the first time at postgraduate levels, that the gap between L1 expectations and the reality of language levels might be greater. These attitudes are likely to go undetected by academic staff and administrators as the group dynamics unfolding in group assignments go unmonitored.

10.3 Further research

In terms of areas for further research, a number of areas follow on logically; some broad areas of investigation, some specifically linked to the present study.

In terms of broader issues, there may be questions as to effectiveness of mechanisms currently used by admissions departments to set appropriate minimum language requirements, particularly for courses in which a high degree of student-centred learning is common.

Literature presented in this study suggested requirements are set perhaps more according to financial imperatives and benchmarking with rival institutions, rather than the actual content of the courses offered. To cite the IELTS broad band descriptors, in which 9 = expert user, 8 = very good, 7 = good, and 6 = competent; there should arguably be serious concerns raised over institutions allowing students to participate with scores of below 6 in speaking.

In terms of continuing the lines of investigation raised in the present study. Longitudinal qualitative surveys of the role language plays in the development of status hierarchies in groups might be of a value. The present study departed at the stage at which participants have merely *expectations* regarding how others will perform in future group interactions, the extent to which these expectations become reality or not may be interesting to trace. It may be, as with the Hofstede example cited in the introduction, that the expectations of L1 users were over pessimistic and that LX speakers were in fact far more successful in influencing group proceedings than originally predicted, or it may be that hierarchies do genuinely emerge which disadvantage and restrict LX speakers.

A further area of potential research links with the following question this study posed to L1 raters:

Is the level of English spoken by this individual sufficient for group work at university?

On what basis or criteria would L1 users reach such an evaluation? To what degree would past successful or unsuccessful experiences of group work influence their rating? Would L1 users use other L1 models as a yardstick to make such an evaluation? To what degree would accent and fluency impact such evaluations? The present research suggested that perceptions of 'adequacy of English' were central to lower status evaluations, but the concept arguably requires some unpacking.

The present study focused on just *one* of the four elements of cultural intelligence, motivational cultural intelligence, although data was also collected but not presented on behavioural CQ. Behavioural CQ may be a particularly rich area of future research within cross-cultural contexts. An individual's ability to be aware of, display and adjust to appropriate verbal behaviours for a particular cross-cultural setting (e.g. in terms of accent, speed of speech, pausing, grading and paraphrasing of language) as well as non-verbal behaviours, would seem to be crucial to effective cross-cultural functioning.

Finally, the present research revealed some differences in the ratings of L1 speakers who classified themselves as either monolingual or bi-lingual/multilingual. For example, in the present study, bilingual and multilingual L1 speakers judged LX speaker more harshly in terms of status expectations than monolingual raters. While for monolingual speakers, high MCQ resulted in statistically significant higher quality of idea ratings for the L1 speaker. Because the present data set was relatively small in terms of the number of bilingual, and in particular, multilingual L1 speakers who participated, further more comprehensive studies may confirm the patterns suggested.

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12 Appendices

Appendix A

Analysis used to inform type and frequency insertion of error for non-native speaker matched guise sample.

Speaker	Article	Agreement	Active / passive	Countable vs uncountable	Collocation error	Preposition	Tense / tense	Word Class	Word Order / Sentence structure	Word Omission	Wrong word
1.	The healthy eating	Last year figure This may indicates	As good as it projected	11 Add 's' W's Largest companies Local tastes		As high qual (as being of)	It obtains (ed) Although it succeed in..	Comparing / compared to		1 st thing I'll..	Consulted / (consolidated)
2.	The Nokia X3 The bus dev Have import impact A good revenues A windows OS Altho enjoyed the rapid growth	Nokia have to		2 main business		Focus 2 parts	I choose (chose) In 2012 the income is... In 2011 there is. (X2) This problem make us...		Compete with such as apple Compensate bad performance		
3.	In financial year 2012 (X 2) In future... Growth in the revenue	X & X has The 3 areas shows that...				Recommendation of this company (for)		Successful implement of the (X2) It's existed services			
4.	Give presentation		Everybody know importance	5 main business (X2) Combines 2 sector It has cost				It's transform programme (X2)	It has a 300 year old in this country		Let's come into weaknesses
5.	In the America From the December	It sell the This reports will This risks		There are 2 kind of.	Is deeply based in US Coffee specialists providers		It has expand to	This moment (tum)	Borrow with low cost (at a) Does starbucks will have..		

