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DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS FACULTY

2012

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FOREIGNERS SPEAKING CHINESE? ATTITUDES ABOUT NON-NATIVE MANDARIN SPEAKERS

KATE HARDEMAN

Previous research on second-language speech perception has shown how social information in the form of stereotypes can affect listeners’ perceptions of L2 speech, including levels of “accentedness” and/or “correctness”, as well as personality traits attributed to a speaker (De La Zerda and Hopper 1979; Lindemann 2005; Rubin and Smith 1990; Ryan, Carranza, and Moffie 1977; Wible and Hui 1985). Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, the research presented here aimed to determine whether visual information about an individual as well as stereotypes of where (s)he is from affect native Mandarin speakers’ perceptions of how well that individual speaks Mandarin Chinese. Survey data and data from nine sociolinguistic interviews showed that there are indeed stereotypes about how different groups of foreigners speak Mandarin Chinese, with Japanese and Koreans stereotyped as speaking Mandarin significantly better than other groups of foreigners. Interview answers revealed possible explanations for these findings, including exposure to speakers from the target countries/areas and cultural “closeness” to China. The results of this study have implications not only with respect to the role of social information in speech perception, but also with respect to Mandarin Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) instruction, as teacher-training programs can use this information to address biases in existing pedagogical practices.

1. INTRODUCTION. An article in The Economist on November 18th, 2010 proclaimed that interest in learning Mandarin Chinese outside China has surged in recent years, with the popular program “Rosetta Stone” reporting an 1,800% increase in users of its Mandarin-learning software between 2008 and 2010. Such an exponential growth in learners of Mandarin Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) has flung open the doors for scholarly inquiry regarding the nature of CSL interactions. The research described in this paper began with a single question: What are the attitudes of native Mandarin speakers toward different groups of non-native speakers who speak their language? Scholars such as Lippi-Green (1997) and Lindemann (2005) have discussed the importance of gathering information about language attitudes in order to have a foundation on which to challenge discriminatory language practices. While accent and language discrimination have been discussed by scholars with respect to English as a Second Language (ESL), the same kinds of systematic investigations in CSL have not yet been conducted. This research, therefore, aims to fill a crucial gap in the sociolinguistic research about CSL learning and teaching. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, the study described here investigates the attitudes of native Mandarin speakers toward the CSL speech of different groups of foreigners.

The importance of research on language attitudes has been attested in numerous fields of study, including social psychology, sociolinguistics, and second-language studies. Despite common perceptions, stereotypes about the ways people speak are not always negative; they are sometimes used to make sense of the world and establish in-group membership (Erwin 2001; McKenzie 2010). Research on perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics has sought answers to the questions of why some language varieties are more salient to people than others, and why listeners react the ways they do to particular varieties of speech (Preston 1999, 2004). However, stereotypes can also have detrimental effects on certain groups of people; Lippi-Green (1997:237) discusses cases of accent discrimination and how, even when accentlessness is not actually present, it can be manufactured in the mind of a listener based on stereotypes.

Research exploring these issues with respect to second language ideology demonstrates how perceptions of language “correctness” or accentedness are linked with personality traits attributed to the speaker (De La Zerda and Hopper 1979; Lindemann 2005; Rubin and Smith 1990; Ryan, Carranza, and Moffie 1977; Wible and Hui 1985). For example, Lindemann (2005) investigated native English speaker stereotypes of non-native English speakers. She found that speakers from certain countries were rated higher for English “correctness” than others. She also found ratings for “correctness”, “friendliness”, and “pleasant-
ness” often aligned, suggesting that language and personal evaluations can coincide. Also investigating the link between language and person perception, Wible and Hui (1985) played tapes of American females speaking CSL to a group of native Mandarin speakers and found that the speakers who were perceived as more proficient were also rated as more competent, ambitious, and intelligent than those who were perceived as less proficient. On the same note, Rubin and Smith (1990) demonstrated that undergraduates’ negative attitudes toward non-native English-speaking teaching assistants were more influenced by negative stereotypes about communicative competence and accentedness than to actual communicative problems from heavy accentedness.

