British Attitudes Towards Japanese-English Bilinguals

By

Eimi Watanabe

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Abstract

The aim of the thesis is to investigate British people's attitudes towards Japanese-English early bilinguals and to consider whether prior information about the speakers had an influence on the listeners' perceptions. The study used the verbal guise technique and had three groups of speakers: English monolinguals, Japanese-English early bilinguals and Japanese late learners of English. These speakers were all recorded reading the same passage. All the listeners (89 in total) were from the UK and they were separated into two groups. One group had been informed about the speakers' language background before the test and the other group listened to the recordings without this information.

The study supports the claim that external factors influence listeners' judgements (Rubin, 1992; Hay and Drager, 2010) and found that this also applies when true information of the speakers is provided. The study found that early bilinguals are perceived similarly to monolinguals in terms of origin of accent and first language when listeners are not given any prior information. The two groups of listeners held statistically significantly different attitudes towards the early bilinguals and late learners. In contrast, prior information did not influence the perception of the monolinguals because the two groups of listeners perceived the monolinguals similarly regardless of the prior information. In addition, participants identified non-English features in the early bilinguals' speech when they knew that the speakers were also fluent in Japanese. However, it is possible that this was accent hallucination (Fought, 2006), where listeners are hearing things that are actually not evident in the speech because the group without prior information rarely noticed such non-English features. The study also found that listeners' views regarding the early bilinguals are contradictory as they perceived them positively as "balanced bilinguals" whilst at the same time accepting them less as L1 English users.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

Kazuo Ishiguro, a British novelist born in Japan to Japanese parents, was reported as telling the audience at the Hay Festival that when he:

started to publish and started to read the reviews - because it was a novelty that someone with a Japanese background was writing novels in English, all the metaphors tended to be Japanese-y. They would talk about a very still pond. With carp. (Singh, 2015, para. 15)

He considered it was as if the reviewers and the readers were expecting to find his Japanese background reflected in his writing in some way, although he had been living in the UK from the age of five. While his sense was clear that others anticipated his Japanese identity to be visible in his writing (despite the fact that most of his novels were not set in Japan), a second quotation from an interview underlines that, to him, it was because of this prior knowledge and not fact:

Now if I wrote under a pseudonym and got somebody else to pose for my color jacket photographs, I'm sure nobody would think of saying, "This guy reminds me of that Japanese writer." I often have to battle to speak up for my own individual territory against this kind of stereotyping. I wouldn't say it's wildly unfair, but then I can think of a dozen other writers with whom I could just as easily be compared. (Vorda, Herzinger and Ishiguro, 1994, p. 147)

He argues that the readers would not notice the Japanese aspects in his writing if they were not aware that he was the author.

Although Ishiguro is a well-known author, and he is focusing on his writing rather than his speech, his case is not unique. Many early bilingual speakers are told when they are speaking one language that there are traces of the other language in it, but seemingly only when the listeners know about the dual linguistic background. This leads to the question of whether Ishiguro's and other early bilinguals' feeling that part of their background is being projected onto another language is fact or whether it is simply an impression created from prior assumptions. Can readers and listeners actually pick out mixed linguistic or cultural backgrounds without prior information? If we could change the way we look, with a new jacket photograph for example, or simply did not tell people about our linguistic background, would the other part of the background be undiscovered?

The current research aims to discover if these expectations and attitudes exist towards spoken language. Late learners of English who may have a stronger foreign accented English might be easily picked out by listeners, but can people distinguish between speech spoken by English monolinguals and early bilinguals who have grown up in an English-speaking country? Are listeners' decision influenced by what they know about the speakers? That is, do listeners who know the linguistic background of the speakers and listeners who are simply exposed to the speech make different decisions? Furthermore, will the listeners expect to see traces of the other linguistic background in bilinguals' English even if they have grown up in the United Kingdom? Ishiguro mentions a false photo to disguise his information but will having a photo of him on the jacket and the lack of a photo on the jacket influence how the readers read his books? Similarly, will having information about the linguistic background of the speakers and having no information about the speakers influence listeners' attitudes and decisions? Thus, the current research will investigate attitudes towards English-Japanese early bilinguals and will observe how prior information can influence listeners' attitudes.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Speech Perception

A few studies have investigated the influence of external factors on listeners' perception of language. Previous studies have demonstrated that visual stimuli can influence listeners' perception of speech and that even seeing a soft toy can influence listeners' decisions. Seeing such a toy before an experiment can influence participants to shift their perception towards the country the stuffed toy is associated with (Hay and Drager, 2010) and seeing a photograph of a person can influence listeners to hear things differently and even hear things that are not actually apparent in the speech (Rubin, 1992). Fought (2006, p. 187) describes the phenomenon where listeners hear things that are not actually evident in the speech as 'accent hallucination'. These studies had two primed groups as both participant groups had information that could have influenced listeners' decisions. The current study will be different as it will have

a primed group and un-primed group. The primed group will be listening to the same audio recordings as the un-primed group but they will have access to the linguistic background of the speakers. Further information will be discussed in the Literature Review and the Methodology. Therefore, while previous studies had two groups that could have mislead the listeners to react in two opposite directions, the current study will have one group who are given true information about the speakers and one neutral group where external factor will have no influence because listeners will only have the audio recordings to inform their decisions.

The current study investigates whether accent hallucination exists when listeners do not hold any information about the speakers other than the audio recordings and if they are able to detect non-English characteristics in early bilinguals' speech. The results will be compared with the group who will be given the linguistic background of the speakers. Thus, its aim is to establish the effect of prior knowledge on the perception of early bilinguals.

1.2.2 Language Attitudes

Previous research on language attitudes has shown that not only can we be influenced in terms of what we hear from speakers, but our attitudes towards them can also be biased. This is important to our understanding because not only do attitudes show how people feel towards language, but they can also influence people's behaviour. People do not simply comment on a foreign accent, but, as in Ishiguro's case, because readers know he is Japanese they are influenced to perceive his descriptions as having a pondlike stillness. Studies have looked at accents during job interviews and demonstrated that foreign accented English is viewed less favourably (Carlson and McHenry, 2006) especially for high status jobs (Kalin and Rayko, 1978).

Attitudes can be related to various aspects (e.g. status, friendliness, enthusiasm) and Zahn and Hopper (1985) provide a standardised instrument to evaluate listeners' attitudes towards speakers. They suggested the Speech Evaluation Instrument which comprised three factors: *superiority, attractiveness* and *dynamism. Superiority* category consisted of factors related to intellectual status, competence, social status items, and speaking competency items such as intelligence and fluency. *Attractiveness* category included items related to social attractiveness such as friendliness and likeableness. Lastly, the *dynamism* category relates to social power, activity level, and

self-presentational aspects of speech such as talkativeness, enthusiasm, and laziness. It is beneficial to have these categories as language varieties can be rated highly in one category while scoring lower on a different category. For example, Received Pronunciation can be rated highly in terms of traits regarding superiority but low in the traits concerned with solidarity (Hiraga, 2005). The standard variety of English is usually perceived positively in terms of status and the non-standard variety is often perceived more positively in terms of solidarity (Giles and Coupland, 1991). Having a standardised instrument allows researchers to compare studies more easily and therefore, I will be using their categories in this study.

As I will discuss further in the Literature Review, previous language attitudes studies have focused on English dialects (e.g. Coupland and Bishop, 2007), foreign-accented English (e.g. Lindemann, 2005) or compared different languages (e.g. Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960). The current study will investigate listeners' attitudes towards bilinguals who have been living in the UK since childhood and will examine whether the listeners' attitudes differ when they are given information about the speakers' language backgrounds and when they are not. To investigate this, the results towards monolingual English speakers will be studied to observe if the attitudes are different towards bilinguals and monolinguals. The results will also be compared with Japanese late learners of English to observe whether listeners' attitudes differ towards the two different types of bilinguals who speak the same two languages. In the current study, there will be three groups of speakers: the early bilinguals, English monolinguals, and late learners of English. They will be recorded so the study will be using a verbal guise test. The verbal guise technique is a modified version of the matched guise technique in order to take into account the difficulty of recruiting speakers who can speak in the languages or varieties the study aims to research. With a matched guise, the same person is recorded speaking in different varieties or languages. This means that any judgements about their personalities are formed from what the listener is hearing. The speaker's intelligence does not change from one guise to another, but a listener's perception of them might. This is useful as it decreases factors that could influence people's attitudes, such as voice quality (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003, p. 52). The verbal guise technique will be adopted because it is not possible to have someone who is an early bilingual and a late learner at the same time as it depends on when they started acquiring the language. The

Literature Review will discuss the tests in more detail.

1.2.3 Early Bilinguals

When talking about speakers of two languages, it is crucial to discuss the notion of bilingualism particularly in terms of how linguists and laypeople might define it. Lay people usually use the word 'bilinguals' when they are referring to 'balanced bilinguals', a term put forward by Lambert, Havelka and Gardner (1959). These bilinguals are people who are highly proficient in both or all the languages. Different researchers use different definition of the term ranging from someone who has a 'native-like control of two languages' (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 56) to 'a speaker [who could] first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language' (Haugen, 1953, p.7). The main focus of my research will be early bilinguals who have been exposed to both English and Japanese before the critical period and has been exposed to both languages until the time of the research. The term early bilingual has been adopted in the current study as referring to 'someone who has acquired two languages early in childhood' (Wei, 2007) and the two early bilinguals were speakers who have been exposed to both languages by the age of two and five.

1.3 Research Questions

So far, the current thesis has introduced some language attitudes studies indicating that listeners can prefer one language variety over another and that language attitudes studies on highly proficient bilinguals have been absent in the field. It has also introduced the idea that our perception can be influenced by visual stimuli. Thus, there are three main questions that the study aims to answer.

1. What are the attitudes of undergraduate students and recent graduates with English as a first language towards bilinguals who speak English and Japanese?

2. Can the undergraduate students and recent graduates with English as a first language distinguish bilingual from monolingual speech? If so, what factors or characteristics do they focus on?

3. Does prior information about the speakers influence people's attitudes?

These three research questions will be investigated in the research taking both a

qualitative and a quantitative approach. The undergraduate students and recent graduates were mainly from Cardiff as the recruitment was mostly done at Cardiff University and further information about the listeners will be provided in 3.1.1. Although these three research questions are the main points of investigation, other factors that are found to be relevant during the analysis will also be discussed in the thesis. The three research questions will be addressed in the discussion chapter.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Having introduced a brief background for the thesis and presented the research questions, this thesis will now turn to the literature review, in which the relevant background and previous research are discussed in more detail. Chapter two will start by broadly introducing the area of perceptual dialectology and will move on to discussing language attitudes research. It will then discuss bilingualism focusing on the different types of bilinguals. As the thesis is focused on English and Japanese bilinguals, the last section of this chapter will discuss the differences between the two languages to understand the difficulties Japanese people often encounter when speaking in English and in order to establish what features the listeners may be more likely to notice in the speech.

In Chapter three, I will explain the methodology used in the study. This will include details about the listeners who took part in the study, the speakers who were recorded for the study, details about the questionnaire and the procedure of the study. The methodology will also include a section explaining the calculations and analysis that will be used for the results collected.

The four analysis chapters will follow this and these chapters will focus on two things. The first chapter (Chapter four) will analyse the results for identification of accents and first language. It will consider all the speakers separately and how similarly or differently the speakers were identified by first language English users. The next three chapters (Chapter five to seven) will focus on attitudes, each dealing with one of the three categories, *superiority, attractiveness, and dynamism,* suggested by Zahn and Hopper (1985). It will discuss how the speakers are assessed in the three categories and whether prior information about the speakers influence the listeners' decisions. Participants' background will also be discussed to investigate if it had an influence on the attitudes towards the speakers. Details about what is included in each category will

be discussed in the Methodology section.

Chapter eight will discuss the results found in the study and their implications. It will address the research questions asked at the start of the thesis and will also discuss how the current study is different to previous studies in the field.

The thesis will conclude by summarising the study (Chapter nine), discussing the limitations of the study and consider ideas for future research. It will also discuss how the current study contributes to the field of language attitudes and bilingualism.

2 Literature Review

Attitudes studies are a popular area of research in sociolinguistics (e.g. Baker, 1992; Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010). Much of this research has focused on investigating attitudes towards dialects (Preston, 1989) and attitudes towards the languages of bilinguals (Lambert et al., 1960). It is important to uncover what people think about other languages as a layperson's view can differ from a researcher's view. Attitudes studies are valuable in the area of linguistics as they show us laypeople's beliefs about languages and helps us observe what changes, if any, are occurring in society.

Language attitudes studies cannot be separated from those of stereotypes. A stereotype can be defined differently by different researchers but Ashmore and Del Boca proposes a simple definition regarding the term and states that stereotype is "a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people" (1981, p. 16). As discussed in the Introduction chapter, Kazuo Ishiguro gives an example of this. Even though he grew up in the United Kingdom, the reviewers focused on the Japanese-y aspects of Kazuo Ishiguro's writings linking it to the image of a pond with carps. As this showed, people hold stereotyped views towards nationalities with previous research showing that the Japanese are often stereotyped as loyal to their families, courteous, reserved, quiet, ambitious, industrious, efficient and intelligent (Maykovich, 1972, p. 115). Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969, p. 5) also discovered in their research that Japanese people were often stereotyped as quiet.

Recently, stereotype research that has asked participants to express their stereotypes directly has diminished. Instead, nowadays, stereotypes are often observed in media related research. For example, Cohen (1992) examined how an advertised product can influence the perception of Asian models as depending on the product, Asian models achieved more favourable, less favourable or neutral responses compared to the white models.

The above studies have shown that stereotypes exist and in order to investigate the influence of stereotypes on language, attitudes studies are used.

As we have briefly introduced the importance of attitudes studies, the literature review will start by discussing perceptual dialectology and its methods as language attitudes studies are categorised as a type of perceptual dialectology researching laypeople's opinions towards languages. I will then discuss previous language attitudes studies and studies investigating identification of languages. As the current study also looks at how perception can be influenced by external factors, the next section will discuss previous studies on language perception. Definitions and classifications of the term bilingual will follow as the term can be vague. At the end of the chapter, I will discuss the difference between Japanese speech and English speech since Lippi-Green (2012, p.46) states that the phonology of a speaker's native language can influence the English spoken by a native speaker of another language. These are the two languages to be considered as the bilinguals used in the current study are English-Japanese bilinguals. The term 'native speakers' is defined as first language (L1) users. Thus, native speakers of English in this study will refer to first language speakers of English.

2.1 Perceptual Dialectology

Perceptual dialectology investigates attitudes that non-linguists hold towards different language varieties. By investigating laypeople's opinions, it allows researchers to reveal what the society thinks about a dialect or a variation from a non-researcher's point of view because this often differs from an actual linguistic variation.

2.1.1 Early Perceptual Dialectology

The history of perceptual dialectology is considered to have begun in the Netherlands followed by Japan (Preston, 1999, p. xxv)¹. Studies in both countries had different aims and used different approaches. In the Netherlands, Rensink conducted a study in 1939 (Preston, 1999) researching the views people had of the boundaries of dialects. He asked communities which area spoke the same dialects as their own area. This study was later visualised by Weijnen in 1944 (Weijnen, 1999) using the 'little arrow method' (See Figure 2.1) and was first seen published in 1946. This 'little arrow method' showed little arrows indicating whether people in the area thought the dialects used in other communities used the same dialect, little arrows connected the communities. These little arrows showed that non-linguists' opinions regarding the boundaries of dialects were different from isogloss, the actual geographic boundaries

¹ Long (1999) states that "mapping speakers' consciousness of dialect boundaries was, if not "born" in Japan, at least "raised" there (p. 199).

of dialects (represented with thick lines in Figure 2.1) and therefore proved that perceptual dialectology is a field worth researching. This is because even though the perception laypeople hold may not be equal to the actual reality of language, their views are shared beliefs and therefore, shows that there are things in the language that laypeople hear which are influencing their perceptions.



Figure 2.1: Part of the 'little arrows method' map of Netherlands derived by Weijnen (1946) taken from Preston (1999, p. xxvii)

In Japan, however, maps were used to investigate people's views on the degree of difference between dialects. Therefore, the maps in Netherlands were more focused on the similarities while Japanese maps were focused more on the differences. Early perceptual dialectology in Japan used maps to illustrate the boundaries of dialects by asking participants the scale of how different the dialects of the surrounding areas were (Sibata, 1999). The thickness of lines indicated the number of respondents having the same opinion. The thicker the lines, the more participants perceived the area to have a boundary. These were then grouped into communities (Figure 2.2).

This image has been removed for copyright restrictions.

The original image can be found in Sibata (1999, p. 42)

Figure 2.2: Speech communities as illustrated in Sibata (1999, p. 42)

Further work was conducted in Japan. A map was produced by Mase (1999) illustrating the study conducted in 1963 and is shown in Figure 2.3 below. The thick lines indicate the frequency of responses. The thicker the lines, the more participants perceived the area to have a boundary. The regions where people speak slightly different in the same dialect perception region are separated by dotted lines.

This image has been removed for copyright restrictions.

The original image can be found in Mase (1999, p. 87)

Figure 2.3: Perception map of Japan created by Mase (1999, p. 87)

The map shows how there was a big divide between the two prefectures, Nagano and Gifu and that there were three distinct boundaries in Gifu around Takane Village, Nyukawa Village and Kamitakara Village. However for Nagano prefecture, it also has three boundaries. Nagawa Village is perceived as a distinct region but Azumi Village is perceived as two distinct areas. Thus, the perception region is not always separated by villages.

These early perceptual dialectology studies were pioneering in that they demonstrated that non-linguists' views are worth researching as they reveal the fact that the views of a linguist do not always parallel those of a non-linguist as they show non-linguists' can be influenced by other factors. It also showed that the dialect boundaries are not equal to the actual geographic boundaries. Investigating the difference and similarity of dialect boundaries are a crucial area of research but it is also vital to research people's attitudes towards languages since it shows people's beliefs and the views they may hold towards different dialects and accents. Some of the most well-known research on the topic was done by Dennis Preston. Preston (1989) asked participants to rank American dialects by order of correctness and pleasantness. The results were illustrated on a map (See Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5 for examples). Although there were some individual differences, the study revealed that people have shared rankings since both groups agreed that South and New York City were associated with incorrect English. The Michigan participants rated themselves very high regarding both categories and Niedzielski and Preston (2000) explains that ratings are related to linguistic insecurity and that areas with a higher insecurity project themselves to show local identity. The maps also illustrate that people hold underlying attitudes towards their own and others' dialects as this study did not have voice samples and the participants were only asked to rate the states.

This image has been removed for copyright restrictions.

The original image can be found in Preston (1989, p. 54)

Figure 2.4: Preston's map of correctness by Indiana respondents (Preston, 1989, p. 54)

This image has been removed for copyright restrictions.

The original image can be found in Preston (1989, p. 73)

Figure 2.5: Preston's map of pleasantness by Indiana respondents (Preston, 1989, p. 73)

The above studies were ground breaking studies in perceptual dialectology but perceptual dialectology has also been investigated more recently. Boughton (2006) used perceptual dialectology in French to explore levelling and diversity of northern urban French pronunciation and Montgomery (2012) investigated the effect of proximity of perceptual dialectology in Northern Great Britain. These studies claim that there are gaps between the reality and beliefs of participants and that there can be many influential factors such as stereotypes (Boughton, 2006, p. 300) and the psychological area divides in countries such as the North vs. South in the UK (Montgomery, 2012) dividing or grouping the listeners' perceptions. Thus, summing up the studies on perceptual dialectology, it found that the views from a linguist and non-linguist can differ and that non-linguists can rely on many factors including stereotypes when making judgements of a variation.

2.1.2 Methods of Perceptual Dialectology

To investigate laypeople's opinions, perceptual dialectology uses different types of methods. Methods such as map tasks and matched guise tests can be categorised into two different approaches. These are the direct approach and indirect approach. Questionnaires are also commonly used to investigate people's opinions.

2.1.2.1 Direct vs Indirect approach

The direct approach asks participants unequivocally to express their opinions of the variety while the indirect approach uses other methods such as audio recordings to investigate participants' opinions without them being aware of the main focus of the

research. Direct approaches measure participants' overt or explicit attitudes, which can be concluded by analysing participants' comments straightforwardly, while indirect approaches examine covert or implicit attitudes, which participants are not conscious of or prefer not to openly state for social appropriateness (Garrett, 2010).

The method of presenting participants to the concepts, or list of languages, usually measures peoples' overt attitudes as it asks directly their perceptions of the languages. Preston's study mentioned earlier is an example of an attitudes study investigating overt attitudes as the participants were only given the name of the states. Covert attitudes, on the other hand, are measured by indirect methods where participants are not told the main focus of the research. An indirect method is often more reliable than a direct method since participants may consider answers that are more socially acceptable when responding to direct methods (Lambert, 1967, p. 94; Garrett, 2010, p. 44). The matched guise tests and the verbal guise tests are common methods used for investigating covert attitudes and are discussed in further detail below.

2.1.2.1.1 Map tasks

As shown in Chapter 2.1, maps are one of the commonly used direct method in perceptual dialectology research. Maps are direct methods as participants are asked directly about the varieties. In early perceptual dialectology, maps were a popular method used to show the results of people's perceptions of the differences in dialects (Weijnen, 1999; Sibata, 1999). Preston used them as part of his methodology when he gave maps to the respondents and instructed them to rank the states in order of correctness and pleasantness.

2.1.2.1.2 Matched and verbal guise tests

A widely used method in attitude studies is the matched guise technique (Giles and Powesland, 1975, p. 7; Edwards, 1982, p. 20). Lambert et al. (1960) were the first researchers to start using this indirect method which was developed to observe attitudes people held privately rather than their overt attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 51). The matched guise test determines the participants' attitudes towards recordings of two languages or dialects spoken by the same person. Participants in the research do not know that the two types of recordings are spoken by the same person and therefore it allows researchers to measure covert attitudes towards each of the

languages or dialects (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 16). Since the speakers are the same, variables that could affect the results, such as voice quality, can be kept constant (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 52; Garrett, 2010, p. 41). Limitations of the method exist. For example, the salience question, where language variations may be exaggerated and be more salient than the actual speech as listeners are presented with a reading passage repeatedly (Garrett, 2010, p. 57). However, even with limitations, the matched guise test still remains the most popular method in discovering covert attitudes and has contributed to the area of sociolinguistics. The matched guise test has also been used as a method to evaluate specific linguistic variables. For example, Labov and his colleagues used the matched guise test to investigate listeners' sensitivity towards a sociolinguistic variable, the *-ing* suffix, which can be pronounced as /iŋ/ or /in/. Their research showed that participants can be sensitive to the differences in frequency as small as 10 percent (Labov et al., 2011).

The verbal guise technique was modified from the matched guise technique in order to take into account the difficulty of recruiting speakers who can speak with different accents or languages needed for the research (Garrett et al., 2003 p. 53). Therefore, the recordings in the verbal guise technique are not from the same speaker but spoken by different speakers. Although different dialect and accents can be studied, it also raises the difficulty of keeping the speakers as similar as possible.

Recent research has also used visual stimuli to accompany audio guises in order to examine its influence on listeners' perception. Visual stimuli accompanying speech has demonstrated that listeners' perception can be influenced depending on what they are seeing. Even photos can influence how foreign accented English is perceived (Rubin, 1992) and stuffed toys shown at the start of experiments can influence the listeners to shift their perception of vowels towards the country the stuffed toys are associated with (Hay and Drager, 2010). This will be discussed further in Section 2.4 but this research has shown that our perception can be easily moved when there are objects triggering a listeners' image of the speakers.

2.1.2.1.3 Questionnaires

When using these guise tests, questionnaires are a vital part of the study as participants need to express their attitudes after listening to the recordings. Self-completion questionnaires are a method commonly used in attitudes research alongside interviews

(Garrett et al., 2003). Many things can be asked in questionnaires, but rating scales such as Likert scales and semantic differential scales are commonly used as they are fast and easy for participants to fill out. Semantic differential scales ask participants to select a position on the scale that best describes their position towards a pair of opposite adjectives (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957, p. 20). An example of this would be rating how 'friendly' or 'unfriendly' the service of a hotel was on a scale of one to five. Likert Scales are a type of rating scale where participants express how much they agree or disagree with the statement (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 195). For example, participants will be given the statement, "I love cats" and will be asked whether the participants strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Although questionnaires are a widely used method, they also have limitations. First of all, they are not suited to asking people's deeper opinions as they are designed to obtain short answers. Longer, more in-depth opinions are usually obtained from other methods such as interviews. On the other hand, questionnaires are suitable when investigating the public's attitudes rather than the deep opinions of a few individuals as they ask a collection of people. They can be done in the informants' own time, are easy to fill out and also easily distributable so more people tend to take part when compared to other methods such as interviews and focus groups. Furthermore, answers collected by questionnaires can be easily converted into data because there is no need to transcribe them from audio data.

In attitude questionnaires, researchers used different criteria for the questions assessing the speakers. Zahn and Hopper (1985) provided a standardised instrument of listeners' evaluation of the speakers by using factor analysis and categorising items that had been previously used in language attitude studies into groups. Zahn and Hopper suggested the Speech Evaluation Instrument comprised of three factors. The first factor is labelled as *superiority* and combines items related to intellectual status and competence, and speaking competency items such as intelligence and fluency. The second factor, *attractiveness*, is the label given to items related to social attractiveness are friendliness and likeableness. The last factor is *dynamism* where the items are concerned with things such as speakers' social power and presentation of speech such as talkativeness and enthusiasm. Zahn and Hopper suggested that the instrument is general enough to be used in other research involved in speech

evaluations and by doing so, it will be easier to compare studies. Therefore, these factors will be used in my attitude questionnaire to enable me to compare my results with previous research.

2.2 Attitudes Studies

So far, the chapter has discussed previous studies in perceptual dialectology but attitude studies will be focused on here as attitudes are a crucial area in research as they influence peoples' behaviour. Garrett et al. (2003) define attitudes as "an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort" (p. 3) and is seen as having "a degree of stability that allows it to be identified" (Garrett, 2010, p. 20). Attitudes are claimed to have a tripartite structure, having cognitive, affective and behavioural components. Cognitive as it is concerned with beliefs about the world, affective as it involves feelings about the object, and behavioural as attitudes influence people to act in certain ways (Garrett, 2010; Garrett et al., 2003). Attitudes differ from opinions since the latter is defined as "an overt belief without an affective reaction" (Baker, 1992 p. 14). Attitudes are also distinguishable from beliefs in that "beliefs are said to be fundamentally cognitive in nature" (Garret et al., 2010, p. 10). Garret et al. (2010) also explain that although beliefs do not have any affective content, they may trigger and be triggered by strong affective responses. Attitudes help reveal the stereotypes held by people towards groups of people which also may lead to behavioural outcomes. Research conducted by Goldberg, Gottesdiener and Abramson (1975) is an example of this. Their study considered the relationship between the attractiveness of a woman and the perception of whether the woman supported the feminist movement. The results showed that regardless of the participant's gender and own opinion of the feminist movement, women who supported the movement were seen to be less attractive in physical appearance. Therefore, the study showed what people believed about women who were involved with the feminist movement and that there are shared beliefs within groups. People's stereotypical views towards the women involved in the feminist movement are clear in this study, but linguistic aspects can also affect people's attitudes towards a group of people or speakers. Attitudes regarding languages are a crucial area of study as they can influence people's views or behaviours in different situations including educational and business settings. For example, the speakers' intelligibility may be perceived variably based on their accents

during job interviews (e.g. Carlson and McHenry, 2006) affecting the interviewers' judgements of whether candidates are suitable for the job. Furthermore, there may be instances where customers prefer shop assistants with particular accents regardless of their professional skills and knowledge.

When language attitudes are examined, the communication accommodation theory needs to be taken into consideration. It is concerned with 'convergence' and 'divergence', including the communicative features such as accentedness, speech rates, gestures, etc. (Garrett, 2010, pp. 105-106). Convergence occurs when interlocuters of a conversation reduce differences, while divergence has to do with the opposite strategy with an emphasis on the differences. The theory is used to "gain social approval and, also a desire to maintain positive social identities" (Garrett, 2010, p. 107). The communicative features also relate to the social identity theory, which attempts to account for situations where individuals try to maintain self-esteem by comparing their own group with other groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Hence, the choices made during interaction and the change in communicative features may be a sign of attitudes.

Although stimulus speakers and listeners do not have direct contact with each other in the current research, the above theories are still relevant to language attitudes in that people elicit attitudes towards different social groups.

The following sections overview previous attitude studies concerned with languages, dialects and accents.

2.2.1 Attitudes towards varieties of English

Listeners' attitudes can be measured using the different methods covered in Section 2.1.2. As explained in Section 2.1.2.1, overt attitudes are easily measurable as they ask people's attitudes towards the languages directly.

Numerous attitudes studies have been conducted in many countries including the US (e.g. Anisfeld et al., 1962) but as the current study investigates British people's attitudes, this subsection will focus on studies conducted in the UK considering British dialects.

Attitude studies in the UK have examined attitudes towards different urban and rural varieties. Wilkinson (1965 as explained in Giles, 2006) put forward the tripartite hierarchical framework of accent prestige where 'standard' accents such as Received
Pronunciation held the highest prestige, followed by 'rural', and then 'urban', as seen to be spoken by working class people. Wilkinson's theory of tripartite hierarchical framework was also confirmed when indirect methods were used.

One of the largest attitudes study was carried out by Coupland and Bishop (2007) using a large-scale, online survey. In this research, 34 accents of English were investigated. This was a collaboration with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and participants were given the accents conceptually. The results showed that 'Standard English' and an 'accent identical to own' were favoured the most in both the labels of prestige and attractiveness. On the other hand, urban accents such as 'Birmingham' were less favoured accents in both labels as well as 'Afro-Caribbean' and 'Asian' accents. These results confirm the framework that Wilkinson (1965) introduced. Hiraga (2005) investigated British attitudes towards varieties of English from Britain and the U.S.A. Her research focused on 6 varieties and only used the matched guise technique. This study also confirmed Wilkinson's tripartite hierarchical framework of accent prestige and discovered that it is a cross-national framework since 'urban-accented' English from New York City was considered unfavourably similarly to the Birmingham accent.

Giles (1970) investigated British attitudes towards English with different accents: Received Pronunciation (RP), North American, French, Southern Welsh, Irish, Yorkshire, Somerset, Indian, Birmingham, Cockney, Italian, German, Scottish, West Indian, Liverpool, and affected RP. Scottish, West Indian, and Liverpool accents were only presented conceptually when the participants were given a list of accents, while affected RP was only presented vocally, using the matched guise technique, and all the other accents were given to participants both vocally and conceptually. Giles researched people's views towards the accents in terms of *aesthetic, communicative* and status and noted whether they followed the same pattern as Wilkinson (1965) described. In terms of the grouping offered by Zahn and Hopper (1985), the three factors, *aesthetic*, *communicative* and *status* are labelled as *attractiveness*, *dynamism* and superiority respectively. Giles' studies showed that, overall, in both methods, industrial areas were the least favoured by British people following the same pattern. Giles' research was new in the area as it confirmed that overt attitudes and covert attitudes can follow the same pattern. It was important to measure covert attitudes as well since overt attitudes measured from direct approaches may not be the view participants hold instinctively (Lambert, 1967, p. 94; Garrett 2010, p. 44). Moreover, people can even have attitudes towards something without conscious awareness. Coupland and Bishop (2007) and Hiraga (2005) investigated overt and covert attitudes respectively and both results also followed the same pattern as Giles (1970). Many language attitudes studies have followed the results discussed in this section demonstrating that the prestige viewed accent is favoured the most in terms of status and that participants in the UK tend to hold similar stereotyped views towards languages (e.g. Strongman and Woosley on Yorkshire and London accents, 1967; Cheyne on Scottish accents, 1970, Giles on Southern Welsh and Somerset accents, 1971). In the current study, the monolingual speakers chosen were speakers with a Southern British accent as the focus was on early bilinguals who have a standard Southern English variety and not different regional dialects.

2.2.2 Attitudes towards foreign-accented English

Research focusing on foreign accented English has also been conducted in the field. Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert (1962) examined Yiddish-accented English speech in Montreal using the matched guise technique. All the speakers were Jewish but it is uncertain which Jewish language accented English the speakers spoke as the researchers only mention it as 'Jewish-accented English'. It is also unclear whether the participants were immigrants or whether they were born and brought up in Montreal. The researchers discuss that the speakers had extensive contact with the Yiddish language, so it is likely to be Yiddish-accented English. Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert found that the Standard English accents were favoured in many categories by the participants. This study also pointed out that the Jewish participants thought more voices had a Jewish accent, even when Standard English was used, as they could be more sensitive to the distinctive features similar to their own. Other investigations of attitudes have shown that the preference of standard English is also seen in adolescents (Ryan and Carranza, 1975). In addition, research has found that foreignaccented English is perceived as less truthful (Lev-Ari and Keysar, 2010). English identified to be spoken by Asians are especially perceived to be negative (Lindemann, 2005, p. 193; Cargile, Maeda, Rodriguez and Rich, 2010, p. 68). The above studies all confirm that people have different attitudes towards foreign-accented English and usually foreign-accented English is less favoured than standard accented English.

As my research focuses on bilinguals who may have some characteristics of Japaneseaccented English, research focusing on Japanese-accented English undertaken previously will also need to be investigated.

In the USA, Cargile and Giles (1998) used the matched guise technique to investigate people's attitudes towards standard American English, moderate Japanese-accented English, heavily Japanese-accented English, and disfluent Japanese-accented English in the USA. The problem with this research, as mentioned in the paper as well, was that it did not focus on accent and speech, but mainly considered the level of fluency. Interestingly, the results showed that participants favoured moderate Japaneseaccented English more than heavily Japanese-accented English in terms of attractiveness and status. For dynamism, it showed no significant difference. When moderate Japanese-accented English was compared with standard American English, significant difference was observed for *attractiveness* and *dynamism* but no difference was observed for status. My current research will also examine whether British people's attitudes are similar to those of the Americans as the study will use Japanese-English bilinguals. The late learners of English will have moderate to mid-accented Japanese-accented English speech. My early bilinguals will have a Southern British accent but if the early bilinguals do have traces of foreign-accented English, it is highly likely that it will be characteristics of Japanese-accented English, and therefore the study will consider if the results followed the same pattern as Cargile and Giles' study.

In the UK, McKenzie (2015b) examined implicit and explicit attitudes towards different varieties of English including those of the non-native speakers. His study showed preference for native speakers of English over the Asian speakers of English and that the listeners hold different perception regarding the different Asian speakers since Japanese accented English was favoured over Chinese accented English in terms of social attractiveness but the opposite pattern was observed regarding status.

2.2.3 Attitudes towards different languages

Studies have also been done on attitudes towards bilinguals' speech, but they have focused on their two languages, not their usual English speech as they have used the matched guise technique. Looking at Quebec, Lambert et al. (1960) concluded that

the English samples were favoured more than the French samples, although the samples were from the same bilingual person. One interesting result the paper indicated was that despite their degree of bilingualism, French participants assessed the French recordings less favourably than English participants showing the opposite pattern to Preston's study (1989) where participants favoured their own variety. Unlike these previous studies, my research will be using bilinguals' natural speech and therefore only one type of recording will be used from each person. Since early bilingual speakers are brought up using two languages in their daily life, I will investigate how close or different their accents are to those people who have been brought up with only one language.

So far, attitudes studies have focused on English and European languages or foreignaccented English. It is important to uncover what people think about other languages, as it is believed that over half of the population in the world are bilinguals (Grosjean, 1989).

2.3 Identification of Accents

The previous section has considered previous studies in the area of language attitudes. However, it is also crucial to find out whether the listeners' attitudes are in fact attitudes towards the dialect that they are judging. In other words, if the listeners are expressing attitudes towards an audio guise, the researcher cannot be sure if the attitudes that the listeners expressed are towards the correct dialect as they may have misidentified the dialect.

2.3.1 Identification of different English varieties

Dialect identification experiments have been conducted in different countries such as Wales (Williams, Garrett and Coupland, 1999), France (Boughton, 2006), and the Netherlands (van Bezooijen and Gooskens, 1999). It is also popular in the United States and in one of the experiments conducted in Purnell, Idsardi and Baugh's research (1999) they discovered that listeners could distinguish African American Vernacular English, Chicano English, and Standard American English with only the word "hello" at the start of telephone conversations.

Previous research undertaken in the area of variety identification of English has demonstrated that listeners are "generally able to accurately and consistently identify speakers' places of origin and/or varieties of a given language as regionally or socially localised forms, provided the regional identity of each individual speaker is not too fine-grained for the hearer" (McKenzie 2015a, p.151).

2.3.2 Identification of Foreign-accented English

In terms of Asian accents, they are rarely explored in the UK. Therefore, this section will broaden the field and investigate general trends in attitudes towards Asian accents. Newman and Wu (2011), Gnevsheva (2017) and Watanabe (2008) have discovered that native speakers of English cannot distinguish between East Asian accents. In Gnevsheva (2017) and Watanabe's studies (2008), Korean speakers were misidentified as Chinese or Japanese. The Koreans were misidentified more in Gnevsheva's study (2017) and Gnevsheva explains that it is likely because of the different methods adopted by Gnevsheva and Watanabe. Gnevsheva (2017) used a free variety identification method while Watanabe (2008) had Korean as one of the given options. These studies were not specifically focused on Japanese, but it is highly likely that identifying Japanese accented English is difficult for monolingual English speakers. McKenzie (2015a) conducted a study in the UK and found that only a quarter of the participants were able to identify Japanese accented English in the UK. However, all except for one participant were able to identify the speaker as a nonnative speaker. Japanese accented English was identified correctly with a probability of 37.5-44.6% in Watanabe's study (2008, p. 119), much higher than the correctness in McKenzie's study (2015a). Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, Watanabe had a predetermined list of varieties that participants could choose from and so could have increased the correctness. Therefore, in terms of Japanese accented English, previous studies have shown that participants are skilled at identifying the accent as a nonnative accent but have difficulty identifying the specific country and struggle to distinguish the different East Asian accents. The current study will take the free variety identification method and will observe how well participants distinguish Japanese accented English.

Section 2.3 has discussed how sensitive listeners are towards different varieties of English and how participants perceive East Asian accents. However, can a listeners' perception of accents be influenced by external factors? If listeners' perceptions are

influenced, does this have an effect on their attitudes?

