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THE IMPACT OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY EDUCATION ON L1 ENGLISH SPEAKERS' IDEOLOGIES, ATTITUDES, AND PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TEACHING ASSISTANTS

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This study investigates the effectiveness of a one-hour linguistic diversity workshop designed to improve LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES; ATTITUDEs toward international teaching assistants (ITAs); and perceptions of ITAs' LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, ACCENTEDNESS, COMPREHENSIBILITY, and TEACHING QUALITY. Participants completed pre- and post-workshop ratings of ITA speech, and results suggest that such a workshop can improve LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES and perceptions of ACCENTEDNESS and COMPREHENSIBILITY. Three other outcome variables – ATTITUDE, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, and TEACHING QUALITY – were not significantly affected. But the positive effects on the perceived ACCENTEDNESS and COMPREHENSIBILITY of international English varieties appear to generalize beyond those varieties featured in the workshop. Some recommendations for interventions designed to improve cross-linguistic communication in the post-secondary classroom are given.

INTRODUCTION

Oral communication involves both speakers *and* listeners comprising a "speech circuit" (Figure 1). Thus, successful communication is jointly constructed (e.g., Lindemann & Subtirelu, 2013; Lindsey et al., 2015). When Saussure broadly sketched some of the psychological, physiological, and physical processes involved in speech production, he gave almost equal attention to the same for speech perception and comprehension noting in particular the "psychological association of [a given] pattern with the corresponding concept" (1983, p. 12) as a crucial facet of communication.

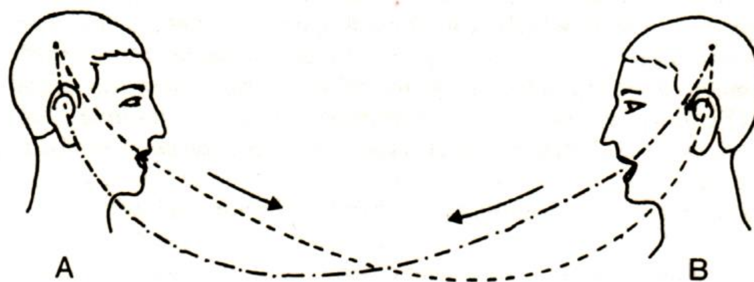

Figure 1. The speech circuit (Saussure, 1983, p. 11)

And while there is no circuit without the listener, the approach to improving communication across linguistic differences (i.e., cross-linguistic communication) in the post-secondary classroom has

been almost entirely unidirectional, focused on modifying speech while almost entirely overlooking the psychological factors related to listening (Kang et al., 2015, p. 686).

Yet, even if the speech signal closely matches the first language (L1) of the listener, research indicates that comprehension can be reduced by as much as 40% if the listener harbors negative attitudes toward a speaker from an outgroup (Rubin, 1992; cf. Babel & Russell, 2015). Many individuals have a firmly rooted standard language ideology – a belief that there is a single, "correct" form of English (Lippi Green, 1997, 2012; Milroy, 2001) – reinforced by the widespread myth that the standardized variety is linguistically superior. This notion is sustained by years of instruction in lexis and grammar that, lacking "critical appraisal" (Luke, 2004, p. 87), is often framed even by well-meaning teachers (see Freire, 2018, p. 75) as "good English" while other varieties are characterized as "bad English." Thus, Standardized English is a variety that is constantly being constructed as "correct" or "proper" (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2010). The result of this language ideology is that people who believe that they speak Standardized English may refuse to shoulder their share of the communicative burden when interacting with speakers whose English they believe to be non-standard or accented (Subtirelu, 2014).

It is our position that such biases constitute part of the psychological process of receptive communication that Saussure identified. As such, working with international instructors to modify their speaking skills to the exclusion of domestic students who can likewise improve their listening is to completely disregard key aspects of the speech circuit and to miss a valuable opportunity to improve campus climate and prepare undergraduates for an increasingly globalized workforce. Most importantly, however, even if our English language proficiency efforts with international instructors are successful as they have been traditionally conceived (i.e., as accent modification), if the negative language ideologies and biases of students remain unchanged, it is unlikely that classroom communication will be improved no matter how closely the speech signal of instructors matches the L1 of their audience (Kang & Rubin, 2009, 2014; Lindemann, 2002; Rubin, 1992, 2002; Rubin & Smith, 1990). Thus, if classroom communication is to achieve its maximum potential, the rigor of accent modification efforts should be matched or exceeded by the rigor of efforts aimed at addressing the psychological barriers to speech comprehension.