Wible and Hui’s (1985) study focused on one group of CSL speakers: Americans. Many questions remain with respect to whether CSL speaker gender, ethnicity, nationality, and/or region of origin affect how native speakers perceive their CSL speech. To the author’s knowledge, the only study carried out in this area so far is that of Geda (2011), who conducted a matched guise experiment in which samples of CSL speech were played with a photo of a face of white, black, or Chinese ethnicity. Geda found that the same sample of female CSL speech was rated much more harshly when presented with a Chinese photo, suggesting that there might be higher expectations for CSL speakers who look Chinese than for those who do not. The current study expands on Geda’s (2011) research by incorporating more ethnicities as well as nationalities or regions of origin in the interview questions. The goal of this project was to identify the kinds of stereotypes native Mandarin speakers have about CSL speakers of different ethnicities and/or nationalities so that they may be addressed in CSL teacher-training programs.

2. METHODOLOGY. To investigate the kinds of attitudes native Mandarin speakers have toward individuals of different ethnicities and nationalities, two different methods of inquiry were employed: (1) a questionnaire written in Chinese characters in which participants were asked to rate how well the people of a particular country/region of the world speak CSL, on a Likert scale from 1 (very poorly) to 6 (very well) (shown in Appendix A); and (2) sociolinguistic interviews in which participants were shown photos of individuals of different ethnicities and asked to comment on their imagined CSL speaking abilities. The interview questions can be found in Appendix B to this paper. The photos, presented in Appendix C, were headshots of people of approximately the same age who differed in ethnicity and gender. In the analysis and discussion of this paper, the photos are referred to by the affiliation (nationality or region) that the majority of participants identified for each photo.

Participants were also asked in the interviews to comment on the CSL speaking abilities of different groups of people according to nationality or region of origin. The decision to use countries in some cases and nationalities in others for both the surveys and interviews was based on the researcher’s extensive interactions with Chinese mainlanders. The researcher used specific nationalities when she believed they would be recognized by participants and regions otherwise. In order to obtain both breadth and depth in responses, the questionnaire was administered to a larger pool of participants, while the interviews were intended to obtain potential explanations for the results of the questionnaire.

3. PARTICIPANTS. The questionnaire was conducted by the primary researcher and friends of the primary researcher, who administered the survey to their family and/or friends. It was completed by forty native Mandarin speakers from China and Taiwan. There were nine interview participants, all of whom were native Mandarin-speaking females from the Chinese mainland who were between the ages of 25 and 35. All nine participants were given pseudonyms: Alberta, Betty, Charlene, Delta, Evelyn, Fran, Gail, Hilda, and Isabelle. It is worth noting that all of the interview participants were pursuing graduate degrees in the U.S., and six of them had experience teaching foreigners. While the difference in responses from CSL teachers versus non-CSL teachers has not been analyzed for this paper, such an analysis could provide fruitful insights.

4. QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS. The questionnaire results showed a distinct trend in ratings for the question “How well would each of the following groups speak Mandarin Chinese?” Unpaired t-tests showed significant differences in ratings between particular groups of foreigners. The two-tailed p-values for the significant differences are presented in table 1 below. Japanese, Koreans, and Americans were rated sig-
nificantly higher than all other groups asked about on the questionnaire. Indians and Middle Easterners were rated the lowest, followed by Africans, and then South Americans.

TABLE 1. SIGNIFICANCE OF TRENDS IN RATINGS OF CSL ABILITY ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE, LISTED BY COUNTRY (N=37; NS=NOT SIGNIFICANT)

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<th>Europe</th>
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FIGURE 1. AVERAGE RATINGS OF CSL SPEAKING ABILITY ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE, BY NATIONALITY (N=37)