2.4 Change of Speech Perception

So far, I have discussed previous studies related to attitudes and accent identification. However, people's attitudes can change not only with what they hear but also what they think they will hear or what they think they are hearing. Thus, it is important to note that attitudes and the perception of accents can also be influenced by information given about the speakers. Perception studies and studies using the priming method, however, have densely focused on the phonetical elements (e.g. Hay, Warren and Drager, 2006) and research examining how external factors influences people's attitudes and accent identification are rare.

In section 2.1.2.1.2, methods of using visual stimuli accompanying audio recordings were discussed briefly. As speech perception is an important factor in the current study, the main studies in the area will be explained in more detail.

Donald Rubin (1992) used a method of presenting the same recording with different presumptions about the speakers. In his experiment, a recorded mock lecture by the same L1 English instructor was evaluated by two groups of American university students acting as judges. One group was shown a photograph of a Caucasian woman and the other group was shown an Asian woman while they were listening to the recording. Both women were dressed similarly with similar hairstyles to reduce any other factors that might influence participants' attitudes other than ethnicity. His research demonstrated how listeners' judgments of speech intelligibility were likely to be affected by speakers' ethnic appearances since when the Asian photo was shown, participants indicated that the lecturer had a more non-native accent². Hay and Drager (2010) also studied how perception of accents can be influenced by external factors.

² According to Fought (2006), a follow up study was conducted by Atagi in 2003. She had an un-primed group where no information was given to participants and a primed group who were told that the three monolingual native speakers of English in the recordings were French Canadian, Korean, or Mexican. The more ethnically different the guises were perceived, the more the guises were perceived to have a stronger foreign accent. However, it was a paper presented at a conference and as no raw data is published, it is difficult to discuss the study in detail.

They looked at how objects in the room can influence people's perception. The participants were exposed to a stuffed toy of a kangaroo and a koala, associated with Australia, and a kiwi, associated with New Zealand, and had to complete a perception task in which they matched natural vowels. This research concluded that stuffed toys influenced the perception of vowels as there was a shift towards the country the stuffed toy was associated with.

The above two studies have looked at the influence of visual factor and shows how even a stuffed toy or a photo of a person can influence our perception of language as the two primed groups showed different results according to the different visual stimuli. A section of my research will consider this perception effect but by observing whether information given about the speakers is enough to trigger peoples' attitudes and judgements towards an accent. In order to investigate this, there will be a primed group and an un-primed group in the current study. The primed group will be similar to previous studies with the participants presented with more than the audio recordings. The information given is the real linguistic background of the speakers. The second group will not be given any information about the speakers and will observe the difference between the two speakers. The main focus of the study will be the early bilinguals of Japanese and English to consider whether the participants' attitudes differ depending on the information they have about the speakers and whether the listeners with no prior information can distinguish early bilinguals' speech from monolinguals' speech.

2.5 Bilingualism

As the study uses bilinguals, the term needs to be clarified. There have been many studies investigating bilingualism and many handbooks and textbooks have been published (e.g. Romaine, 1995; Wei, 2007), as well as studies investigating attitudes towards different accented languages, but so far, relatively little research has been done on attitudes towards bilinguals and their accents as bilinguals, in particular about early bilinguals. Thus, the study will focus on British attitudes towards early bilinguals of Japanese and English.

2.5.1 Definition of bilinguals

As a preliminary to any research project dealing with bilingualism, it is essential to

clarify what types of bilinguals will be chosen for the purpose of the present research. A considerable number of definitions of bilinguals have been proposed so far, ranging from the definition proposed by Bloomfield of a speaker who has a 'native-like control of two languages' (1933, p. 56) to the one by Haugen of 'a speaker [who could] first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language' (1953, p.7). These two researchers offer two almost opposite views, but there are also researchers such as Weinreich (1953/1963) and Mackey (1962) who offer a vague definition, not specifying the proficiency of the language, such as a person who has 'the ability to use more than one language' (Mackey, 1962, p. 52 cited in Chin and Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 5). Figure 2.6 shows how the definitions proposed by researchers can vary in proficiency.

The definitions above are concerned with language proficiency, but the definition of the term can vary in many other factors and, thus, classifying bilinguals is essential in order for readers to gain more information about the speakers.



Figure 2.6: Definitions of bilingualism

2.5.2 Classifications of bilinguals

Classifications of bilinguals/multilinguals have also been offered by other researchers (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Wei, 2007), but it is not always clear where a particular type of bilingualism overlaps with or differs from the other types. For example, at what age should simultaneous bilingualism be distinguished from sequential bilingualism. Simultaneous bilinguals are people who have learned two languages at the same time by being exposed to two (or more) languages since birth. In contrast, sequential bilinguals are people who usually acquire their second language after they have learned their first language at least to a considerable extent (Valdés and Figueroa, 1994, p. 10). Having a strict definition of the term bilingualism will probably be impossible not only because of the different views each researcher has, but because laypeople also have different views from researchers. The current study will use the

term 'bilinguals' to refer to the more proficient bilinguals, early bilinguals, and will refer to the other group as 'late learners' of English unless stated as late bilinguals. In order to split the two groups, the speakers' ages of acquisition were considered when using the term "early bilinguals" and "late bilinguals" which is usually identified by whether they have acquired a second language before or after the critical period. The Critical Period Hypothesis is a hypothesis put forward by Lenneberg (1967) that in order to acquire a language fluently, people will need to acquire a language before the beginning of puberty. Although Lenneberg referred to the critical period in terms of first language acquisition, the hypothesis has been discussed in second language acquisition as well (Birdsong, 1999; Johnson and Newport, 1989). Moreover, there are many debates and much research on whether this hypothesis is true or not.

Still, some of the classifications of bilinguals are worth explaining in order to examine to what extent the definition depends on each researcher and also the views laypeople may have regarding the term. Laypeople usually only refer to bilinguals who are termed 'balanced bilinguals' or 'amblinguals'. Balanced bilinguals was a phrase put forward by Lambert et al. (1959) and is defined as people who are highly proficient in both or all languages. Ambilingualsim is "an individual with native competency in two languages" (Valdés and Figueroa, 1994, p. 8). However, there are many arguments that balanced bilingualism is almost impossible to achieve (Beardsmore, 1986, p. 7; Grosjean, 1998, p. 132). As the participants in the current study will be laypeople, it is highly possible that they will perceive the early bilinguals to be balanced bilinguals because they will be told that the speakers are fluent in two languages.

'Dominant bilinguals' are seen to be the opposite of balanced bilinguals. Dominant bilinguals are bilinguals who are dominant in one language but when this term is used, it must be remembered that it does not necessarily mean they are less fluent in one of the languages. The term also refers to a situation where a bilingual may use the dominant language for everyday use and the subordinate language, the less dominant language, in specific situations. For example, a person may be fluent in both English and Italian, but may only use English when discussing things related to football.

The meaning of the word 'bilingualism' changes depending on the context or the research area that is focused on so it is highly unlikely to have a unified meaning. Furthermore, with these different classifications of bilinguals, it is essential to clarify and to use the same type of bilinguals in research since they all differ in proficiency,

age of language acquired, and many other factors that could influence the results. They all differ so much that they cannot be analysed as a single group.

2.5.3 Bilinguals used in my research

As explained briefly in the section above, the two types of bilinguals that will be focused in the current research will be early bilinguals and late bilinguals. Thus, these two terms will need to be investigated in further depth.

I will designate as early bilinguals the people who have been in an environment where they used both English and Japanese before the critical period, and have constantly been exposed to both languages until the time of the research. Early bilinguals can be one of the two types of bilinguals mentioned earlier: simultaneous bilinguals or sequential bilinguals. The two early bilinguals in the current study were sequential bilinguals as they moved to the UK at the age of two and five. Further details about the speakers will be presented in the Methodology chapter.

A late bilingual, on the other hand, is "someone who has become a bilingual later than childhood" (Wei, 2007, p. 6) or a person who has "acquired L2 in adolescence or adulthood" (Valdés and Figueroa, 1994, p. 11). Therefore, the late bilinguals, who I will sometimes refer to as 'late learners of English' in order to make the separation simpler, mean people who learn to speak a second language at a relatively late stage of life. The late stage in this context is generally considered to be after the onset of puberty or after the critical period.

The majority of studies using early and late bilinguals concluded that, with regard to the second language, early bilinguals are more advantaged than the late bilinguals in terms of their language proficiency and showed that the younger the age of acquisition, the higher the language proficiency (Patkowski, 1980; Johnson and Newport, 1989; Luk, De Sa and Bialystok, 2011). It is highly likely that the early bilinguals were more proficient in English than the late leaners. However, the two groups of bilinguals have been brought up in different environments, so it is difficult to measure their proficiency with similar tests. The late learners have taken English tests in order to attend exchange programmes in the UK but as the early bilinguals were considered as home students, they did not need to take such English tests to attend universities. Still, although the proficiency cannot be measured, it can be inferred that they were fluent in English because the early bilinguals did not have any difficulty in attending a high

ranked UK university.

2.6 Japanese speech compared with English

The bilinguals I have focused on are speakers of Japanese and English. In order to understand how different or similar their speech could be, it is vital to understand the differences between the English and Japanese languages. As Lippi-Green (2012, p.46) states, English spoken by a native speaker of another language can be influenced by the phonology of the speakers' native language. Lesley (2014, p. 28) found evidence that Japanese late learners of English had segmental and suprasegmental levels of transfer on to English. It will be highly possible that these characteristics will appear in my speakers who are late learners of English. For the early bilinguals, if their speech is influenced, it is likely that Japanese will be the language affecting their English.

2.6.1 Phonology

English and Japanese differs in many features such as morphology, syntax and phonology but phonological reasons will be focused on in the literature review as it is the factor that most affects speech read from text.

There are many suggested reasons why Japanese people have difficulty in pronouncing English phonemes, but the main reason often referred to is because the range of sounds used in English and Japanese is different. Below are two tables (Table 2.1 and Table 2.2) showing the consonant phonemes of English (Roach, 2004, p. 240) and Japanese (Akamatsu, 1997, p.138; Tsujimura, 2014, p.17) that are often identified by researchers. Some phonemes are not in the same box as according to O'Grady (2013), some phonemes are "to some extent intermediate between dental and alveolar sounds" (p. 34). Phonemes not found in the other language are highlighted to clarify the differences.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g		
Affricate					t∫ dʒ					
Nasal	m			n				ŋ		
Fricative		f v	θð	s z	∫ 3					h
Approximan t					r		j	W		
Lateral approximant				1						
Tap or flap										

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes of English

Table 2.2: Consonant phonemes of Japanese

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g		
Affricate				t ^s d ^z	t∫ dʒ					
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	Ν	
Fricative	φ			s z	∫ 3	Q	ç			h
Approximan t							j	W		
Lateral approximant										
Tap or flap				ſ						

Japanese lacks the dental fricatives $[\theta]$ and $[\delta]$ used in English and therefore, when using English, Japanese speakers tend to replace $[\theta]$ and $[\delta]$ with either alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] or post-alveolar fricatives [f] and [dʒ] (Cairns, 1988, p. 48). Voiced bilabial plosive [b] is used for lenis labiodental fricative [v] (Thompson, 2001; p. 298).

Difficulty in distinguishing and producing /l/ and /r/ is a widely known stereotype of Japanese late learners of English, as in Japanese, an intermediary sound between /l/ and /r/ is used (Goto, 1971, p. 318; Logan, Lively and Pisoni, 1991; Bradlow, Pisoni, Akahane-Yamada and Tohkura, 1997). Phonemically, this intermediary sound of /l/ and /r/ is often transcribed as /r/. In English, /l/ is transcribed as a lateral alveolar approximant [l], and /r/ as [I] while in Japanese, /r/ is described as an alveolar flap [r]. It is sometimes described as [l] but this is rare (Bloch, 1950, p.101). Even if the speakers can produce /l/ and /r/ separately, they can still make errors when perceiving the phonemes (Goto, 1971; Sheldon and Strange, 1982).

Japanese also differs from English in having fewer vowels. Japanese has five vowels in standard dialect (Shibatani, 1987, p. 865) while English has many more (Finegan, 1987, p. 89) and RP is identified to have 12 by Roach (2004, p. 241) making it problematic for the learners of English to distinguish the sounds that do not exist in their language.

Japanese lacks many English sound clusters such as [si], [ti], [tu] and [di], which are replaced by [Ji], [tJi], [tsu] and [dʒi] respectively (Shibatani, 1987, p. 866). Japanese also does not have any consonant clusters (Lesley, 2014, p. 21). Consonant clusters are the connected speech of consecutive consonants. In English, three consonants can exist in word initials and four in word finals, such as the /spl/ in splash, but in Japanese, consonants have to be followed by a vowel. To overcome this problem, Japanese speakers unconsciously use epenthesis when speaking in English, where a vowel or consonant is inserted. For example, the English word bus [bAs], will be pronounced as [bAstu] by many Japanese late learners of English (Avery and Ehrlich, 1992 cited in Carruthers, 2006, p. 21; Celce-Murcia, Brinton and Goodwin, 1996, p. 164).

Considering the above difficulties in English for Japanese learners, [1] and [1], [s] and $[\theta]$ will be included in the audio recordings. Thus, minimal pairs of 'collect' and

'correct', 'light' and 'right' and 'sing' and 'thing' were included in the script. The Japanese late learners of English may have difficulty producing these differences. If the early bilinguals can produce the differences separately, the questionnaire will investigate what other factors, if there are any, such as prosody, are focused on when native speakers of English distinguish monolinguals of English from bilinguals of English and Japanese.

2.6.2 Prosody

Japanese and English differ not only in terms of phonemic features but in many other factors. First of all, English is often explained as a stress timed language where the number of stressed syllables determines the length of utterance and is claimed that the time between stressed syllables are approximately the same (O'Grady, 2013, p. 135; Lesley, 2014, p. 21). In contrast, Japanese is a syllable timed or mora-timed language (Port, Dalby and O'Dell, 1987; Lesley, 2014, p. 21). Syllable timed languages are languages where all the syllables take the same amount of time to pronounce (Cross, 2002) and a mora timed language is similar in that it describes cases where the 'speech consists of a series of timing units of roughly equal duration' (Port et al., 1987, p. 1574). Shibatani (1987, p. 868) distinguishes the two by explaining that syllables include a vowel while morae does not. He gives an example using the word "sinbun" meaning newspaper in Japanese. The word consists of two syllables 'sin' and 'bun' but in terms of mora, it is split into four units, 'si', 'n', 'bu' and 'n'. Therefore, the two languages have different factors concerned with the rhythm of speech.

Another difference in the languages is that English is a stress accent language (Roach, 2004, p. 243; Wells, 2006, p.3) while Japanese is a pitch accent language (Vance, 2008, p. 143). A stress accent language is a language where stress plays a significant role. Tsujimura (2014, p. 28) described that in these languages, "a certain syllable in a word is perceived by speakers as being the most prominent, and this syllable is said to carry the primary stress." The stressed syllable is determined by the combination of pitch, vowel duration and loudness. With pitch accent languages, meanings of the word can differ by how the pitch is used (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 30). Table 2.3 shows an example of how, in Japanese, pitch accent identifies the meaning of homophones. Hashi/hasi, all pronounced in the same way as [haci], can have three different meanings depending

on the pitch and the syllable that is accented (Haraguchi, 2002, p. 6).

Japanese	Pitch	Accent	English translation
Hashi	High – Low	First syllable (ha)	chopsticks
Hashi	Low – High	Second syllable (shi)	bridge
Hashi	Low – High	No accent	edge

Table 2.3: Example of pitch accent identifying homophones in Japanese

With these differences in English and Japanese, the speakers in the research may have different pronunciations or rhythms of speech. These will be looked at in detail and I will observe if participants use these factors in identifying whether the speakers are native speakers or not.

This chapter has discussed previous studies conducted specifically in the area of language attitudes and variety identification. It also discussed the area of bilingualism and how English differs with Japanese to estimate what features listeners are likely to pick up in English-Japanese bilinguals' speech. The next chapter will be the Methodology chapter. This focuses on the methods used in the study to observe attitudes towards English-Japanese bilinguals and how prior information influences their judgements.

3 Methodology

In this chapter, I will discuss the methodology that was used in the study. I will start by presenting the participants that took part, the stimulus materials and the test procedure. Also included will be the pilot study that was conducted and the parts that were changed after the pilot study. At the end of the chapter, I will discuss the statistical methods and the data analysis that were used for the analysis chapters.

3.1 Participants

3.1.1 Listeners

The participants were primarily students and recent graduates because they were easily accessible through the university. As the study focused on British people's attitudes towards bilinguals, the participants were people who had British English as their only or main language, and they were recruited through university emails and online noticeboards mainly in Cardiff University.

After unsuitable participants were discarded, 89 people remained for the analysis. The participants who were removed were unsuitable for the experiment since they either stated that English was not one of their first languages or that they were not from the United Kingdom. I have also discarded results from participants who had more experience with Linguistics because they may be sensitive to language differences in people's speech and I wanted to observe non-linguists' attitudes towards bilinguals. In order to research how prior information of the speakers influenced the listeners' attitudes, the participants were broken down into two groups. The primed group, Group A, was the group who held prior information and Group B was the un-primed group, or the control group, who held no information about the speakers. Further details about the two groups is explained in section 3.3. The group of listeners in Group A consisted of 51 people and in Group B of 38 people. The number of participants in each of the groups is not equal as participants who accessed the questionnaire were randomly sent to different conditions. Further details about how participants were randomly assigned to different test is presented in Section 3.3.1 which discusses counterbalanced measures designs. The unequal number in each group will not be problematic in the current research as when analysing the data, the data was observed using descriptive and inferential statistics.

The study also examined whether the participants' backgrounds had an influence on

their attitudes so information such as their gender and knowledge of foreign languages was collected.

The table below summarises the distribution of gender in both groups.

Gender	Primed Group	Un-primed Group	Total
Male	9 (18%)	10 (26%)	19 (21%)
Female	42 (82%)	27 (71%)	69 (78%)
Prefer not to say	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	1 (1%)
Total	51 (100%)	38 (100%)	89 (100%)

Table 3.1: Gender distribution of participants

A higher number of women took part in the questionnaire and one participant chose not to state their gender. This one participant was included in the general analysis but was ignored when the effect of gender was examined. Gender may influence people's attitudes as women tend to prefer the more standard forms (Trudgill, 1972). For example, as female participants prefer the more standard forms, they may hold more negative attitudes towards the late learners than the male participants. Studies such as Fledstein, Dohm and Crown's (2001), and McKenzie's (2008) proved that listeners' gender can significantly differ the results since female listeners perceived the speakers more positively in terms of competence. It would have been best if half of the participants were men and the other half women, but as the study was done voluntarily, it was difficult to get an equal number for each group.

The listeners' ages ranged from 18 to 37 for Group A with the mean age of 20.7 (SD = 2.9) and the participants in Group B ranged in age from 18 to 31 with the mean age equal to Group A with 20.7 (SD = 3.4) so little difference was observed between the two groups. The majority of participants were from England, followed by participants from Wales. In Group B, there was one participant respectively from Scotland and Northern Ireland. As mentioned earlier, most of the participants were recruited through Cardiff University so the population may be representative of the actual distribution of students there. The distribution of the origin of participants is summarised in the table below.

Area of UK	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
England	35 (69%)	28 (74%)
Wales	16 (31%)	8 (21%)
Scotland	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Northern Ireland	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Total	51 (100%)	38 (100%)

Table 3.2: Origin of participants

Table 3.3 below shows how many foreign languages the participants spoke in each group. In terms of language ability, participants were asked to choose from a dropdown list the best category describing their language proficiency with the aim of collecting data that was consistent throughout my participants. Even when participants knew a foreign language to a native level, they were included as long as they confirmed that English was one of their first languages. The majority of participants spoke one or two foreign languages with a mean of 1.9 languages for Group A and 1.7 languages for Group B. This data was collected to observe whether participants with knowledge of a foreign language. A knowledge of foreign language could have influenced the listeners' attitudes as multilinguals who know more languages to a higher level were more concerned about their own foreign accents (Dewaele and McCloskey, 2015 p. 230). Therefore, participants with a knowledge of a foreign language might hold more negative attitudes regarding non-native accents than people with no such knowledge.

Number of foreign languages	Number of participants
0	15 (17%)
1	22 (25%)
2	27 (30%)
3	16 (18%)
4	7 (8%)
5	2 (2%)
Total	89 (100%)

Table 3.3: Number of foreign languages spoken by participants

As for the foreign languages spoken by participants, they varied a lot but French was the most common in both groups. Spanish was the next common language spoken. Welsh was also popular as many participants were studying at Cardiff University in Wales and most of the recruitment was done there. The table below shows the foreign languages spoken by participants. 'Others' includes languages where there was only one response. Some participants spoke more than one language and therefore the total number of foreign languages spoken by the listeners does not equal the number of participants. The last column shows the percentage by the overall population. For example, the first row shows that 51% of the participants indicated that they knew some French.

Language	Number of	Percentage by the
	participants	overall population
French	45 (28%)	51%
Spanish	33 (20%)	37%
German	25 (15%)	28%
Welsh	18 (11%)	20%
Italian	13 (8%)	15%
Japanese	10 (6%)	11%
Mandarin	4 (3%)	4%
Portuguese	3 (2%)	3%
Catalan	3 (2%)	3%
Others	8 (5%)	9%
Total	162 (100%)	181%

Table 3.4: Foreign languages spoken by participants

As my research focuses on English-Japanese bilinguals, it is worth focusing on the participants who spoke Japanese. In Group A there were three and in Group B, there were seven who spoke Japanese but their level varied. Table 3.5 shows the level of proficiency participants stated for their Japanese ability.

Level	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Native	0	0
Advanced	0	0
Upper Intermediate	1	0
Intermediate	1	2
Elementary	0	1
Beginner	1	4
Total	3	7

Table 3.5: Participants' Japanese ability

The influence of a knowledge of Japanese will be analysed separately from the

knowledge of foreign languages section during the analysis as they may either be more sensitive to Japanese accents or express different attitudes.

3.1.2 Speakers

The main focus of the study was the early bilinguals in English and Japanese but in order to observe the difference and similarities, recordings of monolingual English speakers and Japanese late learners of English were also collected. Thus, there were three groups of speakers. There were two speakers for each speaker group so that the attitudes listeners expressed were towards the speaker group as much as possible and not towards the individual. Although having more than two speakers would have been even more representative of the speaker group, it would be problematic as well since the questionnaire would take longer to complete. The problem of the fatigue effect would be encountered and there will be a higher chance of participants quitting before the completion of the questionnaire. Therefore, six speakers in total were recorded for the research. All the speakers that were chosen were male to avoid any influence of speaker gender as studies have found that the perceived gender of the speakers can influence listeners' perceptions (Strand, 1999; Johnson, Strand and D'Imperio, 1999). Age is another factor that can influence results (Hay et al., 2006) so all the speakers recruited for the study were around 20 years old. The speakers are explained in more detail in the sections below. The description of the speakers is at the time of the recording (May 2015 - January 2016).

3.1.2.1 Early Bilinguals

The early bilinguals chosen were two Japanese male bilinguals in their twenties who had lived in London since they were very young and had a Southern British accent. Speaker #1 was a British citizen who had been born in Japan and had been using English for 17 years because he moved to England at the age of five. He speaks Japanese to his Japanese mother and English to his British step-father and reported that he used English more often in daily life. Speaker #2 was born in Germany but had lived in the UK from the age of two. Although he was born in Germany, his speech was very unlikely to be affected by this since he had no knowledge of German. His parents were both Japanese, and he used Japanese when speaking with them. He reported that he used 40% English and 60% Japanese daily. Both speakers received

their primary education in English. Speaker #1 was a student at a UK university and speaker #2 was a recent graduate at the time of recording. They both self-reported as having no foreign accent in either their Japanese or their English.

3.1.2.2 Late Learners of English

As for the late learners of English, both speakers were male Japanese students who were studying in Wales as part of an exchange programme. They reported they had started learning English at secondary school in Japan. Speaker #3 went to the US for ten months for an exchange programme at high school but both speakers were similarly proficient in English as one speaker self-reported a TOEFL - iBT® score of 90 and the other reported an IELTS score of 6.5 which is equivalent to 79-93 in TOEFL (ETS, 2010, p. 13).

3.1.2.3 Monolinguals

Due to the choice of the early bilinguals, the monolingual participants selected were also male participants with a Southern British accent to ensure the sample accents would sound similar. Both speaker #5 and #6 were in their early twenties and lived in the South of England until moving to Cardiff for university. Table 3.6 summarises the information of the speakers used in the research.

#	Status	Age	Age of learning	Additional Information
			English	
1	Early bilingual	22	5	British citizen. Moved to the
				UK at the age of five. Uses
				English with his step-father
				and Japanese with his mother.
2	Early bilingual	22	3	Permanent residence visa
				holder of UK. Moved to the
				UK at the age of two.
3	Late bilingual	20	15	Exchange programme in
				Cardiff University, Wales but
				went to US for ten months for
				an exchange programme at
				high school.
4	Late bilingual	21	12	Exchange programme in
				Cardiff University, Wales.
5	Monolingual	22	0	Has lived in Surrey all his life
				before moving to Cardiff for
				university.
6	Monolingual	22	0	Lived in South London and
				Sussex until moving to Cardiff
				for university.

Table 3.6: Demographic and language information of speakers used in the recordings

3.2 Stimulus materials

Speakers were recorded reading a passage. The content of the speech was not causal speech but a scripted reading passage style. Boughton (2006) comments that a reading passage style "ensures uniformity of content but does of course mean that speakers are likely to be monitoring their pronunciation more closely" (p. 287). This was the focus of the current study as I wanted to focus on accent, and not other aspects such as grammar or vocabulary. A reading passage is different from spontaneous speech but is advantageous since it is able to control variables that can influence listeners'

attitudes other than accents. The recordings were generated to be longer than eight seconds as there are claims that native speakers are able to recognize foreign accents in about eight seconds (Scovel, 1981). Making it too long would have been a problem due to the possibility of the fatigue effect. Considering that the participants had to listen to six recordings, the script was designed to be approximately one minute long. For the script, an edited version of Aesop's fables, "The Goose With the Golden Eggs" was used as it did not include any fixed phrases or dialogues. Fixed phrases such as "once upon a time", a commonly used phrase in children's fairy tales were excluded as they could have a specific rhythm when reading. These phrases were not selected for this research as people's childhood experience may have had an effect on their way of reading. Late learners of English and early bilinguals, having Japanese mothers, may have had less contact with English fairy tales than monolinguals. Stories with dialogues were also ignored to eliminate the possibility of speakers altering their pitch or voices to accommodate different characters. The fable was edited in order to change the English to a current form as even native speakers of English can hesitate or stop while reading a traditional version (See Appendix A for the script). Another reason I chose to edit the story was to introduce minimal pairs which late learners of English may have trouble pronouncing. The minimal pairs inserted into the script were, 'light' and 'right', 'collect' and 'correct', and 'thing' and 'sing'. The phonemes /l/ and /r/, and /th/ and /s/ present the most common problems to Japanese late learners, as explained in the Literature Review.

Taking into consideration the fact that the late learners could have trouble reading as fluently as the other group of speakers, all of the speakers were allowed to read the passage before the recording took place and were permitted to redo the recording until they were satisfied with the quality. This was to decrease factors such as hesitations, which might influence the listeners' attitudes.

3.3 Test Procedure

The study was first approved by the School to check any ethical issues that may arise during the study. During the recruitment process, participants were told that three people will be able to win an Amazon voucher worth of £10 and this was randomly sent to three participants after the data collection was completed. Data was collected with an online questionnaire using the Bristol Online Survey (BOS)

(https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/) to obtain responses easily and to allow the participants to answer the questionnaire on their own time. This website was used as audio files could be embedded in the questionnaire by uploading them onto YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/). Thus, the recordings in the study were all converted into a YouTube video. The videos on YouTube were kept closed and only people with the link were able to access them to maintain ethical standards. This meant that only people who accessed YouTube via the questionnaire were able to listen to the recordings³. Although the videos were embedded in the questionnaire, comments were also disabled to keep my participants anonymous in case someone opened the link in a different window or tab. BOS was also chosen as it allowed me to create six questionnaires, the number of questionnaires I needed to randomise the questions, which some of the other online questionnaire tools did not allow me to do.

Participants were first given a consent form to read (See Appendix B for the consent form). Once they agreed with the consent, they were able to proceed on to the questionnaire. In the questionnaire, participants were first asked about their background to make sure they had British English as their only or main language. They were also asked about their experiences of visiting/living abroad and the languages they knew as these experiences may have had an influence on the attitudes towards the recordings.

The participants listened to the recordings of the two English monolinguals, the two early bilinguals of Japanese and English, and the two Japanese late learners of English, reading the same passage in English. As noted in section 3.1.1, there were two groups of participants. The first set of judges (Group A) were informed before listening to the recordings, whether the audio recordings were native speakers of English, native speakers of both English and Japanese, or Japanese late learners of English. At the beginning of the questionnaire, they were given information about all the speakers that they would be listening to and were told before each recording who the speaker was. They were asked to fill out the questionnaire after listening to each of the recordings. The attitudes questionnaire that the participants filled out after each recording is explained in detail in section 3.4.

³ Keeping the YouTube videos private was also an option but this was not possible as the email address of the participants would have been needed beforehand.

The other group of judges (Group B) followed similar procedures to Group A, but they were only given the information about the speakers after filling out all the questionnaires, so at the very end. This would allow me to observe whether external factors or information about the speakers influenced their attitudes towards the accents as Rubin (1992) and Hay and Drager (2010) concluded.

Participants were also asked to identify where the speakers were from as specifically as possible. This was to establish whether they could actually distinguish the monolingual speakers of English from the English and Japanese bilinguals and to check how sensitive they were to accents by observing whether they could identify where the monolingual speakers were from. Participants were also asked what characteristics helped them to decide where they perceived the accent as coming from in order to investigate whether there were specific features, such as phonetic, that were used to judge whether the speakers may be bilinguals, rather than monolingual English speakers or late learners of English.

In addition, it was to discover whether the attitudes towards the speakers were different depending on where the listeners perceived the speakers' accent to be from. The first language of the speaker was also asked to discover if the answer differed from the origin of accent and to observe if participants viewed the first language and the origin of the speakers' accent in the same way. Lastly, at the end of the questionnaire, there was an extra section for participants to comment on the speakers if they wanted to. After completing the questionnaire, participants were provided with the debriefing document explaining the purpose of the study (See Appendix C for the debriefing document).

3.3.1 Counterbalanced measures designs

To ensure the previous recording did not influence the listeners' attitudes or the decisions about the next recording, the audio recordings were randomised. In my experiment, there were three different conditions of audio recordings, with two samples each (See Table 3.7). With six sets of audio recordings in total, there are 720 $(6 \times 5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1)$ different ways of conducting the experiment. Therefore, in my study, a compromise was made. I had three random, predetermined orders of tests which were created by ensuring identical conditions did not come in succession. In other words, no monolingual's recordings came before or after another monolingual's

recordings.

3 sets of conditions	Monolinguals (a)	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners of				
		(b)	English (c)				
2 audio recordings	a^1 and a^2	b^1 and b^2	c^1 and c^2				
for each set of							
conditions							
2 groups of	Primed Group (Group A) and the Un-Primed Group (Group						
participants		B)					

 Table 3.7: Summary of test conditions

Predetermined orders=

1) a¹ c² b¹ c¹ b² a² 2) b¹ a² c¹ a¹ c² b² 3) c¹ b² a¹ b¹ a² c²

Additionally, it must be remembered that in my experiment, two different types of questionnaires were needed as one group was given the speakers' language background before filling out the questionnaire while the other group was only given this information at the end. Thus, in total, I had six different structured sets of questionnaires: three random ordered questionnaires for each of the two circumstances. In order to randomly distribute the six different structured set of questionnaires, I used a website named Random Link (http://www.rndmlnk.com/). This website allowed me to randomly send participants to one of the six questionnaires I had. The website closed after a few months of data collection not allowing me to gather any more but since the listeners were asked to fill out two attitudes questionnaires for each speaker group (as there were two speakers for each speaker group), I had enough questionnaires submitted to have reliable data.

3.4 Attitudes Questionnaire

The attitudes questionnaire was completed each time participants had listened to the audio recordings (See Appendix D for the whole questionnaire). The questionnaire

used the labels from Zahn and Hopper (1985), which provide a standardised instrument of listeners' evaluation towards speakers. Zahn and Hopper's Speech Evaluation Instrument was explained further in the Literature Review. Five paired adjectives were selected from each of the three factors Zahn and Hopper suggested in the Speech Evaluation Instrument: *superiority, attractiveness* and *dynamism*. Based on the list, the current study adopted the adjectives that were not close in meaning and easy to understand. Therefore, 15 traits were selected in total.

In order to make it easier for the participants to fill out the attitudes questionnaire, the paired adjectives were adjusted so that the more positive adjective was on one side and the more negative adjective on the other. These were plotted on a seven point rating scale. The table below shows the criteria used in the attitudes questionnaire. Adjectives one to five are the *superiority* related questions, six to ten are the *attractiveness* related questions, and the adjectives 11 to 15 are the *dynamism* related questions.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1.	Uneducated								Educated
2.	Lower Class								Upper Class
3.	Poor								Rich
4.	Unintelligent								Intelligent
5.	Disfluent								Fluent
6.	Awful								Nice
7.	Hostile								Good natured
8.	Unfriendly								Friendly
9.	Unlikeable								Likeable
10.	Inconsiderate								Considerate
11	Shy								Talkative
12	Aggressive								Unaggressive
13	Hesitant								Enthusiastic
14	Unsure								Confident
15	Lazy								Energetic

Table 3.8: Attitudes questionnaire

Some traits may not be considered as positively or negatively as other traits. For example, someone who is perceived as shy may not be viewed as negatively as someone who is perceived to be lazy. However, for the current study, the phrasing positive/negative was used throughout the study for consistency.

As explained in section 3.3, the attitudes questionnaire also contained languagerelated questions such as a section asking the participants to identify where the speaker's accent came from in as much detail as possible.

3.5 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted before the actual research to make sure the questionnaire was easy to understand for the participants. The two traits "Aggressive vs Unaggressive" and "Unintelligent vs Intelligent" were written incorrectly during the pilot study until a participant pointed out the mistake so care was taken when the final

questionnaire was created. The number on the scales for the attitudes section was increased from five to seven as in the pilot study, the majority of the participants were only choosing three or four.

One of the early bilinguals was re-recorded after the pilot study. During the initial recording, this speaker had a cold and this influenced the results as many participants commented that he sounded very hesitant due to the constant pausing which he took to avoid coughing.

3.6 Data Analysis

The results were split into two sections. The first part (Chapter four) shows the descriptive analysis of where the listeners thought the speakers came from and the first language that was identified. The second part (Chapter five to seven) explores the attitudes listeners identified for the speakers and statistical analysis will be conducted. There were three attitudes categories but for statistical analysis, each question was analysed separately as it has been at least 20 years since the speech evaluation instrument were created by Zahn and Hopper (1985), and so the categorisation of the traits may be different nowadays. Data was analysed using the R software (R Core Team, 2013). To compare the distribution of origin of accent and first language, the chi-squared test was used as well as the Fisher exact test as the sample size was relatively small. In terms of attitudes, in order to figure out which statistical calculations to use, Shapiro Wilk tests were completed to check if the data were normally distributed or not. Each subset was checked for normal distribution as when comparing groups, the distribution for each set is important rather than the overall distribution (Field, Miles and Field, 2012). The calculations showed that most of the data sets were not normally distributed and at least one of the sets compared was not normally distributed. Therefore, Wilcoxon rank sum tests were used for comparing two groups as it is a non-parametric equivalent of independent t-tests. Even when one of the groups was normally distributed, the non-parametric tests were used so that the assumptions were not violated.

I. Analysis

This chapter will present the results of the current research and will discuss how it relates to the findings of previous research. The analysis chapter will be split into two sections. The first section will look at what listeners identified as the speakers' accent and first language. The latter section will present results regarding the participants' attitudes towards the speakers and whether prior information about the speakers influenced the listeners' attitudes. As mentioned in the methodology, there were two groups of participants. Participants in Group A were the primed group who were given a description of all the speakers at the start of the questionnaire. Furthermore, before each of the recording they were told which speaker was talking. For monolinguals, participants were told that the speaker was a native speaker of English. Late bilinguals were described as late learners of English who were Japanese, and the early bilinguals were described as native speakers of both English and Japanese. Therefore, participants in Group A were not only given a description of all the speakers at the start but they were also told which of the three types of speakers were talking in each recording. Group B participants were the un-primed group and were only given information about the speakers after they had completed the questionnaire.

4 Part 1: Identification of accents and the speakers' first language

A section of the questionnaire asked the participants to identify a speaker's accent as specifically as possible according to where they thought he came from. They were also asked to comment on what characteristics had helped them to identify the accent and what they thought the first language of the speaker was. By posing these questions, the present study aimed to investigate the extent to which first language English users from the United Kingdom can correctly identify a speaker's place of origin both nationally and internationally. In addition, by obtaining information about the listeners' perceptions towards the speakers, the study can also investigate whether the listeners' attitudes are influenced by their perceptions.

In the present study, two speakers were used for each speaker group to ensure the patterns observed were not for a specific speaker but for the speaker group as much as possible. It was important to include more than one speaker for each speaker group since a study investigating identification of Asian American and White Americans demonstrated that the listeners were able to distinguish certain speakers more than others (Hanna, 1997) and therefore the results may have been for the specific individual. However, it was difficult to use more than two speakers for each group due to the fatigue effect. In this chapter, the results regarding each speaker will be observed first and then the overall picture will be examined.

The analysis will start by looking at the results identifying the speaker's origin of accent. Although participants were asked to identify where the speakers' accent originated from as specifically as possible, the answers varied, and some participants only provided continents. Therefore, the results will be grouped in a bigger picture initially. Then, with responses that were more specific, we will observe how they were distributed in terms of country and/or region. The percentages used in the chapter are rounded to the nearest percentage so that the data is easily read. Therefore, in some cases, the total does not add up to 100%. For the monolinguals, the results will look into the specific cities that were mentioned in the answers to see if participants can correctly identify the speech as specific to a city. After looking at how listeners identified the accent, the analysis will cover what characteristics helped participants to identify it. Finally, the perceived first language of the speaker will be analysed. By doing this, I can discover whether there are any differences between the place of origin and the first language of the speaker.

Firstly, the results of the monolinguals will be presented to see how first language English users responded to speakers coming from the same country and to what extent they were able to identify the origin of the accent. Then, the analysis of late learners of English will follow to observe how listeners reacted to speakers coming from Japan and whether they could correctly identify the accent as coming from Japan. Finally, the early bilinguals will be presented at the end to see whether the first language English users reacted differently to the monolinguals and/or late learners and whether they noticed any non-native English features in the speaker's speech.