EXISTING INTERVENTIONS

There is a substantial body of scholarship on prejudice reduction interventions, which can be grouped into two broad categories – intergroup approaches that "aim at changing group interactions and group boundaries" through contact, and individual approaches that "target an individual's feelings, cognitions, and behaviors" (Paluck & Green, 2009, p. 345). At least a handful of strategies including cooperative learning, peer influence/dialogue, intergroup contact, and cross-cultural training are supported by experimental evidence from both the field and the laboratory (p. 358). Of these, contact-based approaches have been studied most closely by those hoping to improve cross-linguistic communication in the post-secondary classroom. These interventions are rooted in the prescriptions of the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), which holds that contact between two groups under the right conditions attenuates negative outgroup bias. This approach is generally believed to be effective because:

> First […] social contact across cleavage lines may reduce prejudice by *increasing knowledge* about the out-group and revealing negative stereotypes to be false.

> Second, it may *reduce anxiety* about encounters with out-group members. Third, contact may result in *increased empathy and perspective-taking*. (Scacco & Warren, 2018, p. 656)

Of course, the contact hypothesis has been reframed several times to account for conditions of productive contact that were not included in the initial framing of the hypothesis. And operating as bias does upon lines of social demarcation, one key condition that has been added involves the "local, situated, and often improvised" construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of identities during the moment of contact (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 382). Thus, contact-based interventions are frequently influenced by factors that can only be explained by a theory that accounts for social categorization and identification. Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is one example. Strategies inspired by SIT attempt to make different levels of identity salient in contact-based interventions to "break down or rearrange social boundaries" (Paluck & Green, 2009, p. 346). In one version – *decategorization* – group membership is deemphasized so that interactants see their counterparts as individuals and the outgroups associated with their counterparts as less homogeneous (Brewer & Miller, 1984). To the contrary, an alternative strategy inspired by SIT – *mutual differentiation* – maintains that group identity must remain salient if the positive outcomes of interpersonal interaction are to generalize beyond the individual to the group (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). A third strategy – *recategorization* (Gaertner et al., 1993) – involves both *decategorization* and *mutual differentiation* by shifting "the focus from the level of the two differentiated groups [*decategorization*] to a higher-order category that subsumes the two groups [*mutual differentiation*] under a single superordinate identity [*recategorization*]" (Wright et al., 2004, p. 124, bracketed text added). Contact-based interventions aimed at improving students' attitudes toward international instructors have made varying use of SIT but have nevertheless yielded promising results that consistently show a weakening of negative bias and often show improvements in perceptions of ACCENTEDNESS and COMPREHENSIBILITY.

One form of contact that is widely used in language proficiency programs is the conversation partnership, which matches L1 speakers of the target language with L2+ learners (i.e., those learning the language as a second, third, fourth, etc. language) for regular, one-on-one interactions. Although this has traditionally been utilized for the benefit of the L2+ speaker, the potential benefits to the L1 speaker have not gone unnoticed. In one study, eight-week conversation partnerships between U.S. undergraduates and international teaching assistants (ITAs) resulted in improved ratings of ITAs' ACCENTEDNESS, COMPREHENSIBILITY, and TEACHING QUALITY (Staples et al., 2014) – effects that may obtain at least in part because of improved ATTITUDEs. Indeed, the conditions of a conversation partnership can be favorable for "producing positive 'personalized' interactions during which interactants not only see each other as unique individuals, but also acquire specific, even self-relevant, information about each other" (Wright et al., 2004, p. 123). That is, conversation partnerships are ideally situated to achieve *decategorization* through the cultivation of intergroup friendships – "a more intimate form of intergroup contact" (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019, p. 12), which generally produces a larger effect on ATTITUDE than contact lacking this intimacy and personalization (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). But this kind of personalization might also produce exceptionalist sentiments in participants (i.e., the belief that their partner is "one of the good ones" – not truly a prototypical outgroup member), and, thus, attitudinal improvements may fail to generalize to the outgroup writ large. Consequently, some have argued that "in order for there to be generalization of this interpersonal liking from the individual to the outgroup as a whole, group categories must be salient during cross-group

interactions" (Wright et al., 2004, p. 123). But this is not always the case, and even intergroup contact that stops short of intergroup friendship and does not activate or manipulate social categorization produces "a small but reliable" impact on attitudes (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019, p. 123).

In one study, participation in a weekly, semester-long contact-based intervention appeared to prevent the gradual degeneration of attitudes toward ITAs that was observed in a control group that had no such intervention (Smith et al., 2005). Another type of contact activity – a one-hour problem-solving game attended by U.S. undergraduates and ITAs – though much less likely to produce intergroup friendships, nevertheless obtained positive results, producing an improvement in ratings of COMPREHENSIBILITY and TEACHING QUALITY although LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY and ACCENTEDNESS ratings were unchanged (Kang et al., 2015). Thus, contact-based activities, especially those that successfully activate strategies associated with SIT, can attenuate bias toward international instructors and even improve perceptions of ACCENTEDNESS and COMPREHENSIBILITY. But the extent to which these positive results generalize beyond the individual to their outgroup and beyond their outgroup to other outgroups not directly involved in the intervention remains an important consideration.

