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Investigating Deficit Perspectives and Raciolinguistic Ideologies
Through Language Attitude Study

by

Gabriella Licata

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Romance Languages and Literatures

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Women, Gender, and Sexuality

in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Associate Professor Justin Davidson, Chair
Professor Keith Johnson
Associate Professor Patricia Baquedano-López
Professor Mia Fuller
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Abstract

Investigating Deficit Perspectives and Raciolinguistic Ideologies
Through Language Attitude Study

by

Gabriella Licata

Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Languages and Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Associate Professor Justin Davidson, Chair

The present dissertation research examines potential language attitude changes in progress towards language varieties and groups of people who have socioeconomically been framed as possessing deficits by neocolonial standards. I seek to reveal if younger generations are diverging from older ones in their perception of either US Spanish or the 'Italian native speaker'. The dissertation is divided into two experiments that each use multiple models of social cognition to determine if language attitudes are stable or if they are involved in a change in progress. Each experiment contains three research components: 1) the *matched guise technique* (MGT; Lambert et al. 1960), an indirect method that garners explicit attitudes; 2) the *implicit association test* (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998) to elicit automatic associations; and 3) quantitative direct questioning (see Kircher, 2022) to collect explicit attitudes. The results from a three-point continuum of attitudes—explicit (directly via direct questioning) to semi-implicit/explicit (indirectly via the MGT) to implicit (indirectly via IAT)— allow researchers to test the implicit–explicit attitudinal discrepancy (IED) hypothesis (Karpen et al. 2012) to determine the following: 1) which social groups demonstrate significant differences in evaluations—i.e., bias divergence—and are leading attitude changes in progress; and 2) which social groups demonstrate insignificant difference in evaluations, i.e., bias convergence, or attitude stability. Because attitude changes in progress are being assessed, participant groups will be stratified in age, and the differences in attitude changes among age groups will demonstrate if younger generations in the given speech community are diverging from their predecessors in their perceptions of stigmatized language.

The first line of experiments assesses a possible attitude change in progress towards standardized Spanish (SS) and US Spanish (USS) repertoires (colloquially, Spanglish), a variety that has been historically discriminated against, often described as a hybrid whose speakers demonstrate a lack of competency in Spanish and/or English (Poplack, 1980). Earlier attitude research (Galindo, 1996; Hidalgo, 1986) found the presence of Spanglish and codeswitching to indicate 'broken' or 'incomplete' Spanish acquisition. More recently, Rangel et al. (2015) used the MGT to collect language attitudes of bilinguals towards Spanish, English and Spanglish. They found that listeners rated Spanglish least favorably, with female listeners awarding more positive speech evaluations to standardized Spanish speakers. Experiment one employs the MGT to explore how both younger and older US Spanish language users react to a SS and a USS repertoire with typical lexical features often categorized as *Spanglish*. Both groups rated SS more favorably on *prestige* and *solidarity,* however the younger group evaluated USS more positively in terms of the perceived *acquisition* of the speaker. The IAT demonstrated that both groups had more positive associations between Spanish + Good than Spanglish + Good, though the older groups association was significantly stronger than the younger group. Data collected via direct questioning demonstrate that the younger group overall had more positive explicit attitudes towards US Spanish than the older group.

The second line of experiments assesses native speaker status in Italy, where citizenship and family roots are seemingly tied to the notion of being a 'native speaker' of Italian. This experiment also examines *reverse linguistic stereotyping* (Kang & Rubin, 2009), or when nonlinguistic information affects listener judgements of a person's linguistic repertoire before they even begin speaking, by presenting listeners with photos of people representing different races and backgrounds (white, Black, East Asian). As immigrants and refugees continue to arrive in large number in Europe, the examination of raciolinguistic ideologies and the pathologization of 'foreignized' Italians and Italian language users is vital to dismantling more covertly enacted oppression, such as monolingual Italian policies in schools (Chini, 2011; Migliarini & Cioè-Peña, 2022). As nationalism and populism continues to become more normalized in public ways, anti-Black, anti-Asian, and xenophobia in general will need to be examined closely in linguistic study. These ideologies go back to the state building process that promulgated a national language as intrinsic to an idealized national identity (Robustelli, 2018). Findings from the MGT demonstrate that younger and older participants alike evaluate the white female Roman voice paired with the photo of the East Asian woman unfavorably on the social qualities of authentic *native speaker status* and *public prestige,* while no differences presented among the same voice paired with the photos of white and Black women nor the male study subjects of any race. Relatedly, the two IATs paired Italian or East Asian/African descendance with

Good/Bad revealed that both age groups have faster reaction times (i.e., stronger associations) when associated Italian descendance with Good in both tests. Dissimilarly, direct questioning data demonstrates more positive explicit attitudes towards an expanded notion of the 'Italian native speaker'.

In testing the IED hypothesis, Case Study #1 demonstrates that younger participants are generally diverging from older in their evaluations of US Spanish speakers, moving in a positive direction that is more accepting of USS, particularly in relation to *acquisition* (shown in the MGT and direct questioning) and solidarity (via direct questioning). These generational differences shed light on the changing indexical field of US Spanish(es) and the potential for further validation and valorization of innovative languaging. Case Study #2 does not demonstrate any generational differences; that is, both the younger and older groups demonstrated similar bias towards the notion of a 'native speaker', highlighting how the white native or Italian speaker defines *italianità* (hereby Italianness), or conformity to the specificities of Italians or their ethnicity, language, or culture. As nonethnic Italians continue to integrate into Italian society, interdisciplinary research that examines raciolinguistic ideologies, among others, is vital to disseminating systemic barriers of exclusion.

Table of Contents

Dedication / Dedicazione / Dedicación / Dedicação

I want to dedicate this dissertation to anyone who has been made to feel inferior for the way they communicate.

Voglio dedicare questa tesi a qualunque persona che si sia sentito inferiore per il modo in cui comunica.

Quiero dedicar esta tesis a cualquier persona que se haya sentido inferior por la forma en que se comunica.

Veuggiu dedicà questa tesi a tutte e persunne che i sen sentire ciú nesce pe a manea de parlà.

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Terminology, positionality and motivation

In this paper, the term *language* is also used as a verb when not specifically related to the act of speaking; those who *language* are able to communicate their entire linguistic repertoire—words, signs, pragmatics, cultural affiliations. This term reduces phonocentricism, which privileges sounds and speech over signs and written forms, and reduces artificial and political language boundaries (García, 2019; Henner & Robinson, 2023b).

My work here and beyond aims to examine the coloniality of power in language departments as a necessary step in taking a praxistical path of [language] decolonization (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018), meaning that decolonial theory is applied to research and pedagogical practice despite the limitations from within a university (cf. Harney & Moten, 2013) on stolen lands (Coastal Miwok and Huichin). Relatedly, my predecessors and I have benefited from settler colonialism, as I form part of the second-generation of Italian immigrants and grew up in a multilingual household. Though I have been subject to linguistic discrimination, I do not face the same systemic and racialized battles that many of my students and peers have and continue to encounter, though I use my experiences as a multilingual to connect and empathize (Bartolomé, 2004, 2006). I am a former secondary Spanish teacher in distinct classes designated for L2 and heritage languagers and was trained to use additive approaches of language learning that promote double monolingualism (Heller, 2006). My stances have since changed; I support dynamic multilingualism (García, 2011) as the starting point. As a sociolinguist in a language department, I openly critique the ways in which languages are framed and scientifically examined as separate cognitive systems that conveniently pave the way for deficit perspectives, and I also experience firsthand the dearth of linguists and critical language perspectives in the humanities.

Chapter 1: Introduction

As linguistics intersects with critical perspectives of race, gender, and ethnicity, understanding how language bias operates both explicitly and implicitly is vital to breaking down oppressive structures. Standard language ideologies undergird discriminatory language practices in neocolonial contexts, allowing for the racialization of people and language practices based upon the assumption that there exists a 'default' or 'correct' way of communicating, an ideological position heavily reliant on idealizations of language users beyond language use (Rosa & Flores, 2017). Attitudinal studies are imperative to unearth how discrimination plays out in damaging and oftentimes invisibilized ways, sustaining systemic barriers in all realms. Unveiling biases that lie above and below the level of consciousness provides broad and accessible information to researchers, policy makers, and institutions (e.g., schools, hospitals) invested in dismantling discriminatory language practices. Attitudinal research contributes to raciolinguistic (Rosa & Flores, 2017) and deficit (Valencia, 2012) perspectives, as it can take intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989) approaches to understand how the indexical field of culturally-situated language practices serve as the catalyst for discrimination, a discussion that is universally important for understanding how bias positions language as intrinsically connected to race, ethnicity, and gender, among other social constructs.