4.1 Monolinguals

4.1.1 Monolingual Speaker 1

Firstly, although the main focus of the study is to research the attitudes towards bilinguals, especially the early bilinguals, the results for the monolinguals were also analysed to see how accurate participants were at identifying the speaker's accent and first language when the speaker came from the same country as the listener. By observing participants' correctness in the identification of the UK monolinguals' language, I can compare the results with other speaker groups and identify whether listeners from the UK react differently towards early bilinguals and late learners. Furthermore, the monolinguals are an important group in finding out whether participants are able to detect early bilinguals' speech. In other words, in order to figure out whether participants react differently to early bilinguals, the monolinguals are essential as they allow further comparisons.

The table below presents the countries listeners identified for Monolingual Speaker 1 regarding the origin of accent.

Country	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
UK	94%	92%
Non-UK	2%	8%
UK and Non-UK	2%	0%
Others	2%	0%
Total number of responses	51	38

Table 4.1: Listeners' responses regarding country identification for Monolingual Speaker 1 (N=51, 38)

Almost all the participants in Group A, who were given information about the speakers, identified the speaker's accent as coming from the UK. One participant responded that the accent came from Japan and one from both England and Japan. These two participants either did not read the description before the recording or did not believe that the description was true.

Most of the participants in Group B also identified the speaker's accent as coming from the UK. One participant identified the accent as coming from a different Englishspeaking country, Australia. Two participants identified the accent as coming from "Japan" and "China". These answers were unexpected as these two participants were not given information that a different video was by a native speaker of Japanese when they were listening to the recordings. For the participant who responded with "Japan" as the answer, this was the first recording they had heard so the person was either very bad at identifying accents or became confused when he returned to the question afterwards. The latter seems plausible as the participant had the same answer for one of the late learners. For the other participant who had "China" as the answer, it was the second recording he heard. His answers for this speaker were similar to those of the third recording which was of a late learner of English. The response for origin of accent and the first language of the speaker matched the third recording but there were some questions which did not overlap and his identification of the characteristics which helped him place the accent and the specific part he listened to more than once was different. Thus, it is unlikely that this participant was confused. For the first recording, of an early bilingual, he comments that the accent comes from the UK but the speaker could be from somewhere in Asia and in the third recording, of a late learner, he comments how this speaker has a stronger accent than the previous two

(i.e. early bilingual and monolingual). Consequently, it is likely that he jumped to a conclusion when he heard one feature that he thought sounded like a non-English speaker. Thus, excluding a few participants, prior information of the speakers did not play a major role for listeners in identifying the speaker's origin of accent as the majority of the listeners from both groups were able to clearly recognise that the monolinguals were speakers from the UK.

More specific answers by participants were grouped to see how they answered in terms of regions and to study how correct they were. The table below shows the distribution of answers.

Table 4.2: Listeners' responses regarding region identification for Monolingual Speaker 1 (n=37, 30; N=51, 38)

Region	Primed	Un-primed
	Group	Group
South	97%	93%
Midlands	0%	7%
South or Midlands	3%	0%
Total Number of Responses	37	30
Proportion of overall responses included	73%	79%
above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

The most common answer, South England, was the same for both groups. 11 participants in Group A were vague in their answers and had either "UK" or "England" as their response. In Group B, five people were vague in their answers and had "England" as their answers but 30 participants were able to be more specific. Therefore, approximately three quarters of the participants from both groups were able to give a more precise answer than the country and the answers were consistent. Participants from the UK seem confident in recognising Southern British accents.

Some participants were able to give a more exact answer regarding the question identifying the origin of the speaker's accent. The table below shows the specific cities mentioned in the participants answers. A map was also constructed to observe the distribution visually.

City/Area	Primed	Un-primed
	Group	Group
London	53%	44%
Oxford	20%	0%
Others	27%	56%
Total Number of Responses	15	16
Proportion of overall responses included	29%	42%
above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.3: Listeners' responses regarding city identification for Monolingual Speaker 1 (n=15, 16; N=51, 38)



Figure 4.1: Listeners' responses regarding city identification illustrated on a map for Monolingual Speaker 1

The 'Others' category includes cities which were only identified once. In both groups the most popular answer was London with the second most popular answer being Oxford from the primed group. As it can be seen from the map, all the cities varied across the Southern part of England.
Although there were approximately the same number of participants in each group, the percentage of the responses of participants in each was different. There were more participants in Group A, but Group B participants had a higher percentage responding with a more precise answer. 29% of Group A participants were able to give a specific area for the origin of accent while in Group B the percentage was 42%. The monolingual speaker in the recording grew up in Surrey and came to study at Cardiff for university and two of the participants correctly identified that the accent was from Surrey. Therefore, as previous research has shown (e.g. McKenzie 2015a), the judges were mostly correct when the region of the speaker's accent was observed since most of the participants were able to identify it as coming from the South of England with the most popular city being London.

Participants were then asked to comment on what characteristics helped them identify the accent. For participants who identified the accent as coming from the UK, comments were grouped into categories to observe which features participants used to make their identification. Two responses were also excluded in Group A as the comments explained why the speaker's first language was not English. The table below summarises the characteristics perceived by participants.

Characteristics	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Pronunciation/accent	78%	66%
Tone	7%	2 %
Fluency	4%	5%
Elocution/manner of speaking	4%	2%
Stress	2%	0%
Confidence	2%	0%
Enthusiasm	2%	0%
Intonation	0%	2%
Speed	0%	5%
Others	2%	17%
Total	54	41
Mean number of comments per listener	1.2	1.2

Table 4.4: Listeners' responses regarding characteristics identification for Monolingual Speaker 1 (n= 46, 35; N= 51, 38)

Some participants described more than one characteristic so the total does not equal the number of participants (some also did not comment on any features). The mean number of comment per participant from both groups was similar as both groups had 1.2. . The most common features used for identification were pronunciation and accent. All the vague answers were put in the "Others" group. These included comments such as it "sounded British" or "just thought it was British". For pronunciation, both groups commented on the /t/s. Participants from both groups mostly commented on how the /t/ at endings was dropped but one participant in Group B commented that the speaker pronounced every /t/. In both groups, some of the participants picked up how the vowel sounds were distinct. Some were even more specific and mentioned that the /a/ sound was the characteristic that helped them identify that the speaker came from the South of England. Both groups also identified that the speaker had a "posh accent" but did not explain which characteristics helped them to identify that the accent was "posh".

All the participants were also asked to identify what the first language of the speaker was. The table below shows how participants in both groups responded.

First Language	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
English	92%	95%
Japanese	6%	3%
English and Japanese	2%	0%
Mandarin	0%	3%
Total Number of	51	28
Responses	51	38

Table 4.5: Listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Monolingual Speaker 1 (N=51, 38)

Again, the results for both Group A and B were similar. The most popular answer regarding the first language of the speaker was English. The result of having answers other than English was unexpected especially from the Group A participants since Group A participants were told that the speaker in the recording was a native speaker of English before listening to the recording.

In Group A, four participants did not identify English as the speaker's first language. Two of the participants who responded that the first language was Japanese, had the origin of the accent as England. Therefore, although they were correct in placing the monolingual's accent, they either misunderstood the instructions or were doubtful of the description. One of these participants must have been the latter since he comments that the speaker pauses at different times from most native English speakers. It is possible that some participants were not very good at identifying accents or guessing the first language of speakers.

Almost all the participants in Group B described the first language of the speaker as English with two participants differing. These participants were the ones who also misidentified the origin of accent. As explained previously, we cannot be completely sure how the participants reached their conclusions. However, since even participants in Group A made incorrect guesses, there is a possibility that some of the participants were simply bad at identifying accents and guessing the first language of the speaker.

4.1.2 Monolingual Speaker 2

The second speaker was analysed in detail to confirm that the results for the first monolingual were not connected to the specific individual.

The table below shows how the participants responded regarding the question identifying the speakers' origin of accent for the second monolingual. Again, responses were grouped into UK and non-UK categories to study the general pattern.

Table 4.6: Listeners' responses regarding country identification for Monolingual Speaker 2 (N=51, 38)

Country	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
UK	94%	95%
Non-UK	0%	0%
N/A	6%	5%
Total Number of Responses	51	38

The results were as expected and all the participants who answered the question responded that it was a UK accent. Interestingly in Group A, participants who answered incorrectly that the Monolingual Speaker 1's accent did not come from the UK, were able to detect that Monolingual Speaker 2's accent was from this country. Some of the participants could have picked up the instructions while they were answering the questionnaire but one of the participants was assigned Monolingual Speaker 2 before Monolingual Speaker 1. An explanation regarding this is that some speakers are identified more correctly by the listeners as previous studies have found (Hanna, 1997). Differences were observed between the two groups of listeners when the results were separated into regions. This is shown below in Table 4.7.

Decion	Primed	Un-primed
Region	Group	Group
South	73%	54%
Midlands	23%	36%
North	3%	7%
Midlands to South	3%	4%
Total Number of Responses	40	28
Proportion of overall responses included	78%	74%
above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.7: Listeners' responses regarding region identification for Monolingual Speaker 2 (n=40, 28; N=51,38)

Group B participants were more diverse in their responses while Group A participants were concentrated in the South of England. As the primed group were given prior information that the person in the recording was a native speaker of English, it is possible that such information increased their accuracy as less effort was needed to identify the origin of the accent. The listeners in the un-primed group needed more effort in identifying the origin of the speaker's accent as they first had to start the process by identifying whether the speaker was a native speaker of English or not; something the primed group did not have to do. As the primed group had this advantage, they were less confused with all the information included in the recording. Data were again looked at in detail for participants who were able to give a more specific answer. The table and map below show how the results were distributed for the second monolingual.

City/Area	Primed	Un-primed
City/Area	Group	Group
London	52%	22%
Bristol	10%	0%
Birmingham	5%	44%
Others	35%	33%
Total Number of Responses	21	9
Proportion of overall responses included	41%	24%
above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.8: Listeners' responses regarding city identification for Monolingual Speaker 2 (n=21, 9; N=51, 38)



Figure 4.2: Listeners' responses regarding city identification illustrated on a map for Monolingual Speaker 2

The 'Others' category includes answers with one response and in these, some listeners listed two cities. As with Monolingual Speaker 1, Group A's most popular answer was London. For Group B, the most popular city identified was Birmingham in the Midlands. 41% of Group A participants identified a specific area or two while only 24% of Group B specified the city. Compared to Monolingual Speaker 1, Group A

participants were better at giving a more specific answer when identifying the accent originated from but in Group B, the percentage for Monolingual Speaker 2 was lower than for Monolingual Speaker 1. There is a difference in percentage but the percentage was still below half of the overall participants in each participant group.

Interestingly, although the answer was grouped into "London", one participant in Group B identified the accent specifically as coming from Bromley, an area in South London. Monolingual Speaker 2 had lived in South London and Sussex until moving to Cardiff to study at university and the majority of participants guessed correctly that the accent was from Southern England. Although the accuracy rate was lower than the previous speaker, McKenzie's research (2015a) was again confirmed since participants were generally correct with their classification of accent. Group B participants had difficulty identifying the correct city but generally, the majority of participants were correct in identifying the accent as coming from the South of England. The correctness of origin of accent could be because of individual differences as previous studies have found that some speakers are identified more easily than others (Hanna, 1997).

The table below shows the characteristics participants used to identify the accent as coming from the UK.

Table	4.9:	Listeners'	responses	regarding	characteristics	identification	for
Monol	ingual	Speaker 2 (n= 48, 36; N	N= 51, 38)			

Characteristics	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Accent/Pronunciation	67%	62%
Confidence	4%	3%
Tone	9%	5%
Speed	2%	5%
Twang	2%	5%
Unsure	7%	3%
Others	9%	18%
Total Number of Responses	46	39
Mean number of comments	1.0	1.1
per listener	1.0	1.1

The number of comments participants listed was similar between the two groups of participants as it was rounded to 1.0 and 1.1 comment per listener. The 'Accent and Pronunciation' category was the most popular feature participants used to identify the accent. The Group B participants who recognised a 'twang' as a feature in the speaker's speech identified the accent as coming from the Midlands. In Group A, there was also one participant who recognised the 'twang' in the speaker's speech but was not able to identify a specific region and only described it as an "English twang".

When the first language of the speaker was looked at, (shown in Table 4.10) it demonstrated that for Monolingual Speaker 2, all the participants who answered the question had English as the speaker's first language.

Table 4.10: Listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Monolingual Speaker 2 (N = 51, 38)

First Language	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
English	96%	95%
N/A	4%	5%
Total Number of Responses	51	38

4.1.3 Overall

So far, the monolinguals have been looked at individually in detail. This section will look at the overall trend for monolinguals so that the results can be generalised when compared with the other speaker groups.

Overall, the majority of participants in both Group A and B correctly identified the two monolinguals' accent as coming from the UK and that the speakers' first language was English. This follows the same pattern as recent studies conducted in the UK investigating English varieties from the UK (e.g. McKenzie, 2015a). In order to identify where the accent as coming from, participants mainly remarked on the accent and pronunciation of the speaker. Some of the participants also commented on how the accent was similar to their own. As for the second monolingual, the most popular city identified by Group A participants did not match the answer from Group B. London was the most popular answer in Group A while Birmingham was the most

common answer in Group B. In addition, a higher percentage of participants identified the accent as coming from the Midlands in Group B. There may be something in the speaker's speech that made the participants identify the accent as a non-Southern because even some of the Group A participants identified the accent as coming from the Midlands.

The current research showed that participants were good at identifying whether the speakers in the recordings were native speakers of English or not. However, when they were asked to give a more specific detail of the speakers' origins, their correctness decreased. This was especially noticeable in Group B where participants were not given information that a native speaker of English was speaking in the recording. Thus, the current research shows that information telling participants that a native speaker of English is speaking in the recording could increase the correctness of identifying the origin of the accent.

4.2 Late Learners of English

4.2.1 Late Learner Speaker 1

Similar to the monolinguals, Japanese late learners of English are important in the current research not only to observe how correct native speakers of English are with non-native accents and whether they can identify the non-native accent but also in order to compare the results with the early bilinguals. It is crucial to examine whether there are differences in the results between the two types of bilinguals.

For late bilinguals, instead of grouping the answers as UK and Non-UK like the monolinguals, the answers identifying the speakers' origin of accent were grouped into continents with the UK as a separate group. This is because the late bilinguals were exchange students who were studying in the UK and they may have picked up a UK accent.

Area	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
UK	4%	0%
Europe	2%	18%
Asia	92%	58%
Africa	0%	8%
Others	0%	13%
Unsure	2%	3%
Number of Responses	51	38

Table 4.11: Listeners' responses regarding area identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 1 (N=51, 38)

Again, even though participants were told that the speaker in the recording was a Japanese late learner of English, some of the participants were incorrect in identifying where the accent originated. This is similar to the results for monolinguals. Unlike Group A, Group B participants were very diverse in their responses but still, the most popular answer from both groups was from Asia. The 'Others' category includes responses where the answers were too diverse with more than one of the areas included (e.g. South Africa or Germany). Some listeners in Group B responded that the accent was European but none of the participants considered it was from the UK. The answers that identified the accent as coming from East Asia were put into a table to observe how correct the participants were in identifying East Asian accents.

Fast Asian Countries	Primed	Un-primed
East Asian Countries	Group	Group
China	2%	75%
Japan	98%	19%
Korea	0%	6%
Total Number of responses	44	16
Proportion of overall responses included	86%	42%
above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.12: Listeners' responses regarding East Asian country identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 1 (n=44, 16; N=51, 38)

Unsurprisingly, since participants in Group A were told that the speaker was Japanese, the most frequently answered country for Group A was Japan. For Group B, although there were a few responses that answered correctly that the accent was from Japan, the most common answer was China. Previous research has shown that native speakers of English have difficulty in distinguishing between the East Asian Accents (e.g. Chinese and Korean: Newman and Wu, 2011). Although many of the studies were based in the US, McKenzie's study (2015a) also demonstrates the difficulty participants have with East Asian accents in the UK. Only a quarter of McKenzie's participants were able to correctly identified the speaker as being from another country in East Asia, it was often China. However, as McKenzie's study also had Chinese English as one of the stimuli, the percentage of correctness in his study could be higher if the participants were allowed to listen to both Japanese English and Chinese English.

The current study shows that first language English users from the UK have difficulty distinguishing between the East Asian variations of English since the majority of participants who do not have any knowledge regarding the speakers identified English spoken by Japanese as Chinese accented.

Table 4.13 was constructed to categorise the characteristics participants detected when they identified the accent as coming from East Asia.

Characteristics	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Given information	18%	0%
Pronunciation/accent	50%	67%
Hesitation/pauses	8%	6%
Confidence in speech	4%	0%
Tone	6%	6%
Others	14%	12%
Unsure	0%	6%
Total number of characteristics	50	17
Mean number of comments per listener	1.1	0.9

Table 4.13: Listeners' responses regarding characteristics identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 1 (n=47, 19; N=51, 38)

Instead of having results for participants who identified the accent as coming from Japan, I broadened the results to East Asia (including the ones that had vague answers such as "China or Japan") as there were very few who correctly identified that the accent as coming from Japan in Group B and the comments from participants suggested that they did not know the difference between the various East Asian accents. Some participants identified more than one category in the primed group so there are more responses than the number of participants. On the other hand, some participants in Group B did not comment on the features so the mean number of comments per listener is less than one. The most popular category for both groups were 'pronunciation/accent'. In Group B, five of the participants mentioned how the speaker had difficulty distinguishing l/ and r/, and one of the participants commented on the pronunciation of /th/ and /z/. Although the differentiation of /l/ and /r/ is often associated with Japanese speakers (e.g. Aoyama, Flege, Guion, Akahane-Yamada and Yamada, 2004; Riney, Takada and Ota, 2000), and was also examined in New Zealand (Watanabe, 2017, p. 11), the current study showed that it was more commonly associated with China since four of the five participants identified the speaker to have a Chinese accent. For the few in Group B who correctly identified the accent as coming from Japan, they commented mostly on the accent but one participant commented that she recognises the accent due to having studying Japanese. From

participants in Group A, the comments were more diverse. Not only the /l/ /r/ and /th/ /z/ sounds were mentioned, but some commented on other sounds such as having a soft /f/, pronunciation of /t/ and how /r/ sounded like a soft /w/. Therefore, Group A participants were picking up more diverse characteristics than the participants in Group B. Group A also had a higher response rate. Therefore, since participants already knew what kind of accent they were looking for and expecting, it may have been easier for them to spot the distinct features.

For the hesitations and pauses category, Group A participants mentioned the speaker hesitating between words and having different pauses to a native speaker of English while the participant in Group B commented about not hearing the pauses between words. Possibly, the participants were describing different parts of speech that they have noticed while listening to the recordings.

One of the participants in Group A commented that she would not be able to distinguish a Japanese accent from a different Asian accent. The answers from Group B confirms this statement, as the majority of the participants were not able to identify the accent as from Japan. Although one participant recognised the accent as Japanese due to the experience with the language, for the other participants, it is doubtful whether those who guessed correctly that the accent was from Japan actually knew it was a Japanese accent or whether they were simply guessing it was a country from East Asia and thus by chance got the answer correct.

As can be predicted from the results regarding origin of accent, participants in Group B were very diverse in their responses when they were asked to identify the first language of the late bilingual. The distribution of answers by both groups are listed in the table below.

First Language	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Japanese	92%	8%
Chinese/Mandarin	2%	37%
French	2%	8%
Polish	0%	5%
Arabic	0%	5%
Others	4%	26%
Unsure	0%	3%
Not English	0%	3%
N/A	0%	5%
Total Number of responses	51	38

Table 4.14: Listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 1 (N=51, 38)

Since the most popular response to the origin of accent was Chinese, the most popular response to identifying the first language of the speaker was also Mandarin/Chinese. Most of the responses matched the previous question on the origin of accent. One participant commented that the speaker sounds bilingual and that the English sounds fine but some of the pronunciation is odd. This participant had Turkey as the origin of accent and guessed English to be the speaker's first language.

For Group A, nearly all of the participants correctly responded that the first language of the speaker was Japanese. A few responded with other languages such as Chinese or French.

4.2.2 Late Learner Speaker 2

For the second late bilingual, responses were again grouped into categories to observe the pattern. The table below shows the listeners' responses towards the speaker's origin of accent.

Area	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Japan	78%	3%
UK	6%	13%
Europe	4%	24%
Africa	0%	5%
Other areas in Asia	6%	37%
Others	4%	9%
Unsure	0%	11%
N/A	2%	0%
Total Number of Responses	51	38

Table 4.15: Listeners' responses regarding area identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 2 (N=51, 38)

Only one participant was able to identify that the accent of the speaker came from Japan in Group B while 80% of the participants was able to do it for Group A. Still, the most popular answer for Group B was from Asia as it was China. However, generally, the answers from listeners in Group B were very diverse showing how L1 English speakers from the UK have difficulty identifying accents that are not from the UK.

Answers that identified the accent as coming from East Asia were put into a table to observe how well participants were at identifying East Asian accents.

East Asian Countries	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Japan	98%	17%
China	2%	67%
Hong Kong	0%	17%
Total Number of	<i>A</i> 1	6
Responses	71	0
Proportion of overall	80%	16%
responses included above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.16: Listeners' responses regarding East Asian Country identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 2 (n=41, 6; N=51, 38)

The answers from Group B were spread out and even though some were able to recognise it as coming from East Asia, they were not able to specify a country. One participant who correctly identified the accent as coming from Japan in Group B commented that the pronunciation of /l/ and /r/ was the characteristics they heard enabling the participant to identify the accent as coming from Japan. Only six participants in the un-primed group were able to identify an East Asian country as the origin of accent and therefore confirms that participants struggle to identify accents coming from an East Asian country.

Characteristics participants picked up for Late Bilingual Speaker 2 when they identified the accent as coming from an East Asian country is listed in a table below. As explained previously for Late Learner Speaker 1, the results were broadened to answers that had East Asian countries (including vague answers such as China or Japan) instead of Japan specifically as there were very few people who were able to correctly identify the accent as coming from Japan.

Characteristics	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Given Information	7%	0%
Pronunciation/Accent	56%	89%
Confidence	10%	0%
Speed	2%	0%
Flow/Fluency	10%	0%
Others	15%	11%
Total Number of Characteristics	41	9
Mean number of comments per listener	1.0	1.0

Table 4.17: Listeners' responses regarding characteristics identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 2 (n=43, 9; N=51, 38)

For characteristics participants used to identify the accent, both groups commented on how the participant seemed to have dropped the ending of words. Even though there were more people who were confused with the speaker's accent, people who were correct at identifying the accent as not English were picking up similar features to Group A. Therefore, even though both groups noticed similar features, Group B participants had trouble associating the features with an accent.

Again, as Group A were told that the speaker was Japanese, the majority of participants were able to identify the speaker's first language as Japanese. The results are listed in the table below.

First Language	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Japanese	88%	3%
English	2%	11%
Not English	0%	11%
European	4%	16%
Other Asian Languages	2%	37%
Oriental	2%	0%
Unsure	0%	18%
N/A	2%	5%
Total Number of Responses	51	38

Table 4.18: Listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Late Bilingual Speaker 2 (N=51, 38)

Similar to the question on identifying the speaker's accent, the responses of Group B were also diverse when they were asked to identify the speaker's first language. More people in Group B thought that the first language was English than Group A. Participants in Group B were also more confused as seven were unsure of the speaker's accent and four could only identify that it was not English.

4.2.3 Overall

Results towards the late learners have been looked at in detail for each speaker and now the results will be discussed in general. For Group A, the most popular answer for the origin of accent was Japan and identification of first language was Japanese. This result was expected as the participants were given information that the speaker in the audio recording was a late learner of English who is Japanese. As for Group B, the responses were very diverse. Still, the most popular answer for both late bilinguals were from East Asia and was China. Overall, Group A participants were better at picking up distinct features of the speaker. This could probably be because they knew what a typical East Asian accent was and were easier for them to pick up non-English features and associate these features with an East Asian accent. Even when Group B were able to pick up a distinct feature, they had trouble pinpointing where the speakers' origin of accent was and what their first language was. This shows that even though participants are able to identify a feature that is not familiar to them, it is difficult for them to associate the feature with an accent. Even when participants found out it was an East Asian accent, it was challenging for participants to identify it as a Japanese accent. These results show that Group A were better at identifying the accent and the first language of the speaker because they were given description of the speakers before listening to the recording. If they were not given that the speaker is a Japanese, it is highly likely that the results would have been similar to Group B with a very low percentage of participants identifying the accent as coming from Japan. Thus, having prior information about the speakers have a big advantage on identifying the origin of accent and first language of the speakers.

4.3 Early Bilinguals

4.3.1 Early Bilingual Speaker 1

Finally, in this section the early bilinguals will be analysed. Following on from the previous sections, the early bilinguals will be analysed individually and the general findings will be summarised at the end.

For the early bilinguals, Group A participants were given a description that the speaker was a native speaker of both English and Japanese. The table below shows the distribution of the countries participants identified the accent as coming from.

Area	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
UK	82%	89%
Non-UK	4%	8%
UK and non-UK	6%	3%
Unsure	6%	0%
N/A	2%	0%
Total Number of Responses	51	38

Table 4.19: Listeners' responses regarding area identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 1 (N=51, 38)

Percentage of participants answering that the accent is from the UK was slightly higher by participants who did not hold information about the speaker. At the same time, there was a higher percentage of people responding that the accent was a non-UK accent. More people were unsure where the accent came from in Group A which is different to the other speakers and is unexpected since participants were given information about the speaker. Some participants in Group A responded that the accent came from both UK and non-UK as they knew the speaker was a native speaker of both English and Japanese. Two participants in Group A identified the speaker's accent as coming from a non-UK country. For this group, all the non-UK answers were Japan which is not a surprise as participants were told that the speaker is a native speaker of both English and Japanese.

Out of the 38 participants in Group B, 34 answered that the accent came from the UK. Three judges identified the accent as coming from outside of the UK with areas including South Africa, India and Europe. One participant identified the speaker as a foreigner with a BBC voice. He stated that he noticed the hesitations which can be associated with a non-UK speaker and also identified the first language as being not English. Thus, since the listener mentioned both the UK and non-UK feature of the accent, the response was put into the 'UK and Non-UK' category. There was one judge who perceived the accent as coming from "somewhere posh". Since this participant identified the first language of the speaker to be English, it has been assumed that the participant meant "somewhere posh in the UK". None of the participants in Group B perceived the speaker to have an accent from Japan or Asia. This is similar to the finding in Watanabe (2008, p. 119) where none of the participants identified the Japanese bilingual.

Excluding the vague answers such as "UK" and "England", answers from the UK were grouped into regions and were listed below.

Region	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
South	94%	93%
Midlands	3%	3%
Midlands to South	3%	3%
Total	35	30
Proportion of overall	69%	79%
responses included above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.20: Listeners' responses regarding region identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 1 (n=35, 30; N=51, 38)

The answers from both groups were very similar. In both groups, the majority of the participants judged the accent as coming from the South of England and there was one participant identifying the accent as coming from the Midlands, and one identifying it as coming from somewhere between the Midlands and the South. The proportion of the overall responses were higher from participants in the un-primed group. It is possible that because the primed group were given information about the Japanese, this information could have decreased the percentage of participants identifying the accent specifically to UK while the un-primed group categorised the early bilingual similar to a monolingual.

Table 4.21 below shows participants who gave a more specific answer for identifying the origin of the accent. A map was also constructed to show how the answers were distributed.

City	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
London	83%	47%
Bath	8%	0%
Reading	8%	0%
Oxford	0%	13%
Surrey	0%	7%
Kent	0%	7%
Bournemouth	0%	7%
Guildford	0%	7%
Hampshire	0%	7%
Cambridge	0%	7%
Total Number of Responses	12	15
Proportion of overall responses included above	24% (out of 51)	40% (out of 38)

Table 4.21: Listeners' responses regarding city identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 1 (n=12, 15; N=51, 38)





Figure 4.3: Listeners' responses regarding city identification illustrated on a map for Early Bilingual Speaker 1

Although the most popular response was London for both groups, Group B participants were more diverse in their results when compared with Group A. Furthermore, the "London" answers in Group B was less popular when compared to Group A with the percentage being almost half of Group A. Group B were more diverse in their answers but they also had a higher response rate. Only 24% of Group A participants were able to give a specific area while in Group B, 40%, a much higher percentage of people were able to state a specific area. As mentioned earlier, the information of knowing that the speaker is also fluent in Japanese could have interfered with the results. These listeners could have been more careful and less confident in pinpointing the origin of accent as they knew that there was another language that the speaker is fluent in. Although not included in the table, there were two answers from Group B indicating that the accent comes from the home counties. This again shows that participants in Group B identified the accent as coming from the South but the answers were more diverse. Most of the participants were correct at identifying the accent as coming from the South of England since the early bilingual grew up in South England.

Table 4.22 below shows the characteristics participants identified when identifying the origin of accent as coming from the UK.

Characteristics	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Pronunciation/Accent	64%	56%
Confidence	4%	5%
Tone	11%	0%
Stress	2%	0%
Intonation	2%	7%
Fluency/Flow	7%	7%
Speed	0%	5%
Pauses/Hesitations	0%	2%
Twang	0%	2%
Others	9%	16%
Total number of characteristics	45	43
Number of comments per listener	1.1	1.3

Table 4.22: Listeners' responses regarding characteristics identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 1 (n=42, 34; N=51, 38)

The response rate for this question was very high from both groups. Most of the participants described how the early bilinguals has a standard British accent. The two participants in Group A who identified the accent as coming from Japan described how the accent sounded slightly different to that of a native speaker. Although the numbers are not included in the table above as it focuses on the characteristics identified by participants who perceived the speaker's accent as coming from the UK, some of the answers were intriguing as they had both England and Japan as the origin of accent. One participant commented on the London twang and did not comment on the Japanese side. One commented that tone was the characteristic that helped the participant to identify the origin of accent but did not specify whether the tone was for the English accent or Japanese accent, and one participant did not comment at all. Therefore none of the participants who had both England and Japan for the answer did not describe why they had more than one country as the answer. The non-UK answers in Group B commented on how the speaker had some hesitancy over words as well as the tone of the words.

The table below shows what the participants identified for the first language regarding

Early Bilingual Speaker 1. Figure 4.4 below the table shows the difference between the two groups at a glance.

First Language	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
English	75%	89%
Japanese	18%	3%
Unsure	2%	3%
Others	0%	5%
N/A	6%	0%
Total Number of Responses	51	38

Table 4.23: Listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 1 (N= 51, 38)



Figure 4.4: Pie chart for listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 1

Although participants in Group A knew that the person in the recording was a native speaker of both English and Japanese, no one answered that the speaker had two first languages. A possible reason to this is the word "first language". This may have unintentionally made the participant to think that they had to choose one language. A

higher percentage of people were unsure what the first language of the speaker was for Group B but the response of having English as the first language was higher than Group A.

Interestingly for this speaker, one participant in Group B identified the speaker's first language was "possibly Japanese". This participant is worth mentioning since for the origin of accent, this participant responded that the accent comes from London. This participant commented that the /l/ in "collect" sounded like /r/ but dropped /h/ like a native speaker from the South East of England. This participant was the participant who also identified the late learners as Japanese so she is more sensitive to Japanese accents. She indicated that her level of proficiency with Japanese is elementary level and that she has learnt the language for five years. Therefore, as it is highly likely that she had communicated with Japanese speakers, she could have been more aware of features existing in people who speak both English and Japanese. She also indicated that she had learnt Mandarin for six years (with an elementary level proficiency). Therefore, as she also had experience with Mandarin speakers, she was able to distinguish between the two East Asian accents. For the three unsure answers, two were sure that it was not English.

Therefore, unless participants are given knowledge that the speaker is also a native speaker of Japanese, it is very unlikely for participants to detect features associated with a Japanese accent. If participants in Group A had been told that the person talking in the recording was a native speaker of English, the response rate towards having "Japanese" as the first language of the speaker would have been very low, if not zero. Responses in Group A who had "Japanese" as the early bilingual's first language was looked in detail.

The table below shows the answers for the origin of accent question by participants who had "Japanese" as the first language of the speaker.

Origin of Accent	Number of Responses
Japan	2
UK	4
UK and Japan	2
Unsure	1
Total	9

Table 4.24: Origin of accent identified by listeners in the primed group who identified Japanese as the first language for Early Bilingual Speaker 1 (n=9; N=51))

Nine participants identified Japanese as the first language for this early bilingual. Not all of these participants identified the accent as coming from Japan. They also did not comment why they shifted their answer. Furthermore, for one of the participants who had UK and Japan as the origin of accent, the participant commented on how the speaker had a London twang in his words but did not comment why the accent also comes from Japan. It is possible that some of these participants had "Japanese" as the answer for the first language by randomly choosing one of the options that was given to them. Although there is a very low number of participants having Japan as the origin of accent, it is possible that there was accent hallucination (Fought, 2006). Accent hallucination has been found in a few studies investigating speech perception (Rubin, 1992; Gnevsheva, 2018) and is when listeners are hearing things that are not evident in the speech. However, it is also possible that there is a slight non-English feature in the early bilingual's speech that only listeners who are made aware and therefore are sensitive to non-English features in the speech can detect.

4.3.2 Early Bilingual Speaker 2

The table below compares the origin of accent participants identified for both Group A and B.

Country	Primed Group	Un-primed Group	
UK	75%	92%	
Non-UK	10%	8%	
UK and non-UK	8%	0%	
Unsure	2%	0%	
Others	0%	0%	
N/A	6%	0%	
Total Number of	51	28	
Responses	51	56	

Table 4.25: Listeners' responses regarding country identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 2 (N=51, 38)

There was a bigger difference between the two groups than for the first early bilingual. Responses from Group A were more diverse while Group B participants' responses concentrated in the UK. Compared to the first early bilingual, participants in Group A had lower percentage of people identifying the accent as coming from the UK while a higher percentage of people in Group B identified the accent as coming from the UK. Possibly, there was a slight feature in the speech that was only recognisable when listeners are concentrating on non-English features. All the non-UK answers in Group A were Japan while the non-UK answers in Group B were Spain, Japan and Asia.

The distribution of region varied more than the first early bilingual, who had a very similar result for the region distribution. This early bilingual's distribution of accent was varied between the two groups as the responses from Group B were more spread out. The results are shown in the table below.

Decier	Primed	Un-primed
Region	Group	Group
South	94%	82%
Midlands	0%	11%
North	0%	7%
Midlands to North	3%	0%
Midlands to South	3%	0%
Total Number of Responses	31	27
Proportion of overall responses included	61%	71%
above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.26: Listeners' responses regarding region identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 2 (n=31, 27; N=51, 38)

The Group A participants' answers were more concentrated in the South. A possible explanation for this could be that a few of the participants in Group B who detected a non-Southern accent did not associate the features as a non-UK accent but as a feature coming from other parts of the UK. Group A participants who recognised the non-Southern features could have identified the accent as coming from Japan as they were told that the speaker is a native speaker of both English and Japanese. Over 80% of participants in both groups who identified the accent as coming from the UK, identified the accent as a Southern accent. They were correct with this answer since although the early bilingual uses both English and Japanese daily, the speaker grew up in South London since the age of two.

As shown in the table and map below, both groups were concentrated in the Southern parts of England.

City	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
London	57%	78%
Essex	14%	0%
Reading	14%	0%
Richmond	14%	0%
Oxford	0%	11%
Winchester	0%	11%
Total Number of Responses	7	9
Proportion of overall	14%	24%
responses included above	(out of 51)	(out of 38)

Table 4.27: Listeners' responses regarding city identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 2 (n=7, 9; N=51, 38)



Figure 4.5: Listeners' responses regarding city identification illustrated on a map for Early Bilingual Speaker 2

Group B participants' responses were more concentrated in London. For this speaker, both groups' response rate of giving a specific area was low. Although the response rate was low from both groups, Group B still had a higher response rate than Group A. Out of the total number of participants, Group A only had 14% of participants who gave a specific city while 24% of Group B gave details. As explained earlier for the first early bilingual, the response rate from the un-primed group could have been higher as the listeners in the primed group had less confidence in pinpointing the city as they knew that the speakers were also fluent in Japanese.

Similar to all the other speakers, the most popular characteristics participants identified was the accent and pronunciation. Characteristics identified by the listeners are listed in the table below.

Characteristics	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Pronunciation/Accent	53%	49%
Tone	8%	2%
Confidence	5%	10%
Pauses	2%	7%
Fluency	8%	2%
Speed	5%	2%
Intonation	2%	10%
Emphasis/Stress	2%	2%
Others	15%	15%
Total number of characteristics	40	41
Mean number of comments per listener	1.1	1.3

Table 4.28: Listeners' responses regarding characteristics identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 2 (n=35, 32; N=51, 38)

Interestingly, for this early bilingual, both groups recognised similar features in the speech. Although, there was some difference in the comments. For the pauses, some commented that it made the speaker sounded like a native speaker while on the other hand, some commented that it made the speaker sound like a non-native speaker. For the non-UK answers, participants commented on the slight non-native accent and Group A participants also commented on the "Japanese twangs".

The results for the question asking the first language of the early bilingual is listed in the table below. Figure 4.6 was also created to observe the differences between the two groups.

First Language	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
English	59%	92%
Japanese	31%	3%
English and Japanese	4%	0%
N/A	4%	3%
Others	2%	3%
Total Number of	51	28
Responses	51	38

Table 4.29: Listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 2 (N=51, 38)





Figure 4.6: Pie chart for listeners' responses regarding first language identification for Early Bilingual Speaker 2

As for the first language identified for the speaker, the majority of both groups thought English was the early bilingual's first language but the response rate of English was much higher by Group B participants. Group A knew the speaker was a native speaker of both English and Japanese so Japanese was also popular. There were two participants in Group B who picked up some characteristics of non-English but almost all the participants thought the first language was English and that the accent comes from the UK. Thus, the un-primed group identified the speaker similarly to the monolingual speakers but when they knew that the speaker was also fluent in Japanese, the rate of participants identifying the first language as Japanese increased. As explained previously for the first early bilingual, we can predict three reasons. Firstly, it could be accent hallucination (Fought, 2006) where listeners are hearing thing that does not exist in the speech and secondly, listeners could have been more sensitive to the non-English features as they knew the speaker was also fluent in Japanese. Furthermore, as the listeners were given two language options, the listeners could have chosen one language randomly.