> Critics generally concede that intergroup contact often leads to improved attitudes among the participants. But the critical question is whether these altered attitudes generalize beyond the immediate situation to new situations, to the entire outgroup, or even to outgroups not involved in the contact (Pettigrew, 1997, 1998). If the changes wrought by contact are limited to the particular situation and the immediate outgroup participants, the practical value of the theory is obviously severely restricted. (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 754)

As such, any intervention worth serious consideration for broad implementation needs to demonstrate that the net benefits obtained as a result can generalize beyond the immediate participants and the social groups that they identify with. And the number of resources required to facilitate these contact activities raises additional concerns about scalability. To conduct enough contact activities to impact every student within a large university is a challenge, particularly in universities where there is relative demographic homogeneity. Scalability alone makes an individual approach (Paluck & Green, 2009) highly desirable if such a strategy can likewise mitigate negative attitudes toward international instructors. Because these attitudes are undergirded by standard language ideologies that maintain the linguistic superiority of Standardized English, directly addressing key language myths that support these ideologies could undercut their support structure, compromising the underpinnings of the ideologies that feed negative attitudes toward international instructors. Critical Language Pedagogy aims to do just that. Interventions and strategies associated with Critical Language Pedagogy lead "students to critical examinations of the ideologies surrounding language and dialects, the power relations such ideologies uphold, and ways to change these ideologies" (Godley & Minnici, 2008, p. 320). Often situated in a credit-bearing or professional development context and directed at pre- and in-service K-12 teachers, facilitators use a variety of delivery methods including videos, highly-structured intergroup contact, and discussion among other activities over several sessions to ameliorate LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES and improve the ATTITUDES of participants toward outgroups and marginalized language varieties (Eslami et al., 2015, 2019; Godley & Minnici, 2008; Godley & Reaser, 2018). These efforts result in improvements in both respects, but thus far direct outcomes

on cross-linguistic communication have not been measured, so it is not clear what impact the psychological improvements of this type of linguistic diversity education have on communication across linguistic differences. Still, Critical Language Pedagogy is instructive with respect to the specific learning outcomes and methods that are effective in deprogramming negative LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES and ATTITUDES.

Short-form linguistic diversity education has also been utilized at the post-secondary level, but rather than improve the ATTITUDES and LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES of dominant group members, these efforts generally aim to enhance the sense of social-belonging among participants from marginalized groups (e.g. Wolf et al., 2018). As such, attitudinal and ideological improvements of participants from dominant groups have not been measured, much less enhancements in other domains of cross-linguistic communication. Nevertheless, there is much that can be gleaned from these studies particularly by way of approaches that are well-received by participants.

The Study

In an effort to improve cross-linguistic communication, applied linguists in one university's center for teaching and learning designed and delivered a one-hour workshop on linguistic diversity aimed at members of the dominant language group (i.e., L1 speakers of American English). This intervention was aimed at U.S. undergraduate students with the goal of improving communication between domestic undergraduates and international instructors by cultivating more willing and flexible listeners.

In the following, we pursue four research questions.

> RQ1: Do demographic differences of participants impact their LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY; ATTITUDES toward ITAs; and perceptions of ITAs' LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, ACCENTEDNESS, COMPREHENSIBILITY, and TEACHING QUALITY?
>
> RQ2: Does a one-hour linguistic diversity workshop positively influence L1 speakers with respect to the outcome variables identified in RQ1?
>
> RQ3: Do the effects of this short-form, individual intervention generalize to outgroup speech and speakers not directly addressed therein?
>
> RQ4: What activities are best received by participants and most effective in yielding positive changes in the outcome variables?

METHODS

Participants

Fifty-three participants were recruited via a campus-wide email distribution and were remunerated to increase our likelihood of enlisting students from a variety of academic backgrounds. Some aspects of the demographic breakdown are shown in Table 1 below. Participants were randomly assigned to a control group or an experimental group. The lack of balance for multilingual participants is owing to the random assignment of participants to the experimental and control

groups, so we had no control over the number of participants who are multilingual speakers in each group.

Table 1
Demographic information of participants

Group		Experimental	Control
Gender	Male	7	7
	Female	16	23
Year	First-year	8	8
	Sophomore	6	4
	Junior	4	4
	Senior	5	14
Language background	Monolingual English speaker	22	22
	Multilingual speaker	1	8
Total	/	23	30

We ran a correlation analysis between each demographic predictor and each outcome variable, which did not reveal any statistically significant correlations between participants' language background and outcome variables.