Quantitative attitude studies that aim to uncover a listener's implicit biases towards languagers and their linguistic output elucidate how the broader ideological systems of a society inform individual expectations in a given context. In keeping with the anthropological linguistic stance that language is *embodied*, meaning that "the social status of the languager can impact how their language practices are taken up by the listener" (or perceiver) (Flores, 2021), various methodologies in quantitative attitudinal research lend insight into the generalized biases that certain groups hold not only towards particular linguistic forms, but also towards the languagers who use them to express their identities, casting light on how linguistic variables and varieties are conditioned by social meanings attached to a languager's indexical field (Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003) and the perceiver's past experiences (Kang & Rubin, 2009).

A common methodology used for attitudinal research is the *matched guise technique* (Kircher, 2016b; Lambert et al., 1960, 1966). The MGT is an experimental model that indirectly elicits attitudes from listeners that they might not otherwise admit if asked directly. Since Lambert et al.'s foundational study, assessing the attitudes of French Canadians towards English and French, several matched guise experiments have aided in mapping out the indexical field of languages in multilingual settings (Golubović & Sokolić, 2013; Kircher, 2016a; Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2013) and of linguistic variables (e.g. Campbell-Kibler, 2011; Chappell, 2016; Davidson, 2019;

Villarreal, 2018; Walker et al., 2014). However, scholars have called into question *how* below the level of consciousness MGT evaluations truly are (see Rosseel & Grondelaers, 2019), as studies have shown that listeners will issue discrepancies in judgement even when they know that they are listening to the same speaker using different language forms (Soukup, 2013) and may even issue more severe ratings when they are made conscious of the fact they are rating speech with stigmatized language variants (Rosseel et al., 2019). This evidences implicitness as a gradient construct (Rosseel & Grondelaers, 2019). In response, linguistic research has incorporated psychological models to evaluate bias, namely the *implicit association test* (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998; Lane et al., 2007), a research paradigm that estimates of the strength of subconscious mental associations between concepts and attributes by measuring the difference in response latency to each concept with one specific attribute. Campbell-Kibler (2012) found that responses to direct questioning and social evaluations did not correlate with IAT results, affirming the different mental processes that distinct methods can elicit (p. 761).

The present dissertation research utilizes multiple models of social cognition as a multifaceted approach to understanding language biases, namely, the matched guise technique, the implicit association test, and direct questioning. Chapter 2 takes a deep dive into how [neo]colonialism undergirds raciolinguistic ideologies and deficit perspectives. Chapter 3 provides a thorough overview of the implementation and use of the experimental paradigms utilized in the case studies in this dissertation. The first line of experiments assesses a possible attitude change in progress towards a standardized Spanish and US Spanish repertoire, the latter of which has been historically discriminated against, often described as a hybridized variety whose languagers demonstrate a lack of competency in Spanish and/or English (Poplack, 1980). In this experiment, I use the MGT to measure listener attitudes towards speakers of standardized Spanish and Spanglish, and then measure the implicit bias that Spanish speakers have towards the concepts Spanish/Spanglish with the attributes Good/Bad.

The second line of experiments assesses a possible attitude change in progress towards the co-naturalization of race and perceived native speaker status (see Rosa & Flores, 2017 for an overview of raciolinguistics) of Italian in Italy. Narrow perceptions of 'nativeness' have been naturalized and entrenched in the biological and ethnic connection of race and nationality. In this experiment, the voices of both female and male white Roman Italians is paired with photos of East Asian, Black and white women and men (respectively). I utilize top-down effects of social information (i.e., race and gender) to test *reverse linguistic stereotyping* (Kang & Rubin, 2009); that is, when nonlinguistic signs affect a listener's perceptions of language production. Using the IAT, participants react to associations of people with Italian and African or East Asian descent with social attributes of Good/Bad.

Sociolinguistic perception research can cast light on how explicit and/or implicit ideological tendencies may play out subconsciously (i.e., a change from below) or

consciously (i.e., a change from above) in expressed attitudes. Early formed implicit associations can be understood in their sociohistorical context to better understand how they persist in everyday assumptions of people and language varieties. The proposed research also adds to the existing literature that considers explicit and implicit biases to be two separate mental processes "that act independently and rely on distinct brain structures" (Petty et al., 2009). Where explicit attitudes may demonstrate a positive shift (e.g., anti-racist) but implicit bias negative (e.g., racist), cognitive research has explored this bifurcation and the possible reversal of implicit biases that are harmful (Dovidio et al., 2000). Results offer new insights towards how raciolinguistic ideologies and deficit perspectives plague folk conceptualizations of national and neocolonial language varieties and the people that employ them. Accordingly, I urge educators to reexamine how traditional models of language teaching maintain raciolinguistic ideologies and deficit perspectives in and outside of the classroom.

Chapter 2: Standard language ideologies and the 'Spanish' and Italian' varieties

1. Introduction

A language ideology refers to beliefs, attitudes, and values that shape how language and language users are perceived, evaluated, and used within a particular community or society. Language ideologies reflect and perpetuate the contexts in which they emerge, as the sociopolitical underpinnings for the assumptions people hold about language structure, function, and meaning are vital for understanding how individuals and groups form attitudes about individuals people and language communities (Gal & Irvine, 2019; Irvine et al., 2009; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Language ideologies reflect and reinforce power dynamics, social hierarchies, and cultural norms, bearing weight on which languages are maintained and promoted in the home and public spaces.

Largely situated within the breadth of language ideologies is the examination of standard language ideologies (hereby SLIs), which encompass a range of beliefs and attitudes regarding what constitutes a 'standard' or 'correct' language. SLIs are most commonly based upon written and codified language that are 'acceptable' forms of communication that are supported in institutions (see Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 56-65). The process of standardizing a language dates back to ancient civilizations that developed writing systems, for example, Sumerian cuneiform script, which was later used to codify the Sumerian language (Woods, 2010). The institutional bodies or individuals in charge of standardizing a language create boundaries that make certain linguistic forms 'standard' variants of a language. This language then undergoes naming and labeling through this arbitrary process of bordering and delineating what 'belongs' under the umbrella of the named variety or not (García, 2019; Makoni, 2011), leading to further idealization of what constitutes a "native" language user (Holiday, 2006).

The mere existence of SLIs implies an idealized or 'officialized' written and oral form of language. This notion, however, simultaneously disembodies language from those who produce it (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2016), as variation is inherent to language production. The language varieties and linguistic forms that fall outside a society's hegemonic standard undergo various processes of language subordination that manifest at the level of institution, community, and individual, causing nonstandardized or unelevated language varieties to be devalued, often described as dialects or slang, terms meant to disparage them and their languagers (Lippi-Green, 2012). The language-or-dialect dichotomy is vigorously debated in various linguistic circles depending on the subfield. This distinction, however, is less likely to be challenged by laypeople, who readily use these terms to denote the levels of social capital associated with a language, rather than differences along a dialectal continuum (Benson, 2003). Take for instance, Nahuatl speakers who consider the variety to be a dialect (or, subordinately positioned to Mexican Spanish; Corril Carvente & Sánchez

González, 2014), demonstrating how the purposeful discourse of language politics and planning reaches the masses through systemic reiteration. That is, the institutional bodies that seek to hegemonize a language variety for political and economic reasons are not only successful in the process of creating and naming a 'standard' code, but also are effective in the promulgation of a supreme standard language as a natural and necessary feature of a stable socioeconomic condition.

Language standardization in the era of modernity, and particularly in Europe, was part and parcel to the conceptualization of the nation-state and expansion of a colonial empire (García, 2019). Linguistic nationalism refers to the belief that a particular named language or set of [named] languages is closely tied to a national or ethnic identity (see Ferguson et al., 1968). Linguistic nationalists advocate for the promulgation and preservation of their language(s) as a means of fostering national identity and cultural cohesion (Laitin, 1992). Linguistic nationalism makes language an intrinsic component to national identity, often emphasizing the importance of a standard language as a unifying force within a physically bordered nation. This process, specifically when elevating one named language variety, involves the suppression of languages that are forcibly minoritized (Kloss, 1967) and institutionally subordinated (Lippi-Green, 2012). As such, standardized language, when available, becomes a central tool in the maintenance of an ethnic and/or national culture and heritage. This may be realized in a variety of ways, including but not limited to seemingly positive efforts to maintain language through language policy and education. However, standard language ideologies form the precursor to other ideologies that cause harm through exclusion, including linguistic purism, deficit perspectives, and raciolinguistic ideologies. To examine the latter ideologies, critical language scholars have conceptualized SLIs as remnants of coloniality, particularly in Western societies where European colonialism has left its linguistic mark (García et al., 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017; Torquato, 2020; Vitar, 1996; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

This chapter begins by situating SLIs within the conceptual framework of *coloniality of power* (Quijano, 2000; 2007) to examine how language continues to be used as a tool of domination in neocolonial contexts (Wa Thiong'o, 1986). Through this theoretical lens, Spanish and Italian as present-day named language varieties are discussed in light of their roles in Spain and Italy's national and imperial histories. With this background, I then examine how SLIs undergird deficit perspectives and raciolinguistic ideologies, resulting in the model of the idealized speaker-listener and the [linguistic] pathologization of individuals and communities who do not fit this fictionalized mold, giving examples from language communities that employ US Spanish and Italian.