In Group A, 16 participants had Japanese as the first language of the speaker. This was a higher number than participants who had Japan as the origin of accent. For the 16 participants who had Japanese as the Early Bilingual Speaker 2's first language, the origin of accent was observed. The table below shows the countries participants identified.

Origin of accent	Number of responses
England	7
Japan	6
Unsure	1
Others	1
N/A	1
Total	16

Table 4.30: Origin of accent identified by listeners in the primed group who identified Japanese as the first language for Early Bilingual Speaker 2 (n= 16; N=51)

Only half of the participants had Japan as the answer. The other half of the participants identified the accent as coming from the UK. Therefore, similar to the Early Bilingual Speaker 1, it is likely that participants who had Japan as both answers were more sensitive to non-English features in the speech. However, for participants who identified Japanese as the first language but UK as the origin of accent, it is possible that it was accent hallucination or random choice between the two languages given at the description.

4.3.3 Overall

The majority of participants in both Group A and B identified the early bilinguals' accent as coming from the UK and guessed that the first language was English. A higher percentage of participants identified the speaker's first language to be not English when they were given information that the speaker is a native speaker of both English and Japanese. Even when the participants were told that the speaker was a native speaker of both English and Japanese, it was more common for participants to respond that the first language was English. Not all the participants who had "Japanese" for the first language of the speaker identified the accent as coming from Japan. These participants did not comment why they chose "Japanese" instead of "English" and so it is possible that participants chose one of the options they were given even when they did not detect any features associated with the language. At the same time, since the majority of Group B participants did not pick up any non-English feature, it is possible that Group A participants were more sensitive to features that were non-English as they knew that the speaker was fluent in another language. It is also possible that the primed group of participants were experiencing accent hallucination (Fought, 2006) where listeners are hearing things that are not apparent in the speech. The results showed that for the monolinguals, prior information did not influence how the listeners perceived the speakers. However, for the early bilinguals, prior information played a big role in speech perception as when participants are not given any information about the early bilinguals beforehand, they were identified similarly to the monolinguals. When they are told that the speaker is fluent in two languages, first language of the speaker was identified less as English even when they did not detect non-English features in the speech.

Hay and Drager's research (2010) found out that when participants observed a stuffed animal before the study, participants' perception of vowels shifted slightly towards the country the toy was associated with. The current research also followed this trend as when participants were given a cue that the speaker spoke another language other than English, more participants responded that the first language of the speaker was not English. Furthermore, similar to Rubin's research (1992), even when participants are given the same recordings, participants react differently depending on the information or amount of information given to them. Therefore, the current research showed that although participants in the two groups are listening to the same recordings, their recognition or perception towards the speakers who are fluent in two languages differ depending on the amount of information or cues given to them.

4.4 Comparison between the Monolinguals and Early Bilinguals

The results for the early bilinguals were compared with the monolinguals to observe if the participants reacted significantly differently regarding the two speaker groups. The mean responses regarding origin of accent for both monolinguals and early bilinguals is compared in Table 4.31 below. The distribution of answers for the origin of accent shows that since participants in Group A were informed about the speakers' language background, there was a lower percentage of participants who had UK as the answer for the early bilinguals. When they were not given information about the speakers, an average of over 90% of participants answered that the early bilinguals' accent came from the UK. Therefore, although some participants identified the early bilinguals' accent as coming from outside the UK, the majority of participants identified the early bilinguals similar to monolinguals by associating the accent as coming from the UK.

Table 4.31: Listeners'	mean responses f	for monolingua	ls and e	early b	oilingual	s regard	ing
origin of accent (N= 1	102, 76; 102, 76)						

	Monolinguals		Early Bilinguals		
Country	Primed	Un-primed	Primed	Un-primed	
	Group	Group	Group	Group	
UK	94%	93%	78%	91%	
Non-UK	1%	4%	7%	8%	
UK and Non-UK	1%	0%	7%	1%	
Unsure	0%	0%	4%	0%	
Others	1%	0%	0%	0%	
N/A	3%	3%	4%	0%	
Total Number of	102	76	102	76	
Responses	102	70	102	70	

In order to observe whether the difference for the monolinguals and early bilinguals were statistically significant, the chi-square test of independence as well as the Fisher exact test (as the sample size is relatively small) was calculated to observe whether the two speaker groups were statistically significantly different. Table 4.32 below presents the calculations when the monolinguals and early bilinguals were compared. The primed group and un-primed group was calculated separately to observe the influence of prior information. When calculating, the results for the UK was used as one category and all the other categories were grouped into one category to observe whether the responses of the UK significantly differed to the answers that had other countries as the answers. The responses with no answer were discarded for the calculation.

Table 4.32: Chi-square and fisher exact calculations for monolinguals and early bilinguals regarding origin of accent

	Monolinguals Primed vs Monolinguals Un-primed	Early Bilinguals Primed vs Early Bilinguals Un-primed	Monolinguals Primed vs Early Bilinguals Primed	Monolinguals Un-primed vs Early Bilinguals Un-primed
Chi- square test	$\chi^2 = 0.1326$ p > 0.05	$\chi^2 = 2.9171$ p > 0.05	$\chi^2 = 12.1641$ p < 0.001	$\chi^2 = 1.6022$ p > 0.05
Fisher exact test	p > 0.05	p > 0.05	p < 0.001	p > 0.05

The calculations confirmed that in terms of origin of accent, monolinguals and early bilinguals were perceived statistically significantly differently when the listeners held prior information about the speakers. For all the other comparisons, no statistically significant differences were observed and the null hypothesis was rejected since the p-value was higher than 0.05. This means that the two groups of participants perceived the monolinguals similarly regardless of prior information. Prior information also did
not influence how the early bilinguals were perceived in terms of origin of accent. Furthermore, the early bilinguals were perceived similarly to the monolinguals when the listeners did not hold any information about the speakers. Thus, in terms of origin of accent, it can be concluded that the monolinguals and early bilinguals are only perceived differently when listeners hold prior information about the speakers.

The same process will be done for first language. Table 4.33 shows the mean score regarding the first language of the monolinguals and early bilinguals.

	Mono	linguals	Early Bilinguals	
Language	Primed	Un-primed	Primed	Un-primed
	Group	Group	Group	Group
English	94%	95%	67%	91%
Japanese	3%	1%	25%	3%
English and Japanese	1%	0%	2%	0%
Unsure	0%	0%	1%	1%
Others	0%	1 %	1%	4%
N/A	2%	3%	5%	1%
Total Number of Responses	102	76	102	76

Table 4.33: Listeners' mean score for monolinguals and early bilinguals regarding first language (N=102, 76; 102, 76)

In terms of the speakers' first language, the results were similar to those regarding the origin of accent where the un-primed group of participants' response rate concerned with English is lower than the other groups. However, the percentage was lower since 78% of participants responded that the speakers have a UK accent whilst 67% identified the first language as English.

Table 4.34 presents the chi-square and Fisher exact calculations for first language to observe whether the results regarding English and non-English were statistically significant. Again, the results with no answer were discarded for the calculations.

	Monolinguals Primed vs Monolinguals Un-primed	Early Bilinguals Primed vs Early Bilinguals Un- primed	Monolinguals Primed vs Early Bilinguals Primed	Monolinguals Un-primed vs Early Bilinguals Un- primed
Chi-square	$\chi^2 = 0.215$	$\chi^2 = 14.1102$	$\chi^2 = 23.6797$	$\chi^2 = 1.3495$
test	p > 0.05	p < 0.001	p < 0.001	p > 0.05
Fisher exact test	p > 0.05	p < 0.001	p < 0.001	p > 0.05

Table 4.34: Chi-square and fisher exact calculations for monolinguals' and early bilinguals' regarding first language

Previously, for origin of accent, the only statistically significant difference observed was for monolinguals and early bilinguals by the primed group of participants. However, another statistically significant difference was observed for first language. This was when the two groups of participants were perceiving the early bilinguals. Thus, this concludes that the early bilinguals are perceived to have an accent as coming from the UK but are less accepted as L1 English users when the listeners know that the speakers are fluent in both English and Japanese.

4.5 Summary

Lastly, in this section, it will summarise the findings from the data.

- For monolinguals, prior information did not influence the results as both groups of participants were fairly correct as the majority were able to identify the accent as coming from the South of England.
- For late bilinguals, the answers from Group B participants varied a lot more than the Group A participants but still, the most popular answer was correct as they identified the speaker to have an Asian accent.
- As for early bilinguals, English was the most favoured answer for the first language from both groups.

- Difference was visible between the two groups but this difference was especially observable in the Early Bilingual 2 data. Only a few of the Group B participants picked up non-English characteristics.
- As for Group A, although the majority of the participants identified the accent as coming from the UK, more participants guessed that the first language of the speaker was Japanese. If participants were not given that the early bilinguals were also native speakers of Japanese, Group A participants would have had a much higher percentage of people having English as their first language.
- Participants in both groups picked up similar characteristics when identifying the origin of the speaker's accent. Pronunciation and description of the accent was most favoured by both groups. Some participants in Group A commented that the description was given. Although this is a given knowledge, some participants in the group did not comment about it. They may have thought it was obvious and nothing worth mentioning. Confidence in speaking and pauses in the speech was also a popular category. These two categories were often used in the opposite ways by participants depending on where they thought the speakers' origin of the accent was. Participants who identified the accent as coming from the UK explained that the speaker was confident in his speech and that pauses were very natural. For participants who identified the accent as coming from a non-UK country described how the speaker was not confident in speaking and that the speaker paused at different times to how a native speaker would pause.
- Monolinguals were perceived similarly from both groups of participants in terms of origin of accent and first language regardless of prior knowledge. The early bilinguals were perceived similarly as well regarding origin of accent but showed a statistically significant difference when the first language was observed.
- For monolinguals and early bilinguals, London was the most favoured answer when participants were asked to identify where the accent came from. This is correct for most of the speakers as they are from the South of London but one speaker came from Surrey. A possible reason for London to be the most popular city identified is that participants knew it was an accent from

the South but did not know the difference between the Southern accents and randomly chose the biggest city in the UK with a very high population. Therefore, participants were accurate with the region but the majority struggled when they tried to answer a specific city for the origin of the accent.

The next section will use these results to observe whether participants in my study have different attitudes towards different speakers and whether the results depend on who they perceive the speakers are.

II. Analysis Part 2: Attitudes

In this section, I will examine listeners' attitudes and will observe if having prior knowledge of the speakers influenced their attitudes. I will also discuss whether participants' social background had an influence on their attitudes toward the speakers. As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, the three categories of attitudes I used for my research were *superiority, attractiveness* and *dynamism*, which were taken from Zahn and Hopper (1985). For each of the three categories, five paired adjective traits were chosen and are shown in the table below.

Q	Superiority	Attractiveness	Dynamism
1	Educated-Uneducated	Nice-Awful	Talkative-Shy
2	Upper class-Lower class	Good natured-Hostile	Aggressive-Unaggressive
3	Rich-Poor	Friendly-Unfriendly	Enthusiastic-Hesitant
4	Intelligent-Unintelligent	Likeable-Unlikeable	Confident-Unsure
5	Eluant Disfluent	Considerate-	Enoratio Logy
5 Fluent-D	r iueni-Distiueni	Inconsiderate	Energetic-Lazy

Table II.1: Adjective traits used for the three sets of attitudes categories

In the questionnaire, participants were asked to judge the speakers in the recordings by giving a score on a ratings scale of one to seven. The larger the number, the more positively the speakers were perceived. As the questionnaire was voluntary, participants were allowed to skip questions. Therefore, some of the questions did not have the same number of responses as the participants. In this subsection, only the mean scores are used for comparison but other descriptive statistics will be considered as well when discussing each question further later in the chapter.

Firstly, the overall results will be discussed to observe the overall pattern of the listeners' attitudes toward the different speaker groups. After looking at the differences between the speaker groups in general, the chapter will discuss the main focus of the study, which is to ascertain whether knowing the linguistic background of the speaker has an effect on the listeners' attitudes. Thus, the two groups of participants will be compared for each question for all the speaker groups. After looking at each attitude question in the speaker groups individually, results regarding monolinguals and early

bilinguals will be compared as both speaker groups were perceived to have a UK accent. Thus, the aim of comparing these two speaker groups are to observe if accents perceived as coming from similar areas are perceived differently depending on whether the speaker is a monolingual or an early bilingual.

II.1. Overall Results

This section will observe the general trend towards the three speaker groups. Statistical calculations will be done later on in the chapter when the questions are discussed individually. Figure II.1 below shows the results from the primed group for the speakers. The column chart indicates the results for all the speakers and the line graph is the mean of the speaker groups. We can observe instantly that the listeners had different attitudes towards different speaker groups in some of the traits.



Figure II.1: Listeners' attitudes towards each speaker with average line (Primed Group)

Overall, the early bilinguals were seen the most positively followed by the

monolinguals. The difference between these two speaker groups can be seen from the figure except for the disfluent vs fluent question. The participants rated the two groups' fluency to be the same on average, but they viewed the early bilinguals more positively in other questions. Therefore, although the two speaker groups were seen to be fluent in speaking the language similarly, participants were picking up other aspects in the speech, or were affected by the fact that they knew the speakers were native speakers of two languages, and this influenced the listeners to favour the early bilinguals' speech more than the monolinguals'. The late bilinguals were the least favoured, especially in the questions related to fluency and confidence, probably due to the speech rate and hesitations included in their speech.

The above figure only shows the results from half of my participants as there were two groups of participants. The results from the other half of participants, who were not given prior information about the speakers, are shown in Figure II.2. The overall pattern looks similar to the previous graph for the primed group with the early bilinguals favoured the most followed by the monolinguals and the late bilinguals favoured the least. However, the difference between the speaker groups seems to be much closer for the attractiveness category when compared to the primed group.



Figure II.2: Listeners' attitudes towards each speaker with average line (Un-primed Group)

The above two graphs show the attitudes of the two groups of participants and from these, we can observe that there are attitude differences towards different speaker groups and therefore this follows what previous studies have found regarding how people hold different attitudes towards the guises when the speakers are talking with different accents (e.g. Lambert et al., 1960; Anisfeld et al., 1962).

The early bilinguals were perceived more positively than the monolinguals from the UK which does not fully align with previous studies that have found that native speakers of English prefer speakers from the same origin (e.g. Lambert et al., 1960). In Group B, the majority of the participants perceived these speakers as coming from the UK so it is fairly reasonable to conclude that the participants perceived these speakers similarly to the monolinguals from the UK. However, even when the participants knew that the early bilinguals were native speakers of another language, participants still viewed the early bilinguals more positively. It is likely that aspects other than language ability are affecting the listeners' attitudes towards the speech.

Further discussion regarding this point will be analysed in more detail later in the chapter.

The above graphs allowed us to observe the overall trend of attitudes from the two groups of participants and supported previous studies that listeners hold different attitudes towards different speaker groups. As the main focus of the study is to discover whether prior information about the speakers' language background makes a difference to the listeners' attitudes, I will compare the two groups more specifically from the next section by examining each of the attitudes categories separately.

5 Superiority

The overall attitudes section confirmed that listeners held different language attitudes towards the different type of speakers. From this section onwards, I will look at the data more carefully focusing on the differences between the two groups of participants. The section will start by looking at the overall trend and then each individual question regarding *superiority* will be observed separately for each speaker group. Then, I will compare the results of the early bilinguals with the monolinguals to see if the results are significantly different. I will also be investigating whether other factors, such as the participants' gender and their knowledge of foreign languages, had an influence on their attitudes.

Figure 5.1 shows the mean score participants expressed for the *superiority* category. The mean score was used to observe the general trend in the figure. Other calculations such as standard deviation and median will be provided later in the chapter.



Figure 5.1: Listeners' attitudes plotted on a radar chart regarding superiority

We can see instantly that the scores towards the late learners drop for the "Disfluent vs Fluent" question. This trend was seen from both groups of participants. As most of the participants in both groups realised that the speaker was a non-native speaker of English, as explained in the previous chapter, it is not surprising to see these results.

However, for the other questions towards the late learners, the mean score from the un-primed participants was lower by 0.4 to 0.7 than the primed participants. This is illustrated in the radar chart by the line representing the Group B participants' scores (red) being plotted closer to the centre than the line for the Group A participants (yellow). Group B participants did not know the speaker's linguistic background and the majority of them were not able to recognise that the speakers were Japanese while Group A participants had this information. Therefore, a possible explanation for this is that participants had a more positive view towards Japanese rather than a speaker from a South East Asian country or China as those two were the popular answers guessed by the Group B participants. It is worth noting, however, that McKenzie's research (2015b) found that the Japanese speakers were seen more negatively than the Chinese speakers in terms of status. The status category in his research comprised questions which include Zahn and Hopper's (1985) superiority and dynamism categories as he used a different method of categorising the attitudes. The dynamism part may have influenced the results so I will compare the results again with McKenzie's research when the set of *dynamism* questions are examined later on. However, there is also the possibility that since participants in Group B were only able to predict the origin of the speakers, and were not fully confident that the speakers were non-native speakers or South East Asian speakers, their lack of confidence could have affected their attitudes.

The "Disfluent vs Fluent" question did not show much difference between the two groups of listeners for any of the three speaker groups and a possible explanation towards this is that the fluency question is more dependent on the linguistic ability of the speaker, therefore on the speech itself.

In terms of the monolinguals, not much difference was observed between the two groups of participants as the two blue lines indicate the monolinguals' scores overlap for all the questions. The participants did not express much difference in their attitudes towards the monolingual speakers regardless of whether they held prior knowledge of the speaker or not. This will be tested statistically for each question later on in the chapter but these results may be due to the fact that it was easy for the participants to identify the speech as from a native speaker of English. For the early bilinguals, not much difference was observed from the two groups of participants except for the unintelligent vs intelligent question where the points on the graph did not overlap. This difference regarding intelligence will be observed in detail later in the chapter to see if the difference was statistically significant.

From the radar chart, we were able to observe the general difference between the groups. For the next few subsections, the questions from the *superiority* category will be observed individually for each speaker group to see if the two groups of participants' answers were statistically significantly different. In order to calculate the significance, the Wilcoxon rank sum test, also known as the Mann-Whitney U test, was used. In most cases, 102 responses were used for Group A and 76 responses for Group B. For some questions, fewer responses were used in the analysis as some of the participants did not answer all the questions.

5.1 Monolinguals

Firstly, the attitudes towards the monolinguals will be analysed and the scores from the primed group of participants and the un-primed group of participants will be compared.

5.1.1 Uneducated vs Educated

The graph below shows box and whisker plots for monolinguals in terms of "Uneducated vs Educated" from both groups of participants. The vertical lines show the range of the data excluding the outliers (illustrated by the empty circles). The boxes indicate the interquartile range, where 75% of the results lie. The bold horizontal lines illustrate the median and the + signs show the mean of the results. The boxplots were the best way to represent my data in order to observe the distribution of the responses and to examine the mean and median on the same graph.



Figure 5.2: Box plots of Uneducated vs Educated for monolinguals

From the boxplots, we can observe that the range is equal between the two groups. The median differs only by one point with Group A having a score of six and Group B a score of five, and the mean only differs slightly (Group A: 5.5, Group B: 5.4). Since the range is equal and the mean is very similar, the difference of one point for the median can be predicted to be very close. As little difference can be observed between the two groups of participants in terms of their values, the results between these two groups can be anticipated to be similar. In order to confirm that the difference between the two groups is not significant, some statistical tests were done. The Shapiro Wilk test showed that the scores towards the monolinguals were not normally distributed so the Wilcoxon rank sum test was used to calculate whether the scores from the two groups of participants varied statistically significantly. The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that the given scores of the attitudes towards the monolinguals in terms of education from Group A and those of Group B were not statistically significantly different (W = 4059.5, p > 0.05). Therefore, having prior knowledge of the speaker did not influence participants' attitudes towards the monolinguals in terms of education. Since Group B participants, who were not given prior information about the speakers, were able to guess that the speakers were native speakers of English, the view towards the speakers did not differ with those from the participants who were given information about the linguistic background of the speakers. The range of values lies on or above the midpoint of four demonstrating that native speakers in the UK see monolinguals from the South of England very positively in terms of education.

5.1.2 Lower Class vs Upper Class

From the boxplots below, we can instantly see that the results are very similar between the two groups for the question regarding social class.



Figure 5.3: Box plots of Lower Class vs Upper Class for monolinguals

There was a wider range of results compared to the education question with scores ranging between two and seven, and therefore a decrease in the mean (Group A: 5.0, Group B: 4.8). Still, the boxes were on or above the midpoint of the scale so 75% of the participants viewed the monolinguals as being near or above average in terms of class. The calculations did not show a statistically significant difference between the

two groups either (W = 3934, p > 0.05). Therefore, as with the previous question, not only did both groups of listeners perceive the monolinguals similarly in terms of origin of accent but both groups also viewed the monolinguals similarly in terms of social class.

5.1.3 Poor vs Rich

Again, the graph illustrated below shows similar boxplots from the two groups of participants for "Poor vs Rich".



Figure 5.4: Box plots of Poor vs Rich for monolinguals

It can be seen that the boxplot for Group B has a narrower interquartile range and a narrower range. However, there is no statistically significant difference between Group A and Group B with respect to their scores for "Poor vs Rich" (W = 4087, p > 0.05). Again, the interquartile range lies on or above the midpoint of the scale demonstrating that the participants held positive attitudes towards the monolinguals for "Poor vs Rich". Thus, prior knowledge did not influence the listeners' views on the monolinguals in terms of "Poor vs Rich".

5.1.4 Unintelligent vs Intelligent

The boxplots for the intelligence question, illustrated below, shows that the median was equal and that the mean was slightly different with the Group A (5.3) participants scoring slightly higher than Group B (5.0). The interquartile range and range differ between the two groups as Group B had a wider range and interquartile range. These values lowered the mean score for Group B but it is still equal to the median.



Figure 5.5: Box plots of Unintelligent vs Intelligent for monolinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test did not show statistically significant difference between the scores of the attitudes towards the monolinguals in terms of intelligence from Group A and those of Group B (W = 4261, p > 0.05). Therefore, similar to all the other *superiority* questions, having prior knowledge of the speakers did not affect the participants' attitudes towards the monolinguals regarding the question on intelligence.

5.1.5 Disfluent vs Fluent

Figure 5.6 below shows the boxplots for the "Disfluent vs Fluent" question towards monolinguals. The results between the two groups for the fluency question was similar

to the education question where the graphs showed equal range, very similar mean (Group A: 6.3, Group B: 6.2) and the median differing with only one point (Group A: 7.0, Group B: 6.0).



Figure 5.6: Box plots of Disfluent vs Fluent for monolinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test showed that the scores of the attitudes towards the monolinguals for "Disfluent vs Fluent" did not show a statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 4239.5, p > 0.05). Group A participants and Group B participants viewed the monolinguals very similarly. Their high score regarding fluency is not surprising since according to Chapter four regarding identification of accents, the majority of participants in both groups viewed the speakers to be native speakers of English, with a UK accent.

5.1.6 Summary for Monolinguals in terms of *Superiority*

Table 5.1 summarises the findings of this subsection investigating whether prior information of the speakers influenced the listeners' attitudes towards monolinguals in terms of *superiority*.

Question	Statistically Significant difference
Uneducated vs Educated	×
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×
Poor vs Rich	×
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	×
Disfluent vs Fluent	×

Table 5.1: Summary table for listeners' attitudes towards monolinguals in terms of *superiority*

For all the *superiority* questions towards monolinguals, calculations proved that the attitudes of the participants in the two groups were not statistically significantly different from each other. This finding was expected since for first language English users, it was not too difficult to recognise that the speakers were native speakers of English even without being told explicitly beforehand. Therefore, for Group B, even without the knowledge, participants were expressing attitudes towards native speakers of English as well. Thus, the results between the two groups did not differ for monolinguals in terms of *superiority*.

5.2 Early Bilinguals

In this subsection, listeners' attitudes towards the early bilinguals in terms of *superiority* will be analysed.

5.2.1 Uneducated vs Educated

Compared to the monolinguals, the boxplots for early bilinguals look different. Figure 5.7 shows the scores participants gave for the question regarding "Uneducated vs Educated".



Figure 5.7: Box plots of Uneducated vs Educated for early bilinguals

The two boxplots show equal median of six and very similar means (Group A: 5.8, Group B: 5.7). However, the boxplot for the primed group shows a wider interquartile range and a wider range than the boxplot illustrating the un-primed participants' scores. Group B participants' results ranged from four to seven while Group A had two to seven. Nevertheless, the Wilcoxon rank sum test⁴ showed that the wider range of scores did not affect the difference and the calculations showed that the two groups were not statistically significantly different from each other (W = 3980, p > 0.05). Therefore, even though Group A's responses varied a lot, overall, the results were similar between the two groups with prior knowledge not affecting participants' attitudes towards the early bilinguals in terms of education.

⁴ After conducting the Shapiro Wilk test, the results towards early bilinguals were not normally distributed for all the questions in terms of *superiority* so in order to calculate the significance between the two groups, the Wilcoxon rank sum test was undergone instead of a t-test.

5.2.2 Lower Class vs Upper Class

The graph for "Lower Class vs Upper Class" showed the opposite result for "Uneducated vs Educated". Although the mean and median is equal (mean: 5.5, median: 6.0), the range differs between the two groups. In the previous question, Group A, participants who held prior knowledge showed a wider range of scores but for this question, Group B participants were the ones with a wider range.



Figure 5.8: Box plots of Lower Class vs Upper Class for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test did not show a statistically significant difference between the scores of the attitudes towards the early bilinguals for "Lower Class vs Upper Class" from Group A and those of Group B (W = 3655, p > 0.05). Therefore, similar to the education question, even though the range differed between the groups, having prior knowledge of the speaker did not affect the participants' attitudes towards the early bilinguals in terms of class.

5.2.3 Poor vs Rich

The boxplots below are identical between the two groups of participants with the two groups of participants having the equal mean (5.2), median (5.0), interquartile range (four to six) and range (three to seven).



Figure 5.9: Box plots of Poor vs Rich for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirms that the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant as it showed that the scores of the attitudes towards the early bilinguals for "Poor vs Rich" from Group A and scores from those of Group B were not statistically significantly different (W = 3608, p > 0.05). Therefore, similar to the previous questions, having prior knowledge of the speaker did not affect the participants' attitudes towards the early bilinguals regarding the question on "Poor vs Rich" as participants viewed the speakers very similarly.

5.2.4 Unintelligent vs Intelligent

The figure for "Unintelligent vs Intelligent" shows that participants in Group A had a wider range of results and although the range includes lower values, it still has a higher

median (Group A: 6.0, Group B: 5.0) and a slightly higher mean (Group A: 5.8, Group B: 5.4).



Figure 5.10: Box plots of Unintelligent vs Intelligent for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the scores of the attitudes towards the early bilinguals regarding the question on intelligence from the two groups (W = 4442, p < 0.05). Therefore, in terms of intelligence, participants' attitudes towards early bilinguals varied according to whether they held prior information about the speakers or not. As mentioned earlier, although Group A has a wider range of scores, the mean and median shows that overall, Group A participants held a more positive attitude than the Group B participants. This demonstrates the fact that when participants are told that the speakers are fluent in two languages, in this case English and Japanese, the majority of the participants viewed the speakers as being more intelligent. As majority of the participants identified the speakers as first language English users with a UK accent, and consequently very proficient the in English, knowing that they were fluent in another language may have had a positive effect. As the laypeople's definition of the word 'bilinguals' tend to mean 'balanced bilinguals' who are proficient in both languages equally, it is plausible that the listeners' views for bilinguals are intelligent. It is also possible that the status of being a Japanese could have influenced the results if the listeners had a positive opinion of the Japanese.

5.2.5 Disfluent vs Fluent

For the early bilinguals, not much difference was observed between the two groups of participants for the "Disfluent vs Fluent" question, as for both groups, the median was equal with a score of seven and the mean was also equal with a score of 6.3. In addition, the range was equal between the two groups with scores plotted between five and seven.



Figure 5.11: Box plots of Disfluent vs Fluent for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that the scores towards the early bilinguals for the fluency question did not show a statistically significant difference between the attitudes from Group A and those of Group B (W = 3744, p > 0.05). Although the primed group knew the speakers were fluent in another language, they probably rated the fluency towards English that they were hearing and therefore relied on the linguistic aspects. Therefore, in terms of fluency, participants' attitudes did not differ even when they knew that the speakers were native in two languages so we can conclude that even for the early bilinguals, prior knowledge did not affect the listeners' decision towards the speakers' language ability. As mentioned in the previous chapter, although some participants in Group A identified the accent as coming from a non-UK country and the first language as not English, this did not influence the overall result towards the early bilinguals. It is unsure whether the listeners really picked up the non-English features in the speech of early bilinguals as half of the participants who viewed the speakers' first language to be Japanese, perceived the accent as coming from the UK . The listeners' responses regarding fluency show that it is likely that most of the participants either did not pick up the non-English features or did not think it was salient enough to lower the scores as the difference between the two groups were not statistically significant.

5.2.6 Summary for Early Bilinguals in terms of Superiority

The table below summarises the findings of the subsection on early bilinguals.

Table 5.2: Summary table for listeners' attitudes towards early bilinguals in terms of *superiority*

Question	Statistically Significant difference	Direction of Effect
Uneducated vs Educated	×	n/a
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×	n/a
Poor vs Rich	×	n/a
Unintelligent vs	1	Un-primed Group <
Intelligent	·	Primed Group
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	n/a

For early bilinguals, the only question that showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants was the question on intelligence. Having prior information about the speakers had a positive effect as participants viewed the speakers more positively than the participants who had no information about the speakers. It is highly possible that this was influenced by the fact that the listeners knew the speakers were fluent in two languages, therefore bilinguals, or had positive views regarding Japanese. For the other four questions in the *superiority* category, prior knowledge did not affect the listeners' attitudes. These results towards the early bilinguals will be compared with the monolinguals later in the chapter to see if participants held differing views regarding these two speaker groups. I will compare the results towards the two speaker groups from Group A and Group B separately to observe if any of the results had significance.

5.3 Late Learners of English

The results towards the late learners of English who are Japanese will be observed in this subsection.

5.3.1 Uneducated vs Educated

Figure 5.12 below show the scores towards the late leaners of English in terms of education.



Figure 5.12: Box plots of Uneducated vs Educated for late learners of English

The two groups had an equal score for the median (5.0) and the range of scores differed slightly with the Group A participants having a wider range of scores from three to seven while Group B participants had scores ranging from three to six. As for the mean, Group A had a value higher than Group B with 5.1 and Group B had a value of 4.5. The Wilcoxon rank sum test showed a statistically significant difference between the scores of the attitudes towards the late learners in terms of education from Group A and those of Group B (W = 4705, p < 0.01).⁵

Although prior knowledge did not affect the attitudes in terms of education towards monolinguals or early bilinguals, it had an effect regarding the late learners of English. The Group A participants had a more diverse score but viewed the speakers to be overall more educated when they knew that the speakers were late learners of English of Japanese origin. As mentioned earlier, this may be because of the different

⁵ Again, after conducting the Shapiro Wilk test, all the results for the late learners of English were not normally distributed so all the significance tests were done using the Wilcoxon rank sum test.

perception participants held regarding the country the speaker came from. It is also possible that the Group B participants lacked confidence in expressing strong feelings towards the speakers as they were not fully confident in who they were assessing. Consequently, their scores are concentrated around the middle of the scale.

5.3.2 Lower Class vs Upper Class

The boxplots show the scores participants gave to the late learners of English in terms of social class.



Figure 5.13: Box plots of Lower Class vs Upper Class for late learners of English

Although the median is equal between the two groups with 4.0, it seems that overall, the Group B participants have given a lower score to the speakers, with the range and interquartile range being plotted lower than Group A. The mean also shows a difference as Group A had 4.5 and Group B had 3.8. The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that the difference between the two groups towards the late learners in terms of "Lower Class vs Upper Class" was statistically significant (W = 4749.5, p < 0.001). Therefore, having prior knowledge of the speaker did have an effect towards

the late learners in terms of class. Again, this difference in scores could be due to the participants' dissimilar views of the speakers' origin of accent and lack of confidence in expressing strong opinions.

5.3.3 Poor vs Rich

The boxplots below illustrate the scores participants gave to the late learners for the "Poor vs Rich" question.



Figure 5.14: Box plots of Poor vs Rich for late learners of English

The graph shows equal median (4.0) but the two boxplots are plotted differently. Even though the two boxplots have the same shape, the range and interquartile range for Group A is one score higher than Group B. The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that the scores of the attitudes towards the late learners of English for "Poor vs Rich" from the two groups were significantly different (W = 4594, p < 0.01). Similar to the question regarding class, both groups had the same median of 4.0 but overall, it looks as if the Group A participants viewed the speakers more positively than the Group B

participants which again can be explained by the fact that the two participant groups perceived the speakers' accent as coming from a different country.

5.3.4 Unintelligent vs Intelligent

Figure 5.15 below illustrates the results for the intelligence question towards the late bilinguals.



Figure 5.15: Box plots of Unintelligent vs Intelligent for late learners of English

Following the same pattern as was observed for all the other questions towards the late leaners, the median was equal between the two groups (5.0) but the mean was different as the Group A participants gave a higher score (5.1) than the Group B participants (4.6). The Wilcoxon rank sum test proved that the responses from Group A and those of Group B towards the late learners in terms of intelligence are statistically significantly different (W = 4723.5, p < 0.01). Therefore, having prior knowledge of the speaker had an effect regarding the late learners in terms of intelligence as participants in Group A rated the late learners more positively than the Group B participants. Similar to all the other *superiority* questions for the late learners,

the difference in the country that the accent and first language was perceived as coming from may have influenced the results. The most popular country the speakers were perceived as coming from was Japan for the primed group and China for the unprimed group.

5.3.5 Disfluent vs Fluent

The graph below shows the scores participants gave concerning the late leaners of English in terms of their fluency.



Figure 5.16: Box plots of Disfluent vs Fluent for late learners of English

The range was very wide for the question regarding fluency as it showed the responses plotted between one and seven for both groups. Even though the interquartile range was a little wider for Group B, the median was still the same with three and the mean is very close as Group A had 3.5 and Group B had 3.7. It is interesting to see that even participants who were given the prior information that the speakers were late learners of English gave them a score of above six. It may be possible that the listeners that scored the late learners highly were those who compared the level of English they

heard with that of other non-native speakers they had interacted with on former occasions.

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups regarding the late learners in terms of fluency (W = 3544.5, p > 0.05). Similar to the question on monolinguals, this result was expected as it must have been easy for the listeners to deduce that the speakers were not native speakers of English. As mentioned in the previous chapter, over 90% of participants in Group A answered that the first language of the speaker was not English. As for Group B, participants who guessed that the first language was not English were above 80% for one speaker and above 60% for the other. The question on fluency of the late learners was the only question where the median scored lower than the midpoint of the scale. Nevertheless, it was close to the midpoint as it scored a rating of three.

5.3.6 Summary for Late Learners of English in terms of Superiority

Table 5.4 summarises the findings analysed in this subsection towards the late learners of English.

Question	Statistically significant difference	Direction of Effect
Upeducated vs Educated	1	Un-primed Group <
Uneducated vs Educated	·	Primed Group
Lower Class vs Upper	/	Un-primed Group <
Class	v	Primed Group
Poor vs Rich	/	Un-primed Group <
	v	Primed Group
Unintelligent vs	./	Un-primed Group <
Intelligent	v	Primed Group
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	n/a

Table 5.3: Summary table for late learners in terms of *superiority*

For the late learners of English, almost all the questions for *superiority* showed that prior knowledge influences participants' attitudes. The question regarding fluency was

the only question that was not influenced by prior knowledge and this could be explained by the fact that even participants without prior information about the speakers' language background were able to guess that English was not the speakers' first language. As for the other four questions, knowing that the speakers were Japanese late learners of English had a positive influence on the participants' attitudes as the primed group always perceived the speakers more positively than the un-primed group. Group B participants were also able to detect that the speakers were not native speakers of English nevertheless the two groups demonstrated a significant difference for most of the *superiority* questions. It is possible that the listeners in the un-primed group lacked confidence in expressing strong feelings towards the speakers as their scores were mainly concentrated around the middle of the scale. As the primed group were told who the speakers were, their views towards the recordings may have be more concrete than the participants who were just listening to the voices and lacked information about the speakers. Furthermore, while the un-primed group focused on the speech that they were listening to, the primed group knew that there was another language interfering with the speakers. This information may have had a positive effect on the listeners' attitudes as it could have caused them to be more accepting of the foreign accents.

Another reason for Group A participants viewing the late learners more positively could be the Japanese status because listeners in Group A knew that the speakers were Japanese whereas Group B listeners perceived the accent as coming from China. However, as mentioned at the start of the chapter, this contradicts McKenzie's research (2015b) as in his study, Chinese speakers were viewed mores positively than the Japanese speakers in terms of status. McKenzie's status category comprised both *superiority* and *dynamism* questions that was in Zahn and Hopper's (1985) categories so the results will be compared again in the *dynamism* section.

5.4 Overall summary for the speaker groups in terms of *Superiority*

The table below summarises the statistical significance of the two participant groups for all the speaker groups.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Uneducated vs Educated	×	×	✓ (Group B < Group A)
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×	×	✓ (Group B < Group A)
Poor vs Rich	×	×	✓ (Group B < Group A)
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	×	✓ (Group B < Group A)	✓ (Group B < Group A)
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	x	×

 Table 5.4: Summary table for superiority

In terms of *superiority*, we can observe that monolinguals did not differ between the two participant groups in any of the questions. Both groups realised that the speakers were native speakers of English so prior knowledge did not influence how the listeners viewed the monolinguals. The early bilinguals only differed in the question regarding intelligence with the listeners considering the speakers to be more intelligent when participants knew that the speakers were fluent in both English and Japanese. The late learners differed in all the questions except for the one on fluency and when participants knew that the speakers were Japanese late learners of English, they viewed the speakers more positively. In terms of fluency, none of the speaker groups showed a difference between the two participant groups. Therefore, prior information did not influence participants' perception of speakers in terms of rating the speakers' language ability.

5.5 Comparison of Monolinguals and Early Bilinguals

Previously I tested to see if the two participant groups in each speaker group were

statistically significantly different from each other. In this section, I will be testing the difference between early bilinguals and monolinguals to observe how differently the two groups are perceived by first language English users. I will first examine whether participants in Group A reacted differently towards the early bilinguals and the monolinguals. I will also be examining whether Group B participants reacted differently towards the two speaker groups afterwards. As the majority of the listeners perceived both the monolinguals' and early bilinguals' accent as coming from the UK, the current section allows us to consider whether there are differences in the listeners' attitudes towards accents that are perceived as coming from the same country.