Procedure

The study consisted of three phases of pencil and paper data collection, all of which occurred in our language lab. In the first phase, participants provided basic demographic details and information about their multi-cultural and multilingual experience (Rubin, 1992). Then, they completed a survey that assessed their ATTITUDES toward ITAs (Plakans, 1997) and their LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY statuses (Villarreal, 2013; Wolf et al., 2018). After completing this initial survey, participants were then asked to rate the perceived English LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, COMPREHENSIBILITY, ACCENTEDNESS, and TEACHING QUALITY of eight speakers with a variety of accents, based on two-minute-long audio clips of their teaching samples (Table 2). The first audio clip was of an L1 American English speaker, to minimize the floor effect, wherein an initial sample is rated too low, leaving little room for a participant to assign a lower rating to subsequent samples. The variables we measured are shown in Table 3 with a brief definition and explanation of rating. The minimum rating that could be given for any of the outcome variables was 1 and the maximum, 7. This scale was chosen in part because it matches that used in other studies (e.g. Kang et al., 2015). During testing, the order of the scales was reversed between measures (e.g., 7 in LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY indicates less standard language ideology, and 7 in COMPREHENSIBILITY indicates less comprehensible) to eliminate order bias and elicit thoughtful answers.

Table 2
Speech samples

Sample No.	Accent	Proficiency (TOEFL Speaking Score)	Topic
0	American English	/	Leadership skills
1	Spanish	20	Concrete
2	Farsi	20	Engineering
3	Chinese	18	Nutrition
4	Spanish	23	Sociology
5	Chinese	18	Cognitive psychology
6	Chinese	19	Chemistry
7	Indian	23	Monty Hall problem

Table 3
Outcome variables, definition, and scoring

Outcome variable	Definition	Rating (1-7)	Source
LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY	Belief that one is a standard language user whom others should accommodate	Higher rating = less standard language ideology	Villareal, 2013; Wolf et al., 2018
ATTITUDE	Prejudice against ITAs	Higher rating = less bias against ITAs	Plakans, 1997
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY	Rater's perception of ITAs' language proficiency	Higher rating = more perceived proficiency	Kang et al., 2015
COMPREHENSIBILITY	Perceived ease of understanding ITAs' speech	Higher rating = more effort to understand	Kang, 2010
ACCENTEDNESS	Perceived accentedness of ITAs' speech	Higher rating = less noticeable accent	Derwing & Munro, 2005
TEACHING QUALITY	Perceived teaching quality and effectiveness of ITAs	Higher rating = lower teaching quality	Staples et al., 2014

Our Intervention

Study participants who were randomly selected for the experimental group participated in an hour-long workshop guided by the assumptions and approaches of Critical Language Pedagogy – a framework that involves three key aspects – 1) naming and critiquing dominant language ideologies, 2) utilizing dialogue in knowledge construction, and 3) relying on students' experience and understanding rather than the facilitator's (Godley & Minnici, 2008, pp. 323-324).

The learning outcomes for the workshop were for participants to:

1) Identify the source of judgements about different varieties of English;
2) Discuss the merits and dangers of language standardization;
3) Interrogate the linguistic merits of Standardized English;
4) Trace the rise of English as a lingua franca;

5) Weigh the feasibility and desirability of accent modification; and
6) Identify the factors that affect listening comprehension.

The work described above (Eslami et al., 2015, 2019; Godley & Minnici, 2008; Wolf et al., 2018) aided consultants in developing the approaches that would likely be most effective during this linguistic diversity workshop. And a number of activities were developed to help students identify and deconstruct standard language ideologies through dialogue using their own linguistic and sociolinguistic intuitions. These activities included:

1) A casting activity during which students listened to a variety of accents of English and decided which speaker to cast for characters in an animated film, which was followed by a group discussion;
2) A debate about the merits and pitfalls of language standardization;
3) A guided self-analysis of participants' accents;
4) A comparison of the reflexive pronouns in White Vernacular English and Standardized English; and
5) Brief presentations about the history of standardization in English, the rise of English as lingua franca, and evidence-based strategies to improve one's listening comprehension of unfamiliar accents.

After the workshop intervention, the participants returned to our language lab within a week and completed a post-test that was identical to the pre-test except that the demographic questionnaire and the survey of their multi-cultural and multilingual experience was not repeated. During the post-test, participants listened to and rated the same audio files from the pre-test. Except for that of the L1 English speaker, which was rated first in both tests for all participants, the order of the speech samples was randomly determined for each participant during both the pre- and post-tests.

RESULTS

RQ1

We first conducted a correlation test on the demographic predictors and outcome variables. Statistically significant correlations were found only between GENDER and COMPREHENSIBILITY ($r = 0.3413$, $p < 0.05$), and FOREIGN LANGUAGE BACKGROUND and LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY ($r = 0.3477$, $p < 0.05$). As such, most demographic variables were not included in the multiple regression analysis, except for the test related to COMPREHENSIBILITY, where GENDER was retained in the model, and the test related to LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY, where FOREIGN LANGUAGE BACKGROUND was retained (see Table 5).

RQ2

The pre- and post-test means for each outcome variable are shown below in Table 4. Workshop and control groups are listed for comparison. Multiple regression was used to identify which, if any, differences were statistically significant. We used multiple regression because we controlled for the pre-intervention score of each variable and background variables where the correlation test revealed that these were relevant. Thus, each model has at least two independent variables – pre-intervention score and instruction – and some have three. The reader will recall that higher scores are better for LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY, ATTITUDE, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, and ACCENTEDNESS, so a

positive change is desirable with these outcome variables. To the contrary, lower scores are better for COMPREHENSIBILITY and TEACHING QUALITY, so a negative change is desirable with these outcome variables.