2. Standard language ideologies as coloniality of power

Coloniality of power refers to a concept developed by decolonial thinkers of the Global South, in particularly Aníbal Quijano (2000; 2007) and developed by Walter Mignolo (2007), to describe the persisting legacy of colonialism in shaping contemporary social, economic, and political systems. This position maintains that colonialism did not end with formal or 'official' decolonization but continues to operate through covert mechanisms that perpetuate relations of naturalized hierarchy, exploitation, and inequity. According to Quijano (2000), coloniality of power encompasses the mechanisms through which the world has been made into a single, universal capitalist system, structurally centered in Europe since the sixteenth century, and which still today remains functionally dependent on the hidden exercise of colonial forms of power. This concept highlights the interconnectedness of colonialism, capitalism, and racism, as the violence of the first depends on the exploitation and dehumanization of entire groups of people divided by biological assumptions largely motivated by phenotype (see Fanon, 1961; and Wynter, 2001).

Coloniality of power rooted in Western modernity manifests in various dimensions and dominions, but finds roots in *epistemicide* (Pertierra, 1988), the destruction of epistemologies—or ways of conceptualizing life and being—that precede or are distinct from Eurocentric thoughts and beliefs. Mignolo (2007) expands on this notion, emphasizing that coloniality of power operates through a system of knowledge and epistemology that privileges Western ways of knowing with the goals to intentionally destroy and erase non-Western forms of knowledge. This epistemic coloniality perpetuates a Eurocentric worldview, excluding and devaluing alternative perspectives and ways of understanding the world, creating binaries to mark and divide the 'uncivilized' from the 'civilized' as a means to subordinate the former. The intentional process of bifurcation was an instrumental tool of oppression in periods of domination that elevated colonial epistemologies via ideologies of distinction. In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1961) describes how colonizers semiotically organized a Manichaean world, where qualities of good' and 'evil' were mapped onto the colonizers and the colonized (respectively). This resulted in a series of binaries that defined othered people against the backdrop of whiteness, designating who is considered human (i.e. colonizers) and who is nonhuman (i.e. colonized) (Táíwò, 2013). The Eurocentric othering of racialized peoples facilitated a global campaign of forced domination rooted in hegemonic European epistemologies of biology and anthropology that justified extreme forms of violence. Within this framework, white colonizers characterized themselves "as saints and blacks and natives as sinners" (James, 2013).

The process of creating binaries extended to gender and sex in colonial campaigns through the compartmentalized roles of men and women, to the point where sex and gender were co-constructed and merged into one (Lugones, 2010, p. 744). Many

indigenous populations prior to colonization did not have binary grammatical representations of gender in their societies nor in their language systems, yet settler colonialism forced gender and sex binaries through language and ritual alike (Kauanui, 2018). The violent campaign of colonization of native groups that resulted in (and persist to this day) the disappearance of civilizations additionally resulted in, for those who remained, the demise of their languages as a vehicle for imposing categories of race and gender to naturalize a new sense of being and knowing that was shaped by [linguistic] categories and constraints (Papadopoulos, 2021; author's addition). An intersectional analysis demonstrates how differences in power and position were compounded when racializing processes occurred, setting a substantial difference between white/not white or male/female.

Understanding the colonial process of dehumanization requires a keen look at how language interacts with (dis)ability. A Crip Linguistic perspective (Henner & Robinson, 2023b) bridges raciolinguistics into direct conversation with the pathologization that occurs when deficit perspectives undergird [linguistic] oppression. Crip Linguistics examines the intersection of language and disability, particularly focusing on the experiences and linguistic practices of disabled individuals. Henner and Robinson (2023b) lay out the three major principles of Crip Linguistics: 1) language is not inherently disordered, although impairments may exist; 2) deficit perceptions of the body-mind disorders language users; and 3) disability in languaging cannot be separated from normative expectations of language use. A Crip perspective seeks to challenge ableist assumptions embedded in language and promote inclusivity and accessibility in linguistic practices, unearthing the pathologizing practices that place an individual in the category of disabled in the first place (Canagarajah, 2022; Henner & Robinson, 2023a).

The prevailing dogma of Eurocentric colonial language epistemologies drives the belief that individuals who are unable to speak lack the ability to think or effectively express their desires in order to advocate for their rights (Canagarajah, 2022, p. 3). What it means to be 'unable' to speak has been (re)iterated in old and new ways as neocolonialism continues to shape what it means to communicate effectively. Linguistic research emerging in the 20th century was hyperfocused on the monolingual individual; a grand disregard for the community and intricateness of social networks in forming communicative practices (p. 3) shaped the status quo of linguistic research. A 'formal' approach to linguistic study prioritizes the ideal speaker-listener in a variation-free zone, while ignoring the sociopolitical circumstances of actual language use (Zentella, 2018, p. 190) and language as capital gain (Heller, 2010). A Crip Linguistic analysis helps us to examine how the idealized speaker-listener promoted as a competent baseline subject for linguistic investigation in the 1960's (see Chomsky, 2014) is rooted in ableist and colonial (read: racist and dehumanizing) epistemologies (Canagarajah, 2022; Flores & Rosa, 2022; Namboodiripad & Henner, 2022).

Thus, the SLIs that undergird language research often ignore the evidence of dynamic translingualism that aligns with usage-based models (Wasserscheidt, 2019); that is, they tend to ignore basic sociolinguistic and anthropological tenets that view language production and perception as embodied language experiences (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000). Overtime, these associations can be systemically upheld and exploited by hegemonies whose epistemic reasoning is undergirded by white supremacy, misogyny, and settler colonialism. Racialized and gendered biases are entrenched in US society, promulgated by those seeking to protect white public space and those who see assimilation as a necessary step to inclusion (Arriagada, 2005). As such, we can draw lines from modern-day ideologies to the inception of standardized languages in the processes of nation- and empire-building.

2.1. 'Spanish' and 'Italian' as national and imperial languages

Romance varieties emerged from Vulgar Latin in the Middle Ages (Herman, 2010, p. 96), creating a continuum of diatopic variation. The inception of the European nation-state demanded a delineation of land, people, and language as belonging to the state, imperialistic ideologies that linked all three entities by shared name (e.g. Spain ~ Spaniards ~ Spanish) and as result, national identity (see García, 2019).

A large motivator of Spanish standardization was not only the homogenization of Spanish language users in Spain (where several Romance varieties were and continue to be used), but also a large and lengthy colonial project in the Americas that sought to eliminate linguistic diversity. The year 1492 marked the beginning of trans-Atlantic 'discovery' and language standardization with Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática castellana*, considered to be the first systematic codification of a modern European language (Train, 2007, p. 216). The arrival of colonizers and Castilian Spanish in what is now called Latin America saw all other languages as a problem, as the Royal Charter of 1768 issued by Carlos III officially promoted Spanish and prohibited indigenous languages (Amorós-Negre, 2016, p. 66). The dehumanization of entire civilizations created a ripple effect that reached beliefs about language; for example, the languages of indigenous peoples were also deemed 'inferior' or 'incomplete' and thus needed to be replaced with Spanish. However, Spanish as a linguistic identity was used in independence movements in the early 19th century, and the colonizers' language turned into a nationalistic tool to symbolize the emerging emancipated identities of the newly bordered nations of Latin America (p. 66). Thus, Spanish became even more characteristic of these sovereign nations as they established their regional and global presence, particularly in relation to the United States. The Mexican Cession in 1848 resulted in a large portion of Mexico becoming the South-Western quadrant of the present-day United States. Long-established Spanish-languaging communities—in addition to the several native peoples and languages that long preceded the arrival of

the Spanish variety—found themselves subjected to English-language hegemonies. These Spanish languagers in large part descended from the various indigenous populations that, once oppressed during Spanish colonialism, continued to be marginalized in US imperialistic ventures (Klor de Alva, 1994; Loomba, 2015). Regardless, their presence predating the US annexation of the Southwest persists in the linguistic landscape (see Train, 2016 for a historical account of California).

The present-day conception of what 'Italian' is has been more centralized in its location than the many Spanish varieties that have come to define several bordered nations (e.g. Argentina and Mexico), as Italian is official language only to Italy, parts of Switzerland, and city-states within Italy's borders (e.g., San Marino, Vatican City). The territories that make up present-day Italy unified in 1861—later than Spain, France, and other European countries— and the vast variety of Italo-Romance languages (hereby IRLs), including Genoese, Sicilian, and Calabrian, were the main varieties of communication in their respective regions. In the early stages of nation-building, it is estimated that only 2.5% of the population spoke standardized Italian (De Mauro, 2017, p. 41). IRLs were spoken in nearly every domain, save more formal ones, such as school (Dal Negro & Vietti, 2011), which became the main spreader of Italian to emerging generations, as IRLs in this era were already considered a hindrance to nationalizing through Italianization (p. 2).