5.5.1 Group A

First I will be testing to see if the scores from the Group A participants towards monolinguals were different from the scores from the Group A participants towards the early bilinguals. Therefore, I will be testing whether participants had different attitudes towards early bilinguals and monolinguals if they held prior information of the speakers.

The table below shows the results from the Wilcoxon rank sum test calculating whether the two groups had a statistically significant difference or not. As the boxplots shown previously have already illustrated the descriptive analysis towards the speakers, the current section will focus on the difference between the two speaker groups and will only present the related scores.

Question	Statistically significant difference	Direction of Effect
Uneducated vs		Monolinguals < Early
Educated	v	Bilinguals
Lower Class vs Upper	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early
Class	·	Bilinguals
Poor vs Rich	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early
		Bilinguals
Unintelligent vs		Monolinguals < Early
Intelligent	v	Bilinguals
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	n/a

Table 5.5: Significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals (Group A)

The calculations showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the two speaker groups for all but one question on fluency (W = 5302, p > 0.05). Therefore, participants viewed early bilinguals and monolinguals to be equally fluent in English but viewed all the other questions differently. The early bilinguals were perceived more favourably than the monolinguals in the four questions and in order to observe how differently the two speaker groups were perceived, descriptive statistical data will be compared.

In terms of education, although the scores for early bilinguals had a wider range including lower scores, it had a wider interquartile range including higher scores and it also had a higher mean (Monolinguals: 5.5, Early Bilinguals: 5.8). This means that the early bilinguals had a lower score but 75% of the listeners viewed the early bilinguals similarly or more positively than the monolinguals. Therefore, we can confirm that the statistically significant difference showed that early bilinguals were perceived to be more educated than the monolinguals by participants who held prior information of the speakers (W = 4023.5, p < 0.05).

For social class, participants with prior information gave higher scores towards the early bilinguals as the scores for the early bilinguals had a higher median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and mean (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 5.5). The minimum score is also higher than the monolinguals and the interquartile range is concentrated between five and six while monolinguals'

interquartile range lies between four and six (W = 3710.5, p < 0.01).

For the question "Poor vs Rich", the median was equal for both monolinguals and early bilinguals with a score of five. However, the mean score regarding the monolinguals is below the median while the mean score of the early bilinguals is above the median. Therefore, the early bilinguals were seen to be richer than the monolinguals when the participants held prior information of the speakers (W = 4082.5, p < 0.05).

In terms of intelligence, although the scores regarding the early bilinguals include lower scores, the interquartile range includes higher scores (Monolinguals: 5 to 6, Early Bilinguals: 5 to 7), a higher median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and a higher mean (Monolinguals: 5.3, Early Bilinguals: 5.8). Group A participants viewed the early bilinguals to be significantly more intelligent than the monolinguals when their speech was evaluated (W = 3556.5, p < 0.001).

Thus, listeners perceive the early bilinguals more positively than the monolinguals in terms of *superiority* when they are given information about the speaker's language ability. A possible explanation towards this is the positive views people hold towards bilinguals or speakers who are fluent in two or more languages. Since the participants viewed the two speaker groups to be similarly fluent in English, as no significant difference was observed for the fluency question, knowing another language could have influenced the listeners to view the speakers as being more superior. Another reason for the difference between the two speaker groups could be the influence of Japanese. Listeners could have held positive attitudes towards the Japanese or people who speaks Japanese since stereotype studies have revealed that Japanese people can be perceived as intelligent (Maykovich, 1972, p. 115). The results from participants in the un-primed group will be examined to investigate if the early bilinguals are perceived more favourably with no prior information about the speakers.

5.5.2 Group B

In the previous subsection, I checked whether participants' attitudes towards early bilinguals and monolinguals differed when they held prior information about the speakers. Now I will check whether there is a statistically significant difference between the scores of the two speaker groups when they do not hold this prior information.
Table 5.6 below shows the significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals by Group B participants.

Question	Question Statistically significant difference	
Uneducated vs		Monolinguals < Early
Educated	v	Bilinguals
Lower Class vs Upper	1	Monolinguals < Early
Class	v	Bilinguals
Door va Dich		Monolinguals < Early
FOOI VS KICH	v	Bilinguals
Unintelligent vs	.(Monolinguals < Early
Intelligent	v	Bilinguals
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	n/a

Table 5.6: Significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals (Group B)

The Wilcoxon rank sum test showed the same result in Group B as Group A. The scores for early bilinguals and monolinguals were significantly different in terms of *superiority* for all the questions except for fluency (W = 2678, p > 0.05). Therefore, even without prior information of the speakers, the listeners reacted differently towards the speakers' speech. Furthermore, their reactions were similar to those of the primed group.

In terms of education, the range and interquartile range regarding the monolinguals and early bilinguals from Group B participants were equal but the scores of early bilinguals had a higher median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and a slightly higher mean (Monolinguals: 5.4, Early Bilinguals: 5.7). Therefore, the Group B participants' scores of the early bilinguals were significantly higher than those of monolinguals (W = 2256.5, p < 0.05).

The monolinguals had a lower minimum score, interquartile range (Monolinguals: 4 to 6, Early Bilinguals: 5 to 7), median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0), and mean (Monolinguals: 4.8, Early Bilinguals: 5.5) than the early bilinguals for the question "Lower Class vs Upper Class". Therefore, participants again viewed the early

bilinguals more positively than the monolinguals (W = 1907.5, p < 0.001).

For the question "Poor vs Rich", the two speaker groups had an equal median of five but the early bilinguals had a higher maximum score, with higher scores in the interquartile range (Monolinguals: 4 to 5, Early Bilinguals: 4 to 6), and a higher mean (Monolinguals: 4.7, Early Bilinguals: 5.2). Hence, participants without prior information of the speakers assessed the early bilinguals to be richer than the monolinguals (W = 2098, p < 0.05).

In terms of intelligence, monolinguals had a lower minimum score, lower mean (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 5.4) and an interquartile range that included lower scores (Monolinguals: 4 to 6, Early Bilinguals: 5 to 6). Thus, the listeners perceived the early bilinguals' speech to be more intelligent than the monolinguals' speech (W = 2678, p < 0.05).

The table below summarises the findings of the subsection investigating whether participants viewed the early bilinguals significantly differently to the monolinguals.

Listeners held more positive views towards the early bilinguals than the monolinguals even when they did not know that the speakers were fluent in another language. A possible reason for this is the difference in the speakers' accent as well as the individual differences in the speakers' voices which may have influenced the favouring of the early bilinguals.

Question	Groups			
Question	Α	В		
Unaducated vs	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Educated	(Monolinguals < Early	(Monolinguals < Early		
Educated	Bilinguals)	Bilinguals)		
L	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Class VS Opper	(Monolinguals < Early	(Monolinguals < Early		
Class	Bilinguals)	Bilinguals)		
	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Poor vs Rich	(Monolinguals < Early	(Monolinguals < Early		
	Bilinguals)	Bilinguals)		
TT ' 4 11' 4	\checkmark	✓		
Unintelligent vs	(Monolinguals < Early	(Monolinguals < Early		
Intelligent	Bilinguals)	Bilinguals)		
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	×		

Table 5.7: Significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals

Therefore, no matter whether they held prior information of the speakers or not, participants viewed the early bilinguals more positively than the monolinguals for most of the *superiority* questions. The only question that did not show a difference between the two speaker groups was the question regarding fluency and were seen similarly.

These findings show that for all the questions except for fluency, statistically significant differences were observed between the early bilinguals and monolinguals. Native speakers of English have been found to perceive native speakers more positively in terms of status (e.g. Anisfeld et al., 1962) so the current study did not follow this trend as regardless of whether participants held prior information of the speakers or not, the early bilinguals were perceived significantly higher in terms of *superiority* than the monolinguals. However, as found in the previous chapter, the majority of the participants perceived the early bilinguals' origin of accent as coming from the UK and thus it is likely that the listeners perceived them as native speakers

of English similar to the monolingual speakers. Even if we assume that the participants did perceive the early bilinguals' accent were influenced by Japanese, it would differ with Cargile and Giles' (1998) study where no significant difference was observed for moderate Japanese-accented English and American accent in terms of status. Though, it is difficult to compare the studies entirely as it is not easy to assess the similarity of the early bilinguals' speech with the moderate Japanese-accented English speech used in Cargile and Giles' study. Also, the participants are very different. The participants in their study were university students in the US while the current study adopted participants from the UK. For the primed participants, as they knew that the speakers were fluent in another language, the additional linguistic factor may have influenced the listeners to perceive the early bilinguals as being superior to the monolinguals. However, as Group B participants also showed the same trend, there may be another reason why listeners reacted differently towards the two speaker groups. A possible reason for the early bilinguals being perceived more positively than the monolinguals in my study could be the influence of accent. The two monolingual speakers and the two early bilinguals were all brought up in the South of England but as they did not grow up in the same city, differences in their accent could have influenced the listeners' attitudes. The two early bilinguals grew up in London but for the monolinguals, one monolingual grew up in Surrey, and the other monolingual has lived in South London and Sussex. However, as seen in the previous chapter, the most popular city that the listeners perceived the accent as coming from, in many cases, was London. The only circumstance where the most popular answer was not London, was for Monolingual Speaker 2 by the un-primed group of participants where the most common city was considered to be Birmingham. Nevertheless, the most popular region that the participants perceived the accent as coming from was Southern. Thus, it may just be the individual difference in the speakers' voices that influenced the listeners to perceive the speakers differently in terms of *superiority*.

5.6 Influence of Participants' Social Background

In this sub-section, I will establish if listeners' social background influences their attitudes towards speakers. First, I will be examining whether gender has an influence and in the next subsection, I will see if knowledge of another language has an effect on listeners' attitudes.

5.6.1 Gender

The gender distribution was mentioned previously in the methodology chapter but the table below is a reminder of the gender distribution between the two groups of participants. As there was one participant who preferred not to state their gender, this person's results are discarded in this section.

Gender	Primed Group	Un-primed Group	Total
Male	9 (18%)	10 (26%)	19
Female	42 (82%)	27 (71%)	69
Prefer not to say	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	1
Total in each group	51 (100%)	38 (100%)	89

Table 5.8: Gender distribution of participants

As there were two speakers for each speaker group, 84 female responses and 18 male responses were used for the results from Group A. For Group B, 54 responses were used for females and 20 responses were used for males. Some questions had fewer responses as some participants did not answer the question. The table below shows a summary of results for statistical significance in terms of *superiority* for the monolinguals. All the calculations were done using a Wilcoxon test.

Question	Groups		
Question	Primed Group	Un-primed Group	
Uneducated vs Educated	×	×	
Lower Class vs Upper Class	x	×	
Poor vs Rich	×	×	
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	×	

Table 5.9: Significance of listeners' gender for monolinguals in terms of superiority

The calculations showed that only the question related to intelligence answered by the primed group of participants showed a statistically significant difference between the gender groups and all the other questions were perceived similarly by men and women. As a significant difference was observed for the question regarding intelligence from the primed group, this question will be looked at further to examine how differently men and women perceived the monolinguals. Figure 5.17 shows two boxplots representing the scores given by the primed male and female participants for monolinguals regarding intelligence.



Figure 5.17: Effect of listeners gender on the scores of Unintelligent vs Intelligent for monolinguals (Group A)

The boxplots show that although the median is equal (5.0), the mean score differs with the female participants giving a higher score (Female: 5.4. Male: 4.8). The range also differed depending on the listeners' gender. The female participants had a range that included higher scores while the male participants' range included lower scores. Therefore, from the boxplots we can conclude that the female participants gave the monolinguals a higher score in terms of intelligence than the male participants did not express strong feelings, neither positive nor negative with no scores plotted on one or seven, it is possible that the female participants were more confident in expressing strong feelings about the speakers and thus giving a more positive view of the speakers in general (W = 945, p < 0.05).

The table below shows the statistical significance of scores from female participants and male participants regarding the early bilinguals in terms of *superiority*.

Question	Groups		
Question	Primed Group	Un-primed Group	
Uneducated vs Educated	×	×	
Lower Class vs Upper Class	Х	×	
Poor vs Rich	×	×	
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Disfluent vs Fluent	x	×	

Table 5.10: Significance of listeners' gender for early bilinguals in terms of *superiority*

The results for early bilinguals were identical to the results for monolinguals. The only statistically significant difference observed between female and male participants was the question on "Unintelligent vs Intelligent" answered by people who were given prior information about the speakers and rest of the questions were perceived similarly. Thus, the boxplots below were created to observe how differently men and women reacted towards early bilinguals in terms of their intelligence.



Figure 5.18: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unintelligent vs Intelligent for early bilinguals (Group A)

When gender is compared, we can observe that the female participants gave a higher score for early bilinguals in terms of intelligence. The interquartile range by the female participants included higher scores and the median (Female: 6.0, Male: 5.0) as well as the mean (Female: 5.9, Male: 5.1) was higher than those from the male participants. Thus, following the trend for the monolinguals, the results showed that female participants gave higher scores to the early bilingual speakers than the male participants. Again, as none of the male participants gave a score of one or seven, the female participants may have been more confident in expressing strong feelings towards the speakers in terms of intelligence (W = 1070.5, p < 0.05).

The table below shows whether the results from female participants and male participants were significantly different for the late learners of English.

Question	Groups		
Question	Primed Group	Un-primed Group	
Uneducated vs Educated	×	✓ (Female < Male)	
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×	×	
Poor vs Rich	×	×	
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	×	

Table 5.11: Significance of listeners' gender for late learners in terms of superiority

The question regarding intelligence by Group A participants again showed a difference according to their gender. Therefore, no matter who the speaker was, if they held prior information, gender influenced the participants' reactions differently for "Unintelligent vs Intelligent" because in all cases, the female participants perceived the speakers more positively than the males did. However, for the late learners of English, there was another question where gender influenced attitudes. Group B participants' responses to "Uneducated vs Educated" showed a statistically significant difference between the two genders will be looked at in detail.



Figure 5.19: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unintelligent vs Intelligent for late learners of English (Group A)

Similar to those regarding the monolinguals and early bilinguals, the female participants gave a higher score to the late learners of English in terms of intelligence. Although the median is equal between the gender groups (5.0), the range and interquartile range from the female participants include higher scores and also a higher mean (Female: 5.3, Male: 4.6) (W = 1007.5, p < 0.05). Therefore, we can conclude that no matter what the language background of the speaker is, the female participants express more positive attitudes towards speakers when their intelligence is assessed if they hold prior information about the speakers.



Figure 5.20: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Uneducated vs Educated for late learners of English (Group B)

The other question that showed a difference depending on the gender was the question regarding education from Group B. Unlike the questions on intelligence, the male participants gave a higher score than the female participants. The male participants' scores had a higher range, interquartile range, and mean (Female: 4.4, Male: 5.0) (W= 347.5, p < 0.05). Therefore, when participants were not given any information about the speakers, male participants held more positive attitudes towards the late learners of English.

These differences in gender contradict some of the previous studies as in these, participants' gender did not influence their attitudes significantly (e.g. Garret et al., 2003). However, previous studies did not focus specifically on intelligence or education. For example, in Garrett et al.'s study (2003), intelligence would have been included in the question regarding "prestigious-sounding". It is challenging to figure out why gender influenced the results in my study. As the speakers were male, male participants could have been more severe in their judgments in terms of intelligence towards speakers who were also males. However, the gender difference in intelligence

was only visible from Group A participants. Therefore, a possible reason will be that being confident in the language background of the speakers could have influenced women to view the speakers to be more intelligent. There are also studies that showed significant difference between the speaker genders. A study done in Japan by McKenzie (2008) showed a significant difference regarding the competence of the speakers. The female participants rated the speakers from the Inner Circle significantly higher than did the male participants. Thus, the results for the monolinguals and early bilinguals follows the pattern found in McKenzie's study (2008). However, McKenzie's study (2008) had Japanese assessing different varieties of English while in the current study, British people are assessing the different speakers. It is plausible that the intelligence trait is something that shows a difference in participants' gender.

As for Group B's scores on education regarding the late learners differing according to gender, a possible explanation is that it could be tied to the fact that generally women have been found to prefer standard forms (e.g. Trudgill, 1972), and also that they are more sensitive towards non-standard varieties of English. These could have affected why their responses towards the late learners were more negative than those of the male participants.

The difference in participants' gender will also be examined in the chapters for *attractiveness* and *dynamism* and it will be observed if there is a pattern in how different genders view speakers differently in more detail later on.

5.6.2 Knowledge of Foreign Languages

This subsection will establish whether the participants' knowledge of a foreign language had any significance with their responses. Descriptions of participants' knowledge of a foreign language was shown in Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 in Chapter three. However, it will be difficult to find significance between the number of foreign languages and the foreign language they spoke with the attitudes because their level of proficiency varied widely. Consequently, I will observe whether knowing any foreign language had an effect on their attitudes. Table 5.12 below shows the distribution of participants after the number of foreign languages participants knew were grouped together.

Number of foreign languages	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
No Foreign Language	9 (18%)	6 (16%)
One or more Foreign Language	42 (82%)	32 (84%)

Table 5.12: Distribution of participants' knowledge of foreign languages (N= 51, 38)

For this subsection, Group A consisted of 84 responses from participants with some knowledge of a foreign language and 18 responses from participants who reported having no knowledge of a foreign language. Group B consisted of 64 responses from participants with some knowledge of a foreign language and 12 responses from participants with no knowledge of a foreign language. The table below summarises the results of whether knowing one or more foreign language had a significant effect on their attitudes.

Table 5.13	: Significance	of listeners'	knowledge	of foreig	n language	in	terms	of
superiority	(Group A)							

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Uneducated vs Educated	×	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)	×
Poor vs Rich	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)	×
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	×	×	×
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	×	×

The calculations showed that there were only three questions that showed a significant

difference in Group A. Attitudes in terms of *superiority* towards monolinguals did not show any difference. For early bilinguals, the "Lower Class vs Upper Class" question and "Poor vs Rich" showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the group who knew no foreign language and the group who knew one or more foreign language. For the late learners, a statistically significant difference was observed for the question regarding education. Boxplots will be created for these questions to observe the distribution of scores.



Figure 5.21: Effect of knowledge of foreign language on the scores of Lower Class vs Upper Class for early bilinguals (Group A)



Figure 5.22: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language on the scores of Poor vs Rich for early bilinguals (Group A)

For both of the questions, we can observe that knowing one or more foreign languages had a positive effect on the results of the early bilinguals. The boxplots are similarly shaped but the boxplot for participants with knowledge of a foreign language is located higher than the boxplot for the other group. For the question regarding social class, there was a difference in both the mean (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.6, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.8) and median (Knowledge of foreign language: 6.0, No knowledge of foreign language: 5.0). Both the mean and median from participants with knowledge of a foreign language are located above the other group of participants who had no knowledge of a foreign language (W = 987, p < 0.01). As for "Poor vs Rich", the median is equal but the mean score shows a clear difference (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.3, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.5). The mean score of participants with knowledge of a foreign language is positioned above the median line while for the alternative group, it is situated below the median line (W = 989.5, p < 0.01). Therefore, when participants had some knowledge of a foreign language, they viewed the early bilinguals as being more upper class and rich. This may be because participants with some knowledge of a foreign language were concerned with languages and their views regarding people speaking another language were positive.

There was one question that showed a significant difference for the late learners of English. This was the question regarding education when participants knew the language background of the speakers. The boxplots below show the difference between the two groups.





The boxplot for participants who have knowledge of a foreign language is located higher than the boxplot representing the boxplot for participants with no knowledge of foreign languages. It has a higher range, interquartile range, median (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.0, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.0) and mean (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.3, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.5) (W = 1051.5, p < 0.01). Consequently, it can be concluded that by knowing a foreign language, participants will rate the late learners of English who are Japanese to be more educated than when they have no experience of a foreign language because they may be more accepting of foreign accents.

Therefore, when participants held prior information of the speakers, their knowledge of a foreign language influenced their attitudes. In some questions, participants with some knowledge of a foreign language viewed the speakers more positively than the listeners who had no knowledge of a foreign language probably because they regarded foreign languages and non-native accents more favourably than listeners who had no experience with foreign languages.

The same calculations were undertaken for participants in Group B and the table summarises the results.

Question	Monolinguals	Late	
Question	Wononiguais	Earry Diniiguais	Learners
Uneducated vs		\checkmark	
Educated	×	(positive effect with	×
Laucated		foreign language)	
Lower Class vs	×	×	×
Upper Class	~	~	~
Poor vs Rich	×	×	×
Unintelligent vs	×	×	×
Intelligent			
Disfluent vs	\checkmark		
Fluent	(positive effect with no	×	×
	foreign language)		

Table 5.14: Significance of listeners' knowledge of foreign language in terms of *superiority* (Group B)

There were two questions that showed a statistically significant difference between participants with and without a knowledge of foreign languages. These questions were not the same as the questions in Group A. When participants did not hold any information about the participants, knowledge of a language other than English influenced two questions in terms of *superiority*: fluency of monolingual speakers and education of the early bilinguals. Boxplots were created for these two questions to observe whether a foreign language had a positive or negative effect.



Figure 5.24: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language on the scores of Disfluent vs Fluent for monolinguals (Group B)



Figure 5.25: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language on the scores of Uneducated vs Educated for early bilinguals (Group B)

For Group A, participants having some knowledge of a foreign language had a positive effect on all the questions that showed a statistically significant difference. However,

for Group B, this was not always the case. In terms of fluency regarding monolinguals, knowledge of a foreign language had a negative effect. People with no knowledge of a foreign language rated the monolinguals in terms of fluency very highly as the range, interquartile range, mean and median were all located between six and seven (W = 253.5, p < 0.05). It is possible that since participants had experience with a foreign language, their views towards a language spoken fluently may be different to those who does not have any knowledge of a foreign language. However, as there were only ten scores used in the analysis for Group B participants with no knowledge of a foreign language, the results could differ if more participants with no knowledge of a foreign language were to take part in the study.

As for education regarding the early bilinguals, it followed the same pattern as for Group A. Participants with some knowledge of a foreign language rated the speakers significantly higher than the participants with no knowledge of a foreign language since the boxplot illustrated a higher median and mean (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.8, No knowledge of foreign language: 5.1) (W = 477.5, p < 0.05). However, as participants in the un-primed group were not informed of the language background of the early bilinguals it is difficult to deduce the reasons for this. It may be possible that knowing a foreign language influences listeners to hold more positive feelings towards speakers in general excluding fluency related questions.

5.6.2.1 Japanese Ability

Since some of my participants had some knowledge of Japanese, their results will be observed separately to examine if knowing Japanese had a more positive or negative influence on their attitudes as my current study investigates attitudes towards English-Japanese bilinguals. Therefore, the score from participants with a knowledge of Japanese will be compared with the scores from participants with no knowledge of this language.

The table below shows the level of their Japanese ability as identified by the participants.

Level	Primed Group	Un-primed Group
Native	0	0
Advanced	0	0
Upper Intermediate	1	0
Intermediate	1	2
Elementary	0	1
Beginner	1	4
Total	3	7

Table 5.15: Participants' level of Japanese (n=3, 7; N=51, 38)

Since there were two speakers for each speaker group, 6 responses were used in Group A for participants with some knowledge of Japanese (96 responses for those without knowledge of Japanese) and 14 responses were used in Group B (62 responses for those without knowledge of Japanese). As the previous analysis chapter on the identification of accents showed, most of the participants with knowledge of Japanese did not identify the speakers' first language to be Japanese. The table below shows whether the results from participants with a knowledge of Japanese were statistically significantly different from the results of participants with no knowledge of Japanese.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Uneducated vs Educated	×	×	×
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×	×	×
Poor vs Rich	×	×	×
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	×	×	×
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	×	×

Table 5.16: Significance of listeners' Japanese knowledge in terms of *superiority* (Group A)

As seen from the table, none of the questions by Group A participants showed a statistically significant difference between the results for the *superiority* questions. Therefore, when participants were given prior information of the speakers, knowledge of Japanese did not have an effect on the listeners' attitudes towards the speakers. The table below shows the significance of results from participants in Group B.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Uneducated vs Educated	×	×	×
Lower Class vs Upper Class	×	×	×
Poor vs Rich	×	×	×
Unintelligent vs Intelligent	×	×	×
Disfluent vs Fluent	×	×	✓ (positive effect with knowledge of Japanese)

Table 5.17: Significance of listeners' Japanese knowledge in terms of *superiority* (Group B)

After all the calculations, it demonstrates that almost all the questions showed no difference between the participants who were with or without knowledge of Japanese. There was only one question which showed a significant difference and this was the question regarding fluency of the late learners (W = 258, p < 0.05).

The table below shows how the results from participants with a knowledge of Japanese (indicated inside brackets) were different from those without a knowledge of Japanese.

Question	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
Disfluent vs Fluent	3.5 (4.4)	3.0 (5.0)	1.5 (1.2)

Table 5.18: Comparison of scores regarding listeners' knowledge of Japanese

We can see from the table that participants with a knowledge of Japanese rated the late learners of English significantly higher than the other participants as not only is the mean higher by 0.9 points but the median also differs by two points. The standard deviation also shows that the responses from participants with a knowledge of Japanese were less spread out. Therefore, we can conclude that participants who knew Japanese rated the Japanese late learners more positively than the people with no knowledge of the language. This may be because they compared the Japanese speakers in the current study with the previous Japanese speakers that they had interacted with or listened to while learning the language. However, as mentioned before, most of these participants were not able to identify the speakers as coming from Japan. Nevertheless, it is possible that these participants who had knowledge of Japanese were more positive towards an Asian accent in general.

Interestingly, the statistically significant difference observed in this subsection did not overlap with the results in the previous subsection where knowledge of a foreign language was being observed. Therefore, in terms of *superiority*, participants with a knowledge of Japanese reacted differently to participants with some knowledge of a foreign language. Results could have differed if more participants who knew Japanese had taken part in the study as there were very few participants with a knowledge of Japanese.

5.7 Superiority Summary

In terms of *superiority*, there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups on the following points:

- Prior information of speakers (i.e. Group A vs Group B)
 - Early Bilinguals more intelligent when participants held prior information.

- Late Learners of English more educated, upper class, rich, and intelligent when participants held prior information.
- Monolinguals vs Early Bilinguals Both groups of participants viewed the early bilinguals as being more educated, upper class, rich, and intelligent.
- Gender (Group A) female participants viewed all the speaker groups as being more intelligent than did the male participants.
- Gender (Group B) male participants rated the late learners of English as being more educated than did the female participants.
- Knowledge of Foreign Language (Group A) early bilinguals were seen to be more upper class and rich while late learners were seen to be more educated by participants who had a knowledge of a foreign language.
- Knowledge of Foreign Language (Group B) Early bilinguals were seen to be more educated when participants had a knowledge of a foreign language. However, monolinguals were seen to be more fluent when participants had no knowledge of a foreign language.
- Knowledge of Japanese (Group B) Late learners of English were seen to be more fluent in English by participants who had some knowledge of Japanese.

From the bullet points above, excluding the comparison between the monolinguals and the early bilinguals, we can see that a statistically significant difference was found between two groups with the highest being the late learners where there was a difference regarding eight questions. The early bilinguals were next with five questions and the monolinguals were the lowest with only two questions. This shows that the more dominant the speakers are in their English language, the fewer are the differences observed between the groups.

From the general pattern, late learners were viewed the most negatively. This follows the pattern of Ryan, Carranza and Moffie (1977) as in their study, "small increments in accentedness are associated with gradually less favourable ratings of status, solidarity, and speech characteristics" (p. 271) were observed. However, this was only for the late learners. As it was seen in the previous chapter, some of the primed participants identified the early bilinguals' as having a non-UK accent. Still, the study found that the early bilinguals and monolinguals can be perceived differently in terms of attitudes regarding *superiority* and the early bilinguals are perceived more positively. It is possible that since monolinguals and early bilinguals were perceived

similarly when listeners held no information about the speakers, the early bilinguals' accent was not salient enough to lower the scores regarding attitudes and the listeners rated the early bilinguals highly knowing that they are proficient in two languages. However, as the un-primed group also rated the early bilinguals higher than the monolinguals, it is plausible that there were individual differences in accents that influenced the listeners to rate the early bilinguals highly. Furthermore, the study also found that when a statistically significant difference is observed between participants with prior information about the speakers and those without, participants with prior information perceived the speakers more positively. There are many possible reasons for this. Firstly, there is the influence of knowing that there is another language that the speaker is fluent in on early bilinguals and the influence of the country that the accent and first language was perceived as for the late learners. Furthermore, knowing something about the speakers may have influenced the listeners to view the speakers more positively as they would have a clearer perception of who the speakers are and may feel more comfortable with their speech. They may also feel more confident in expressing strong feelings towards them as compared to those listeners who merely had given recordings of the speakers from which to make their judgements.

The next chapter will observe the participants' attitudes in terms of *attractiveness* and will examine whether the same trend that was observed for the *superiority* category is observed for the *attractiveness* category.

6 Attractiveness

This chapter will analyse how the native speakers of English from the UK viewed the three groups of speakers in terms of *attractiveness*. The chapter will start by examining the overall trend and then will concentrate on the individual questions. Finally, it will compare the participants to observe whether their social background had an influence on how they perceived the speakers' attractiveness.

In terms of *attractiveness*, the radar chart shown below does not show a marked difference between the participant groups or the speaker groups. All the points seem to lie around the scale of four and five which is different to the previous chapter on *superiority* where for the late learners of English regarding fluency was viewed very differently. However, the early bilinguals who were listened to by Group A seem to have the highest score which is always on the outer edge.



Figure 6.1: Listeners' attitudes plotted on a radar chart for attractiveness

Although the above graph shows that the scores are very close, the overlap of the dots and lines make it difficult to read. Therefore, Figure 6.1 was split into three figures to observe each of the speaker groups.



Figure 6.2: Listeners' attitudes plotted on a radar chart regarding monolinguals for *attractiveness*

The scores for monolinguals are very similar between the two participant groups as all the points are located near the score of five and the two lines overlap for all the questions.



Figure 6.3: Listeners' attitudes plotted on a radar chart regarding early bilinguals for *attractiveness*

For early bilinguals, the scores are slightly different with the points not overlapped as much as with the monolinguals.



Figure 6.4: Listeners' attitudes plotted on a radar chart regarding late bilinguals for *attractiveness*

The scores for the late learners were similar to the results for the monolinguals as all the points either overlap or are very close to each other.

The discussion will continue later in the chapter but a few differences will be pointed out here to highlight the overall trend. First of all, there was a difference of 0.3 to 0.5 between the mean score of Group A and Group B for the early bilinguals. Although this difference does not appear extensive, it is noticeable when compared to the other two speaker groups in which the difference between the two groups of participants for the monolinguals and late learners was less than or equal to 0.2. The greatest differences noted for the early bilinguals was regarding the "unlikeable vs likeable" question and the "inconsiderate vs considerate" question. Knowing that the speaker was a native speaker of English and Japanese had a positive influence on the participants' language attitudes. These two questions had a statistically significant difference between the scores from the two groups of participants and further results will be presented later in the chapter. From the radar chart, we are able to observe that generally, the two groups of participants viewed the speakers similarly since the points on the radar chart either overlap or are located close to each other. Following on from the *superiority* section, the next few subsections will examine the *attractiveness* questions individually for each speaker group to see if the two groups of participants' answers were statistically significantly different or not.

6.1 Monolinguals

This section will look at the *attractiveness* category individually investigating attitudes from first language English users towards the monolinguals. Boxplots will first be created to observe the differences and then the statistical significance between the two groups will be tested.

6.1.1 Awful vs Nice

The boxplots below show the results for monolinguals in terms of "Awful vs Nice". The median is equal between the two groups with 5.0 and the mean looks very similar (Group A: 5.1, Group B: 5.0) but the range for Group B is much wider than for Group A (Group A: 3 to 7, Group B: 1 to 7) showing that even though overall, the participants viewed the monolinguals very similarly, when participants were not given any information about the speakers, their responses varied much more than when they held information about the person in the recording.



Figure 6.5: Box plots of Awful vs Nice for monolinguals

In order to establish whether the two groups of participants were statistically significantly different or not, similar steps to the *superiority* category were carried out for the *attractiveness* category. The Wilcoxon rank sum test⁶ confirmed that the given scores of the attitudes towards the monolinguals in terms of "awful or nice" from Group A were not statistically significantly different from those of Group B (W = 3786.5, p > 0.05). Therefore, even though the Group B participants' responses have a wider range than the Group A participants, this range difference did not influence the results to show that the two groups were statistically significantly different.

6.1.2 Hostile vs Good Natured

The graph below shows two boxplots for the ratings for monolinguals in the "Hostile vs Good Natured" question. Group B participants have a slightly wider range but the

⁶ As with *superiority*, Shapiro Wilk tests confirmed that the results were not equally distributed so Wilcoxon rank tests were used rather than a t-test throughout this section.

median is equal with 5.0 and the mean is very similar (Group A: 5.2, Group B: 5.1).



Figure 6.6: Box plots of Hostile vs Good Natured for monolinguals

As can be predicted from the two very similar boxplots, the Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that there was no statistically significant difference between the scores in the two groups for the monolinguals in terms of "Hostile vs Good Natured" (W = 3876.5, p > 0.05).

6.1.3 Unfriendly vs Friendly

The figure below shows two identical boxplots for the "Unfriendly vs Friendly" question. The median (5.0), mean (5.1), range (2 to 7) and interquartile range (4 to 6) are equal between the two groups of participants.



Figure 6.7: Box plots of Unfriendly vs Friendly for monolinguals

Not surprisingly, the calculations confirmed that the scores from the two groups of participants were not statistically significant between the two. The scores from Group A were not significantly different from those of Group B (W = 3676.5, p > 0.05) and therefore show that both groups expressed similar views towards the monolinguals in terms of friendliness.

6.1.4 Unlikeable vs Likeable

Figure 6.8 below shows the ratings about monolinguals in terms of likableness. Similar to the other *attractiveness* questions, the median is equal (5.0) and the mean is similar between the two groups (Group A: 5.1, Group B: 5.0).



Figure 6.8: Box plots of Unlikeable vs Likeable for monolinguals

The scores from Group A did not show a statistically significant difference with the scores from Group B (W = 3906, p > 0.05). However, although the majority of participants expressed neutral to positive feelings, both ranges are very wide showing that the listeners' views towards the monolinguals were also spread out.

6.1.5 Inconsiderate vs Considerate

The boxplots below show participants' evaluation of the extent to which they perceived the monolinguals as being considerate. Compared to the other *attractiveness* questions, the boxplots for "Inconsiderate vs Considerate" show a bigger difference between the two groups of participants. The median is equal with 5.0 and the mean is similar with Group A of 4.9 and Group B of 4.8 but the range (Group A: 2 to 7, Group B: 3 to 6) and interquartile range (Group A: 4 to 6, Group B: 4 to 5) shows a much wider difference between the groups.



Figure 6.9: Box plots of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for monolinguals

However, even with the difference in range and interquartile range between the two groups, the calculations showed that the scores from Group A was not statistically significantly different from those of Group B (W = 3774.5, p > 0.05).

6.1.6 Summary for Monolinguals in terms of Attractiveness

The table below summarises the findings for the monolingual English speakers in terms of *attractiveness*.

Question	Statistically significantly different
Awful vs Nice	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	X
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	X

Table 6.1: Summary table for monolinguals in terms of attractiveness

For the *attractiveness* categories, prior information did not influence the participants' attitudes towards the monolingual speakers. As explained in the previous *superiority* section, participants easily identified the speakers to be native speakers of English regardless of the information given to them so no difference between the two groups was expected. Even when the range differed, the difference was not wide enough to show a statistically significant difference between the two groups. No difference was observed previously for the *superiority* category also so if no there is no statistical difference between the two groups in the *dynamism* section, it could be concluded that prior information of the speakers has no influence on the first language English users' attitudes towards monolingual English speakers, the listeners viewed the monolinguals as being first language English users with a UK accent.

6.2 Early Bilinguals

The difference between the two groups for *attractiveness* for the early bilinguals will be observed in this section.

6.2.1 Awful vs Nice

The graph below shows two boxplots for the participants' attitudes towards the early
bilinguals for the "Awful vs Nice" question. Although the median (5.0), range (2 to 7) and interquartile range (4 to 6) was equal between the two groups of participants, the mean was different by 0.4 (Group A: 5.3, Group B: 4.9). Group A had a mean higher than the median while Group B had a lower mean.



Figure 6.10: Box plots of Awful vs Nice for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test showed that the scores from Group A were statistically significantly different from those of Group B (W = 4339, p < 0.05). Therefore, participants who had prior information of the speakers had a significantly higher score than the Group B participants. This could be an influence of being perceived as a bilingual and being native in two languages or being a native speaker of Japanese as well. Either way, the results show that when listeners are told that the speakers are native speakers of both English and Japanese, they are perceived to be nicer than when they are listening to the speech with no information. As majority of participants perceived both monolinguals and early bilinguals as first language English users with a UK accent (as discussed in chapter 4), the results of the two speaker groups will be compared in detail later in the chapter.

6.2.2 Hostile vs Good Natured

The boxplots below illustrate participants' attitudes towards the early bilinguals for the "Hostile vs Good Natured" question. The two groups have an equal range (3 to 7) and interquartile range (4 to 6) but have different median (Group A: 6.0, Group B: 5.0) and mean (Group A: 5.4, Group A: 5.1).



Figure 6.11: Box plots of Hostile vs Good Natured for early bilinguals

Although the scores from the two group of participants had different mean and median, the Wilcoxon rank sum test did not show a statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 4349.5, p > 0.05).

6.2.3 Unfriendly vs Friendly

The graph below illustrates the ratings in terms of friendliness towards the early bilinguals. It shows a graph identical to the previous question on "Hostile vs Good Natured".



Figure 6.12: Box plots of Unfriendly vs Friendly for early bilinguals

The scores for the early bilinguals again did not show a statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants with the Wilcoxon rank sum test (W = 4170, p > 0.05).

6.2.4 Unlikeable vs Likeable

The boxplots below show the attitudes in terms of likeableness towards the early bilinguals of English and Japanese. The two boxplots show an equal median (5.0), range (2 to 7), and interquartile range (4 to 6) but the mean is plotted differently. Group A has a mean of 5.2 which is higher than the median and Group B has a mean of 4.9, lower than the median.