5. INTERVIEW DATA. The questionnaire results demonstrate that there are consistent language-based stereotypes across different subjects; certain groups are expected to be worse CSL speakers based entirely on their nationality or region of origin. To address the reasons behind these responses, qualitative analysis of interview data was conducted. Specifically, the interviewees’ responses were used to determine whether the positive/negative responses gathered in the survey for how well different groups of foreigners speak Mandarin were due to general negative stereotypes of those groups, to lack of exposure to members of those nationalities who can speak Mandarin, or to other factors. Certain themes regarding foreigners’ Mandarin-speaking abilities seemed to emerge from the participants’ comments. These themes are presented below in order of how many interviews they were present in (from the highest number to the lowest number) and are illustrated with select comments drawn from the interviews.
5.1 THEME #1: EXPOSURE AND EXPERIENCE AFFECT JUDGMENTS. The amount of exposure participants had to members of the target nationalities seemed to affect their responses to whether or not those groups of people would speak Mandarin well. In eight out of the nine interviews, positive reviews of Mandarin speaking ability were associated with interactions with people of the target nationalities who could speak Mandarin well. This idea is illustrated in the following two quotes:

Interviewer: Which group of people do you think speak Mandarin the best?
Charlene: As far as I know among my friends, U.S. ... American ... I don't know the reason ... maybe they have put three or four years in learning that so that's the reason.
Fran: Uh maybe [the African male in the photo could speak] a little bit 'cause I have one friend is black and he can speak a little bit of Chinese.

Likewise, lack of experience interacting with people of the target nationalities who could speak Mandarin was associated with the idea that people of those nationalities would not speak Mandarin well. This is shown in the quotes below.

Interviewer: You think they [Europeans] would be easy or difficult to understand?
Delta: I think very difficult ... maybe because I seldom heard European people speak Mandarin so maybe that's part of the reason.
Interviewer: What about people from India?
Hilda: Indian ... uh I have a lot of friends from India but none of them can speak Chinese <laughter from participant>.

Therefore, participants seem to make their decisions about how well individuals would speak Mandarin, based on their own interactional experiences. From a pedagogical standpoint, this theme stresses the importance of exposing CSL teachers-in-training to speech samples from a variety of nationalities and ethnicities so that they may revise any prejudices they have about the abilities of particular groups of foreigners.

5.2 THEME #2: BEING “CLOSE” TO CHINA IS SPEAKING MANDARIN WELL. In four of the interviews, participants provided the idea of “closeness” to China—whether geographically, culturally, or metaphorically “close”—as rationale for their judgments of CSL speakers. The following two quotes indicate a kind of cultural closeness that implies Mandarin-speaking ability:

Interviewer: So out of those groups who do you think speaks Mandarin the worst?
Hilda: The worst? Uh maybe from Middle East or ... yeah because they are different no matter from religion or from culture everywhere very very different ... so I think they don't need to study Chinese ... we are from two different worlds I think.
Delta: I think uh she looks very clever smart from I can tell from her eyes and uh but I cannot connect her with you know with Mandarin ... uh it seems she is far away from Chinese culture.

Other quotes were more ambiguous as to exactly what kind of closeness the interview participant wished to imply:

Interviewer: are they [Japanese] easy or difficult to understand when they’re speaking Mandarin?
Charlene: I think it's it's easy ... for yeah ... close to Mandarin ... or close to China.

It also seemed from the interview data that “looking Chinese” is another way of being “close” to China and therefore having Mandarin-speaking ability. Comments from four different interviews showed a relationship between the individual in the picture “looking Chinese” or “having Chinese blood” and positive evaluations of her/his Mandarin-speaking abilities. The notion of Chinese appearance implying Mandarin-speaking ability is demonstrated in the following set of excerpts from the interviews:

Betty: Yeah she [the East Asian female photo] looks like she can speak Mandarin ... because she has a Chinese face ... she looks like Chinese people.
Interviewer: If you met this person in China do you think he’d be able to speak Mandarin Chinese?
Fran: I think so he looks like a Chinese <laughter>

Isabelle: It’s hard to say. Of course the people with Asian face you will I think they can they should learn some or they have the Chinese backgrounds ... it’s Asian face. And maybe the white ones cannot speak Chinese.

The following quotes demonstrate the idea expressed by two participants that individuals with Chinese blood will be more likely to speak Mandarin than those without:

Betty: I think he [the East Asian male photo] will know a lot of a lot of daily used um daily based vocabulary than those whose totally have no Chinese blood or Chinese um relation.