Early elevations of standardized Italian allowed for the further dichotomization of language and dialect as socially ranked varieties in 20th century nation and culture bordering. Italy as a fascist state (1922-1943) was envisioned nationally and imperialistically (Ben-Ghiat, 1997, p. 438). The national project during Fascism sought to carry out the plan of Unification to its completion (Ben-Ghiat, 1997); that is, unite very diverse groups under a common law and language. Language policy during this time was molded by the desire to be an autarchic state (Klein, 1989), i.e. self-reliant, along with xenophobia, which can be evidenced in the rejection of 'foreign' words but also the foreignization of autochthonous languages. By the early 20th century, Italian had dispersed and was in diglossia with IRLs, whereby SI was reserved for 'formal' domains, i.e. schools, governments, and their corresponding texts (Dal Negro & Vietti, 2011). The fascist regime saw the maintenance of undesirable regional identity as closely tied to the use of IRLs, since it hindered solidarity and identification with Italian (Ben-Ghiat, 1997). However, IRLs in the first phase of fascism (i.e., the 1920s) were used as mechanisms for learning Italian, thus translation became a pedagogical tool (p. 439). In Italy, when IRLs were taken out of school curriculum, people protested openly and covertly, though regional organization and celebration was prohibited and monitored by the police, and any works published in IRLs needed to bear some allegiance to the fascist state (p. 440). During Fascism, IRLs also became folkloricized not to keep them alive, but to promulgate a historical element of the languages and cultures that placed them in the past. This agenda aimed to exceptionalize IRLs as a means to turn them into

infrequent events instead of part of the quotidian rhythm of the typical Italian's life (p. 440). Since this era, regionality and IRLs in Italy have often times been considered historical relics (p. 442), despite the active and daily use of them. As such, Italian was imposed as the official language for varying lengths of time in Albania, Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Libya (see Ben-Ghiat & Fuller, 2016), and settler colonialism in Northern Africa changed the linguistic landscape that has left its mark today, despite the Italian language no longer being used administratively nor in schools.

The colonial linguistic histories of Spanish and Italian as national and imperial languages have hegemonically privileged standardized varieties, a stance supported by both institutions and laypeople alike in the assignation of prestige to elevated varieties and linguistic variants. The overtly violent labels (e.g. "barbaric or "uncivilized"; see Mignolo, 2007; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Vitar, 1996) used during colonial projects operate more covertly in neocolonial maneuvers to hierarchize language in seemingly 'normal' [linguistic] denotations. For example, *superstrate*, *roofing,* or *reference language* denotes a hierarchy based on a majoritarian linguistic power, meanwhile *dialect* as a layperson's term entails an origin source (e.g., Catalan comes from Spanish) or a prestige variety (e.g., Black English is not as prestigious as 'Academic' English). In the case of communities in language contact, *hybrids* or *pidgins* symbolize 'incomplete or broken acquisition'. A variety not given the status of 'language' is unlikely to merit funding and interpretation services and may not be counted in the census (see Rickford & King, 2016, for the repercussions of this distinction in the courtroom). Relatedly, educators are the traditional arbiters of language standardization enforcement, as the most important language management activities are now those taking place within the school system (Spolsky, 2008). Thus, prioritizing standardized language for sociopolitical and economic priorities at the cost of the maintenance of other varieties in the home and community demonstrates how linguistic coloniality of power enforces the impossibility of language purity, perpetuating falsehoods of the idealized speaker-listener.

3. SLIs as racializing and pathologizing agents

As iterated above, SLIs work to form "bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken [and written] language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions" (Lippi-Green, 2012, 64). A prominent tool of unabashed [linguistic] colonialism, standard language ideologies are "social construct[s] of the nation-border" (Martínez, 2003), reinforcing language boundaries through the intentional subordination of racialized peoples in part through their use of language. The examination of raciolinguistic ideologies (Rosa & Flores, 2017) allows us to examine how language and race are co-naturalized during the [neo]colonial process of division, providing a critical framework to analyze how systemic discrimination is manifested in

how people are perceived and stereotyped. A raciolinguistic perspective illuminates the direct link between colonial motivations and how language is understood within institutional powers, particularly educational institutions (García et al., 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). The reliance on standardized language and monoglossic ideologies work together to create a society that valorizes monolingualism (García & Torres-Guevara, 2009). In educational contexts, this results in a narrowing of what constitutes 'adequate academic expression', leading to the marginalization of dynamic languagers, as their full linguistic and intellectual capabilities are institutionally dismissed (p. 151). However, it is important to recognize that the meaning of 'academic' is not universally fixed (Flores, 2020; Martínez & Mejía, 2020; Valdés, 2004). In its linguistic manifestation, 'academic' language presents an idealized languager who is linguistically 'unmarked' or exempt of racialization (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016; Eckert, 2008; Gal & Irvine, 2019; Silverstein, 2003; Urciuoli, 2011). The notion of the idealized languager is undergirded by colonial ideologies, which are intrinsically tied to conceptualizations of race, thus an inherent aspect of the idealized speaker is approximation and assimilation to *whiteness*, which can be defined as a historic and present hegemonic positioning and perception that can be situationally inhabited both by individuals recognized as white and nonwhite (Lopez, 1997; Rosa & Flores, 2017).

The process of organizing cultural and linguistic diversity around a seemingly natural 'default' reflects the purposeful positioning of coloniality, a "possessive investment in Whiteness," as described by Lipsitz (1998) According to Lipsitz, whiteness serves as the unspoken, unacknowledged norm against which differences are defined and structured within social and cultural dynamics (p. 1). Take, for instance, the assimilatory practices that politicians are meant to undergo when participating in the political arena. For example, former President Obama was lauded for sounding "articulate" and later criticized for using a "blaccent" when addressing a predominantly Black audience (Alim & Smitherman, 2012). Thus, whiteness-as-default is ideologically charged with complex indexical meanings (see Bucholtz, 2001, 2010).

A raciolinguistic perspective reveals the complex, hegemonic underpinnings of social categorization and aims to de-essentialize the alleged "naturalness" of labels as we deconstruct language as an inherently fixed system of signs. An analysis of racializing and marking processes exposes how hegemonic educational structures force multilingual students into embodying *languagelessness*, as they struggle to produce a language that adheres to dominant standards (Rosa, 2016), leading them to view their own linguistic skills as inadequate for academic or institutional contexts. Furthermore, stigmatized language variants, such as certain lexical features of US Spanish, quickly become associated with deficits (Licata, in press[a]). As such, the enforcement and requirement of standardized language practices—particularly in educational contexts—conjures the idea of an idealized speaker-listener. Research attempting to comprehend the language acquisition and communicative processes of multilingual speakers are also

constrained by monolingual idealizations of competence (Flores & Rosa, 2022; Namboodiripad & Henner, 2022), leading to the development of separate frameworks that try to categorize language production based on the frequency of one variety over another. An example of such a framework is the matrix language frame proposed by Myers-Scotton (2001), which attempts to analyze code-switching phenomena in bilingual speech communities through typological methods, basing categorization on one language serving as the "matrix (read: dominant) language" while the other language contributes "embedded language" elements. The matrix language is typically the language that provides the grammatical structure and syntax for the utterance, while the embedded language supplies lexical items or specific linguistic elements. This model relies on the assumption that features of an individual's repertoire are neatly compartmentalized into distinct language categories.

The notion of the idealized speaker-listener undergirds deficit perspectives, which have conceptualized US Spanish languagers as incompetent in Spanish and/or English, a result of the explicit naming and identification of language varieties as distinct separate cognitive entities, a process that (re)produces the identification of people and places with singular [bordered] territories (García, 2019; Otheguy et al., 2015). By positioning languages as separate cognitive systems, it becomes possible to theorize that multilinguals are only partially proficient in one or more of the languages under investigation, a position that leads researchers to examine language innovation otherwise as "semilingualism" (Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). As such, multilinguals are slated as suffering from language 'loss' or 'attrition' if a particular code has not been 'fully acquired' (García et al., 2021). Consequently, numerous language programs aim to 'correct' this presumed deficiency through additive language education (Bartlett & García, 2011). Those who are not easily defined by nationally created linguistic borders experience *languagelessness* (Rosa, 2016), part and parcel to a larger sentiment of not 'belonging' to any nation (see Anzaldúa, 1987). Resultantly, these constructs erase linguistic and cultural heterogeneity, facilitating the convenient placement of languages and people into specific demographic categories, products of colonial epistemologies that sought and continue to maintain the compartmentalization and homogenization of languages to elevate the idealized speaker, as the idealized communicator is a speaking and hearing subject (Henner & Robinson, 2023a). This *abyssal thinking* (de Sousa Santos, 2007; García et al., 2021) draws intentional lines between those whose language expression is validated and those whose forms of communication are weaponized and mocked to eventually be erased, resulting in monoglossic ideologies that are considered to be the 'default' and thus crystallized and interwoven into hegemonic institutions (see Rosa & Flores, 2017). This results in the pathologization of languagers via their racialization, a vicious cycle that affects how they are perceived via prescriptive norms in Spanish and English (Flores et al., 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017). These dangerous interpretations are converted into monetized scams such as the alleged "word gap" that

have been debunked by scholars working at the intersection of language with race and disability alike (Avineri et al., 2015; Cushing, 2022; Figueroa, 2022; Henner & Robinson, 2023). Thus, the enforcement of standard language ideologies as demonstrative of 'competence' results in the marginalization of the person, as language discrimination serves as a proxy for other forms of othering. Thus, *languagelessness* calls into question linguistic competence and, by extension, legitimate personhood altogether" (Rosa, 2016).