6.	One of strategies... It had larger market share Buy the Burger king	Capital come from It show (X2) It come from It depend on		19,000 restaurant	In this countries Among this restaurant This kind of things		They have a launched It can do well in 2012 To going back to public to sells	It is regulate by	It faces such as...		
7.	The strategies no. 1			Reduce emission Show interest	Issue a revenue Money are used to		It doesn't damage consumer faith...	11 percentage	In the next I will It will have a better performance		
8.	Representing 25% increase		It stopped listed on the exchange	Most industry...(ies)	It is very terrible...		In 2012 this company's revenue is... It is decreased 74% Continue increase (to)		Talk about X in different aspects		The bank can increase so fast Naturalised V neutralised
9.	It brings richer experience Across world				It's greatest accomplishment are.. Many of you has... There is only a few... Despite all this risks..	Thank you for your listening	It has invest a lot...				
10.	X airline industry X Chinese authorities			It is a very good figures Good industry prospect(s)		Recommendation of Cathy Pacific (for)					
11.	With 53% market share ... for the development. In financial year 2012...				There is risks connected with...	... confidence from (of) the investors			(over) 100 years development X has... Expand (its) product portfolio It manifests itself that... Recommend to you to...		
12.					200 millions clients 10 city Showed sign		Citigroup become one company Also bring about (x2)	To maintain the stable.. (stability)			

					of recover...						
13.					It's products portfolio			Starbucks has innovative ...			
14.	Boost (the) efficiency in			Consumer healths Will enable buyer to Government legislations.. Many co-operations ...			Which is involves in...	For the Germany market			
15.	advantages outweigh disadvantages Slow-down of economy							In German Are admirable brands of cars	..is focused on type of passenger cars ..secure it's high future profits Its offer higher cars than Japan ..lack of power of the engine		
16.	The Marvel Comics... After acquisition...			Regarding the disadvantage(s)...	There will be three Marvels films...			It is interestingly that...	It engaged in the comic book publishing... It ranked 3 rd of the all-time box office		
17.	The company has ability to.... The three of the big four companies...					Predicted to grow 200million			Insulate from the risk of price fluctuating.. The need to export will going to increase...		
18.	In financial year 2012... The Visa...	This revenues.. Mobile phones has...					Visa has involved in several disputes...	... institution clients	Visa is exactly it advertises in its logo... How visa accompanied this results? Visa is worth invest now.		

19.		This issues... ... this challenges It focus on...							... has the world's largest marketplaces Schedule their delivery at convenience... This upward trend represents that...		
20.	It is Chinese corporation... Is also Chinese telecommunications company...			It have a great market shares in Africa...							I will analysis the risks
Error freq	39	18	3	22	14	7	23	17	28	1	5
Error rank	1	5	10	4	7	8	3	6	2	11	9
	Article	Agreement	Active / passive	Countable vs uncountable	Collocation error	Preposition	Tense /Verb error	Word Class	Word Order / Sentence structure	Word Omission	Wrong word

	Errors likely to have less impact on comprehensibility	Total errors = $177 / 20 = 9$ errors in 2 minutes. In a 1 minute 20 second script average error density would be 6-7 errors
	Errors likely to have greater impact on comprehensibility	

Appendix B

IELTS public band descriptors (level 6-9) for speaking test:

http://takeielts.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/IELTS_Speaking_band_descriptors.pdf

Band	Fluency and Coherence	Lexical Resource	Lexical Resource	Pronunciation
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> speaks fluently with only rare repetition or self-correction; any hesitation is content-related rather than to find words or grammar speaks coherently with fully appropriate cohesive features develops topics fully and appropriately 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses vocabulary with full flexibility and precision in all topics uses idiomatic language naturally and accurately 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a full range of structures naturally and appropriately produces consistently accurate structures apart from 'slips' characteristic of native speaker speech 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a full range of pronunciation features with precision and subtlety sustains flexible use of features throughout is effortless to understand
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> speaks fluently with only occasional repetition or self-correction; hesitation is usually content-related and only rarely to search for language develops topics coherently and appropriately 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a wide vocabulary resource readily and flexibly to convey precise meaning uses less common and idiomatic vocabulary skilfully, with occasional inaccuracies uses paraphrase effectively as required 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a wide range of structures flexibly produces a majority of error-free sentences with only very occasional inappropriacies or basic/non-systematic errors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a wide range of pronunciation features sustains flexible use of features, with only occasional lapses is easy to understand throughout; L1 accent has minimal effect on intelligibility
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> speaks at length without noticeable effort or loss of coherence may demonstrate language-related hesitation at times, or some repetition and/or self-correction uses a range of connectives and discourse markers with some flexibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses vocabulary resource flexibly to discuss a variety of topics uses some less common and idiomatic vocabulary and shows some awareness of style and collocation, with some inappropriate choices uses paraphrase effectively 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a range of complex structures with some flexibility frequently produces error-free sentences, though some grammatical mistakes persist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> shows all the positive features of Band 6 and some, but not all, of the positive features of Band 8
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> is willing to speak at length, though may lose coherence at times due to occasional repetition, self-correction or hesitation uses a range of connectives and discourse markers but not always appropriately 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> has a wide enough vocabulary to discuss topics at length and make meaning clear in spite of inappropriacies generally paraphrases successfully 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a mix of simple and complex structures, but with limited flexibility may make frequent mistakes with complex structures, though these rarely cause comprehension problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a range of pronunciation features with mixed control shows some effective use of features but this is not sustained can generally be understood throughout, though mispronunciation of individual words or sounds reduces clarity at times

Appendix C

Online Survey

Screen 1

Welcome to *Groups*. This task involves you joining an imaginary group and rating the ideas of 3 group members. Once you've rated the speakers, we'd like you to complete a survey. Completing both parts should take about 10 minutes.