Table 4
Pre- & Post-test results

Variable	Group	Pre-test $\bar{x}$ (SD)	Post-test $\bar{x}$ (SD)	Change
LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY	Workshop	2.478 (1.039)	4.000 (1.600)	1.522
	Control	2.167 (0.950)	2.733 (1.617)	0.566
ATTITUDE	Workshop	4.217 (0.951)	4.174 (1.193)	-0.043
	Control	4.267 (1.363)	4.267 (1.285)	0
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY	Workshop	3.957 (1.107)	4.478 (0.738)	0.521
	Control	4.633 (1.090)	4.867 (1.106)	0.234
COMPREHENSIBILITY	Workshop	3.783 (0.902)	3.217 (0.600)	-0.566
	Control	3.567 (0.817)	3.467 (0.868)	-0.1
ACCENTEDNESS	Workshop	2.174 (0.717)	2.565 (0.718)	0.391
	Control	2.200 (0.550)	2.233 (0.626)	0.033
TEACHING QUALITY	Workshop	3.217 (0.982)	2.827 (0.835)	-0.39
	Control	2.867 (0.937)	2.833 (1.020)	-0.034

Table 5 presents the significant effects as revealed by the multiple regression analysis. The linguistic diversity workshop intervention produced a statistically significant improvement in three areas – LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY (p = .02), ACCENTEDNESS (p = .048), and COMPREHENSIBILITY (p = .042).

Table 5
Results of multiple regression for LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY, ACCENTEDNESS, and COMPREHENSIBILITY

Variable		Coef.	SE	t	P	CI
LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY	Foreign language learning background	-0.012	0.297	-0.04	0.968	-0.609, 0.585
	Language Ideology_Pre	0.648	0.214	3.03	0.004	0.219, 1.078
	Workshop_group	1.059	0.44	2.41	0.02*	0.175, 1.944
	Constant	1.338	0.576	2.32	0.024	0.181, 2.496
	R-squared	0.270				
ACCENTEDNESS	Accentedness_Pre	0.465	0.136	3.41	0.001	0.191, 0.738
	Workshop_group	0.344	0.169	2.03	0.048*	0.004, 0.684
	Constant	1.211	0.320	3.79	0.000	0.569, 1.854
	R-squared	0.236				
COMPREHENSIBILITY	Gender	0.286	0.189	1.51	0.138	-0.095, 0.667
	Comprehensibility_Pre	0.526	0.099	5.30	0.000	0.326, 0.725
	Workshop_group	-0.342	0.165	-2.09	0.042*	-0.672, -0.133
	Constant	1.373	0.359	3.82	0.000	2.095
	R-squared	0.424				

Thus, participants' standard language ideologies were reduced and ITAs were perceived as being more easily comprehended and their speech less accented. Three other outcomes were not significantly affected – ATTITUDE, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, and TEACHING QUALITY.

RQ3

The generalizability of intervention outcomes was of particular interest, so the mean gains for each perceptual variable (i.e., COMPREHENSIBILITY, ACCENTEDNESS, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, and TEACHING QUALITY) were compared across the four international English varieties represented by the audio samples used in the pre- and post-test (i.e., Chinese, Spanish, Farsi, and Indian English). The results are shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6
Results of multiple regression for COMPREHENSIBILITY, ACCENTEDNESS, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, and TEACHING QUALITY for experimental group only

Variable	Language of Audio Sample	Pre-test $\bar{x}$ (sd)	Post-test $\bar{x}$ (sd)	$\bar{x}$ Gain (sd)	$\bar{x}$ Gain across Languages (sd)	P
COMPREHENSIBILITY	Chinese	4.04 (1.11)	3.43 (0.79)	-0.61 (0.22)	-0.55 (1.05)	0.40
	Spanish	3.04 (1.07)	2.65 (0.98)	-0.39 (0.16)		
	Farsi	3.35 (0.93)	2.96 (1.02)	-0.39 (0.22)		
	Indian	3.52 (1.59)	2.70 (0.97)	-0.83 (0.26)		
ACCENTEDNESS	Chinese	2.30 (0.93)	2.57 (0.73)	0.26 (0.17)	0.34 (0.88)	0.37
	Spanish	2.65 (0.83)	2.83 (0.83)	0.17 (0.20)		
	Farsi	2.13 (0.76)	2.52 (0.67)	0.39 (0.16)		
	Indian	2.43 (1.08	2.96 (0.82)	0.52 (0.21)		
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY	Chinese	2.74 (1.14)	3.52 (0.85)	0.78 (0.21)	0.49 (1.24)	0.06
	Spanish	3.96 (1.26)	4.09 (1.00)	0.13 (0.26)		
	Farsi	3.22 (1.00)	3.43 (1.04)	0.22 (0.23)		
	Indian	3.70 (1.55)	4.52 (0.99)	0.83 (0.30)		
TEACHING QUALITY	Chinese	3.30 (1.02)	3.04 (0.82)	-0.26 (0.21)	-0.32 (1.19)	0.80
	Spanish	3.00 (1.51)	2.74 (1.10)	-0.26 (0.24)		
	Farsi	3.39 (1.34)	2.87 (1.06)	-0.52 (0.27)		
	Indian	2.74 (1.14)	2.52 (1.34)	-0.22 (0.28)		