The acquisition of standardized languages as markers of 'competence' perpetuates linguistic discrimination at the intersection of racism and ableism (Flores & Rosa, 2022; Namboodiripad & Henner, 2022). When privileged in a hegemonic context, the listening/perceiving subject (Inoue, 2003, 2006) does not perceive all individuals using a given language form equally. Various language features convey different meanings based on relevant nonlinguistic information that perceivers rely on to form judgments, leading to scrutiny regarding who is deemed to have a linguistic deficit. Through the analysis of communication (spoken or signed language) in conjunction with nonlinguistic social information about the languager, listening/perceiving subjects swiftly identify socially salient linguistic variables (Drager and Kirtley 2016; Hay and Drager 2010). Ideologies that restrict positive associations with a particular indexical meanings may be influenced by social factors, such as gender, economic class, and ethnicity, which can limit a speaker's access to that field. Consequently, speakers may consciously or subconsciously avoid certain linguistic variants to evade scrutiny (Chappell 2016). The hegemonic pressures underlying language use can privilege or oppress the linguistic behaviors of specific groups, granting certain individuals the freedom to access indexical meanings while denying it to others. However, membership in an in-group can enable the use of stigmatized linguistic variables when such loyalty fosters solidarity among oppressed groups, even if they continue to perceive their variation as socially disparaged (Snell 2018; Trudgill 1972).

Raciolinguistic ideologies are multifaceted and can manifest in various forms, including but not limited to systemic discrimination, assimilation policies, and inclusion or exclusion into certain social groups. The associations of particular identities with certain language forms may undergo a process of naturalization; that is, there exists a seemingly inherent or essential connection between a languager (or group of languagers) and a linguistic variety or variant that indexes a given social meaning (Gal & Irvine, 1995).

Spanish language learning in the US is often marketed as increasing economic and social capital for the white elite and middle class (see Kramsch, 2019). Take for instance how bilingual education transformed from an empowering cultural experience for Latinx groups in the Civil Rights era to an innovative learning experience for middle/upper-income white families once double monolingualism was commodified (Flores, 2016; Flores & García, 2017). Resultantly, colonial epistemologies placed the

Latinx family structure—children *and* parents alike—under a lens of scrutiny, where through all were perceived as in need of remediation or "lacking" resources (T.T. Flores, 2018, p. 331). Likewise, pathologizing deficit perspectives are compounded when considering other social factors and characteristics of languagers. We observe differences in how socially situated productions and understandings of gender condition both perception and production of particular linguistic variables. For example, educational contexts have historically framed Black and Latinx youth through deficit perspectives, relating their language skills to their social competence and alleged 'delinquency' (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

A raciolinguistic and Crip perspective with regards to US Spanish languagers demonstrates how US Spanish languagers are systemically discriminated against via raciolinguistic ideologies. This examination includes revealing how restrictive English-only language policies with English learners in the classroom hinder student achievement (Flores, 2020; Seltzer & de los Ríos, 2018). Likewise, bilingual proficiency in the job market is more often praised and financially rewarded when the applicant is not Latinx (Subtirelu 2017). The exploration of how mock Spanish (Hill, 2008) is conceptualized and employed reveals how Spanish when used extraneously and humorously by non-Latinx people is accepted and even lauded, but innovative US Spanish forms employed by Latinx people are considered to be 'broken' and 'inappropriate' (Flores & Rosa, 2022; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Relatedly, US Spanish lexical items index deficits when judged by second language and heritage languagers of Spanish, as well as Spanish teachers (Licata, in press[b]). Contrastingly, Latinx Indigenous youth whose home language is not Spanish may utilize the variety to survive in a new environment that diminishes indigeneity (Barillas Chon, 2022; Castañeda et al., 2002). Similarly, English-only language policies that promote English monolingualism as a necessary norm have also systemically targeted Spanish languagers across systems (Flowers, 2019).

The incorporation of Crip and raciolinguistic perspectives in research evaluating diverse Italian language communities is emerging as the population and linguistic landscape changes. However, examination of the depletion of Italo-Romance varieties, as well as the racializing processes that have divided Northern from Southern Italy (see Dickie, 1999), demonstrate how racism and marginalization in Italy are not 'new' in light of the large influxes of migrants from other continents in recent decades. In an ethnographic study (Cavanaugh, 2006) of language shift in the Lombard city of Bergamo, found that the local Romance variety, Bergamasco, is linked to working-class male identity while standardized Italian is linked to female identity of any given class. The roles of female social reproducers—mothers and grandmothers—as the primary caregivers, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, were expected to teach Italian to their children, even if Bergamasco was their native and dominant tongue, a practice inherently opportunistic in socioeconomic advancement and nation-building. Licata (in

press[a]) affirms the expectation that women utilize standardized Italian, finding that when they utilized a Genoese variety of the Liguria region, they were evaluated as having lower speech quality than when they spoke the standard. Likewise, when the male speakers employed both Genoese and the standard, the female Genoese speaker was still evaluated less favorably.

Examinations of newer and settled migrant populations shed light on how constructs of race and racism have shifted in Italian society. While there are efforts to revitalize regional Romance varieties in Italy, some of these efforts have been tied to right-wing nationalism. Perrino (2019) found that white Venetians employ Venetian varieties in ways that totally or partially exclude certain migrant groups to foster intimate and inclusive for white, ethnic Italians. Migliarini and Cioè-Peña (2022) unearth how raciolinguistic ideologies and institutional biases in Rome, Italy undergird the integration of unaccompanied disabled migrant youth in their education. Through forced assimilation that devalues their home cultures and languages, refugee students are subjected to monolingual and monocultural schooling that ignores their lived experiences.

4. Conclusion

The case studies that follow will add to the growing body of literature that examine how raciolinguistic ideologies and deficit perspectives manifest in perceptions of Spanish and Italian language users. The examination of language attitude studies can provide valuable insights into [neo]colonial ideologies by examining how language beliefs, biases, and prejudices intersect with indexical inversion. Through the examination of language perception, we can reveal the existence and nature of language prejudice, including both overt and subtle forms of discrimination, uncovering underlying biases and stereotypes of which perceiving subjects may or may not be aware of.

Chapter 3: Methodologies exploring language bias

1. Introduction

Attitudes refer to individuals' overall evaluations, feelings, and predispositions toward people, objects, or concepts (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). They involve a range of cognitive, affective, and behavioral components that guide individuals' responses and decisions towards the target of their attitudes, and they can vary in strength, stability, and accessibility (Garrett, 2001). One of the earlier theoretical models of attitudes is the tripartite model, which posits that attitudes comprise three interrelated experiential components: affective (emotional reactions), cognitive (beliefs and thoughts), and behavioral (intention to act) (Rosenberg, 1960). Another influential perspective on attitudes is the social cognition approach, which emphasizes the role of mental processes in shaping and maintaining overt and covert attitudes within and across social systems (Fazio & Olson, 2003a; Wicker, 1969). Attitudes can influence a wide range of behaviors, such as consumer choices and political decisions (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1977), as well as interpersonal relationships (Triandis, 1979). As such, language attitudinal research has become a vital component of behavioral research in the social psychology of language, the sociology of language, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and communication studies (Kircher & Zippa, 2022, p. 1). More recently, various bias measures have been employed to determine if language attitude changes towards particular language forms are occurring, scholarship that alongside language production data aids in mapping out the indexical fields of salient linguistic variables.

Language attitudes refer to the evaluative judgments people make about languages as systems, accents or ways of speaking and using language, and the very people who communicate using particular language features (Garrett, 2001; Kircher & Zipp, 2022b; Preston, 1996, 2010; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Language attitudes can be shaped by a variety of social factors of the language users, such as economic class, ethnicity, education, and personal experiences. They are complex and multifaceted, and they can influence language use, language maintenance, and language choice in various ways (Fishman, 1972; Labov, 1972). For example, negative attitudes towards a particular language variety or features of that variety can lead languagers to modify their language use in order to sound more like the dominant group or to avoid using stigmatized language features altogether (Chappell, 2016; Davidson, 2019; Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2013; Rangel et al., 2015). As such, language attitude study is an integral component of language planning, as the latter is influenced by individual and collective experiences that foster language policies, media representation, and education systems that are favorable to certain varieties. For example, language policies that promote the use of one language over others can lead to the stigmatization and marginalization of minoritized languages and the communities that employ them

(Ferguson et al., 1968; Fishman, 1966; Garrett, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2012).