Figure 6.13: Box plots of Unlikeable vs Likeable for early bilinguals

The calculations show that there was a statistically significant difference between the scores from the two groups of participants (W = 4557.5, p < 0.05). Participants who knew that the speakers were fluent in English and Japanese viewed them to be more likeable than participants who did not hold this information. This demonstrated that participants had a more positive view in terms of likableness for bilinguals who spoke fluently in English. Previous studies have shown that UK English speakers are seen more positively than other international English speakers in many attitude questions (Anisfeld et al., 1962). However, as previous studies have looked at internationally accented English, the results cannot be compared directly to the current research as my early bilingual speakers had very little or no foreign accent as they were identified similarly to the monolingual English speakers if they were not given prior information. The only research done on attitudes towards English and Japanese bilinguals was done by Watanabe (2008) where a bilingual was generally rated lower than a New Zealand English accented speaker. However, the bilingual used in his study was a female native speaker of US English and Japanese, and the research was conducted in New Zealand. Consequently, it is uncertain how comparable the results are with the current study where the speakers are male UK English speakers rated by native speakers of UK English. Furthermore, the listeners in Watanabe's study did not know that the speaker was fluent in two languages so it can be compared with my Group B participants but not my Group A participants who were told that the speakers were bilingual. The discussion will continue later when the scores of monolinguals and early bilinguals are compared.

6.2.5 Inconsiderate vs Considerate

The two boxplots for considerateness show equal median (5.0), range (2 to 7) and interquartile range (4 to 6) which are similar to the previous question. The mean for Group A is plotted above the median line (5.2) while the mean for Group B is plotted below the median line (4.8).



Figure 6.14: Box plots of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test on attitudes towards early bilinguals in terms of considerateness showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 4416.5, p < 0.05). Therefore, as before, participants who knew that the speakers were bilinguals rated the speakers higher in terms of considerateness. As mentioned

in the question for "Awful vs Nice", there are a several reasons which could explain why this is the case. Firstly, as the listeners were told that the speakers were native speakers of both English and Japanese, there is a possibility that the listeners viewed bilinguals more positively. Another reason could be the influence of Japanese. Studies on stereotypes found that the students and adults viewed the Japanese as courteous (Maykovich, 1972). Thus, as the listeners knew that the speakers were also fluent in Japanese, the stereotypes of Japanese people may have influenced the listeners to perceive the speakers as being more considerate than if listeners had no information about the Japanese background of the speakers.

6.2.6 Summary for Early Bilinguals in terms of Attractiveness

The table below summarises the attitudes found in the section for early bilinguals in terms of *attractiveness*.

Statistically significant different	Direction of Effect	
<u> </u>	Un-primed Group <	
·	Primed Group	
×		
×	n/a	
×	n/a	
,	Un-primed Group <	
v	Primed Group	
	Un-primed Group <	
¥	Primed Group	
	Statistically significant different ✓ × × ✓	

Table 6.2: Summary table for early bilinguals in terms of attractiveness

In the *superiority* section, intelligence was the only question that showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants. For the *attractiveness* section, three questions were calculated to have a statistically significant difference between the two groups. These questions were "Awful vs Nice", "Unlikeable vs

Likeable" and "Inconsiderate vs Considerate", and Group A participants who held prior information about the speakers rated the early bilinguals significantly higher than the Group B participants. It is difficult to reach the conclusion as to why only some of the questions showed a significant difference between the two groups of participants. However, for the ones that did show a difference it could be seen that either the status of being a bilingual or the status of being a native speaker of Japanese as well influenced the listeners to evaluate the speakers significantly higher. In the latter context, Japanese stereotypes might have had a positive influence in terms of *attractiveness* in some cases since, although not conducted in the UK, studies have found that the Japanese are perceived as courteous (e.g. Maykovich, 1971; Maykovich, 1972) by adults and students. As both the early bilinguals and monolinguals were perceived as first language English users with a UK accent in many cases, I will examine whether the two speaker groups differ later in the chapter.

6.3 Late Learners of English

The results regarding the late learners of English will be analysed in this section to observe whether prior information of the speakers influenced the listeners' judgments in terms of *attractiveness*.

6.3.1 Awful vs Nice

Boxplots were created to observe the difference between the two groups of participants for the question "Awful vs Nice". The two boxplots are almost identical with equal median (5.0), range (3 to 6), and interquartile range (4 to 5). The mean is slightly different where Group A had 4.7 and Group B with 4.9.



Figure 6.15: Box plots of Awful vs Nice for late learners of English

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant (W = 3412.5, p > 0.05) so prior information did not influence listeners' perception of the late leaners in their evaluation of how nice they felt the speakers were.

6.3.2 Hostile vs Good Natured

The graph below shows two boxplots for the "Hostile vs Good Natured" question of the late learners of English. The median is equal between the two groups with 5.0 and the interquartile range, where 75% of the responses lie are also equal with 4 to 7. The mean is similar with Group A having 4.9 and Group B with 5.0. However, Group B has a wider range with 2 to 7 while Group A has a range between 3 and 7.



Figure 6.16: Box plots of Hostile vs Good Natured for late learners of English

The calculations confirmed that the difference in the range and slight difference in the mean for the two groups was not statistically significant (W = 3432.5, p > 0.05) so both groups of listeners viewed the late learners similarly.

6.3.3 Unfriendly vs Friendly

The graph for the evaluation of friendliness is shown below for the late learners of English. Group B has a wider range (Group A: 3 to 6, Group B: 2 to 7) and interquartile range (Group A: 4 to 5, Group B: 4 to 6) but the two groups have equal median (5.0) and very similar mean (Group A: 4.8, Group B: 4.9).



Figure 6.17: Box plots of Unfriendly vs Friendly for late learners of English

Although the range and interquartile range varies between the two groups, calculations confirmed that the two groups are not statistically significantly different (W = 2683.5, p > 0.05).

6.3.4 Unlikeable vs Likeable

For the late learners of English, participants' responses varied widely for likeableness depending on the participants' group. Group A participants' responses were plotted very widely between 1 and 7 while Group B participants' responses were plotted between 3 and 6. The mean was plotted below the median of 5.0 for both groups (Group A: 4.7, Group B: 4.9).



Figure 6.18: Box plots of Unlikeable vs Likeable for late learners of English

Even with the wide difference in range, the Wilcoxon rank sum test did not show a statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants for likeableness towards the late learners of English (W = 3405, p > 0.05).

6.3.5 Inconsiderate vs Considerate

Listeners' responses in terms of considerateness towards the late learners are shown in the graph below. Similar to the previous question on likeableness, Group A participants' responses were plotted in a wider range (2 to 7) than the Group B responses (3 to 6). The interquartile range was also wider for Group A (Group A: 4 to 6, Group B: 4 to 5). Group A had a median of 5.0, one point higher than Group B of 4.0 and the mean was also slightly higher (Group A: 4.8, Group B: 4.6).





Although there is a difference in range, interquartile range, median and mean between the scores from the two groups of participants, a statistically significant difference was not confirmed by the Wilcoxon rank sum test (W = 3852.5, p > 0.05).

6.3.6 Summary for Late Learners of English in terms of Attractiveness

The table below summarises the findings towards the late learners of English in terms of *attractiveness*.

Question	Statistically significantly different
Awful vs Nice	X
Hostile vs Good Natured	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×

Table 6.3: Summary table for late learners of English in terms of attractiveness

In terms of *superiority*, all the questions except for fluency showed a statistically significant difference. However, in terms of attractiveness, no difference was observed between the two groups for any of the questions. Therefore, knowing explicitly that the speakers are Japanese late learners of English influenced how listeners perceived the speakers' in terms of superiority but not in terms of attractiveness. Many of my Group B participants identified the speakers to be Chinese, and as Group A participants knew that the speakers were Japanese, it could reflect these listeners viewed towards Japanese speakers and Chinese speakers. However, as the Group B participants are actually listening to Japanese speakers, their attitudes may differ when they hear both Japanese and Chinese speakers. The current study did not replicate the patterns found in McKenzie's paper (2015b) where Japanese English was rated significantly higher than Chinese English in terms of attractiveness. No significant difference was observed between the two groups showing that in terms of attractiveness, the speakers were viewed similarly by my participants. However, as mentioned before, the un-primed group was actually hearing Japanese late learners so it is difficult to assume that the two studies are comparable.

6.4 Overall summary for the speaker groups in terms of Attractiveness

The table below summarises the findings of how prior information influenced the

listeners' judgements for the *attractiveness* category.

Question	Monolinguals	Farly Rilinguals	Late
Question	Withinguais	Earry Diniiguais	Learners
Awful vs Nice	×	\checkmark	×
Awful vs fylee		(Group B < Group A)	~
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×	×
		,	
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×	\checkmark	×
		(Group B < Group A)	
Inconsiderate vs	×	\checkmark	×
Considerate		(Group B < Group A)	~

 Table 6.4: Summary table for attractiveness

Therefore, as mentioned at the start of the chapter when the radar chart was examined, in terms of *attractiveness*, a statistically significant difference was observed for early bilinguals and it included the two questions that showed the greatest difference between the two groups of participants. Prior information did not influence the listeners' judgments of monolingual English speakers and Japanese late learners of English. The results for monolinguals are not striking as explained in previous chapters, it was easy for the listeners to identify that the speakers were first language English speakers without being told explicitly. However, for the late learners, the results suggest that people may be grouping Asians together and not as individual nationalities (Kumaravadivelu, 2003, p. 710) unless the stereotype is concerned with the specific nationality such as intelligence (Karlins et al., 1969).

Studies have found that when both Japanese accented English and Chinese accented English are used in research in the UK, the Japanese accent is preferred over the Chinese accent in terms of attractiveness (e.g. McKenzie, 2015b). Although the most popular accent that my participants perceived was Chinese, it is difficult to compare the results with McKenzie's study as the recordings my participants were listening to were not of Chinese accented English speakers and they were not able to compare Japanese and Chinese accented English. It is also possible that the participants' background such as their experience with foreign languages influenced the results. Later in the chapter, participants with knowledge of a foreign language(s) as well as Japanese will be compared with participants with no knowledge of the languages to observe if they have rated the Japanese speakers significantly higher.

6.5 Comparison of Monolinguals and Early Bilinguals

In this section, the monolinguals will be compared with the early bilinguals to examine if they are seen similarly or differently within the listener groups.

6.5.1 Group A

Attitudes towards the monolinguals and the early bilinguals from participants holding prior information of the speakers will be compared in this section. Table 6.5 below summarises the findings using Wilcoxon rank sum test comparing the scores for monolinguals and early bilinguals in terms of *attractiveness*.

 Table 6.5: Significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals for *attractiveness* (Group

A)

Question	Statistically significant difference
Awful vs Nice	Х
Hostile vs Good Natured	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×

The results from Group A participants showed that the difference between early bilinguals and monolinguals was not statistically significant in any of the questions related to *attractiveness*. Therefore, when listeners were judging people and held prior information of the speakers, the early bilinguals were seen more positively than the monolinguals in terms of *superiority* adjectives but they were both viewed similarly in terms of *attractiveness*. Thus, in terms of *attractiveness*, the two groups were treated

as a single group instead of two separate groups.

6.5.2 Group B

The same procedure will be followed for participants who did not hold prior information of the speakers. The table below summarises the findings.

Table 6.6: Significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals for *attractiveness* (Group B)

Question	Statistically significant different
Awful vs Nice	X
Hostile vs Good Natured	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×

The results for Group B participants also showed that those for the early bilinguals were not statistically significantly different from those of the monolinguals. Therefore, no matter whether listeners have prior information of the speakers or not, early bilinguals and monolinguals were perceived to be similar in terms of *attractiveness* when their speech was assessed.

Table 6.7 summarises the findings found in this section on whether the scores towards the monolinguals and early bilinguals were statistically significantly different or not.

	Gro	ups
Question	Α	В
Awful vs Nice	×	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×	×

Table 6.7: Significance of monolinguals and early bilinguals for attractiveness

In terms of *attractiveness*, the monolinguals and early bilinguals were perceived similarly and were treated as a single group of speakers. Therefore, it can be concluded that even though the early bilinguals' speech was evaluated more positively than the monolinguals' in terms of *superiority*, the difference in their accents did not influence the listeners' evaluation regarding *attractiveness*.

6.6 Influence of Participants' Social Background

In this sub-section, I will establish if listeners' social background influences their attitudes towards speakers. The same process used in the *superiority* chapter will be replicated. First, I will be examining whether gender has an influence and in the next section, I will observe if knowledge of another language has an effect on listeners' attitudes. I will also examine whether a knowledge of Japanese had an influence on listeners' perception of speakers as the study used Japanese-English bilinguals.

6.6.1 Gender

First of all, I will consider whether listeners' gender had an influence on how participants evaluated the speakers in terms of *attractiveness*. The table below summarises participants' ratings of the monolinguals to see whether they significantly

differed according to their gender.

Question	Groups	
Question	Α	В
Awful vs Nice	✓ (Male < Female)	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	✓ (Male < Female)	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	✓ (Male < Female)	×

Table 6.8: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores for monolinguals in terms of *attractiveness*

For the monolinguals, three questions, "Awful vs Nice", "Unlikeable vs Likeable", and "Inconsiderate vs Considerate" showed statistically significant difference according to participants' gender. As Wilcoxon rank sum test only shows whether the two groups are statistically significant or not, boxplots were created to observe the differences between the ratings given by female participants and those given by males. The boxplots below show the differences for the monolinguals for the question "Awful vs Nice" according to gender. We can instantly see in a glance that the females expressed more positive attitudes towards the monolinguals as they gave a higher score in all the measures: range (Female: 4 to 7, Male: 3 to 6), interquartile range (Female: 5 to 6, Male: 4 to 5), median (Female: 5.0, Male: 4.5) and mean (Female: 5.2, Male: 4.7) (W = 959.5, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.20: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Awful vs Nice for monolinguals (Group A)

Even though male participants rated the monolinguals to be less nice than the female participants, the majority of them still viewed the speakers near or above the midpoint of the scale.

For likeableness of the monolinguals, the median was equal with 5.0 but all the other measures differed with the females expressing more positive attitudes. The mean from the females were above the median line with 5.3 while the mean from the males were plotted below the median line with 4.5. The range (Female: 4 to 7, Male: 3 to 6) and interquartile range (Female: 5 to 6, Male: 4 to 5) also differed as the females' scores were plotted in a higher range (W = 973, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.21: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unlikeable vs Likeable for monolinguals (Group A)

In terms of considerateness, the lower score for range (Female: 3 to 7, Male: 3 to 6) and interquartile range (Female: 4 to 6, Male: 4 to 5) was equal but the female range included higher scores. The median differed by one point (Female: 5.0, Male: 4.0) and the mean differed by 0.8 (Female: 5.0, Male: 4.2) (W = 1004.5, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.22: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for monolinguals (Group A)

In all three questions, most of the participants of both genders expressed neutral or more positive attitudes towards the monolinguals as the mean lay on or above the score of 4. However, the female participants expressed statistically significantly higher scores than the male participants so they viewed the monolinguals as being more attractive than the males. The striking thing is that this pattern was only observed by participants in Group A as in Group B, both genders viewed the monolinguals similarly.

Table 6.9 shows the results of whether there was a statistically significant difference observed for the early bilinguals according to participants' gender.

Question	Groups		
Question	Α	В	
Awful vs Nice	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Hostile vs Good Natured	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Unfriendly vs Friendly	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Unlikeable vs Likeable	✓ (Male < Female)	×	
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	✓ (Male < Female)	×	

Table 6.9: Effect of listeners' gender for early bilinguals in terms of attractiveness

All the questions by participants in Group A showed a difference depending on their gender. Again, boxplots will be created to observe which gender expressed a more positive or negative attitude towards the speakers.

Figure 6.23 shows the boxplots illustrating the scores from the primed women and men regarding the question "Awful vs Nice" for the early bilinguals.



Figure 6.23: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Awful vs Nice for early bilinguals (Group A)

A clear difference can be noted for the "Awful vs Nice" question. A much higher score was given by the female listeners than the male listeners and the median differs by two scores (Female: 6.0, Male: 4.0) and the mean differs by a score of more than one (Female: 5.5, Male: 4.2). The range and interquartile range also differ widely. The women had a range between 4 and 7 and an interquartile range between 5 and 6 while the men's scores ranged widely between 2 and 7 with the interquartile range between 3 and 5. Thus, for this question, males' responses varied widely across the scale and generally the scores lay around the neutral point but for females, they viewed the early bilinguals very positively with the lowest score on the neutral point and all the others plotted above the score of 4 (W = 1157, p < 0.001).

Figure 6.24 shows the boxplots for "Hostile vs Good Natured" for the early bilinguals. Again, the median differs by two points (Female: 6.0, Male: 4.0) and the mean differs by a score of more than one (Female: 5.6, Male: 4.4). The shape of the boxes is similar but they are plotted differently as the boxplots for the females are plotted higher (Female: 4 to 7, Male: 3 to 6) (W = 1149.5, p < 0.001).



Figure 6.24: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Hostile vs Good Natured for early bilinguals (Group A)

Gender also influenced the listeners' view of the early bilinguals in terms of friendliness (Figure 6.25). Female participants' scores lay on or above the midpoint of the scale between 4 and 7 while males' scores lay between 3 and 6. The mean differed by a score of 1.3 (Female: 5.6, Male: 4.3) and the median also differed by two scores (Female: 6.0, Male: 4.0). Therefore, overall the females viewed the early bilinguals to be very friendly (W = 1153.5, p < 0.001).



Figure 6.25: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unfriendly vs Friendly for early bilinguals (Group A)

Figure 6.26 shows the differences according to gender for likeableness. The female participants' scores were similar to the previous questions (range: 4 to 7, interquartile range: 5 to 6, median: 6.0) and the mean also lay very high up in the scale with 5.5. The male listeners' median lay at the middle of the scale of 4.0 and the mean was slightly lower than the median line with 3.9. 75% of the scores on or below the middle point between 3 and 4 so the male listeners viewed the speakers neutrally or slightly negatively in terms of likeableness (W = 1215, p < 0.001).



Figure 6.26: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unlikeable vs Likeable for early bilinguals (Group A)

For inconsiderateness, the two boxplots look similar with the mean plotted 0.4 score above the median line. However, the male listeners' scores lie one score below the female listeners' scores in all the measures (W = 1073.5, p < 0.01).



Figure 6.27: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for early bilinguals (Group A)

Overall, female participants viewed the early bilinguals much more positively than the male listeners in all the questions in terms of attractiveness.

These showed a statistically significantly difference with women rating the speakers more positively than the male participants. The male participants' scores lay around the middle of the scale while the female participants' scores lay on or above the neutral point. Therefore, if female participants also expressed more positive attitudes towards the late learners of English, we can surmise that female listeners view speakers, in my case the male speakers, more positively in general than the male listeners when they hold prior information about the speakers.

Table 6.10 summarises the effect of participant gender on ratings of the late learners of English.

Question	Groups	
Question	Α	В
Awful vs Nico	\checkmark	×
Awful vs Nice	(Male < Female)	^
	\checkmark	
Hostile vs Good Natured	(Male < Female)	×
	\checkmark	
Unfriendly vs Friendly	(Male < Female)	×
	\checkmark	
Unlikeable vs Likeable	(Male < Female)	×
	\checkmark	
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	(Male < Female)	×

Table 6.10: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores for late learners in terms of *attractiveness*

All the questions showed a statistically significant difference between the genders so boxplots were created to observe the patterns.

The female listeners' scores varied widely between 2 and 7 regarding the question "Awful vs Nice", but the mean was plotted above the middle point of the scale (mean: 4.9, median: 5.0) so the majority of the participants scored the late learners positively

for this question. As for the male participants, the median line was at the middle of the scale of 4 and the mean was slightly below the line (3.9) (W = 1107.5, p < 0.001).



Figure 6.28: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Awful vs Nice for late learners (Group A)

For "Hostile vs Good Natured", the females again rated the late learners more positively than the males as the mean (Female: 5.0, Male: 4.4) and median (Female: 5.0, Male: 4.0) was plotted higher than the males and the range (Female: 3 to 7, Male: 3 to 6) and interquartile range (Female: 4 to 6, Male: 4 to 5) included higher scores (W = 1010.5, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.29: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Hostile vs Good Natured for late learners (Group A)

The figure below shows how females and males responded differently in terms of friendliness for the late learners of English. The two boxplots are similar in shape but the female participants' scores are approximately one point higher than the males' in all the measures (W = 1071, p < 0.01).



Figure 6.30: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unfriendly vs Friendly for late learners (Group A)

Figure 6.31 shows a statistically significant difference in the ratings for likeableness according to the participants' gender. We can see that the male participants have rated the late learners very negatively in terms of likeableness as the range includes lower scores. The boxplot is plotted between 1 and 5 while the females' range is between 3 and 7. The mean is also plotted below the middle point with 3.7 (Female: 5.0) (W = 1136.5, p < 0.001).



Figure 6.31: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unlikeable vs Likeable for late learners (Group A)

For considerateness, males were consistent in their scores as the range lies between 3 and 5 while the females' scores varied widely between 2 and 7. Even though the females had a wider range, the median (Female: 5.0, Male: 4.0) and mean (Female: 4.9, Male: 4.0) was plotted higher than the males (W = 1102, p < 0.01).



Figure 6.32: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for late learners (Group A)

Therefore, as predicted in the section on early bilinguals, from our data we can observe that generally, females are expressing a more positive view towards the speakers because all the means for females were plotted above the midpoint of the scale.

The intelligence of all the speaker groups and education for late learners were the only differences observed in the *superiority* question but in terms of *attractiveness*, gender played a significant role in influencing listeners' judgments. However, this was only visible with participants in Group A. Since difference is only observed from the primed group of participants, either prior information of the speakers influenced females to view participants more positively or males to rate the speakers as being less attractive. It is also possible that women feel more confident in expressing their attitudes when they know who they are assessing.

6.6.2 Knowledge of Foreign Languages

The effect of participants' knowledge of foreign language will be considered in this section.

Table 6.11 summarises the findings for the effect of knowledge of foreign language towards the speakers by Group A participants. As discussed in the previous chapter,

the primed group consisted of 84 responses with a knowledge of a foreign language and 18 responses without, and in the un-primed group, there were 64 responses representing participants with a knowledge of a foreign language while 12 responses represented the answers from participants who had no knowledge of a foreign language.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Awful vs Nice	×	×	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×	×
		\checkmark	
Lulikashla va Likashla	×	(positive effect	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	X	with no foreign	*
		languages)	
		\checkmark	
Inconsiderate vs	×	(positive effect	~
Considerate	~	with no foreign	^
		languages)	

Table 6.11: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language in terms of *attractiveness* (Primed Group)

The two questions that showed a statistically significant difference between the group with knowledge of foreign language and the group with no knowledge of foreign language were the ones where the listeners were assessing the early bilinguals in terms of likeableness and considerateness. People who self-reported that they had no knowledge of a foreign language viewed them more positively than the participants who had some knowledge of at least one foreign language. In order to see how different the results were, boxplots were created for these two questions.

The figure below shows the results for likeableness of the early bilinguals. Participants

with no knowledge of a foreign language viewed the early bilinguals very positively on this question as all the responses lie on or above the middle of the scale, four. The median (6.0) and mean (5.8) is plotted on or close to the score of six. On the other hand, responses from participants who have some knowledge of a foreign language viewed the speakers very differently as the scores range between 2 and 7. The majority of participants still viewed the speakers positively as the interquartile range is between 4 and 6 and the median and mean (5.1) plotted on or above the score of five (W = 477, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.33: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language(s) on the scores of Unlikeable vs Likeable for early bilinguals (Group A)

The boxplots below illustrate the difference in responses between participants who have and do not have knowledge of a foreign language. Again, even though the majority of participants with a knowledge of a foreign language expressed positive views towards the early bilinguals, participants with no knowledge of a foreign language expressed even more positive attitudes towards the early bilinguals as the range is between 4 and 7. The median is also very high with a score of 6.0 (W = 493, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.34: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language(s) on the scores of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for early bilinguals (Group A)

It appears that if participants have prior information that the early bilinguals are native speakers of both English and Japanese, there is a higher chance that those who do not have any experience with languages other than their mother tongue will view them very positively in terms of *attractiveness*. A plausible reason for this is that since they do not have any experience with another language, they may be surprised at the proficiency of the early bilinguals' English who are also fluent in another language. In addition, the group with some knowledge of a foreign language may compare the speakers' level of proficiency with their own and feel envy of the highly proficient bilinguals influencing them to lower the scores.

The table below summarises the findings investigating whether knowledge of foreign language had an effect on listeners' perception in Group B.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Awful vs Nice	×	×	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)

Table 6.12: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language(s) in terms of *attractiveness* (Group B)

Three questions showed a statistically significant difference between participants with a knowledge of a foreign language and those who do not. These were all for the late learners of English and were the traits regarding friendliness, likeableness and considerateness. Boxplots will be created below to observe the differences in the responses.

Figure 6.35 shows two boxplots for the question on friendliness of the late learners. The median differed by a score of one (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.0, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.0) and the mean differed by 0.9 (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.2, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.1). Responses from participants with a knowledge of one or more foreign language(s) varied between 2 and 7 while participants with no knowledge of a foreign language only varied between 3 and 5. Thus, the results show that participants with some knowledge of a foreign language viewed the late learners very differently (W = 460, p < 0.05). This could be due to the difference in their experience of languages or with the variety of different
languages people they know. Nevertheless, the participants with some knowledge of foreign language viewed the late learners more positively than the participants with no knowledge of a foreign language. Since the scores from listeners with no foreign language is concentrated in the middle of the scale, it is possible that since they had less encounters with people with a non-native accent or Asian accented English, they did not hold strong feelings towards the speech. There is also a possibility that participants with a knowledge of Japanese viewed the late learners more positively than participants with some knowledge of other languages so this will be investigated later in a separate section.



Figure 6.35: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language(s) on the scores of Unfriendly vs Friendly for late learners (Group B)

As shown in the figure below, the boxplots for likeableness were fairly similar to the previous question as the median differed by a score of one (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.0, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.0), the mean differed by a score of approximately one (Knowledge of foreign language: 5.0, No knowledge of foreign language: 4.0), and the participants with a knowledge of a foreign language had a wider range (3 to 7) than participants without a knowledge of foreign language (3 to 5). Therefore, participants with a knowledge of foreign language generally viewed the speakers more positively but they also held a variety of different views (W = 459.5, p





Participants with no knowledge of a foreign language had neutral attitudes towards the late learners in terms of considerateness as all the scores lay on the middle point of the scale, four. Thus, these participants had neither a positive nor a negative view of the late learners in terms of considerateness. This may be because of their lack of experience in interacting with people with Japanese-accented English. Five out of six participants had no knowledge of a foreign language and had never lived or visited overseas for more than a month and one person only lived in Germany when he was young. As for participants with some knowledge of a foreign language, their views were slightly positive as the median lay on a score of 5.0 and the mean was also above the midpoint of the scale with 4.7 (W = 426, p < 0.05).



Figure 6.37: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language(s) on the scores of Inconsiderate vs Considerate for late learners (Group B)

As the three boxplots have shown, the results from participants with no knowledge of foreign languages were neutral with responses concentrated around the neutral point of the scale. This pattern was especially visible for considerateness as all the responses (excluding outliers) were plotted on 4. Since participants did not have any experience of foreign languages, they probably held neither a positive nor a negative attitude towards Japanese-accented English. Overall, the participants with some knowledge of a foreign language held more positive views. This could be due to the fact that they are seeing non-native speakers more positively due to the experience with interacting with them while learning another language and also as they themselves are a learner of a language.

In this section, we observed the effect of a listener's knowledge of a foreign language on their attitudes towards the speaker groups. For the primed group, having no knowledge of a foreign language had a positive influence when the listeners were perceiving the early bilinguals in terms of likeableness and considerateness. For the un-primed group, it influenced how the late learners were perceived in terms of friendliness, likeableness and considerateness but the direction of effect was the opposite since the listeners with a knowledge of a foreign language had a positive effect. For the primed group, the group that did not have any experience of learning a foreign language may have held positive views of someone who speaks another language fluently and at the same time pronounces English with an accent like that of a monolingual English speaker. It is also possible that the participants with a knowledge of a foreign language felt envious of the early bilinguals, which caused them to lower the scores towards the speakers as they compared their own foreign language proficiency with that of the early bilinguals' English knowing that the bilinguals were fluent in two languages, English and Japanese. As for the un-primed group, the participants with some knowledge of a foreign language could have been more accepting of foreign-accented English as they are more accustomed to language learning environments. It did not influence ratings of the early bilinguals as the early bilinguals were perceived as first language English users similar to the monolinguals by the un-primed group of participants.

6.6.2.1 Japanese Ability

In this last sub section, it will observe whether knowledge of Japanese has an effect on the listeners' perception of speakers.

Table 6.13 summarises the differences between participants with a knowledge of Japanese and those who do not have any knowledge of Japanese. As discussed in Chapter five, six responses were used for the primed group representing the views from participants with a knowledge of some Japanese and 96 responses for participants with no knowledge of Japanese. For the un-primed group, 14 responses were used for participants with a knowledge of some Japanese and 62 responses representing the participants with no knowledge of Japanese.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Awful vs Nice	×	×	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×	×	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×	×	×

Table 6.13: Significance of listeners' Japanese knowledge in terms of *attractiveness* (Group A)

In Group A, no difference was observed between the two groups of participants. Thus, the participants' Japanese ability did not influence their perception of the three groups of speakers in terms of *attractiveness*. It is in fact surprising to see that no effect was observed for the early bilinguals or the late learners as participants knew that they also spoke Japanese as well. However, as there were only a few participants who had a knowledge of Japanese, the results may have been different had there been more participants with some experience of the Japanese language.

The table below summarises the findings for Group B who were not give prior information of the speakers.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Awful vs Nice	×	×	×
Hostile vs Good Natured	×	×	×
Unfriendly vs Friendly	×	×	×
Unlikeable vs Likeable	×	×	×
Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×	×	×

Table 6.14: Significance of listeners' Japanese knowledge in terms of *attractiveness* (Group B)

Again, knowledge of Japanese had no influence on the participants' responses as no statistically significant difference was observed between participants either with or without a knowledge of Japanese.

In the previous section, we predicted that a knowledge of Japanese could have influenced the wide range of responses from the participants with a knowledge of a foreign language. However, this was not the case as no statistically significant difference was observed between participants with a knowledge of Japanese and those without. Therefore, it may be the case that Japanese was not the factor influencing the listeners' perception but that it was individual differences in attitudes towards foreignaccented English.

6.7 Attractiveness Summary

In terms of *attractiveness*, the following points showed significant differences between the two groups.

- Prior information of speakers (i.e. Group A vs Group B)
 - Early Bilinguals nicer, likeable and more considerate when participants held prior information.
- Monolinguals vs Early Bilinguals no difference for both groups of participants.

- Gender (Group A) Female participants viewed all the speakers more positively than the males in all except two questions of the Monolinguals: "Hostile vs Good Natured" and "Unfriendly vs Friendly".
- Gender (Group B) no difference.
- Knowledge of Foreign Language (Group A) early bilinguals were seen to be more likeable and considerate by participants who had no knowledge of a foreign language.
- Knowledge of Foreign Language (Group B) late learners were seen to be more friendly, likeable and considerate when participants had a knowledge of foreign language.
- Knowledge of Japanese no difference for both groups of participants.

Compared to the superiority section, there were fewer differences between the groups. One intriguing point is that for *superiority*, female participants viewed all the speaker groups as being more intelligent than did the male participants. For attractiveness, women also perceived the speakers more positively than the men and it was common for nearly all the questions. Therefore, gender plays a more important role in evaluating speakers' attractiveness than their superiority. However, this effect is true only when participants hold prior information about the speakers. Thus, it can be predicted that women are more positive or men are more negative when they are told who they are assessing, or both of the above. The effect of a foreign language from Group B participants is not surprising. As participants could be more accepting of foreign-accented English, their views towards the late learners could be more positive than the participants who did not have any knowledge of a foreign language. This did not have any influence on the early bilinguals as the early bilinguals were identified as first language English speakers from the UK. However, the results from Group A were unexpected. In most of the questions that showed a statistically significant difference for superiority, the group with a knowledge of a foreign language perceived the speakers more positively. The only question that was perceived more positively by the group with no knowledge of a foreign language was the question regarding fluency when the Group B participants were assessing the monolinguals. For attractiveness, Group A participants with no knowledge of foreign language expressed a more positive view towards the early bilinguals in terms of likableness

and considerateness. A possible explanation for this is that because participants had no experience of a foreign language, they were surprised at the speakers who were fluent in English even when they had another native language. In addition, the group who had some knowledge of a foreign language may have been jealous or envious when comparing the proficiency of their own foreign language and that of the bilinguals who were fluent in two languages.

The next chapter will investigate native speakers' attitudes towards the *dynamism* category.

7 Dynamism

The final analysis chapter will investigate participants' attitudes in terms of *dynamism* and will observe differences as compared to the other attitudes categories that have been examined in the previous two chapters. The current chapter will follow the structure of these chapters and will start by analysing the overall trend and then will investigate the differences between the participant groups. The chapter will also note whether participants' background had any influence on the results.

Figure 7.1 below shows the mean score from both groups of participants in a radar chart. The solid lines represent the results regarding the monolinguals, the dash dotted lines are early bilinguals and the dotted lines represent the results for the late learners. The lower the score, the more negative the attitudes were and were associated with the former adjective while the higher score indicates positive attitudes associated with the latter adjective. A clear difference between the speaker groups was observed in most of the questions in the dynamism category. The "Aggressive vs Unaggressive" question did not show much difference for all the speaker groups as the difference is 0.1 for all the groups. However, for all the other questions, it is apparent that the attitudes differ depending on the group. For the "Shy vs Talkative" question, there is a gradual decrease from the two groups of early bilinguals down to the two groups of monolinguals, and then a drop to the two late bilinguals. For the "Lazy vs Energetic" question, the two groups of early bilinguals were scored the highest and then there was a steady decrease from the two monolinguals to the two late learners. This is worth noting as it shows how the early bilinguals were not seen to be similar to the monolinguals or the late learners of English. For the "Unsure vs Confident" and the "Hesitant vs Enthusiastic" questions, the scores did not have a gradual decrease of scores. These two questions had three separate groups with the two early bilinguals scoring the highest, the two late learners scoring the lowest and the two monolinguals in between the early bilinguals and late learners. Considering that the early bilinguals and monolinguals scored very similarly and showed no statistically significant difference for the fluency question in the *superiority* category, it is intriguing to see this variation. As mentioned previously, there must be elements in the early bilinguals' speech that had a positive influence on how they were perceived because when the listeners held no prior information about the speakers, the majority of the participants identified the early bilinguals similarly to the monolinguals in terms of accent and first

language. The radar chart allows us to observe the general trend but the results will be tested statistically to observe whether the difference is statistically significant. The difference between the participant groups will be looked at individually for each question from the next section and the difference between the speaker groups in the section after.



Figure 7.1: Listeners' attitudes plotted on a radar chart for dynamism

As mentioned previously in the *superiority* section, McKenzie's research showed that the Japanese speakers were seen more negatively than the Chinese speakers in terms of status (2015b). Since his category of status was derived using the Component Factor Analysis, it included both the *superiority* and *dynamism* questions which were used in my questionnaire. Therefore, the results will be compared again in the current section. However, again, it did not follow McKenzie's results. When participants knew that the speakers were Japanese, the participants had a more positive view towards the speaker than when they perceived the speaker to be a Chinese or a person with a South East Asian accent. It is possible the impact of having information about, and therefore having a more concrete image of the speaker, rather than having to guess where the speaker was from could have impacted on the participants' perception because greater confidence in their knowledge could have been significant. Also, McKenzie's research included both Japanese and Chinese speakers. Therefore, being able to compare the different types of non-native accented speech could have influenced the results. In my study, participants were not able to do so as it only included Japanese speakers. As the un-primed group were actually listening to Japanese late leaners, it is difficult to conclude that the current study is contradicting with his study as there are many points differing.

7.1 Monolinguals

This section will investigate the questions regarding the *dynamism* category individually and will analyse if prior information has any influence on the listeners' attitudes. Boxplots will be created to observe the difference between the two groups easily. The calculations will follow to confirm if there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups.

7.1.1 Shy vs Talkative

The two boxplots below illustrate the scores given by the two groups of participants for the question on "Shy vs Talkative". The two boxplots are almost identical with equal range (2 to 7), interquartile range (4 to 6), and median (5.0). The mean differs between the two groups as participants with prior information had a mean score of 5.1 while participants without any information had 4.8.



Figure 7.2: Box plots of Shy vs Talkative for monolinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test⁷ showed that the given scores in terms of talkative for the monolinguals were not statistically significantly different between the two groups of participants (W = 4191, p > 0.05).

7.1.2 Aggressive vs Unaggressive

The figure below shows the scores towards monolinguals in terms of aggressiveness. The two boxplots show equal median (5.0) and similar mean (Group A: 5.2, Group B: 5.3) but the range (Group A: 3 to 7, Group B: 4 to 7) and interquartile range (Group A: 4 to 6, Group B: 5 to 6) varies depending on the group.

⁷ Throughout this chapter, the Wilcoxon rank sum tests were used instead of t-tests since similar with the other analysis chapters, the Shapiro Wilk tests showed that the scores were not normally distributed.



Figure 7.3: Box plots of Aggressive vs Unaggressive for monolinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 3451.5, p > 0.05) even with the difference in range and interquartile range.

7.1.3 Hesitant vs Enthusiastic

The figure below shows the results in terms of "Hesitant vs Enthusiastic" for monolinguals in the two groups of participants. The scores in Group A (2 to 7) varied much more than in Group B (3 to 6). The median differed by one score (Group A: 5.0, Group B: 4.0) and the mean also differed (Group A: 4.7, Group B: 4.4).



Figure 7.4: Box plots of Hesitant vs Enthusiastic for monolinguals

The scores for Group A participants were not statistically significantly different from those for the Group B participants (W = 4151, p > 0.05).

7.1.4 Unsure vs Confident

The two boxplots show equal median (5.0) and interquartile range (4 to 6) but vary in mean (Group A: 5.2, Group B: 5.0) for the confidence question. Both groups show a wide range of scores as Group A participants' scores range between 1 and 7, and Group B participants' scores range between 2 and 7.



Figure 7.5: Box plots of Unsure vs Confident for monolinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that there was no statistically significant difference between the scores from Group A and Group B (W = 4205.5, p > 0.05).

7.1.5 Lazy vs Energetic

The two boxplots below illustrating the results towards monolinguals for "Lazy vs Energetic" are very similar. Although the mean differs slightly with 4.7 for Group A and 4.4 for Group B, the two groups have equal median (5.0), range (3 to 6) and interquartile range (4 to 5).