Although a handful of short sound files (69 words) of Chinese, Spanish, and Indian accented Englishes were played for participants during the workshop's casting activity, international varieties were not featured prominently in the intervention. In spite of this, the positive gains generalized beyond marginalized British and American English varieties, which were heavily referenced in the workshop, to second language (L2) varieties that received little to no attention including Farsi English, which was never featured in the intervention. Although the ratings of LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY approached the threshold of statistical significance, no significant difference was observed between any of the international English varieties that participants rated during the pre- and post-tests.

RQ4

To assess which aspects of the workshop had the greatest impact upon participants, we distributed an open-ended survey on paper at the immediate conclusion of the workshop. Figure 2 shows the most commonly cited activities by survey respondents.

Rooted as it is in Critical Language Pedagogy, the linguistic diversity workshop makes much use of discussion, which was identified by Wolf et al. (2018) as the most favorably cited aspect of their linguistic diversity initiative. Survey responses for our workshop also cite the discussion as the most appealing activity to participants, but because it is used so regularly throughout the session, it is sometimes unclear which discussion participants are referencing in their survey responses if, indeed, they had any particular discussion in mind at all. In any event, well-structured discussion is highly beneficial because it facilitates the co-construction and discovery of knowledge and enhances the sense of ownership that participants feel about that knowledge. There is little explicit lecturing in the workshop, but future improvements would consist of finding even more ways to minimize the lecture and help participants discover key concepts by other means.

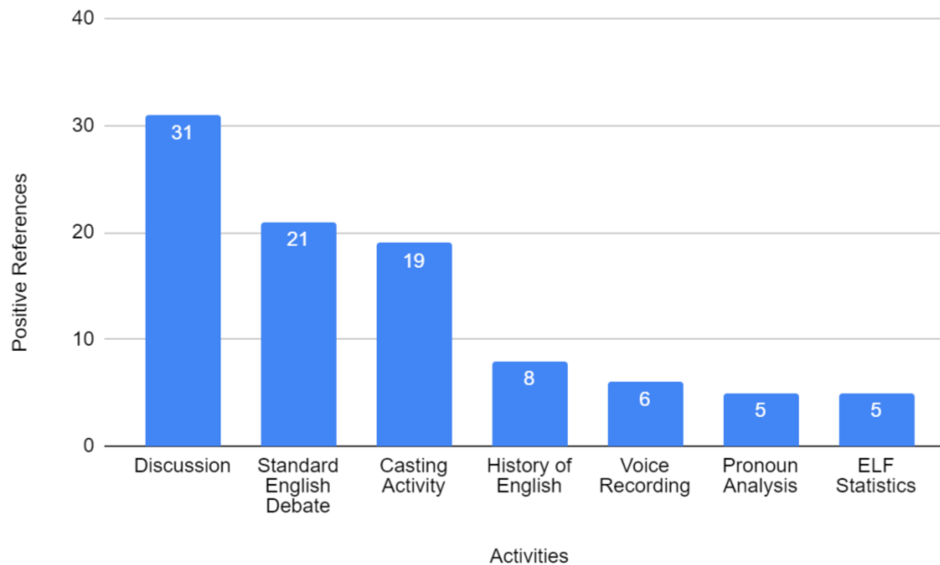

Figure 2. Activities cited as impactful in end-of-workshop survey (n = 83)

The most commonly referenced specific activity is a “debate” staged during the session. Participants were asked to stand up and move to one of three parts of the room marked as “agree,” “disagree,” and “neutral” based upon their response to the prompt “Language standardization is a good thing.” These groups then discussed their reasons for picking their position, and after a short discussion with those who share a similar opinion, each group shared with the whole. In general, far more participants picked “neutral” than either of the extremes. And when “somewhat agree” and “somewhat disagree” were provided giving five available options, nobody chose the extremes. They saw value in both standardized and non-standard language varieties.

The opening activity is also commonly cited as engaging and revelatory. During this activity, participants listened to up to eight different voices from the Speech Accent Archive (Weinberger,

2015) representing a variety of English accents including L1 and L2 varieties. After hearing each of the voices, participants were asked to choose a cast for an animated film with characters including a boss/supervisor, a villain, a hero, and a fool. Selected results from one workshop (n = 31) are shown in Figures 3 and 4 below.