Isabelle: [in contrast with Americans who have no Chinese heritage] Chinese [American] people have some uh some tradition. No matter where you are you still think China is your home. They will never change your face; you have the blood—Korean blood or Chinese blood ... so we more pay attention. Asian people pay more attention their origin—yeah their family their group.

It seems from these comments, then, that ethnicity might be a factor in native Mandarin speakers’ stereotypes about non-native CSL speaker ability. Will these ethnicity-related stereotypes affect their perception of CSL speech? As previously mentioned, Geda (2011) found that native Mandarin speakers rated the same sample of CSL speech more harshly when shown a photo of Chinese ethnicity than when shown a photo of non-Chinese ethnicity. Numerous first-language studies have also shown that a speaker’s gender, ethnicity, or other aspects of physical appearance can affect how listeners perceive their speech (Strand and Johnson 1996; Johnson, Strand, and D’Imperio 1999; Niedzielski 1999; Staum Casasanto 2009). There is, however, a need for more research to investigate the effect of visual information on CSL perception. While Geda’s study used a rating task for more qualitative judgments, a reaction-time experiment could provide evidence for whether ethnicity affects native speaker online processing of CSL speech. Based on the findings from this study, we might expect native Mandarin speakers to perform faster and/or more correctly on a lexical judgment task while looking at a Chinese or East Asian photo than while looking at a non-Chinese or non-Asian photo. For now, we have evidence that there are stereotypes about how individuals of different ethnicities and/or nationalities speak Mandarin; it remains to be tested whether those stereotypes affect L2 Mandarin speech perception.

With respect to CSL pedagogy, it may be the case that CSL teachers have different expectations for their students based on whether they are heritage learners (and therefore “closer” to Chinese culture). Differential standards for groups of students based on their ethnicity and background could frustrate heritage and non-heritage learners alike. It is therefore important to consider whether heritage language (HL) learners and foreign language (FL) learners should be taught in separate classes. As identified by Li and Duff (2008), these kinds of issues regarding Mandarin language curricula for heritage vs. non-heritage learners have not yet received due attention.

### 5.3 Theme #3: Accent in One Language Means Accent in Another

In four of the interviews, interview participants equated CSL accent with English as a second language (ESL) accent; that is to say, if a group of people have a strong accent in English, they would most likely also have a strong accent in Mandarin. This theme is demonstrated in the quotes below.

Gail: uh she [Indian female] might have accent because when they speak English they have accent too ... yeah their accent actually impact their like second or third language a lot so that's why.

Evelyn: I would say maybe Middle East [people speak Mandarin the worst] just because they have very strong accent in English so I assume it will be the same for Chinese.

Interviewer: How do you think they [Middle Easterners] sound like when they speak Mandarin as a second language?
Delta: uh maybe they will have very strong accents ... like the accent when they speak English.

From a perceptual standpoint, it would be interesting to investigate whether there is any truth in perception to what the participants are describing in the quotes above; is it the case that if a person is stereo-
typed by Participant X as having a strong accent in her/his first/second language that it will affect Participant X’s perception of that individual’s speech? Future research will need to address this issue.

5.4 Theme #4: There is not necessarily a relationship between general stereotypes and speech stereotypes. Lindemann (2005) found a correlation between speech stereotypes and person perception for some but not all of the nationalities she investigated. There were similarly mixed results in the current study; only two interviewees expressed both negative person stereotypes and negative CSL speaking stereotypes, both with respect to Japanese people. Following are two examples of that finding.

Interviewer: Would [a Japanese female] sound good or bad if she could speak Mandarin?
Delta: Maybe not so good … the pronunciation is not so good.
Interviewer: Would you be friends with her?
Delta: Maybe not … one thing is about the history between China and Japan … we still have the impression is not so good … maybe we have watched a lot of movies in which the Japanese … they don’t give me good impression.