Figure 7.6: Box plots of Lazy vs Energetic for monolinguals

The calculations showed that the difference in mean was not distinct enough to confirm that the two groups were statistically significantly different (W = 4049, p > 0.05).

7.1.6 Summary for Monolinguals

The table below summarises the findings of this subsection. None of the questions showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants for the monolinguals in terms of *dynamism*.

Question	Statistically significantly different
Shy vs Talkative	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×
Unsure vs Confident	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×

Table 7.1: Summary table for monolinguals in terms of dynamism

The current section followed the trend found in the other two attitudes categories, as no questions showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups. This is not surprising as the majority of both groups were able to identify the people in the recordings as native speakers of English from the UK and therefore even without explicitly being told that the people in the recordings are native speakers of English, the listeners did not have difficulty identifying the speakers as L1 English speakers. Hence, prior information regarding the speakers did not influence participants' attitudes as both groups were expressing attitudes towards L1 English speakers regardless of whether they held prior information of the speakers or not.

7.2 Early Bilinguals

In this section, the listeners' attitudes towards early bilinguals will be investigated regarding the *dynamism* category.

7.2.1 Shy vs Talkative

The shapes of the two boxplots are identical for "Shy vs Talkative" towards the early bilinguals, showing equal range (4 to 7) and interquartile range (5 to 6). However, the mean and median differ between the two groups as Group A had a median of 5.0 and a mean of 5.4 while Group B had a median of 6.0 and a mean of 5.7.



Figure 7.7: Box plots of Shy vs Talkative for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that there was a statistically significant difference between the scores from Group A and Group B (W = 3019.5, p < 0.05). Even with the equal range and interquartile range, the calculations showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups. It is noticeable that the unprimed group of participants scored the early bilinguals higher than did the primed group. This is the first bipolar adjective pair where the scores from the Group B participants were substantially higher than the scores from the Group A participants. A likely reason for this is that Group A participants were told that the speakers were also native speakers of Japanese. The stereotype of Japanese and Asian people that they are quiet (e.g. Karlins et al., 1969; Kumaravadivelu, 2003) could have influenced the scores negatively. Even though the majority of participants in the primed group identified the speakers as L1 UK English speakers, the information that the speakers were fluent in Japanese may have triggered their image of Japanese people. Thus, the current study demonstrates that not only can a visual image alter listeners' perceptions of speech significantly, such as seeing a soft toy before the experiment (Hay and

Drager, 2010) or seeing an image of the speaker (Rubin, 1992) but also prior information concerning the speakers' language ability can do so if the stereotypes are embedded in the society.

7.2.2 Aggressive vs Unaggressive

For aggressiveness, the range is equal (4 to 7) between the two groups but the interquartile range was narrower from the Group B participants as 75% of the scores were located on 5.0 or 6.0 while in Group A, 75% of the scores lay between 4.0 and 6.5. As for the average, the median is equal with a score of 6.0 and the mean is similar between the participant groups (Group A: 5.5, Group B: 5.4).



Figure 7.8: Box plots of Aggressive vs Unaggressive for early bilinguals

Although the interquartile range was narrower for the Group B participants, the calculations showed that the scores were not statistically significantly different between Group A and Group B (W = 3671.5, p > 0.05).

7.2.3 Hesitant vs Enthusiastic

The two boxplots for "Hesitant vs Enthusiastic" towards the early bilinguals are very similar. It has equal range (4 to 7), interquartile range (5 to 6), median (6.0) and very similar mean (Group A: 5.5, Group B: 5.6).



Figure 7.9: Box plots towards Hesitant vs Enthusiastic for early bilinguals

Not surprisingly, the calculations show that there was no statistically significant difference in the scores from the two groups of participants (W = 3474.5, p > 0.05).

7.2.4 Unsure vs Confident

In terms of confidence for the early bilinguals, Group A participants' scores varied more but generally, both groups gave very high scores as the median is located on a score of 6.0 and the mean from both groups is either on or close to the score of 6.0.



Figure 7.10: Box plots of Unsure vs Confident for early bilinguals

The Wilcoxon rank sum test showed that there is no statistically significant difference between the scores from Group A and Group B (W = 4075.5, p > 0.05).

7.2.5 Lazy vs Energetic

The graph below shows the scores given by the two groups of participants towards the early bilinguals for the bipolar adjectives, "Lazy vs Energetic". The shapes of the two boxplots are identical as there is an equal range (4 to 7) and interquartile range (5 to 6). The mean is also similar (Group A: 5.5, Group B: 5.4) but the median differs by a score of one (Group A: 6.0, Group B: 5.0).



Figure 7.11: Box plots of Lazy vs Energetic for early bilinguals

The calculations confirmed that there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 3712.5, p > 0.05).

7.2.6 Summary for Early Bilinguals

The table below summarises the results found in the section for the early bilinguals.

Question	Statistically significant different	Direction of Effect
Shy ve Talkatiya	<u> </u>	Primed Group < Un-
Sily vs Talkative	·	primed Group
Aggressive vs	~	<i>n</i> /o
Unaggressive	^	11/ a
Hesitant vs	~	<i>n</i> /0
Enthusiastic	^	II/ a
Unsure vs Confident	×	n/a
Clistic vs Collident		11/ 44
Lazy vs Energetic	×	n/a
,B		

Table 7.2: Summary table for early bilinguals in terms of dynamism

For the early bilinguals, the first question on "Shy vs Talkative" was the only bipolar adjectives which was influenced by prior information of the speakers. This is the first question where Group B participants gave significantly higher scores than the Group A participants. Up until then, the Group A participants gave significantly higher scores than the Group B participants for all the questions that show statistically significant differences between the two groups.

For Group A, four of the questions had a median of 6.0, a mean of either 5.5 or 6.0 but for the talkative question, the median was 5.0, and the mean score slightly lower with 5.4. Therefore, compared to the other four questions on *dynamism*, the score for talkative has a lower score. As Group A participants had prior information that the speakers were native speakers of both English and Japanese, the information influenced the listeners to lower the scores. This is probably due to the stereotype that Japanese people are perceived as quiet (Karlins et al., 1969) including in classroom settings (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). As for Group B, the "Lazy vs Energetic" question had a lower median than the other four questions but we cannot conclude that difference was significant, as calculations did not show a statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants. Thus, for early bilinguals, the study indicates that prior information can influence listeners' perception and to view the speakers negatively in terms of talkativeness which is a stereotype frequently linked

to Japanese and other Asian people.

7.3 Late Learners of English

This section will examine how the native speakers of English responded for the late learners of English in terms of *dynamism*.

7.3.1 Shy vs Talkative

The two boxplots below represent the scores given by first language English users for the late learners of English who are Japanese in the bipolar adjectives, "Shy vs Talkative".

The results are much lower compared to the other speaker groups as the highest score given from both groups of participants is 5.0. Both the median (Group A: 3.5, Group B: 3.0) and the mean (Group A: 3.6, Group B: 3.5) is below the midpoint of the scale of 4 showing that the majority of the participants did not express positive or neutral attitudes but rather negative attitudes for this question.



Figure 7.12: Box plots of Shy vs Talkative for late learners of English

The scores given for the late learners were much lower than for the other two speaker groups. A significant difference that was observed in the early bilinguals was not observed in the late learners as both participant groups expressed negative attitudes and thus, there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups of participants (W = 3873.5, p > 0.05). As both groups identified the late learners similarly, we can suspect that the stereotypes influencing the early bilinguals are not particularly biased towards the Japanese but towards Asians in general as a majority of both groups perceived the late learners as speakers with an Asian accent.

7.3.2 Aggressive vs Unaggressive

For aggressiveness, the two groups expressed similarly positive attitudes towards the late learners with both the median (5.0) and the mean (Group A: 5.3, Group B: 5.2) are located above the midpoint of the scale.



Figure 7.13: Box plots of Aggressive vs Unaggressive for late learners of English

The calculations confirmed that the difference between the scores from Group A participants were not statistically significantly different to those from Group B

participants (W = 3655.5, *p* > 0.05).

7.3.3 Hesitant vs Enthusiastic

In terms of enthusiasm, both groups showed a wide range of scores as the scores were plotted between 1 and 7. However, overall, both groups felt that the late learners were more hesitant rather than enthusiastic as both the median (3.0) and mean (Group A: 3.6, Group B: 3.2) were located below the midpoint of the scale.



Figure 7.14: Box plots of Hesitant vs Enthusiastic for late learners of English

The Wilcoxon rank sum test confirmed that there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 4226.5, p > 0.05).

7.3.4 Unsure vs Confident

The listeners from both groups generally expressed that the late learners were not confident as the mean (Group A: 3.5, Group B: 3.2), median (3.0), and interquartile range (2 to 4) is all located on or below the midpoint of the scale.



Figure 7.15: Box plots of Unsure vs Confident for late learners of English

As both groups rated the late learners rather negatively in terms of confidence, the calculations showed that there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups (W = 3953.5, p > 0.05).

7.3.5 Lazy vs Energetic

For the question regarding "Lazy vs Energetic" for the late learners, all the scores from the un-primed group lay on the midpoint of the score of 4.0 (excluding outliers). The majority of scores from Group A were also located close to the midpoint of the scale as the median (4.0), mean (4.2) and interquartile range (4 to 5) were located on or close to the score of 4.



Figure 7.16: Box plots of Lazy vs Energetic for late learners of English

The calculations confirmed that the scores given by Group A participants were not statistically significantly different to those by Group B participants (W = 4069.5, p > 0.05). As most of the responses were located close to the midpoint of the scale, the participants were either not confident in expressing strong feelings towards the adjectives or only held neutral feelings towards the bipolar adjectives.

7.3.6 Summary for Late Learners of English

The table below summarises the findings of the current section and concludes that no statistically significant differences were observed between the two groups of participants for the late learners of English in terms of *dynamism*.

Question	Statistically significantly different
Shy vs Talkative	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	X
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	x
Unsure vs Confident	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×

Table 7.3: Summary table for late learners of English in terms of *dynamism*

The scores for the late learners were generally lower than the scores towards the monolinguals and early bilinguals. However, both participant groups agreed that the late learners are viewed negatively so no statistically significant difference was observed between the two groups of participants. Therefore, prior information did not have an influence on the views about the late leaners in terms of *dynamism*. A possible reason for prior information not affecting listeners' perceptions are that the scores indicate first language English users' attitudes towards non-native speakers or Asian-accented speakers rather than specifically towards a specific accent or towards Japanese-accented English.

7.4 Overall Summary for the speaker groups in terms of Dynamism

The table below summarises the results found in the current chapter for the *dynamism* category.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	✓ (Primed Group < Un- primed Group)	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	×	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	×	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	×	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×	×	×

Table 7.4: Summary table for dynamism

The only question where a statistically significant difference was observed was the question on "Shy vs Talkative" for the early bilinguals. Therefore, for all the other questions, prior information of the speakers did not influence the listeners' views regarding *dynamism*. This was expected for the monolinguals. As noted in the previous chapters, participants recognised that the speakers were native speakers of English without explicitly being given the information, so Group B participants were expressing attitudes towards the same group of people as the Group A participants. For late learners, we can explain that the results in this chapter are attitudes towards non-native English speakers or Asian-accented English speakers, rather than towards Japanese late learners of English specifically, as no significant difference was observed between the two groups of participants.

A remarkable point here is that the question regarding "Shy vs Talkative" for the early bilinguals was the only question where Group B participants scored the speakers significantly higher than did the Group A participants as for all the other questions that showed a statistically significant difference, the Group A participants were the ones expressing more positive feelings. Group B participants expressed more positive attitudes when they assessed the talkativeness of the speakers since the Group A participants were given information that the people in the recordings were native speakers of both English and Japanese, and thus, the stereotype were triggered of Japanese people or Asians being perceived as quiet.

7.5 Comparison of Monolinguals and Early Bilinguals

In this section, the results for the monolinguals and the early bilinguals will be compared to investigate whether the listeners perceived the two speaker groups differently for the *dynamism* category.

7.5.1 Group A

The table below summarises the findings showing whether there are statistically significant differences between the scores for the monolinguals and the early bilinguals in terms of *dynamism*.

Question	Statistically significant difference	Direction of Effect
Shy vs Talkative	×	n/a
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early Bilinguals
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early Bilinguals
Unsure vs Confident	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early Bilinguals
Lazy vs Energetic	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early Bilinguals

Table 7.5: Statistically significant differences between monolinguals and early bilinguals for *dynamism* (Group A)

The Wilcoxon rank sum tests showed that the scores for monolinguals and early bilinguals are statistically significantly different in all but one question regarding how talkative the speakers are (W = 4307.5, p > 0.05). This was unexpected as in the earlier section, statistically significant differences were observed between the two participant groups for the early bilinguals regarding this question. However, we can explain the

fact by comparing it with the other questions in the category. For the rest of the *dynamism* category, the early bilinguals were perceived more positively than the monolinguals. Therefore, we can see that for the *dynamism* category, there is a factor in early bilinguals' speech influencing the listeners to view them positively. However, for the question regarding the talkativeness of the speaker, the stereotypes for Asians were triggered. Hence, the scores for talkativeness were decreased and the scores for the early bilinguals were lowered to the scores monolinguals achieved. Consequently, for one question the results did not show a statistically significant difference between early bilinguals and monolinguals.

For aggressiveness, the mean of both speaker groups were close with 5.2 for monolinguals and 5.5 for the early bilinguals but the median differed by a score of one (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0). Therefore, the average scores indicate that the early bilinguals were seen to be less aggressive than the monolinguals (W = 4144, p < 0.05).

The listeners also thought that the early bilinguals were more enthusiastic as the early bilinguals had a median one score higher than the monolinguals (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and a mean that was 0.8 scores higher (Monolinguals: 4.7, Early Bilinguals: 5.5) (W = 3025.5, p < 0.001).

For confidence, the early bilinguals were seen more positively as it was scored higher in all the measures: range (Monolinguals: 1 to 7, Early Bilinguals: 3 to 7), interquartile range (Monolinguals: 4 to 6, Early Bilinguals: 5 to 7), median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and mean (Monolinguals: 5.2, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) (W = 3321, p < 0.001).

For the trait "Lazy vs Energetic", the early bilinguals were perceived more positively than the monolinguals in all the measures. The maximum and minimum score of range (Monolinguals: 3 to 6, Early Bilinguals: 4 to 7) and interquartile range (Monolinguals: 4 to 5, Early Bilinguals: 5 to 6) differed by a score of one and the median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) also differed by one score. The mean was different by a score of 0.8 as the monolinguals had a mean of 4.7 while the early bilinguals had a score of 5.5 (W = 3029, p < 0.001).

Therefore, of all the cases that showed statistically significant differences, the early bilinguals were favoured more than the monolinguals in terms of *dynamism* by the listeners who held prior information about the speakers. This trend was also observed

in the *superiority* chapter when the early bilinguals were favoured more than the monolinguals in all but one question regarding fluency. It is apparent that the listeners' attitudes are being influenced to favour the early bilinguals' speech rather than the monolinguals' in terms of *superiority* and *dynamism*. This will be confirmed whether it is the case for the un-primed group of participants as well.

7.5.2 Group B

The table below shows whether the scores for the monolinguals and the early bilinguals were statistically significantly different for Group B.

Table 7.6: Statistically significant differences between monolinguals and early bilinguals for *dynamism* (Group B)

Question	Statistically significant difference	Direction of Effect	
Shu ya Talkatiya	1	Monolinguals < Early	
Shy vs Talkative	·	Bilinguals	
Aggressive vs	~	n /a	
Unaggressive	^	11/a	
Hesitant vs		Monolinguals < Early	
Enthusiastic	v	Bilinguals	
Unsure vs Confident	\checkmark	Monolinguals < Early	
		Bilinguals	
Lazy vs Energetic		Monolinguals < Early	
	v	Bilinguals	

The results are slightly different to the previous section comparing results from the Group A participants. The number of questions that showed a statistically significant difference was equal but were not the same questions as in Group A. In Group A, "Shy vs Talkative" did not show a statistically significant difference between monolinguals and early bilinguals but it did for Group B. Also, in the previous section the results showed that early bilinguals were judged to be less aggressive than the monolinguals, but Group B participants viewed them similarly showing no difference between the

two speaker groups (W = 2361, p > 0.05).

In terms of how talkative the listeners felt the speakers were, the early bilinguals were seen more positively as it had a higher median (Monolinguals: 5.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and mean (Monolinguals: 4.8, Early Bilinguals: 5.7). The monolinguals' range and interquartile range also included lower scores (W = 1554, p < 0.001).

For enthusiasm, the early bilinguals scored much higher than the monolinguals as the median differed by a score of two (Monolinguals: 4.0, Early Bilinguals: 6.0) and the mean differed by 1.2 (Monolinguals: 4.4, Early Bilinguals: 5.6) (W = 1256.5, p < 0.001).

The early bilinguals also scored higher in terms of confidence. For the early bilinguals, all the scores were plotted between 5 and 6 while for the monolinguals it varied between 2 and 7. The mean and median also differed as the early bilinguals had a median of 6.0 and a mean of 5.9 while the monolinguals had a median and mean of 5.0 (W = 1594, p < 0.001).

In terms of energetic, the median was equal with 5.0 but the mean differed by a score of one (monolinguals: 4.4, Early Bilinguals: 5.4). The range (Monolinguals: 3 to 6, Early Bilinguals: 4 to 7) and interquartile range (Monolinguals: 4 to 5, Early Bilinguals: 5 to 6) also differed between the two groups (W = 1442.5, p < 0.001).

Therefore, even though the questions differed with Group A, the direction of effect was the same since the early bilinguals were always perceived more positively than the monolinguals when the statistically significant difference was observed. Therefore, as mentioned previously, it is plausible to conclude that both groups of participants judged the early bilingual speakers higher because of something unrelated to knowledge about them. However, for the primed group, the talkative question was judged similarly because the stereotypes lowered the scores for the early bilinguals and therefore the two groups scored similarly. Aggressiveness was generally perceived similarly for all the speaker groups except for the primed group who perceived the early bilinguals as less aggressive than the monolinguals since the monolinguals and late learners were perceived similarly regarding aggressiveness no matter whether they held prior information (W = 4789.5, p > 0.05) about the speakers or not (W = 2639.5, p > 0.05). Therefore, only the early bilinguals who were judged by the primed group were perceived significantly differently. This implies that the early bilinguals were generally viewed positively in terms of *dynamism* by the primed

group except for the question where stereotypes towards the speakers were triggered. Thus, similarly to the *superiority* questions, no matter whether the participants held prior knowledge of the speakers or not, the early bilinguals were favoured over the monolinguals in most cases. The questions that showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups varied slightly as in Group A, aggressiveness showed a difference while in Group B it did not, and Group B showed a difference in "Shy vs Talkative" while Group A did not.

For the primed group, a statistically significant difference was observed between the early bilinguals and the monolinguals for the aggressiveness question. It is possible that the early bilinguals are generally perceived more favourably than the monolinguals when the listeners know that the speakers are bilinguals and know that they are fluent in their English. This was not visible in the question regarding talkativeness because stereotypes concerning Asians were triggered lowering the scores and thus not showing a difference with the monolinguals.

Similarly to the *superiority* chapter, the results suggest that there are factors in the speech other than prior information that influences the listeners' perception of the speakers as Group B participants also rated the early bilinguals higher than the monolinguals in most questions.

7.6 Influence of Participants' Social Background

This section will investigate whether the participants' social background had any influence on their attitudes towards the speakers.

7.6.1 Gender

First of all, participants' gender will be taken into consideration to observe whether female participants and male participants reacted differently towards the speakers. The table below summarises the findings on whether there were statistically significant differences between the scores given by the two genders in Group A.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	✓ (Male < Female)	✓ (Male < Female)
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	✓ (Male < Female)	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	✓ (Male < Female)	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	✓ (Male < Female)	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×	✓ (Male < Female)	×

Table 7.7: Statistically significant differences between participants' genders in terms of *dynamism* (Group A)

For *dynamism*, gender did not influence the results towards the monolinguals. However, it influenced how they perceived the early bilinguals as well as one question on "Shy vs Talkative" for the late learners. In all the cases that showed a statistically significantly difference, boxplots will be created below to observe the extent to how the female participants rated the speakers higher than the male participants.

The figure below shows the scores given by the female and male participants for the question "Shy vs Talkative" for the early bilinguals.


Figure 7.17: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Shy vs Talkative for early bilinguals (Group A)

For "Shy vs Talkative", we can clearly see that the female participants rated the early bilinguals statistically significantly higher than the male participants as female participants rated the early bilinguals higher in all the measures: range (Females: 4 to 7, Males: 3 to 6), interquartile range (Females: 5 to 6, Males: 4 to 5), median (Females: 6.0, Males: 5.0) and mean (Females: 5.5, Males: 4.7) (W = 1022.5, p < 0.01).

The two boxplots below indicate the scores given by the female participants and the male participants for the early bilinguals regarding aggressiveness.



Figure 7.18: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Aggressive vs Unaggressive for early bilinguals (Group A)

For aggressiveness, the range was equal between the two genders. However, all the other measures differed, and the median differs by a score of two as the females had a median of 6.0 while the male participants had 4.0 as the median (W = 1025.5, p < 0.01).

For enthusiasm, the shape of the two boxplots towards the early bilinguals are identical between the scores from the female participants and the male participants.



Figure 7.19: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Hesitant vs Enthusiastic for early bilinguals (Group A)

Women scored the early bilinguals higher than did the men by a score of one except for the mean where it was higher by 0.8 (Females: 5.6, Males: 4.8). Therefore, we can understand that the female participants have given scores that are statistically significantly higher than the male participants (W = 1052, p < 0.01).

Figure 7.20 below illustrates the difference in scores in terms of confidence for the early bilinguals by the female and male participants.



Figure 7.20: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Unsure vs Confident for early bilinguals (Group A)

Even though the scores from the female participants included lower scores, the interquartile range includes higher scores. The two boxplots also have equal median of 6.0 but the mean from the female participants is plotted 0.1 score above the median line while for the male participants, the mean is plotted 0.4 below the median line. Therefore, although some female participants rated the early bilinguals lower than the male participants, overall, the scores from the female participants were significantly higher than the male participants (W = 370.5, p < 0.05).

The difference in scores from the two genders for "Lazy vs Energetic" towards the early bilinguals are illustrated in the figure below.



Figure 7.21: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Lazy vs Energetic for early bilinguals (Group A)

The difference between the scores from the female participants and the male participants are very clear. The female participants had all the measures higher than the male participants by a score of approximately one (W = 1055.5, p < 0.01).

The figure below shows the difference between the scores from the female and male participants towards the late learners of English in terms of "Shy vs Talkative".



Figure 7.22: Effect of listeners' gender on the scores of Shy vs Talkative for late learners of English (Group A)

Both genders gave the late learners fairly low scores as most of the participants rated the late learners either at the midpoint of the scale or lower. The male participants rated the late learners lower than the women as the mean (Females: 3.8, Males: 2.9) and the median (Females: 4.0, Males: 3.0) is plotted lower than the female scores. The range (Females: 3 to 4, Males: 2 to 4) and interquartile range (Females: 2 to 5, Males: 1 to 5) from the male participants also includes lower scores (W = 1004, p < 0.05). In the current section, the difference in gender from the Group A participants showed that for the questions showing statistically significant differences, the female participants are expressing more positive attitudes. This follows the pattern found in the two previous chapters regarding *superiority* and *attractiveness*. Thus, when participants hold prior information, women rate the speakers significantly higher in some traits. The table below shows whether the scores given by the male participants in Group B to observe if the same trend was observed by the listeners who do not hold prior information about the speakers.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	×	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	×	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	×	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	×	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×	×	×

Table 7.8: Statistically significant differences between participants' genders in terms of *dynamism* (Group B)

Unlike the results from the Group A participants, there was no statistically significant difference in any of the questions. However, this trend was also observed in the previous chapters. Gender difference is observed in Group A in many questions (3 for superiority, 13 for attractiveness) but only one question was observed in Group B and this was the question regarding speakers' education level for the late learners (superiority). This question in Group B was the only question where the male participants gave significantly higher scores than the female participants as for all the other questions, women have shown more positive attitudes towards the speakers. Therefore, we can conclude that when listeners are given prior information of the speakers, women tend to hold more positive attitudes towards them than the male listeners. When no information is given beforehand, there are almost no effect except for when they are assessing late learners' education level. Generally, the male participants may be downgrading the speakers as the scores from the female participants look like it is similar to the results from the whole group. However, we cannot fully conclude that these differences will be present in different studies or when the study is replicated as the balance between the female participants and male participants were not equal with men only representing 18% of the whole group in the primed group and 26% of the un-primed group (27% when the participant who preferred not to state their gender is excluded).

7.6.2 Knowledge of Foreign Languages

This section will establish if listeners' knowledge of foreign languages had any influence on their attitudes.

The results for Group A are summarised in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9: Statistically significant differences between participants' knowledge of foreign language(s) in terms of *dynamism* (Group A)

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	×	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	×	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	×	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	✓ (positive effect with foreign language)	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×	×	×

From the table, we can observe that only one question towards the early bilinguals showed a statistically significant difference between the scores from participants with knowledge of at least one foreign language and the scores from participants who have no knowledge of a foreign language. Boxplots will be created to observe the difference between the participants.

Figure 7.23 shows two boxplots illustrating the scores expressed towards the early bilinguals regarding confidence.



Figure 7.23: Effect of listeners' knowledge of foreign language(s) on the scores of Unsure vs Confident for early bilinguals (Group A)

Generally, the scores towards the early bilinguals in terms of confidence was very positive as all the scores from both groups ranged between the midpoint of the scale and the maximum point. However, the average was higher from the participants who had knowledge of at least one foreign language as the mean (Knowledge of foreign language: 6.1, No knowledge of foreign language: 5.5) and median (Knowledge of foreign language: 6.0, No knowledge of foreign language: 5.0) are plotted above the average from the participants who had no knowledge of any foreign language. Therefore, by having some knowledge of foreign language, the speakers who are fluent in English and Japanese are perceived to be more confident in their speech (W = 913.5, p < 0.05).

The table below shows whether there were statistically significant differences in participants' attitudes depending on whether they had knowledge of a foreign language or not.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	×	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	×	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	×	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	×	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×	X	×

Table 7.10: Statistically significant differences between participants' knowledge of foreign language(s) in terms of *dynamism* (Group B)

No statistically significant difference was observed for any of the questions in terms of *dynamism* for Group B. Therefore, when participants are not given information about the speakers, the participants perceive the speakers similarly regardless of the knowledge of foreign language that participants hold. *Dynamism* is the category where knowledge of foreign language has the least influence on the listeners' attitudes as for all the other categories, there were at least two questions where statistically significant difference was observed depending on whether the listeners had some knowledge of foreign language or not.

7.6.2.1 Japanese Ability

Finally, I will investigate if participants with knowledge of Japanese and participants with no knowledge of Japanese expressed different attitudes towards the speakers as the study is focused on bilinguals speaking English and Japanese.

The results are summarised in Table 7.11 below.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	×	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	×	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	×	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	×	×
Lazy vs Energetic	×	×	×

Table 7.11: Statistically significant differences between participants' knowledge of Japanese in terms of *dynamism* (Group A)

For Group A, no difference was observed in the scores regardless of their Japanese language background. Since none of the attitudes categories have shown a statistically significant difference in Group A, we can conclude that when participants are given prior information of the speakers, knowledge of Japanese does not have an influence on their attitudes. The same process was completed for Group B and is summarised in the table below.

Question	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Shy vs Talkative	×	×	×
Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×	×	×
Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	×	×	×
Unsure vs Confident	×	×	✓ (positive effect with some knowledge of Japanese)
Lazy vs Energetic	Х	×	×

Table 7.12: Statistically significant differences between participants' knowledge of Japanese in terms of *dynamism* (Group B)

For Group B, one question showed a statistically significant difference between the scores from participants with knowledge of Japanese and with those with no knowledge of Japanese. Figure 7.24 were created to observe the extent of how the two groups reacted in terms of confidence for the late learners.



Figure 7.24: Effect of listeners' knowledge of Japanese on the scores of Unsure vs Confident for late learners of English (Group B)

Even though participants with no knowledge of Japanese have expressed a wider range of attitudes including higher scores (No knowledge of Japanese: 1 to 6, Knowledge of Japanese: 2 to 5), the mean (No knowledge of Japanese: 3.1, Knowledge of Japanese: 3.8) and median (No knowledge of Japanese: 3.0, Knowledge of Japanese: 4.0) from participants with some knowledge of Japanese is plotted higher. The interquartile range from participants with no knowledge of Japanese also includes lower scores. Therefore, from the boxplots we can read that participants with knowledge of Japanese have expressed significantly higher attitudes than participants with no knowledge of Japanese (W = 260, p < 0.05).

A possible explanation to why the participants with knowledge of Japanese have given scores higher than the participants with no knowledge of Japanese is because there is a higher possibility that they have encountered a Japanese person in their life. If participants are learning Japanese, it is likely that they are learning from a Japanese teacher. As teachers are confident in teaching the language, these listeners may feel that Japanese people are confident in general. However, as these learners of Japanese had difficulty identified the accent as coming from Japan, it is plausible to conclude that the learners actually have positive attitudes towards Asian accented English or Asians in general.

In terms of language background, confidence was the only question in the *dynamism* category that showed a statistically significant difference depending on the listeners' language background. However, this was not visible in all groups. Difference was only observed when investigating the effect of knowledge of a foreign language in Group A participants and when the effect of knowledge of Japanese was examined for Group B. Additionally, the speaker groups were different. The former was for the early bilinguals while latter was for the late learners. Therefore, we can predict that confidence is a factor that can be influenced by the listeners' social background but this depends on whether they hold some knowledge of foreign language or not and who they are assessing.

7.7 Dynamism Summary

In terms of *dynamism*, the following points showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups.

- Prior information of speakers (i.e. Group A vs Group B)
 - Early Bilinguals less talkative when participants held prior information.
- Monolinguals vs Early Bilinguals (Group A) early bilinguals were perceived more positively in all except for "Shy vs Talkative".
- Monolinguals vs Early Bilinguals (Group B) early bilinguals were perceived more positively in all except for aggressiveness.
- Gender (Group A) Female participants viewed the early bilinguals more positively than the males in all questions and towards late leaners regarding talkativeness.
- Gender (Group B) no difference.
- Knowledge of Foreign Language (Group A) early bilinguals were seen to be more confident by participants who had knowledge of foreign language.
- Knowledge of Foreign Language (Group B) no difference.
- Knowledge of Japanese (Group A) no difference.

 Knowledge of Japanese (Group B) – late leaners were viewed as being more confident by participants with some knowledge of Japanese.

A striking point was that Group B participants viewed the early bilinguals to be more talkative than Group A. This was the only adjective in the current research where the Group B participants gave statistically significantly higher scores regarding the speakers than the Group A participants. In terms of speaker differences, the results were similar to the *superiority* chapter as four out of five questions showed statistically significant differences between the early bilinguals and the monolinguals in both the superiority and dynamism categories. Therefore, we can conclude that attractiveness category is influenced differently, but *superiority* and *dynamism* categories are influenced similarly when the different speaker groups are compared. Previously, in the superiority chapter, it was mentioned that in McKenzie's research (2015b), it comprised of the superiority and dynamism adjectives used in Zahn and Hopper (1985) and that it will be discussed again in this chapter. In the current study, the *dynamism* chapter did not follow the same trend as the *superiority* chapter where the late learners who are Japanese were perceived more positively than when they were perceived as a Chinese speaker. However, it also did not follow McKenzie's study where Chinese speakers were favoured over the Japanese. First of all, the reason that it did not follow McKenzie's study can be explained by the fact that the study differs in many ways. Participants in McKenzie's study listened to both the Chinese speakers and Japanese speakers while in the current study, they were only given the Japanese speakers. Also, as the two groups of participants differed in whether they held prior information about the speakers or not, their confidence in filling out the attitudes questionnaire may have influenced the results. The current chapter did not follow the trend found in the *superiority* chapter as the categories are influenced differently. This can be explained by Zahn and Hopper's study (1985) where they categorised the 30 items of semantic differential items into three factors: superiority, attractiveness, and *dynamism* using the factor analysis. If the three factors were similar to each other, it would have had two or less factors. Thus, as the results consisted of three factors, the current study can be explained that the three categories were influenced differently in terms of attitudes.

The next discussion chapter will investigate all the attitudes chapter together and will

compare the results with previous studies conducted in the area.

8 Discussion

This study examined the attitudes of native speakers of English from the UK towards Japanese-English early bilinguals, English monolinguals and Japanese late learners of English in order to investigate the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes of undergraduate students and recent graduates with English as a first language towards bilinguals who speak English and Japanese?

2. Can the undergraduate students and recent graduates with English as a first language distinguish bilingual from monolingual speech? If so, what factors or characteristics do they focus on?

3. Does prior information about the speakers influence people's attitudes?

The three research questions will be discussed in order, and afterwards, other factors that had an influence on the listeners' attitudes will be discussed.

8.1 Attitudes towards Early Bilinguals and Monolinguals (Primed Group)

In order to answer the first research question, attitudes towards the early bilinguals by the primed group (Group A) participants, who were given information about the speakers prior to listening to the recordings, will be discussed. The early bilinguals were perceived to be near or over the midpoint of the scale for all the attitude traits. When the listeners were informed about the early bilinguals' language backgrounds, the attitudes scores ranged between 5.2 and 6.3. As the scale consisted of a score from 1 to 7, these scores are fairly high and therefore can suggest that L1 English speakers view the early bilinguals very positively. The traits that were rated especially highly were in terms of education, intelligence and fluency, all in the *superiority* category. Many participants perceived the speakers' first language to be English and, therefore, the fluency ratings were also very high. Within the *dynamism* category, the trait on confidence was also rated very positively with a score of 6.0 while the other traits were plotted on 5.4 or 5.5. Therefore, although the *dynamism* category was viewed positively, the confidence trait showed scores particularly higher than the other traits. All the attractiveness scores ranged between 5.2 and 5.4 suggesting that all the attractiveness categories were similarly perceived. So far, the results have shown that the scores towards the early bilinguals were high. However, these results cannot be taken in isolation and to fully establish whether this group is viewed positively, scores for the monolinguals need to be compared. If the informed group rated the early bilinguals higher than the monolingual speakers, we can confirm that the early bilinguals were judged more favourably than the monolinguals. Table 8.1 below combined the findings from the analysis chapter, summarising the statistically significant differences between the early bilinguals and the monolinguals in terms of attitudes. The traits that showed statistically significant differences are highlighted.

Table 8.1: Statistically significant differences between early bilinguals and monolinguals in the primed group

Category	Question	Group A
	Uneducated vs Educated	√ *
	Lower Class vs Upper Class	√ **
Superiority	Poor vs Rich	√ *
	Unintelligent vs Intelligent	√ ***
	Disfluent vs Fluent	×
	Awful vs Nice	×
Attractiveness	Hostile vs Good Natured	×
	Unfriendly vs Friendly	×
	Unlikeable vs Likeable	×
	Inconsiderate vs Considerate	×
	Shy vs Talkative	×
	Aggressive vs Unaggressive	√ *
Dynamism	Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	√ ***
	Unsure vs Confident	√ ***
	Lazy vs Energetic	√ ***

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

Statistically significant differences were observed between the scores for the early bilinguals and those of the monolinguals. The scores indicate how the listeners perceived the two speakers similarly in terms of *attractiveness* but differently in many of the traits regarding *superiority* and *dynamism*. Knowing that the speakers were

fluent in more than one language influenced the listeners to perceive the speakers as being more intelligent as lay people tend to view people who are native in more than one language to be perfectly 'balanced bilinguals', and therefore the listeners would assume that the speakers are highly proficient in both languages even though they are only informed of one of the languages they speak.

It is possible that the listeners perceived the speakers who could speak more than one language favourably in general. However, this contradicts with many previous studies which found that L2 English speakers are usually downgraded in many attitude traits than L1 English speakers, especially in status/competence traits (Watanabe, 2008; Cargile et al., 2010; McKenzie, 2015b). The listeners may have evaluated the bilinguals and monolinguals equally in terms of fluency but the fact that the bilinguals speak another language must have resulted in their higher ratings of early bilinguals with regard to *superiority*.

As the listeners knew that the late learners also spoke English and Japanese, the difference between the two types of bilinguals was investigated. Even though the late learners of English spoke the same two languages as the early bilinguals, the early bilinguals were favoured over the late learners. Table 8.2 summarises the statistically significant differences between the early bilinguals and the late learners.

Category	Question	Group A
	Uneducated vs Educated	√ ***
	Lower Class vs Upper Class	√ ***
Superiority	Poor vs Rich	√ ***
	Unintelligent vs Intelligent	√ ***
	Disfluent vs Fluent	√ ***
	Awful vs Nice	√ ***
	Hostile vs Good Natured	√ **
Attractiveness	Unfriendly vs Friendly	√ ***
	Unlikeable vs Likeable	√ **
	Inconsiderate vs Considerate	√ **
	Shy vs Talkative	√ ***
	Aggressive vs Unaggressive	×
Dynamism	Hesitant vs Enthusiastic	√ ***
	Unsure vs Confident	√ ***
	Lazy vs Energetic	√ ***

Table 8.2: Statistically significant differences between early bilinguals and late learners in the primed group

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

The early bilinguals were significantly favoured over the late learners in almost all the traits. As reported in Cargile and Giles's (1998) study of Japanese-accented English, the current study found that less accented variety was more highly evaluated in the *superiority* traits. However, Cargile and Giles (1998) observed no difference for the *dynamism* traits. It is worth noting that they used a matched guise technique and it is also difficult to directly compare with the early bilinguals in the current study who were identified as L1 UK English speakers by the majority of listeners. In the current study, it was not the speakers' competence in speaking two languages in general that influenced the listeners' attitudes but the ability and proficiency of the two languages. Although the listeners did not know the speakers' level of Japanese, they were given the recordings to judge the speakers' English proficiency. As the majority of

participants identified the early bilinguals' origin of accent as from the UK and the late learners' accent as coming from Asia, it can be concluded that the listeners perceived the early bilinguals as having a more native-like accent in their English. Since participants perceived the early bilinguals more favourably, it is perhaps because of the more native-like accent of the early bilinguals that the listeners viewed them more positively. However, as we previously observed, the early bilinguals were favoured over the monolinguals. Therefore, for the primed group, the listeners' attitudes were neither influenced by the prior information that the speaker was native in two languages nor their native-like accent and it is reasonable to suppose that it was a combination of both these factors. However, this reasoning is for the *superiority* and *dynamism* categories. In terms of *attractiveness*, monolinguals and early bilinguals were perceived similarly and thus, we can conclude that although the status of highly proficient bilingual may influence *superiority* and *dynamism*, it does not influence the listeners to perceive the speakers more favourably regarding *attractiveness*.