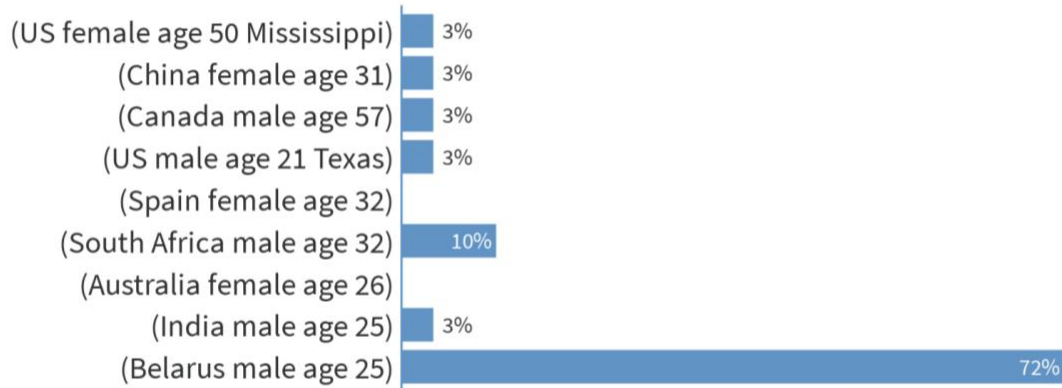

Figure 3. Voices selected by participants for the villain

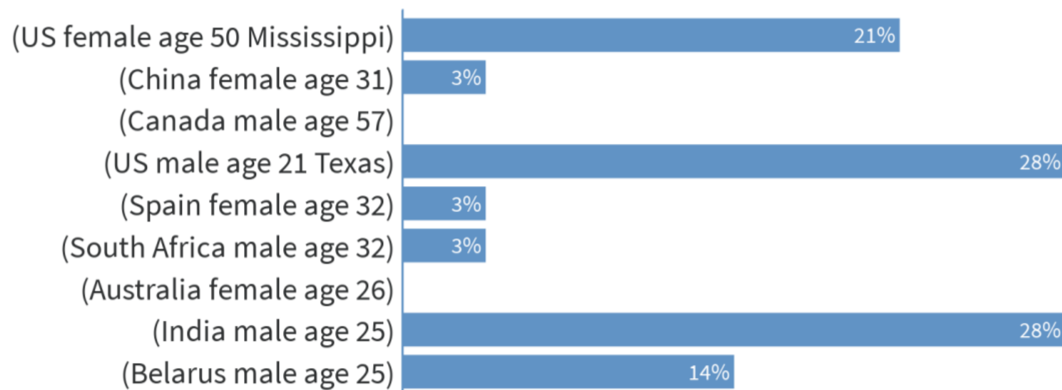

Figure 4. Voices selected by participants for the fool

Given that villains in children's animated television mostly use non-American accents (Dobrow & Gidney, 1998; see also Lippi-Green, 2012), it may not surprise the reader that workshop participants chose non-American accents for this character. Although this activity always featured a variety of non-American accents, Eastern European- and Russian-accented English speakers were far and away the most frequently picked for the villain. Meanwhile, speakers of Southern White Vernacular English(es) and Indian English(es) were most frequently picked for the character of the fool. Women were often picked for the role of a person in distress. And male speakers of less stigmatized varieties of North American English were most frequently picked for the boss/supervisor character.

The participants were never shown their own results so as not to negatively impact the tone of the workshop. Instead, they were sometimes shown the aggregate results from previous workshops and asked to discuss anything that they felt was noteworthy about a previous group's responses. The purpose of this activity was to activate participants' sociolinguistic awareness and interrogate underlying associations between the groups that these language varieties are socioindexically linked to and specific character traits like leadership ability, intelligence, and trustworthiness. Participants easily noticed trends like those recorded here and often cited popular media as the source of their associations. The discussion that followed frequently resulted in participants acknowledging the bias inherent these associations.

Another activity that is cited is a group analysis of the reflexive pronouns of White Vernacular English (shown in Table 7 below). During this activity, participants were asked to imagine that they were explaining how to form the reflexive pronouns to an English language learner who wants to know the rule. Even if they lacked some of the metalanguage to describe the process, groups were typically able to generate the morphological rule formalized in Figure 5 – that the possessive pronoun is combined with *self* and that the two morphemes must agree in number.