Language attitudes are often examined in conjunction with language ideologies. Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defines the latter as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) state,

> "notions of how communication works as a social process, and to what purpose, are culturally variable and need to be discovered rather than simply assumed… and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (p. 55-56).

Often conflated as one in the same, language attitudes and ideologies overlap in shared qualities. For instance, neither are solely about language, but also aspects of the identity, personality, and culture of individuals and groups (Kircher & Zipp, 2022a). However, the examination of ideologies present in a culture or community highlights how individual attitudes come together as representative of larger systems and social organization. Kroskrity (2015) expands on earlier definitions by bringing in the roles of systems on language ideologies, stating that language ideologies are the "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use, which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers [or languagers], ethnic and other interest groups, and nation-states" (p. 192; author's addition). This differentiated ideologies from attitudes, as the former can shed light on "systematically held beliefs about language that are shared throughout a community" (Vessey, 2013, p. 660) as well as how attitudes and morality come to be engrained in the fabric of a culture as 'common sense' issues (Milroy, 2001).

Ideologies can be examined through language attitude study and trends can be analyzed through various methods grouped into direct and indirect methods (see Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019) and ethnography to gauge the societal treatment of language and people (Kircher & Zipp, 2022a). Considering the methodologies used in the case studies in this dissertation, I will focus on the first two to better understand patterns across the aggregated data of several individuals collected through online surveys in the case studies that are presented in Chapters 4 and 5. After giving a brief overview of indexicality, I will provide in-depth reviews of the research paradigms I employ, which include quantitative direct questioning to elicit explicit attitudes (Kircher, 2022), the matched guise technique (Lambert et al., 1966; Loureiro-Rodríguez & Fidan Acar, 2022; Stefanowitsch, 2005) to indirectly elicit explicit or semi-implicit attitudes, and the implicit association test (Greenwald et al., 1998; Lane et al., 2007) to indirectly gauge implicit bias. In each study, the possibility of correlations are examined across all three bias measures. The first two methods can be issued to participants in person or on a computer using a survey platform like *Qualtrics* (2013). The third can only be issued on a computer, using a program such as Iatgen (Carpenter et al., 2019)

that can be integrated into *Qualtrics.* Crowd-sourcing for sociolinguistic perception and speech processing have been shown to be successful (Palan & Schitter, 2018; Paolacci et al., 2010). Researchers executed detailed phonetic perception (Walker & Campbell-Kibler, 2015) and sociolinguistic perception (D'Onofrio, 2019) experiments have been successfully carried out using crowd-sourcing sites. Lastly, all three experiments require permission to work with human subjects from the researchers' organizations for approval of such projects. In-depth literature reviews for each method below are provided in the case studies of this dissertation (Chapters 4 and 5).

2. The indexical field

While the individual has access to a multitude of language forms, social expectations and biases undoubtedly influence how they [sub]consciously use language and perceive others. Identity negotiation is an inherent component of interaction, and individuals are skilled interpreters of social information that they garner from language production (Chappell, 2016). *Indexicality* is the phenomenon of sign pointing, or a process of attributing social meaning to a particular item in a specific context. This concept is presented in Charles Peirce's theory of semiotics (Harkness, 2015; Peirce, 1985), which helps us conceptualize how certain objects gain social meaning through the interrelated tripart analysis of qualities, qualia, and qualisigns. The first order *quality* refers to the element presented before any social meaning is attached. The quality at this stage lacks embodiment, but as it is instantiated in the lived moment, it gains embodiment and becomes qualia. *Qualia* (second order) constitute the phenomenological experience, and the qualities are experienced in a particular moment or instance. Each *quale* is a unique experience and thus unrepeatable, however forms the basis for comparison. The qualia forms the raw semiotic material for predicating properties of entities and becoming indexical, which then leads to the formation of a qualisign. A *qualisign* (third order) is the result of a quale gaining social meaning and becoming conventionalized. From here, new reiterations (*n*th orders) of the qualisign constitute new processes leading to stereotypes and/or icons, leading us to understand the presuppositions that undergird cultural knowledge and societal expectations in context.

      Peircean semiotics has been developed in linguistics in the fields socio- and anthropological linguistics (Eckert, 2008, 2012, 2016; Gal, 2013; Gal & Irvine, 2019; Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1976, 2003). Linguistic indexicality refers to the phenomenon in which linguistic expressions acquire additional meanings or connotations beyond their literal or dictionary definitions. Indexicality in language is rooted in the idea that certain linguistic elements or features are associated with specific contextual, social, or languager-related information, and this association influences the interpretation of the expression. It involves the use of language to convey information about the languager,

the context, or the relationship between the languager and the perceiver. The ideologies that undergird access to a linguistic indexical field may be mediated by social variability; that is, societal constructs like gender, economic class, and ethnicity can condition a languager's access to a certain linguistic variant, thus they may (sub)consciously choose to eschew it or use it if it benefits them to some extent. Take for instance the phenomenon of /t/ release in American English—which can index nerdiness, prissiness, and in-group membership associated with nerdy high school girls (Bucholtz, 2001), gay men in San Francisco (Podesva et al., 2015), and Orthodox Jewish boys (Bunin Benor, 2001). While this variant can index stagnant qualities, like intelligence, education, or exasperation, the true meaning of the variant is dynamic and depends on its community and context in place and time. The study of linguistic indexicality demonstrates how identity is negotiated in context, and language attitude study can explore reveal the broader societal perceptions of particular variants and those who employ them.

It is important to note that indexicality does not indicate fixedness, and examining the indexical field of linguistic variables through an intersectional lens (Crenshaw, 1989) sheds light on power structures. Take for instance, white teenagers who appropriate Black English to elevate themselves within their white social group, yet are likely to avoid variants pertaining to Black English around their Black peers (Bucholtz, 2010). For example, Hill has thoroughly examined how Latinx people are discriminated against for their use of Spanish in public, however, white people may use the same forms and be perceived as educated and worldly through their demonstration of bilingualism or comical via their employment of *mock Spanish* (Hill, 1993, 2008, 1995). Thus, the hegemonic pressures and influences that underpin language use can privilege or delimit the linguistic behavior of certain groups. To this end, attitudinal research in sociolinguistics often seeks to understand how social variables—gender and age—condition the indexical field of linguistic variables. This research is vital and complementary to ethnographic and linguistic production studies that explore social processes of 'authenticating' languagers, highlighting how solidarity and identity play major roles in the language choices of individuals (see Bucholtz, 2003).

2.1. Top-down effects and the indexical field

Studies in perception have demonstrated that listeners do not only rely on the speech utterance to formulate language attitudes, but also extralinguistic signs, which can provide researchers with a more complete understanding of how indexical meanings are formed, as language is not isolated from other semiotic systems. Taking an exemplar-based approach (Drager & Kirtley, 2016; Johnson, 2006), as phonetic information indexes social information, then this can also operate in reverse order with nonlinguistic information activating phonetic properties. As such, many speech

perception experiments demonstrate a top-down effect of how listeners process linguistic information in the presence of nonlinguistic cues. Identification tasks provide extraneous information to the listener either right before or as they listen to a speech sample (Drager, 2013). Niedzielski (1999) showed that regional labels on answer sheets could affect how people from Detroit perceive phonetic cues as sounding more 'Canadian' when the answer sheet contained the word at the top. Hay and Drager (2010) presented listeners with stuffed animals from Australia (koala) and New Zealand (kiwi) when classifying vowels from New Zealand English, finding that New Zealanders coded more vowels as sounding 'Australian' when the koala was present.

The presence of extralinguistic information can ignite indexical inversion, a process whereby social categories produce semiotic representations linked to language, and listeners make their judgements on speech production prior to hearing the person speak (Inoue, 2004; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Indexical inversion is part and parcel to the process of (re)iterating raciolinguistic ideologies, as presented nonlinguistic information, such as gender, are associated with language ideologies, which serve as a lens for the production of linguistic signs. Rosa and Flores (2017) maintain that raciolinguistic ideologies operate similarly "by producing racialized language practices that are perceived as emanating from racialized subjects" (p. 8). Relatedly, Rubin revealed how listeners frontload ideologized social information into their perception before hearing speech. *Reverse linguistic stereotyping* (hereby RLS), coined by Kang and Rubin (2009), is explored in their study that presents a standardized United States repertoire with either a photo of a US American man of European or East Asian descent, though when the audio was paired with the latter photo, participants rated the speech as less intelligible. Lippi-Green (2012) discusses such findings as a listener anticipating miscommunication and a subsequent "communicative burden" (pp. 66-77) becoming reluctant in their attempt to understand the speech, regardless of its actual auditory properties. This aids in our comprehension of indexicality as a collective and social process that necessarily creates, but is also informed by the listener's assumptions of language and presentation (Inoue, 2003).