Isabelle: But I think most of Japanese cannot speak [CSL] yes uh you know China and Japan has a long history of war and they … most of Chinese do not like the Japanese … I think because of the war because of the history so that’s why normally do not so open to each other.

It is possible, therefore, that negative general stereotypes could be affecting these participants’ judgments of CSL speech. The inverse is also possible, however, as demonstrated by Delta’s perception of Africans. Even though she expressed very negative overall stereotypes of African males who live in China, her reviews of their Mandarin-speaking abilities were quite high. These results therefore provide support for Lindemann’s findings that there is not always a correlation between person perception and speech stereotypes.

5.5 Theme #5: No business, no Mandarin. In three of the interviews, participants expressed the idea that foreigners primarily learn for “money-making” purposes. This idea is demonstrated in the following three quotes.

Hilda: I think if they [Africans] can they’ll speak very well because maybe for some commercial reasons or some political reasons because so they their major is Chinese I think they had they had a training.

Gail: I think um there are a lot of American men that learn Chinese for business purpose yeah they need to do business with China so they will learn Mandarin.

Isabelle: In my experience, I think Koreans and Africans can speak Chinese well because they want to make business and make profit … they have business relations with China more.

However, it is worth noting that one participant mentioned that some foreigners learn Mandarin because they are interested in Chinese culture:

Fran: hmm maybe if I met him in China maybe then he likes China yeah that's why like China like the culture.

It is possible, therefore, that the findings on the questionnaire were the result of stereotypes about which groups of foreigners would be most motivated to learn Mandarin for business purposes. Japanese, Koreans, and Americans, for instance, would be highly motivated to learn Mandarin since there is a growing amount of international commerce conducted between China and those countries. Foreigners from other regions or nationalities, such as Africa, India, and the Middle East, might be expected to have lower motivation to learn Mandarin because they have little trade with China, and therefore would be given lower CSL ability ratings on the questionnaire. Future research should investigate this notion further to find out how much “business motivation” plays into stereotypes about CSL-speaking ability.

5.6 Theme #6: No resources, no Mandarin. A final theme that emerged in two interviews was that countries or regions in which individuals have more access to CSL resources would have better CSL speakers. The following quote from Fran illustrates this idea.
Kate Hardeman: Foreigners Speaking Chinese? Attitudes about Non-Native Mandarin Speakers

Fran: I think maybe even better than Japanese people yeah because of the language policy in Korea right now as I said Chinese already become the second language for them to learn yeah.

It could be, therefore, that questionnaire respondents used notions of which countries have more CSL resources in making their judgments about CSL speakers from the different nationalities and regions. Regions of the world in which there are not very many CSL-teaching/learning resources would be expected to have fewer Mandarin speakers, as was expressed in two different interviews:

Fran: [I think they would sound worse speaking Mandarin than Western people because] um maybe I have my stereotype that African countries they are kind of poor ... maybe Africa yeah as I said they have just a little resources to learn Chinese and it's not like they have a lot of technology as resources to learn yeah just a stereotype.

Evelyn: So I think for those people [people from Africa] they are motivated to learn they just don't have as much opportunities as some other areas.

While Fran has the expectation that foreigners with few CSL learning resources will not be able to speak Mandarin well, Evelyn does not make a direct assessment of how well they would speak Mandarin. Regardless, these quotes could explain why Africans were rated so low on the CSL ability questionnaire. Future research will need to investigate this as well as the other themes discussed above (perhaps in the form of interviews or questionnaires) to find out which of them are more prominent in judgments of CSL speaking ability.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS. This study investigated the kinds of stereotypes native Mandarin speakers have about different groups of foreigners who speak CSL. The questionnaires demonstrated that some groups of foreigners are stereotyped by native Mandarin speakers as better able to speak CSL than other groups. The importance of addressing stereotypes, whether they are linked to ethnicity or place of origin, in second language education has been addressed by many scholars in the literature on teaching English as a second language (Kumaravadivelu 2003; Kubota and Lin 2006). However, this is the first study to address this with respect to CSL education. The themes that emerged from the interviews provide a starting point for discussions of why native Mandarin-speaking individuals have certain stereotypes about how foreigners speak CSL. While having stereotypes about groups of people is a natural way for the human brain to make sense of its chaotic interactional environment, it is important to raise awareness about how stereotypes might negatively affect groups of CSL learners from stigmatized countries/regions. Future research should investigate which groups of foreigners need to be targeted in discussions about stereotypes in CSL teacher training programs (i.e., groups that were rated lowest on the questionnaire). Teacher-training programs can dedicate time to developing discussions among CSL teachers-in-training with respect to any prejudices they might have about different groups of learners. Investigation of the attitudes native Mandarin speakers have regarding CSL speakers is the crucial first step in beginning a dialogue about stereotypes and their impact on CSL education.
APPENDIX A. SURVEY