Because you'll be listening to the ideas, you'll need speakers connected, or a pair of headphones. So please make sure you have these set up before you continue.

Data Protection Statement

All data collected in this survey will then be held anonymously and securely. No name or email address is asked for or can be retained. Cookies, personal data stored by your web browser, are not used in this survey. Usenames are held temporarily to identify who has completed survey so Amazon voucher can be sent.

NOTE that once you have clicked on the continue button at the bottom of each page you cannot return to review or amend that page

Screen 2

Your task



For a coursework assignment, you've been put in a group with three other students and asked to design a TV advertising campaign for the launch of a new eco-friendly car.

This piece of coursework is important. It will contribute to your final grade for this year. In terms of marking, the group will be assigned one mark for the project. Marks are not assigned on an individual basis.

Your group is about to meet to discuss some initial ideas about how the TV advert could look. The other group members have prepared some notes and each will speak for a minute or two about their idea for the TV advert.

Your task now is to listen carefully and rate the quality of the three ideas you hear, and also to think about how well this speaker might perform in future group-work meetings.

OK. Ready to rate? Are your speakers or headphones working? Click continue to listen...

Screen 3

There are two tasks to complete for each speaker. The first task involves rating the quality of the idea you hear - giving it a mark out of 7, and the second task involves predicting how successful you think the speaker is likely to be in future group work.

(Although you only hear group members speak briefly, we do sometimes feel quite confident in our first impressions)

Have a quick scan through the questions below first, then listen to the three speakers and complete the grid.

Each recording opens in a new window.

Click to hear speaker 1	Click to hear speaker 2	Click to hear speaker 3
---	---	---

Task 1: Idea rating

1. Please rate the quality of each idea.

7 = Excellent idea

4 = Average idea

1 = Very poor idea

	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Quality of idea	<input type="text" value="Please select"/>	<input type="text" value="Please select"/>	<input type="text" value="Please select"/>

Task 2: Future group work

Make predictions about how this individual might do in future group work.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

- 7 = Strongly agree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 1 = Strongly disagree

In future group work, this speaker is likely to...

	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
... receive opportunities to contribute to the group task	Please select ▾	Please select ▾	Please select ▾
... receive positive evaluations for their contributions	Please select ▾	Please select ▾	Please select ▾
... be influential in group decisions	Please select ▾	Please select ▾	Please select ▾
... demonstrate strong intellectual and academic ability	Please select ▾	Please select ▾	Please select ▾

Thank you. That's the rating section completed.

Once you click continue you cannot go back to make changes. Next is the survey section.

Screen 4

Cross-cultural situations

Don't spend too long on each prompt - just indicate your first honest impression.

General attitudes to cross-cultural encounters

	7 = Strongly agree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 1 = Strongly disagree						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am confident that I can socialise with locals in a culture that is new to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am sure I can deal with the stresses of adjusting to a culture that is new to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy living in cultures which are new to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am confident that I can get accustomed to the shopping conditions in a different culture.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Screen 5

Extra questions about Speaker 3 only

Accent

If you would like to hear some or all of speaker 3 again, please click [here](#)

7. If you could detect a foreign accent, how strong would you say it was? 7 = No foreign accent 1 = Very heavy foreign accent If you like, you can click to hear some of Speaker 3 again

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 1 | <input type="radio"/> 2 | <input type="radio"/> 3 |
| <input type="radio"/> 4 | <input type="radio"/> 5 | <input type="radio"/> 6 |
| <input type="radio"/> 7 | | |
-

8. How easy/difficult was it for you to understand him? 7 = Very easy to understand 1 = Very difficult to understand

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 1 | <input type="radio"/> 2 | <input type="radio"/> 3 |
| <input type="radio"/> 4 | <input type="radio"/> 5 | <input type="radio"/> 6 |
| <input type="radio"/> 7 | | |
-

9. Do you agree with the following statement? The level of English spoken by this individual is sufficient for group work at university. 7 = Strongly agree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 1 = Strongly disagree

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 1 | <input type="radio"/> 2 | <input type="radio"/> 3 |
| <input type="radio"/> 4 | <input type="radio"/> 5 | <input type="radio"/> 6 |
| <input type="radio"/> 7 | | |

Thanks. Final very brief questions coming up.

Screen 6

10. Sex:

Male

Female

11. How old are you?

18-23

24-29

30+

12. What is your nationality?

12.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

13. Are you a student?

Yes, an undergraduate

Yes, a postgraduate or research student

- Yes, a visiting student
 - Other
-

13.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

14. Is your first language English?

- Yes
 - No
 - Other
-

14.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

15. I am...

- Monolingual
 - Bilingual
 - Multilingual
 - Other
-

15.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

That's all finished. Thank you very much! We will send you the Amazon voucher soon!