3. Language attitude methodologies

The study of indexicality and language attitudes demonstrates how they are interconnected, as the paradigms that will be described below demonstrate how salient a linguistic feature may be for perceiving subjects, and the role that social constructs play in the (re)iterations of indexical meanings attributed to different linguistic features. Language attitude studies elucidate the overt and covert language ideologies that motivate an individual's perception of language and language users in a given context. Such studies demonstrate that the perceiver's social cognition does not only rely on the language presented for cues, but also the social information attached to variables, such

as ethnicity, race, gender, and religious affiliation (Craft et al., 2020). Furthermore, language attitude studies have been integral to language planning and policy initiatives, particularly in communities where indigenous or autochthonous languages are in danger of disappearing.

Various methods aim to elicit different kinds of biases, ranging from explicit expressions to automatic and non-verbalizable ones. Implicit attitudes are considered relatively stable and ingrained, acquired gradually during early socialization. In contrast, explicit attitudes are viewed as more flexible, susceptible to external influences, and quickly learned. They are regulated, purposeful, and require effort (Cacioppo & Petty, 2009; Evans, 2008; Karpen et al., 2012). Sociolinguistic studies employ various attitude assessments to investigate these biases in relation to language. Traditional methods involve direct questioning, where participants respond to explicit bias-related queries. This approach, often employed through questionnaires or interviews, has long been a fundamental research paradigm (Garrett, 2001). While direct questioning provides valuable information for language planning, socio-psychological research explores subtler and potentially deceptive techniques, aiming to elicit automatically produced biases instead of relying solely on straightforward questioning about a particular topic (p. 41).

3.1. Quantitative direct questioning

Quantitative direct questioning refers to a method of data collection in research or surveys where respondents are asked specific questions with predetermined response options. It is a structured approach that aims to gather quantitative data, which can be analyzed statistically. Questions derived are typically closed, meaning respondents are provided with a set of predefined options to choose from. This allows for standardized data collection and facilitates data analysis. The responses can be easily quantified and summarized using statistical techniques. For example, in a customer satisfaction survey, a quantitative direct question might be: "On a scale of 1 to 5, how satisfied are you with our product?" The response options would be predefined, such as 1 being "very dissatisfied" and 5 being "very satisfied."

Quantitative direct questioning is useful for gathering numerical data and generating statistics, as it allows researchers to compare responses, identify patterns, and draw conclusions based on measurable indicators. Direct questioning issued in a questionnaire has a long history in language attitude study, being one of the most common methods employed to gauge community perceptions about languages (Cooper & Fishman, 1974), especially prior to more experimental methods (such as the matched guise technique, see section 3.2) and the use of computer-assisted technologies. This approach aims to collect self-reporting data concerning "participants feelings, beliefs, and/or behaviors regarding language" (Kircher, 2022, p. 129). Researchers can use

questionnaires to collect information related to the conative (i.e., effortful), affective (i.e., emotional), or cognitive (i.e. mental) components. Since the questions used in the case studies presented in this work are closed, I will focus on the collection of quantitative data that seeks to elicit explicit attitudes.

3.1.1. Setting up quantitative direct questioning

Direct questioning can be organized in a variety of ways, depending on the goals of the research project. These goals will determine how the questions or prompts will be structured, as closed questions can be organized in many formats.

Multiple choice format is common, as it is a highly controlled environment in which to collect information. If the attitudinal study involves identifying or locating a linguistic feature by region (e.g. *Where is this person from?*), the question may have a limited multiple-choice option—participants may only choose one option—or an unlimited choice option, whereby participants can choose more than one option. Likewise, depending on the question, the researcher may also offer an "other" button with an optional fill-in response. This can create variable information but is less stifling to the subjective nature of direct questioning. Likewise, aiming to measure potential effects of participants' social attributes on their attitudes, demographic information will be required and may utilize a fill-in option or a multiple choice (with a fill-in option in case not all responses are available). This gives participants the option to self-identify, particularly in the case where a few options will be limiting and reductive (see Conrod, 2021 for options in participants' self-identified gender).

Another limitative response type utilized in quantitative direct questioning is the use of a Likert scale. A Likert scale is a commonly used psychometric measurement tool in survey research. It is named after its creator, Rensis Likert, an American social psychologist who developed the scale in the 1930s. The Likert scale allows researchers to assess the degree of consensus or disagreement among respondents regarding specific statements or attitudes. It provides a quantitative measurement of subjective opinions or perceptions, enabling researchers to analyze the data statistically by calculating means, frequencies, or other statistical measures.

The Likert scale is designed to measure attitudes, opinions, perceptions, or preferences of respondents towards a particular statement or set of statements by presenting a continuous scale of options, with the two end extremes as polar opposites. For example, a common scale presented is disagreement to agreement (see Figure 1). Likert scales can vary in the number of points in between the polar, with five, six, and seven being common choices. When each point is not labeled, an odd number of options presents an ambiguous center option, which participants may interpret differently. As such, a six-point scale has been shown to increase discrimination and reliability than a

five- or seven-point scale (Chomeya, 2010), particularly when a forced response is the goal as opposed to a neutral or option to not answer.

Figure 1: Example six-point Likert scale of "Disagree" to "Agree"

DISAGREE   ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○   AGREE

3.1.2. Analyzing quantitative data derived from direct questioning

Responses garnered from the data must be coded in order to carry out data analysis. Multiple choice item options can be assigned numbers. For example, in the question *Where is this person from?* the United States can be coded as '1', Mexico as '2', and Guatemala as '3'. The Likert scale options are converted into numerical values, for example, "Disagree" is one, with each option increasing by one whole number until reaching the maximum value, or "Agree."

Once data is coded, it can be submitted to factor analysis to reveal latent factors by examining the underlying correlations among scales. The appropriate regression model can be fit to the data, and these models can include various social and linguistic factors as independent variables, for example, age, gender, or attained education level. A mixed effects logistic regression can be used for coded binary-choice data, while multinomial regression is used for more than two options. Data derived from Likert scale evaluations calls for the use of mixed effects ordinal regression for Likert scale data (see section 3.2.2 for more details), as dependent variables that fall somewhere in between categorical and continuous, as the points between scalar steps should not be seen as equal (Christensen, 2018).

3.1.3. Strengths and criticisms of quantitative direct questioning

Quantitative data collection via direct questioning is fairly easy to garner, as being asked to provide opinions is something that most participants are familiar with. Generally, participants are relying on the information that they already have about people, language, and culture to respond to the questions. Gauging participants' explicit attitudes about language and language users is difficult to collect systematically through a different method (Meyerhoff et al., 2015). Even in interviews, participants may withhold information due to the presence of the interviewer (the observer's paradox, see Labov, 1972). As such, data collection can be anonymized, particularly in the age of online survey distribution, where software like Qualtrics (online survey platform) and Prolific (crowdsourcing site) facilitate de-identified collection. Additionally, quantitative data collected through direct questioning allow for data collection in a highly controlled environment (Dörnyei, 2007) involving relatively "precise measurement" can be easily organized, normalized, and statistically processed across participant groups and samples (Krug & Sell, 2013), allowing for the possibility

for generalizations to be made across data samples. Likewise, quantifiable data that examines explicit attitudes can be incorporated into correlation analyses that aim to compare bias measures collected via different methods (see Section 4).

Contrastingly, it can be difficult to know how a respondent interprets a direct questioning filled out in a survey, particularly online, where there is less control over the process. Relatedly, self-reported information with respect to how individuals consider language is not always indicative of how they may use language nor how they will behave in a given situation. For example, a person may criticize the use of stigmatized variants, however, may subconsciously use them in the expressed criticism. Thus, participants may not possess the level of introspection that would aid in such reflection (Meyerhoff et al., 2015), and also they may experience *acquiescence bias*, or the habit of agreeing with the information presented (Kircher, 2022, p. 130). Likewise, participants may be affected by *social desirability bias* by responding to prompts based on how they themselves would like to be perceived or what they presume society expects of them (Baker, 1992; as cited in Kircher, 2022, p. 131). Furthermore, participants may also not gauge their own skills accurately; for example, people can underestimate their language abilities when asked about fluency. As is a criticism of most quantitative methods of data analysis, aggregating and averaging data from several individuals reduces subjectivity and variability of responses, no matter how subtle or nuanced they may be (Dörnyei, 2007). Lastly, because data is collected in a relatively short period of time (save longitudinal methods), questionnaires examine 'a snapshot of the process under study' (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 572) in a constrained context, thus such a method does not reflect the multifaceted nature of attitudes and people (Kircher, 2022, p. 131).

3.2. Matched-Guise Technique

Researchers have also relied on indirect methods that may counter some of the shortcomings of direct questioning in eliciting more subconscious language biases. One of the most common indirect methods is the matched guise technique (MGT; Lambert et al., 1960), which rose to prominence in the second half of the 20th century in conversation with the growing field of variationist sociolinguistics (see Labov, 1972). This method aims to gather information about people's attitudes towards languages, accents, dialects, or language variation without directly asking individuals to express their opinions, for example, how individuals may perceive different linguistic varieties (e.g., Northern Californian Spanish and New York Spanish) or specific qualities of a language (e.g., alveolar or velarized /n/). The MGT was developed by Wallace Lambert and colleagues at McGill University in where they carried out a study exploring the perceptions of Anglophone and Francophone speakers towards one another. They hypothesized that the assessments of English and French voices would mirror the

attitudes held by listeners towards individuals belonging to their own language group as well as the other language group.