Table 7
Reflexive Pronouns of White Vernacular English (Siemund, 2002)

	Singular	Plural
1st person	myself	ourselves
2nd person	yourself	yourselves
3rd person	hisself, herself, itself	theirselves

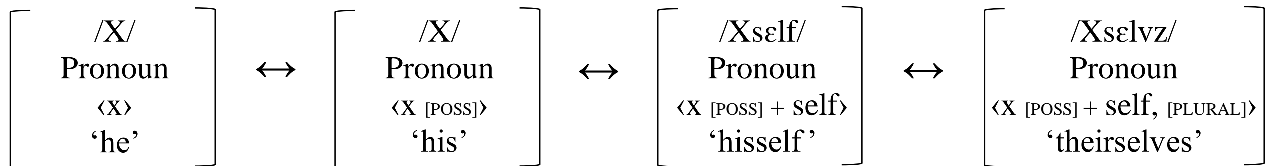

Figure 5. Morphological rule for reflexive pronoun formation in White Vernacular English

After they generated this rule, participants were then asked to attempt the same for the reflexive pronouns of Standardized English (shown in Table 8).

Table 8
Reflexive Pronouns of Standardized English (Trudgill, 1999)

	Singular	Plural
1st person	myself	ourselves
2nd person	yourself	yourselves
3rd person	himself, herself, itself	themselves

They quickly recognized that, at least in this case, a non-standard variety is in fact more consistent than Standardized English, which uses the object form of the personal pronouns in both 3rd person singular and plural but possessive pronouns in all other persons and numbers. This exercise is designed to lead participants to the conclusion that Standardized English is not standard by virtue of its being more logical or systematic than alternatives – a common assumption held by those with a strong standard language ideology.

Another activity cited by participants as being particularly impactful is the voice recording and subsequent accent self-analysis. Each participant recorded their own voice reading a few sentences aloud (simultaneously, each using their own personal electronic device); then each listened to their recording, noting dialectal features, such as the *cot/caught* merger and the *pin/pen* merger. These two exercises (i.e., the linguistic analysis of reflexive pronouns and the accent self-analysis) frequently led participants to discover that their speech is not as standard as they initially believed, further weakening underlying assumptions that support standard language ideologies.

DISCUSSION

The results of our study indicate that participants who were linguistic outgroup members were no more favorable to ITAs than those who were dominant group members, but a short-form (i.e., one-hour) linguistic diversity workshop had a statistically significant effect on half of the outcome variables measured: undergraduates' LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, their perceptions of ITAs' speech ACCENTEDNESS, and their perceptions of ITAs' COMPREHENSIBILITY. Thus, a positive shift in standard LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY was accompanied by a positive shift in COMPREHENSIBILITY and ACCENTEDNESS, adding support to our assumption that LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY is associated with the psychological process of language perception and comprehension (Lippi-Green, 2012). The attenuating of standard language ideologies made ITAs' speech seem less accented and listening comprehension feel less burdensome (i.e., participants became more willing and flexible listeners). We expect that future analyses of our data will make the association between language ideologies and perceptions of COMPREHENSIBILITY and ACCENTEDNESS clearer still.

Remarkably, outcomes observed in the experimental group show evidence of generalization to outgroups that were not directly addressed in the intervention. While the majority of the emphasis in the workshop was devoted to variation in L1 varieties of British and American English, gains in perceptions of L2+ speech and L2+ speakers were consistent across all four international English varieties that participants rated. Thus, it is possible to improve communication across linguistic differences without directly addressing each and every marginalized speech variety.

Survey responses generally support the finding reported in Wolf et al. (2018) that participants prefer workshop activities that allow them to dialogue about key concepts covered in the session. Similarly, we experienced great success with activities that allowed participants to discover "the systematicity and grammatical structure of non-standard dialects," (Wolf et al., 2018, p. 10). When these discoveries were subsequently compared to Standardized English, standard language ideologies were weakened. For example, some participants indicated that the reflexive pronoun activity helped them to realize that they were not, in fact, a speaker of Standardized English.

Despite these gains, no significant effect was observed for undergraduates' ATTITUDEs towards ITAs or their perceptions of ITAs' LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY or TEACHING QUALITY. Whereas both

of the intergroup contact interventions discussed above produce marked improvement in TEACHING QUALITY ratings (Staples et al., 2014; Kang et al., 2015), the linguistic diversity workshop fails to move the needle in this respect. This could be a result of the pre- and post-test delivery method for teaching samples. Two-minute audio segments were extracted from longer, videotaped teaching demonstrations, so the lesson is an excerpt twice removed from its original context – a face-to-face delivery. It is unlikely that short, audiotaped segments of unidirectional lecturing would ever be rated highly compared to face-to-face interactive teaching. But, more importantly, this only underscores the importance of contact activities, which *do* move the needle on TEACHING QUALITY. Hence contact activities and explicit education about linguistic diversity each have their place. A two-pronged approach (both contact activities and linguistic diversity workshops involving the same participants) may be the most effective way to achieve improved classroom communication and tolerance of different speech varieties. While long-form personalized contact shows the greatest promise for changing attitudes and improving communication, the logistics of long-form contact activities might not be feasible at many institutions. Yet even short-form contact activities (perhaps undertaken at the department or program level) combined with a university-wide, short-form linguistic diversity workshop net comparable if not better results for improved classroom communication and campus climate.

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APPENDICES

Interview questions, data collection instruments, and transcripts will be provided upon request to the authors.