The current section observed attitudes of listeners towards the early bilinguals when they were given information about the speakers prior to hearing the recordings. In all the traits that showed a statistically significant difference between the early bilinguals and the monolinguals, the early bilinguals were perceived more positively. Even though the late learners also speak the same two languages, the early bilinguals were favoured over them in almost all the traits which demonstrated that the early bilinguals were favoured the most out of the three speaker groups. The results between the two groups of participants will be discussed to ascertain the influence of prior information, but before discussing attitudes, the next section will discuss how the listeners identified the early bilinguals.

8.2 Identification of Early Bilinguals

In order to answer the second research question on whether the participants distinguished between the early bilinguals and monolinguals' speech, the participants' responses towards the speakers in terms of identification of the origin of accent and first language will be compared. Table 8.3 shows the mean percentage of where the listeners identified the origin of accent regarding the two speaker groups, early bilinguals and monolinguals from the two groups of participants.

	Monolinguals		Early Bilinguals	
Country	Primed	Un-primed	Primed	Un-primed
	Group	Group	Group	Group
UK	94%	93%	78%	91%
Non-UK	1%	4%	7%	8%
UK and Non-UK	1%	0%	7%	1%
Unsure	0%	0%	4%	0%
Others	1%	0%	0%	0%
N/A	3%	3%	4%	0%
Total Number of	102	76	102	76
Responses	102	70	102	70

Table 8.3: Identified origin of accent for early bilinguals and monolinguals

We can observe that no matter whether listeners held prior information of the speakers or not, the monolinguals were identified as native speakers of English from the UK by over 90% of the participants. Prior information of the speakers had no effect on the identification of the origin of accent for the monolinguals with no statistically significant difference calculated. However, for the early bilinguals, there was a difference of 10% between the two speaker groups for the number of participants who identified the accent as coming from the UK. When participants are not given any information about the early bilinguals, the listeners identified the early bilinguals similarly to the monolinguals which was confirmed by calculations that the results for the two speaker groups in the un-primed group were not statistically significantly different. Although early bilinguals have been rarely examined in language attitudes, some of my findings are similar to Watanabe's (2008), despite the fact that his study was conducted in New Zealand and the bilingual speaker did not have the same variety of English, namely, the Japanese aspect of the USE/Japanese bilingual were not identified by any of the participants. Furthermore, previous studies have found that L1 English listeners have difficulty in identifying Asian speakers' origin of accent (e.g. Newman and Wu, 2011; Gnevsheva, 2017). The current study demonstrated that the late learners' accents were often misidentified, while the early bilinguals did not encounter this problem probably due to the native-like accent since, as mentioned

above, the majority of the listeners identified the early bilinguals as coming from the UK.

With information provided, fewer listeners identified the bilinguals to be native speakers of English only and a statistically significant difference was calculated between the early bilinguals and monolinguals for the primed group. Listeners that were given prior information were either more aware of the non-English features in the speech or are more reliant on the information given rather than judging the speech. It is also possible that listeners hallucinated a foreign accent that was actually not apparent in the speech (Fought, 2006). Nevertheless, as calculated in Chapter four, the results regarding early bilinguals between the primed and un-primed group were not statistically significantly different from each other. Thus, the early bilinguals were perceived as having an UK accent but when listeners with prior knowledge assessed them together with the monolinguals, they perceived the early bilinguals differently in terms of origin of accent. This shows that unless the speakers have speech to compare with, the early bilinguals are highly likely to be perceived as having a UK accent. Table 8.4 shows the first language that was identified for the monolinguals and early bilinguals.

	Mono	linguals	Early Bilinguals	
Language	Primed	Un-primed	Primed	Un-primed
	Group	Group	Group	Group
English	94%	95%	67%	91%
Japanese	3%	1%	25%	3%
English and Japanese	1%	0%	2%	0%
Unsure	0%	0%	1%	1%
Others	0%	1 %	1%	4%
N/A	2%	3%	5%	1%
Total Number of Responses	102	76	102	76

Table 8.4: Identified first language for early bilinguals and monolinguals

Although no statistically significant difference was observed between the primed

group and the un-primed group regarding early bilinguals' origin of accent, a statistically significant difference was calculated for the first language. From this we can infer that the listeners perceived the early bilinguals' accent as that of a UK speaker but a significant number of participants perceived the speakers' first language as not English. More discussion will follow later when the comments are discussed but as far as the origin of accent and first language are concerned, the results suggest that without prior information, the early bilinguals and monolinguals were perceived similarly. Furthermore, with prior information, the early bilinguals were identified to have an UK accent but were less accepted as L1 English users.

The features participants picked up to identify the origin of accent will also be observed. The table below shows the characteristics they noted to identify the origin of accent. Some participants commented on more than one characteristic and therefore the total number of characteristics is not equal with the number of participants. The most popular characteristic participants used to identify the origin of accent was pronunciation or accent of words. Tone was the second most popular attribute noticed by participants with prior information. On the other hand, intonation and pauses were commented on more by Group B participants. However, as the participants were non-linguists, the use of the word, "accent" was vague among the participants.

	Early B	ilingual	Early Bilingual	
	Spea	ker 1	Speaker 2	
Features identified	Primed Group	Un- primed Group	Primed Group	Un- primed Group
Pronunciation/Accent	64	56	53	49
Confidence	4	5	5	10
Tone	11	0	8	2
Stress	2	0	2	2
Intonation	2	7	2	10
Fluency/Flow	7	7	8	2
Speed	0	5	5	2
Pauses/Hesitations	0	2	2	7
Others	9	19	15	15
Total number of characteristics	45	43	40	41

Table 8.5: Features participants used to identify origin of accent (percentages)

In order to discover whether the listeners are actually distinguishing between the monolinguals' and early bilinguals' speech, I will focus on the characteristics that participants picked up to justify their answers. The table below shows the responses noted by listeners in Group A, who identified the speaker's first language to be Japanese. Some participants identified the first language of the speaker as Japanese but identified the accent as coming from the UK so the left column shows the country participants identified for the origin of accent.

Origin of	Number of	Features that helped listeners decide on their	
Accent	Responses	answers	
Ianan	2	1. Sounded slightly off	
Japan	2	2. accent	
		3. Tone and pronunciation	
UK	4	4. /3:/ sound	
		5. He sounds like he speaks Japanese as well	
		6. N/A	
UK and	2	7. London twang	
Japan	-	8. tone	
Unsure	1	9. Not distinct enough to pinpoint	
Total	9		

Table 8.6: Comments from listeners who identified first language as Japanese for Early Bilingual Speaker 1

Origin of	Number of	Features that helped listeners decide on their
accent	responses	answers
		1. His manner of speaking
		2. Standard accent
		3. words like inside, especially posh 'a' sounds,
		pronunciation of the entire word
England	7	4. Tone of voice
		5. Vowel sounds again
		6. Sounded fluent in English
		7. Accent
		8. Slight 'twangs' on certain words but overall fluent
	5	English
		9. pronunciation of some sounds, 's'
Japan		10. Slightly nasal
1		11. it sounds slightly similar to the previous native
		Japanese speakers.
		12. linguistic sounds of words
		13. Enunciation of consonants, Japanese twang
UK and Japan	1	(sibilance)
Unsure	1	14. The way he said 'pure'
		15. The elecution is near perfect with only a slight hint
Others	1	of an accent
N/A	1	16. N/A
Total	16	

Table 8.7: Comments from listeners who identified first language as Japanese for Early Bilingual Speaker 2

Comment 11 for the early bilingual speaker 2 shows how listeners are more aware of the non-English features. As this participant listened to the late learners before the early bilinguals, the listener had an idea of how a speaker who was fluent in Japanese might sound in English speech, and therefore was picking up some of the Japanese features apparent in English speech and may have been attuned to the non-English features that were less distinctive in the speech. Comment 15 also suggests that the listener may have been more aware of the non-English features. For origin of accent the listener commented that it is a "Japanese person who has lived in the UK for a long time". This comment raises the question of why the participant judged the speaker to be a Japanese living in the UK and not a British person living in Japan. When the listener was asked to justify their answer, the listener commented that the "elocution is near perfect with only a slight hint of an accent". If the listener did not know that the speaker was also a native speaker of Japanese, would he have picked up the slight hints in the speech? In order to establish this, comments regarding the two bilinguals from Group B participants are listed below. The characteristics listed are from listeners who identified the first language as not English.

Origin	Number of	Characteristics that helped		First language	
of accent	responses	listeners decide on their answers		identified	
England	2	1.	Pronunciation sounded quite English (maybe a hint of an accent), further south of England than north The 'I's in 'collect' sound like 'r's but drops 'h's like native speaker from southeast	1. 2.	Unsure – not English Possibly Japanese
Others	2	3.	Some hesitancy over words, and awkward emphasis. The person sounds fairly fluent, but talking sounds slightly disjointed, suggesting that English isn't their first language. I'm unsure of the country from which I think their accent originates, but to me personally it doesn't sounds as though it's from the UK.	3.	Not English but can't decide what language. Unsure
Total	4				

Table 8.8: Comments from listeners who identified first language as not English for Early Bilingual Speaker 1

Origin	Number of	Characteristics that helped		First language	
of accent	responses	listeners decide on their answers			identified
England	1	5.	N/A	5.	N/A
Others	1	6.	"Find" sounds like "foind"?	6.	Spanish
			Can't really describe it sorry.		
Japan	1	7.	Acoustic accent sound,	7.	Japanese
			frequent pauses		
Total	3				

Table 8.9: Comments from listeners who identified first language as not English for Early Bilingual Speaker 2

In Group A, 25 cases were observed in which the first language as Japanese was identified while in Group B, only seven cases identified the first language as being not English. In Group B, only two participants identified the early bilinguals' first language as Japanese (one for each early bilingual). Remarkably, the participant who identified the first language as Japanese for EB1 was not the same participant who identified Japanese as the first language for EB2. Therefore, none of the participants in Group B were able to identify the Japanese-ness in both early bilinguals.

Some participants in Group A identified the origin of accent as coming from the UK but identified the first language of the speaker to be Japanese. It is not clear why the participants did not maintain the same answers, but it is possible that the listeners relied on the information given and chose one of the given languages even when they were not aware of the non-English characteristics in the bilinguals' speech. Consequently, as they could not recognise the foreign accent in the speech, they associated the accent as coming from the UK. It is also possible that despite this identification, they thought they had to write "Japanese" somewhere as it was one of the given information. Thus, according to the comments, some listeners identified the first language of the speakers to be Japanese but did not identify the non-English factors in the speech.

As for Group B, the answers in terms of origin of accent and identification of first language were almost equivalent. This is not surprising as very few listeners recognised the non-English factors in the speech and as they were not given prior information, the listeners identified the early bilinguals similarly to the monolinguals. Thus, unless listeners were told about the language background of early bilinguals, it was rare for them to pick up the non-English characteristics in the early bilinguals' speech. For that reason, as very few listeners recognised the non-English features in the speech, the results imply that it is highly possible that there was accent hallucination (Fought 2006), which was also found in Gnevsheva's study (2018).

The result suggests that information related to the language backgrounds of the speakers can influence listeners' decisions. This is in addition to the research which demonstrated that visual stimuli accompanying speech could influence this (Hay and Drager, 2010). These studies had two conditions where the listeners were directed to two different directions but the current study showed that true information about the speakers can influence listeners' judgements. In the current case, the information could have either increased listeners' sensitivity towards non-English characteristics in the speech or hallucinated an accent and influenced their choice of the speakers' first language. Therefore, when conducting research regarding bilinguals, it is essential that the information participants are given is kept as balanced as possible. Without any information, participants perceive early bilinguals who are highly proficient in English very similarly to monolinguals but with information this view changes. As soon as the listeners are informed about the bilinguals' language background, they are less accepted as L1 English users.

The current section discussed whether the listeners were able to distinguish monolinguals' and early bilinguals' speech by investigating the first language, origin of accent, and the characteristics participants used to identify the origin of accent. These results show that when participants were not given any information about the speakers, very few participants noticed the non-English features in the early bilinguals' speech and identified them similarly to the monolinguals. The following section will discuss how prior information influenced the listeners' attitudes to answer the third research question.

8.3 Influence of Prior Information

In the first section, attitudes towards the early bilinguals were discussed but these results were only compared with the monolinguals. In this section, the results from two participant groups will be compared for each of the speaker groups to consider whether prior information affected listeners' attitudes.

In the analysis chapters, comparisons between the two participant groups for the three attitudes categories were conducted and the table below summarises the findings. The boxes in green indicate the traits where Group A perceived the speakers more positively while the blue box indicates the opposite, where Group B perceived the speakers more positively. The numbers inside the boxes indicate how many statistically significantly different questions were observed out of the five items within each attitude category for the two participant groups.

Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Superiority	0/5	1/5 Unintelligent vs Intelligent*	4/5 Uneducated vs Educated** Lower Class vs Upper Class*** Poor vs Rich** Unintelligent vs Intelligent**
Attractiveness	0/5	3/5 Awful vs Nice* Unlikeable vs Likeable* Inconsiderate vs Considerate*	0/5
Dynamism	0/5	1/5 Shy vs Talkative*	0/5
Total	0/15	5/15	4/15

Table 8.10: Statistically significant differences between Group A and Group B

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

As discussed in the analysis chapters, prior knowledge of the speakers had no effect towards the monolinguals and the late bilinguals were only affected in the *superiority* category. As for the early bilinguals, the primed group perceived the early bilinguals more favourably in the *superiority* and the *attractiveness* category but the un-primed group perceived the early bilinguals more favourably in terms of *dynamism*. There was at least one trait in each category that showed a statistically significant difference, demonstrating that prior information can influence all the attitudes categories for the early bilinguals.

The table above makes it clear that no difference was observed for the monolinguals between the two groups of participants. Therefore, whether or not participants know that the people are first language English users, the listeners express similar attitudes. This is not a surprising result as over 90% of both groups identified the accent as coming from the UK. Even without being told, participants were able to identify that the speakers' accent came from the same country as their own. However, as the study only examined UK participants' attitudes towards native speakers of UK English, the results could differ if the listeners and speakers are from different countries, even if they are both from English-speaking countries.

For the early bilinguals, not all the differences were influenced in the same direction. A non-linguist's definition of "bilinguals" is usually different to that of researchers with the word "bilingual" widely used to refer to balanced bilinguals in the nonacademic world. Hence, a non-specialist listener might well consider a bilingual to be intelligent than a monolingual who speaks one language. Thus, as the listeners were told that the speakers were native speakers of Japanese and also were fluent in English in the recordings, this knowledge would have influenced the primed group of listeners to rate the intelligence question highly for the early bilinguals.

For *dynamism*, the direction of effect was the opposite. The question regarding talkativeness of the speakers for the early bilinguals was the only question where Group B participants rated the speaker higher than Group A. Cultural associations or stereotypes of the Japanese are highly likely to have influenced the participants' attitudes. Previous stereotype studies (Maykovich, 1972, Karlins et al., 1969) and studies on language learning settings (Kumaravadivelu, 2003) have also shown this trend. Thus, it would seem that participants' stereotypical image of a Japanese person influenced the scores with the Group A participants rating the early bilinguals lower

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than the Group B participants who did not know that the speakers were also fluent in Japanese. The group B participants did not show similar results for the early bilinguals because they did not have the information that could have triggered the stereotypes. This was only evident in the case of the early bilinguals and not the late learners since the majority of both participant groups identified the speakers as coming from an Asian country. Hence, the results reveal that being told that the person is a native speaker of both English and Japanese can trigger stereotypes of the Japanese people, whilst these are not triggered when they are only given a speech sample. As Rubin (1992), and Hay and Drager (2010) have observed, external factors play a significant role in how listeners perceive the speakers and can even hallucinate an accent (Fought, 2006). The current study not only confirms their findings but takes another step further by comparing a controlled group where no information is provided, and another where listeners are given information about the speakers in advance. It has been found how prior knowledge can affect listener's recognition of speech.

Only the *superiority* category was affected by prior information for the late learners of English. Knowing that the speakers were "late learners of English who are Japanese" influenced the listeners' attitudes and the listeners perceived the late learners more positively. I have mentioned above that no difference was observed for the late learners in the question regarding talkativeness as both groups identified the speakers as coming from an Asian country. Although perceiving the speakers from an Asian country, the results for the late learners showed that the country the speakers are associated with could also have an impact on listeners' attitudes. The majority of both groups of participants identified the accent as coming from Asia but when participants knew that the speakers were Japanese, the participants expressed significantly different attitudes. Therefore, differences exist regarding listeners' attitudes towards the English spoken by Japanese people and the English spoken by Asians generally. In the current study, knowing that the speakers were Japanese influenced the listeners to rate the speakers higher in terms of *superiority*. Thus, when conducting studies regarding attitudes, it is important that researchers are aware of the differences that can exist between perceptions of different nationalities. For example, if the study examined attitudes towards the Japanese, it would be problematic to assume that the attitudes participants expressed were attitudes towards all Asians and vice versa. However, it is also possible that participants will express more positive attitudes when

they have a clearer idea of who the speakers are. Thus, it is vital that the methodology is the same when comparing language attitudes data. If participants are not given information about the speakers, it is necessary to include a process asking participants to identify a speaker's nationality because the attitudes they express may be towards a different group of speakers.

Thus, regarding the third research question, it appears that prior information about the speakers does influence people's attitudes but only towards early bilinguals and late learners. No difference was observed towards the monolinguals. Even for the early bilinguals and late learners, the effect was not equal, and differences existed between them. Therefore, when conducting studies, researchers need to be aware that attitude differences are likely to exist between different speaker groups even if they speak the same two languages and when comparing data the methodology should be kept the same.

8.4 Participants' Backgrounds

The previous section discussed the influence of prior information on the attitudes towards the speakers. In the analysis sections, it also examined whether there were other factors that influenced the results and this will be discussed in the current section.

8.4.1 Gender

Table 8.11 and Table 8.12 summarises the statistically significant differences that were observed between responses from men and women within the two groups. The boxes shaded in green are the ones where women rated the speakers higher than the men and the boxes coloured in blue are the ones where men rated the speakers higher. The number indicates how many statistically significantly different questions were observed for each attitudes category.

Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners	
	1/5	1/5	1/5	
Superiority	Unintelligent vs	Unintelligent vs	Unintelligent vs	
	Intelligent*	Intelligent**	Intelligent*	
		5/5	5/5	
		Awful vs Nice***	Awful vs Nice***	
	3/5	Hostile vs Good	Hostile vs Good	
	Awful vs Nice*	Natured***	Natured*	
Attractivoross	Unlikeable vs	Unfriendly vs	Unfriendly vs	
Attractiveness	Likeable*	Friendly***	Friendly**	
	Inconsiderate vs	Unlikeable vs	Unlikeable vs	
	Considerate*	Likeable***	Likeable***	
		Inconsiderate vs	Inconsiderate vs	
		Considerate**	Considerate**	
		5/5		
		Shy vs Talkative**		
		Aggressive vs		
		Unaggressive**	1/5	
Dynamism	0/5	Hesitant vs	Shy vs Talkative*	
		Enthusiastic**		
		Unsure vs		
		Confident*		
		Lazy vs Energetic**		
Total	4/15	11/15	7/15	

Table 8.11: Summary table for influence of listeners' gender (Primed Group)

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05
Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Superiority	0/5	0/5	1/5
Superiority	0/5	0/5	Uneducated vs Educated*
Attractiveness	0/5	0/5	0/5
Dynamism	0/5	0/5	0/5
Total	0/15	0/15	1/15

Table 8.12: Summary table for influence of listeners' gender (Un-primed Group)

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

As discussed in the analysis chapters, knowing something about the speakers elicited some favourableness towards the speakers for women but not for men. In Group B, the only difference observed was for the question regarding education, where men rated the speakers higher for the late learners. When the results from both groups are looked at together for the education trait, the results seem to suggest that men did not rate the speakers higher, but women rated the speakers lower in this trait. The mean score from men in both groups was equal with 5.0 but the mean score from women in Group A was 5.2, and Group B was 4.4. This suggests that women's attitudes are influenced according to whether they are given information about the speakers or not. Thus, when conducting attitudes research, it is important to keep the distribution between men and women as balanced as possible to avoid potentially skewing the results and missing fascinating points that can be observed from the study. Previous study conducted by Fledstein et al. (2001) found that female listeners rate the speakers' competency higher than the male listeners but in their study, no significant difference was observed for social attractiveness. It is difficult to confirm why differences exist between their study and the current study but it may be possible that the results would have shown a significant difference in social attractiveness as well if their study had a higher number of participants since their study only had 45 participants with Caucasians and African Americans taking part. A study conducted in Japan (McKenzie, 2008) also found female participants rating the speakers more positively than the male participants in terms of competence but not social attractiveness. It also discovered that women were generally more positive for Glasgow Standard English, Southern US English and Mid-West US English. Thus, for previous studies, when

significant difference is observed between genders, female participants express more positive attitudes. Similarly, the current study found that women perceive the speakers more positively but only when participants held prior knowledge of the speakers. Many attitude studies does not consider taking the listeners' gender into account and have not investigated the significant difference between the results, so it is worth considering the differences in future research as women may be influenced with prior information more than men.

8.4.2 Language Ability

As the study investigated language attitudes, the influence of listeners' language background also needed examining. Table 8.12 summarises the statistically significantly different categories observed in the study between participants with knowledge of at least one foreign language and participants with no knowledge of a foreign language. The boxes shaded in green represent the ones where participants with knowledge of a foreign language rated the speakers higher while the boxes shaded in blue represent the opposite.

Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Superiority	0/5	2/5 Lower Class vs Upper Class** Poor vs Rich**	1/5 Uneducated vs Educated**
Attractiveness	0/5	2/5 Unlikeable vs Likeable* Inconsiderate vs Considerate*	0/5
Dynamism	0/5	1/5 Unsure vs Confident*	0/5
Total	0/15	5/15	1/15

Table 8.13: Summary table for influence of listeners' language ability (Primed Group)

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners		
	1/5	1/5			
Superiority	Disfluent vs	Uneducated vs	0/5		
	Fluent*	Educated*			
			3/5		
Attractiveness			Unfriendly vs		
			Friendly*		
	0/5	0/5	Unlikeable vs		
			Likeable**		
			Inconsiderate vs		
			Considerate*		
Dynamism	0/5	0/5	0/5		
Total	1/15	1/15	3/15		

Table 8.14: Summary table for influence of listeners' language ability (Un-primed Group)

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

The outcomes for the influence of participants' language backgrounds were not as straightforward as the other factors. In Group A, the *superiority* and *dynamism* questions were rated higher by participants who had knowledge of a foreign language but for *attractiveness*, participants with no knowledge of a foreign language rated the speakers higher. Some differences were also observed in Group B. *Superiority* towards early bilinguals and *attractiveness* towards late learners were rated higher by participants with knowledge of a foreign language but *superiority* towards monolinguals were rated higher by the other group. Therefore, this shows that the participants' language backgrounds can influence attitudes towards speakers but the direction of effect depends on the category of attitudes and who the listeners are assessing. For the primed group, the early bilinguals could be perceived positively by knowing that the speakers were fluent in two languages and by admiring the proficiency of the early bilinguals. However, *attractiveness* was rated lower possibly because the listeners felt envious of the early bilinguals' proficiency in the language and therefore show how language learners have mixed feelings towards the early

bilinguals.

The statistically significantly different traits were not equal between the two groups indicating how the influence of listeners' language ability is complex. This may be due to the different language participants knew, but as it was difficult to compare all the languages listeners knew, the study examined the general influence of language ability.

Dewaele and McCloskey (2015) found that participants who knew a foreign language to a higher level were more concerned with their own accents. However, it did not show any significance regarding others' accents. The difference in their study and the current study can be explained by the fact that the groups were separated differently. Their study was investigating different groups of multilingual language users and so compared participants with different levels of proficiency while the current study compared those with and without the knowledge of a foreign language.

With the complex influence exerted by participants' language backgrounds, future research on language attitudes may consider keeping the participant backgrounds as balanced as possible or making sure language knowledge is examined as a potential factor influencing choices and results. With the different direction of effect towards different speaker groups and attitudes categories, the language background of participants can significantly influence people's judgements.

8.4.3 Japanese

Table 8.15 and Table 8.16 summarises the statistically significantly differences that were calculated in the study for participants with knowledge of Japanese and participants without this knowledge. The box shaded in green represents the ones where knowledge of Japanese had a positive effect on the listeners' ratings of the speakers.

Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Superiority	0/5	0/5	0/5
Attractiveness	0/5	0/5	0/5
Dynamism	0/5	0/5	0/5
Total	0/15	0/15	0/15

Table 8.15: Summary table for influence of listeners' knowledge of Japanese (Primed Group)

Table 8.16: Summary table for influence of listeners' knowledge of Japanese (Unprimed Group)

Category	Monolinguals	Early Bilinguals	Late Learners
Superiority	0/5	0/5	1/5
Superiority	0/0	010	Disfluent vs Fluent*
Attractiveness	0/5	0/5	0/5
Dynamism	0/5	0/5	1/5
Dynamism	0/5	0/5	Unsure vs Confident*
Total	0/15	0/15	2/15

Significance codes: *** =p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05

A knowledge of Japanese only influenced the perceptions of the late learners of English in Group B. These results did not overlap with the previous section investigating participants' overall language abilities and fewer differences were observed when the influence of Japanese was examined separately. A reason for this could be the very few listeners who actually knew some Japanese. If more participants who knew Japanese took part, more statistically significant differences may have been exhibited. However, two traits still showed statistically significant differences depending on whether the participants knew Japanese or not. However, many of the participants who knew some Japanese in Group B failed to recognise the late learners as Japanese. Nevertheless, their experience with Japanese people and the Japanese language may have influenced the answers according to their perceptions of Japanese or Asian people. An intriguing point was that even when participants knew the language background of the speakers, the knowledge of Japanese did not influence the listeners to perceive the Japanese late learners or English-Japanese early bilinguals more positively than the other participants. Very few studies have actually considered the participants' background regarding their foreign language so the results suggest that it should be considered during language attitudes studies especially when bilinguals or non-native speakers of the language is involved.

8.5 Summary of the chapter

The current chapter aimed at answering the research questions. The early bilinguals of English and Japanese were perceived very positively by the listeners when compared with the monolinguals and late learners. Although the listeners perceived the early bilinguals very positively in terms of *superiority* and *dynamism* attitudes, the listeners identified the speakers' first language as English at a lower rate when they were told that the speakers were native in both English and Japanese. The image of a 'perfectly balanced bilingual' that laypeople hold seemed to influence their attitudes positively but at the same time, the bilinguals were less accepted as first language English users which seemed to contradict the image of a 'perfectly balanced bilingual'. In many cases, participants could only distinguish early bilinguals' speech from monolinguals when they were given information about the language background because they are made more aware of the non-English factors that might exist in the speech. However, because they knew what features could be existing in the speech, it is also possible that the listeners experienced accent hallucination. When the listeners held no information about the speakers, the early bilinguals were identified similarly to the monolinguals by almost all the participants. Participants noticed a wide variety of features when identifying the origin of accent of the speakers but the pronunciation of the words were the most popular characteristics noticed by the listeners.

Prior information influenced listeners' attitudes but only towards early bilinguals and late learners of English. It did not influence listeners' attitudes towards the monolinguals as both groups were expressing attitudes regarding the same group of people. Lastly, the participants' backgrounds also influenced the attitudes towards the speakers, so the current research highlighted the importance of keeping participants in this type of study as balanced as possible or to consider the listeners' background as a potential factor influencing their attitudes. In addition, methodology needs careful consideration when comparing language attitudes studies because different methods can elicit different attitudes from the listeners.

9 Conclusion

This chapter will start by summarising the main findings and implications of the study. I will then explain the limitations of the study and how future studies can overcome these limitations and build upon the current findings. I will also suggest further studies that can be conducted to enhance the understanding of the effect of prior information on the listeners' perceptions and attitudes especially regarding early bilinguals.

The current research aimed to investigate British people's attitudes towards English-Japanese early bilinguals and how prior information influences the listeners' attitudes. Previous research has looked at how perception is influenced by visual factors (Rubin, 1992; Hay and Drager, 2010) but they have investigated the effect of priming in a different way as they offered two conditions that can direct listeners to two different directions. The current research is a pioneering study focusing on whether providing true information can influence listeners' perceptions of speech.

9.1 Major Findings

The study has found that providing listeners with the true linguistic background of the speakers influences how the speakers are perceived. However, it has also shown that monolingual English speakers are not influenced since even without prior information, listeners are able to detect that they are L1 English speakers. Prior information does however, influence the accuracy rate of identifying the region of the origin of accent for the monolinguals. The early bilinguals were perceived more positively in terms of intelligence and also some traits regarding attractiveness but were seen to be less talkative when the listeners knew that the speakers were fluent in both English and Japanese as the cultural stereotype of Japanese as being quiet was triggered. A statistically significant difference was also observed for the first language that was identified between the two groups of participants but not regarding the origin of accent. Some participants even identified the first language of the early bilinguals' as not English but identified the accent as coming from the UK. Laypeople's views regarding the word "bilingualism" often refers to "balanced bilingualism" and so can explain why these speakers were generally rated highly in terms of intelligence. However, even though the early bilinguals were perceived as 'balanced bilinguals' there is an inconsistency in their views as the bilinguals were less accepted as L1 English users and this contradicts the image of 'balanced bilinguals'. The above mentioned

stereotype of Japanese as being quiet did not influence the late learners as the speakers were identified as Asians even without being provided their linguistic background. However, knowing that the speakers were Japanese, had a positive impact regarding the *superiority* traits showing that participants held different attitudes for Japanese speakers and Asian speakers. Thus, the study has demonstrated that prior information can influence listeners' perception when cultural stereotypes are triggered regarding the speakers.

The study also found that women were influenced more by prior information since the women viewed all the speakers more positively when they were given prior information. Women prefer the more standard forms (Trudgill, 1972) so it is possible that men are less concerned with non-native accents. However, the women also perceived the monolinguals more positively, which suggests they might have felt more confident in expressing their views when they knew who they were assessing. The current study confirmed that considering the differences in the listeners' gender is an important factor for future research.

Language ability of the listeners is another factor that should be taken into account. The current study showed that when the listeners are informed about the early bilinguals' language abilities, they can be perceived differently depending on the attitude category. They are seen positively regarding two traits of *superiority* and one trait for *dynamism* but was viewed negatively for *attractiveness*. Thus, it demonstrated how language learners have mixed feelings towards proficient bilinguals.

Knowledge of Japanese had a different influence on the listeners' attitudes and therefore suggests that the different languages people know are an important factor to consider for language attitudes studies. It will be especially vital to consider the listeners' knowledge of language(s) that is being investigated in the study.

9.1. Contribution of the Study

Research on bilinguals is a vital area of study in current society as it is believed that over half of the people in the world are bilinguals (Grosjean, 1989), people who can speak at least two languages. Many language attitudes studies regarding bilinguals have focused on bilinguals with a non-English accent and have not focused on early bilinguals who speak with British accents. Moreover, the bilinguals used in many bilingualism studies focus on bilinguals who speak English and a European language. Thus, early bilinguals of English and Japanese with a British accent are subjects rarely used in research. Furthermore, a very limited amount of research has investigated how external factors influence listeners' perceptions towards bilinguals, and no research that the researcher is aware of, has explored the influence of prior information regarding highly proficient early bilinguals.

The study has also demonstrated the importance of taking the listeners' background into account. Female participants' attitudes were significantly more positive than the male participants in many traits when participants held prior information about the speakers. Language ability of the participants can influence the results significantly and should be taken into account especially when the study is investigating bilinguals or non-native speakers of the language. Considering all the above points, the current research examined an area that has not been researched before in the area of sociolinguistics, language attitudes, bilingualism and perception studies.

9.2 Limitations and Further Studies

The study had difficulty concluding whether some of the significant differences observed for the early bilinguals were due to accent hallucination or if listeners were more sensitive towards non-English features because they were more aware that these may exist. Further research can be conducted to discover how the listeners would react when they are given some misleading information. For example, if the listeners were only told that the early bilinguals were native speakers of English, would the percentage of listeners identifying the bilinguals' first language as English increase, and would they identify the accent as coming from the UK even more? In relation to this, could the misleading information influence listeners' attitudes? Investigating this might explain whether the primed group of participants were actually hearing things or if it was accent hallucination. Although it may be difficult to conduct due to ethical considerations, it would be interesting to observe the opposite conditions. Thus, to observe whether the early bilinguals will be less accepted as having a British accent and whether the participants will notice more non-English features in the speech if the participants were told that the early bilinguals were late learners of English. A follow up study could also be done to observe if the monolinguals' and early bilinguals' speech actually differs and in what ways by investigating the phonetical elements in their speech. It would also be intriguing to discover the extent to which prior information influenced the listeners' perceptions. The current study provided the listeners with the language background of the speakers but if the listeners were provided the number of languages the speakers were fluent in, or more detailed information about them, would this amount of information influence the stereotype triggered regarding the speakers. Thus, if they did not know that the early bilinguals were fluent in Japanese but knew that they were in two languages, the stereotype of Japanese would not be triggered and so, would it show different results to the current study?

In addition, the study used English and Japanese bilinguals, and it is worth finding out how listeners would react and what their attitudes towards early bilinguals of English and a non-Japanese language would be were they to speak with a British accent. By investigating this, the current study could confirm if some of the results were influenced by 'Japanese' or by 'bilinguals'. As most of the listeners were recruited in Cardiff, which has two official languages, further studies are required to conclude whether the results are generalisable to the rest of the UK. People living in a bilingual country may hold more positive attitudes than people living in other parts of the UK. Furthermore, it will be fruitful to discover whether the results were opinions from native speakers of English in the UK only or covered native speakers of English from around the world by conducting the study in other English-speaking countries. After completing this, another step could be to collect data from other countries to examine how the influence of prior information effects people from countries where the official language is not English.

Limitations also exist regarding the methodology. The attitudes discussed in the paper are limited to university students and recent graduates. It would be fruitful to collect data from other age groups, as well as from different social classes. Future research should include participants speaking other regional and/or social varieties of English. Additionally, speech may vary depending on whether it is recorded or not, as the speakers are more sensitive towards their own accent in recorded stimuli. At the same time, in adopting a free speech method, syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic factors would have to be carefully controlled. A mixed method will be useful by conducting a prestructured interview after a questionnaire to obtain more qualitative data effectively. Furthermore, Zahn and Hopper's (1985) list was designed over 30 years ago. During the pilot stage, participants can be encouraged to describe the characteristics of stimulus accents freely and then researchers can make use of the traits used in their expressions in constructing the questionnaire. Many factors are still to be researched in this intriguing area of field.

The current study aimed to provide a starting point in understanding listeners' perception regarding bilinguals and allowed us to demonstrate the necessity of examining highly proficient early bilinguals further because prior information of the speakers demonstrated it had a significant influence on listeners' perception and attitudes in this study.

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11 Appendices

11.1 Appendix A: Script for Audio Recordings

One day a countryman went to his goose's nest and found an unusual egg inside. The egg was all yellow, glittering and shining in the light. He picked it up with his right hand and found it was as heavy as lead. He first thought someone had played a trick on him and was going to throw it away, but on second thought he decided to take it home. He soon found out it was correct to take it home since the egg was made out of pure gold. From then on, every morning the same thing happened and it made his heart sing. He soon became rich by selling his eggs but as he grew rich he also grew greedy and decided he wanted to collect all the gold the goose could give at once so he killed it only to find that there was nothing inside.

11.2 Appendix B: Consent Form

Consent Form

Investigating Personality Traits Using Audio Recordings

- I understand that my participation in this project will involve listening to recordings and completing questionnaires that will require approximately 15 minutes of my time.
- I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason
- I understand that I am free to ask questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I am free to withdraw or discuss my concerns with the researcher.
- I understand that the information provided by me will be held completely anonymously, so that it is impossible to trace this information back to me individually. I understand that this information may be retained indefinitely.
- I understand that information provided by me for this study, including my own words, may be used in the research report, but that all such information and/or quotes will be anonymised.
- I also understand that at the end of the questionnaire I will be provided with additional information.

I, ______(PRINT NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Eimi Watanabe*, School of English, Communication & Philosophy, Cardiff University under the supervision of *Dr Mercedes Durham*.

Signed:

Date:

11.3 Appendix C: Debriefing Document

Debriefing Document

British Attitudes Towards Japanese-English Bilinguals

Thank you for taking part in this study.

The aim of this research was to investigate British people's attitudes towards Japanese-English bilinguals. You were instructed to fill out a questionnaire after listening to each recording. You were either

 a) told that the speaker was a monolingual of English, an early bilingual of Japanese and English, or a late bilingual of English before listening to each recording.

Or

 b) told that the speaker was a monolingual of English, an early bilingual of Japanese and English, or a late bilingual of English after filling out the questionnaire.

These questionnaires measured attitudes towards each speaker and by having two groups of participants, I observed whether having or not having prior knowledge about the speakers affected people's views towards the recordings.

In order to ensure all participants have the same experience during data collection, please do not discuss what you did in this study with anyone who is participating in the study but has not made their contribution.

The data you have provided are entirely anonymous, which means nothing can be traced back to you, even by the researchers. For this reason, you may not be able to withdraw your contribution retrospectively.

If you have any questions about this study or your participation in it, please contact:

me, Eimi Watanabe at: WatanabeE@cardiff.ac.uk or my supervisor, Dr. Mercedes Durham at: DurhamM@cardiff.ac.uk

11.4 Appendix D: Attitudes Questionnaire for Participants

Based on the recording you have just heard, this person gives the impression that he is... (Please check the position you have towards the two adjectives).

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1.	Uneducated								Educated
2.	Lower Class								Upper Class
3.	Poor								Rich
4.	Unintelligent								Intelligent
5.	Disfluent								Fluent
6.	Awful								Nice
7.	Hostile								Good natured
8.	Unfriendly								Friendly
9.	Unlikeable								Likeable
10.	Inconsiderate								Considerate
11	Shy								Talkative
12	Aggressive								Unaggressive
13	Hesitant								Enthusiastic
14	Unsure								Confident
15	Lazy								Energetic

16. Where do you think this person comes from? (please try to be as specific as possible) _____

17. What kind of accent do you think he has?

18. What characteristics helped you decide?

19. What do you think his first language is?

20. If you have any other comments about him, please write it below.