**Survey**

Hai 你好, 你认为下面的外国人说英语好吗？1是 "非常差"，6是 "非常好"。

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<td>10</td>
<td>Russian speakers of Mandarin</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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From this list of different foreign languages, which one do you think is the best spoken? Why? __________

Which one do you think is the worst? Why? __________
APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Part 1. Introduction:

1. What is your first language?
2. Where did you grow up?
3. What is your educational background?
4. What language(s) do you speak with your parents and other family members?
5. What other language(s) do you speak and when do you speak them?
6. How much time have you spent in the U.S. or other English-speaking countries?
7. How long have you been living in Hawai‘i?
8. How do you like living in Hawai‘i?
9. What do you do like to do in your spare time?
10. What kinds of music do you listen to?
11. What are your favorite movies?
12. Where are most of your friends from – China? America? Elsewhere?
13. How much traveling have you done? Where have you been?

Part 2: CSL Speech with Visual Information

Interviewer Script: Now I am going to show you some pictures of people and ask you some questions about them. [Interviewer will show a picture of a person’s face and will then ask the following questions while the participant is looking at the picture. The faces will differ in gender, ethnicity, and/or age. Altogether there will be eight pictures for the participants to comment on. The masculine pronoun has been used in all the questions below, but that will be replaced with the feminine pronoun for all pictures of female faces.]

1. Where do you think this person is from?
2. Do you think this person can speak Chinese? Why or why not?
3. If so, how good do you think he is at speaking Chinese? What level would you say he is at?
4. Does he sound good or bad when he speaks Mandarin?
5. What kinds of special characteristics does his speech have?
6. What kinds of mistakes does he make?
7. How would you describe this person in general? What kinds of impressions do you have of him?
8. Is he well-educated?
9. What is his occupation?
10. Would you be friends with him?
11. Do you think he is polite?
12. Would you trust him?
13. Does he value his own culture?
14. Does he value other cultures?

Part 3: CSL Speech and Nationality

Interviewer Script: Now I’m going to ask you some questions about how people of different nationalities sound when they are speaking Mandarin. You can rely on people you know from these places who speak Mandarin or any other impressions you have from movies, T.V., etc.

1. How do you think Americans sound when they speak Mandarin as a second language?
2. Are they easy/difficult to understand?
3. What kinds of mistakes do they make?
4. Do you like listening to Americans who speak Mandarin? Do they sound good or bad?
5. Who do you think sound better: American men speaking Mandarin, or American women speaking Mandarin?
6. How would you describe Americans in general? Can you tell me your impressions of them?
7. [Repeat all parts of Question 1 above for the following groups, replacing the underlined word in Question 4 above with each of the following: Europe, Africa, Middle East, India, South America, Australia, Japan, Korea, Russia.]
8. Out of all the groups I just asked you about (America, Europe, Africa, Middle East, India, South America, Australia, Japan, Korea, Russia), who do you think speaks Mandarin as a second language the best? Who sounds the best speaking Mandarin? Who do you think speaks Mandarin as a second language the worst? Why?

APPENDIX C. INTERVIEW PICTURES AND CODES

Code: AFRICAN FEMALE + MALE
Code: INDIAN FEMALE
Code: MIDDLE EASTERN MALE
Code: EAST ASIAN FEMALE + MALE
Code: EUROPEAN FEMALE + MALE
REFERENCES


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