The 'indirect' component to the MGT is in regard to the fact that listeners may be unaware that they hear and evaluate a speaker producing different targeted linguistic variants (Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019). They are likely also unaware that the attributes they apply to each speaker will later be interpreted as ideologies towards the specific linguistic forms or the speaker's way of speaking overall (Garrett, 2001). The matched guise technique operates under three primary suppositions: first, that a languager's identity and the language they employ affects how they are perceived by listeners; second, that there is a general consensus among listeners regarding the typical characteristics linked with a particular way of using language (i.e., established indexical meanings); and third, that direct forms of questioning, in questionnaires or interviews, are not always effective in revealing covert attitudes of individuals towards languagers of different linguistic varieties (Loureiro-Rodríguez & Fidan Acar, 2022, p. 185).

Much like production studies aiming to map the indexical field of particular variables across social groups, the MGT also seeks to understand how certain social groups perceive said variables. This technique has time and again identified and elicited stereotypes regarding specific social groups in specific social contexts. It has been widely used in a variety of settings to examine indexical fields intra- and interculturally and cross-linguistically. Listeners evaluate the way a person uses language but may also do so in conjunction with other social aspects of the person that are presented and perceived, for example, their gender, race, ethnicity, religion. They may also be evaluated on their personality, social status, and character based on the indexical meanings attached to their accent, speech patterns, vocabulary, intonation, and other factors.

3.2.1. Setting up an experiment using the matched guise technique

Using the MGT requires that the researcher be certain with respect to what variable is under study and what variants will be evaluated in the experiment by participants. It should be noted that preparation for more indirect methods like the MGT benefits from some knowledge about existing attitudes in the community, which are often derived from direct or ethnographic methods to best understand what variables are salient and which variants may hold more prestige, are stigmatized, or other. If this literature is not available, getting some baseline perception from community members of interest, whether it be piloting a mini version of the actual MGT experiment or direct questioning with the variable(s) in question, will determine which variants merit more focused attention in an MGT.

Considering that a guise must produce the same passage using all the variants under examination, they must be able to produce the target forms in some natural

capacity. However, more recently, researchers are able to use speech software like Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2021) to manipulate recordings (Drager, 2018, p. 63; as cited in Loureiro-Rodríguez & Fidan Acar, 2022) to either splice the desired segment into new contexts (see Chappell, 2016) or modify acoustic properties (Villarreal, 2018). Relatedly, the guise must provide the audio samples as naturally as possible, attempting to keep everything aside from the variable under examination as uniform as possible; for example, if the variable is use of the subjunctive or indicative, the guise will attempt to maintain similar prosodic style, voice quality, etcetera, across both audio samples. This way, their audio samples using each variant will be compared during analysis with little to no confounding variables present.

The speech read for the audio samples must be representative of the linguistic variable under examination. For example, if the researcher aims to indirectly elicit attitudes towards alveolar and velar /n/, (which many have done; see Campbell-Kibler, 2007 for an example) they will have the designated guise read the same passage twice, once with one of the variants (i.e., [n]) and a second time with the other variant (i.e., [ŋ] in controlled contexts (e.g., only in the present progressive derivative morpheme, as in *swimmin'* or *swimming*, respectively). The text chosen for the passages should be relatively benign in topic, avoidant of political or ideological nature or language themes (Kircher, 2016, p. 199), unless one of the variables is text theme or the genre is integral to the study (see Levon & Fox, 2014). Passage length can vary, ranging from several seconds (Chappell, 2016; Walker et al., 2014) to a half-minute or more (Davidson, 2019; Licata, in press[b]).

When using a single group of judges (i.e. participants) to evaluate the speakers, all the participants will hear all of the audio samples (Stefanowitsch, 2005). That is, participants will listen to and evaluate the guise(s) using all of the variants under examination. It is important, then, that the designated guise's passages are not next to one another in the sequence and separated by several filler audio samples reading similar passages that may also exemplify the studied variants. Thus, order is pseudorandomized (see Chappell, 2016), however not randomized, which can be remedied by splitting the designated guise's audio samples into however many groups there are variants (Stefanowitsch, 2005). In the case of /n/, there would be two groups, one that hears a given guise produce [n] while the other group hears the same guise produce [ŋ]. Fillers should be consistent across both groups.

Determining the scales is reliant on a knowledge of the language and language community for which attitudes are sought. It is important to understand the indexical field of the variable as much as possible, though exploratory experiments will also shed light on what social factors are important for understudied languages or linguistic forms. Language attitudes are generally thought to have two main dimensions: *status* and *solidarity* (Loureiro-Rodríguez & Fidan Acar, 2022, p. 193). Status refers to language as capital and solidarity, the feeling of connection to the given language. The first may

be explored by providing prompts to participants relating to intelligence or prestige (see Chappell, 2019). The second can refer to the level of closeness and loyalty one may feel to a language variety, either covertly or overtly (see Cavallaro et al., 2014). However, other social qualities can be assessed in the MGT, including authenticity and nativeness (see Chapter 5), emotional expression (e.g. sounding "happy"; see Tyler, 2015), linguistic competence (see Chapter 4; and Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017), and rurality (Davidson, 2019). Likewise, positive or negative access to an indexical field can be conditioned by expected gender roles as related to language use (Andrews, 2003; Chappell, 2016; Licata, in press[a]; Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2013). Prompts are provided to participants that fit into the above themes, thought factor analysis can be used to determine the underlying salience and similarity of scales. Nonetheless, prompts should emulate the desired category (e.g., *status*) and are presented with a Likert scale (see Section 3.1.2). The scale categories (e.g. *status* or *solidarity*), when established either prior or after factor analysis, serve as dependent variables.

The language users chosen to record the passages may be representative of the social variables also under examination. As mentioned, having an individual naturally produce the variants under examination is ideal, thus they should have early life experience using them to some capacity. Similarly, there may be pertinent social factors that can serve as independent variables to determine if they condition attitudes, for instance, gender or age. The number of guises will depend on how many social variables are included in the sequence. Thus, if age is included as a factor, then there should be at least one (but ideally more) person who represents each age group. Likewise, the participants completing the task may also be stratified by these social factors, and also education level, nationality, etcetera.

3.2.2. Analyzing quantitative data derived from the matched guise test

As mentioned, each social scale serves as a dependent variable, thus the raw data set for all of the prompts (also see Section 3.1.2) that fall under said scale are aggregated and fit to a mixed effects ordinal regression model (Christensen, 2018). In an ordinal model, both social (e.g., participant age) and linguistic (e.g., language variety) can be classified as independent variables, with the inclusion of random effect(s).

3.2.3. Strengths and criticisms

The main contribution of the MGT is that, by using the same speaker for the different varieties of interest, the number of confounding variables is reduced. In other words, the MGT design allows researchers to rule out potential speaker-level features, which increases the internal validity of the experiment. Participants can also complete the study in a private and anonymous manner (if online), thus may be less affected by social desirability bias (Garrett et al., 2003; Loureiro-Rodríguez & Fidan Acar, 2022, p.

188). It should be noted that the goal of this indirect method for studying language attitudes is to determine 'the role of language differences in arousal of social stereotypes' rather than keeping participants unaware of the fact that there are language differences in the experiment (Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019, p. 3). That is, the methodological deception that the MGT relies on is implemented in order to interpret participants' responses as implicit-like (or 'subconsciously offered attitudes', as proposed by Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019). Researchers aim to prevent participants from recognizing that they have encountered the same person using multiple language varieties.

The MGT generally cannot benefit from the use of spontaneous speech in the experiment, but rather, requires that the guises read a passage. This may affect participant evaluations, however Tamminga (2017) found no evidence that social evaluations of /ɪŋ/ ~ /ɪn/ variation differed across frame utterance styles. Once again, the domain in which the variety is being used may also affect evaluations (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970), and more MGT studies examining domain as a variable can be used to explore this.

Participant awareness that they observe the same person more than once is also a notable criticism of the MGT. Soukup (2013) explored the concept of an 'open-guise' technique, whereby the participants are made aware that they will hear the same speaker in different languages or using different linguistic variants. Soukup argues that the design of the matched guise test does not account for listeners being aware that they heard the same person more than once (unless they are directly asked), and in the case of small language communities wherein everyone knows one another, the possibility of a 'disguised' voice is unlikely. In attitudinal work on Baluchi (Oman), Soukup found that listeners will still make differing judgements of speakers, even if they know that they have heard the same speaker twice (p. 268) bringing into question how deceptive the paradigm actually is. As such, many offer a question at the end of the task asking participants if they heard the same person more than once. Relatedly, finding participants who can produce all the variants under examination may be difficult, thus many utilize the verbal guise in lieu of the MGT (see Chapter 13 in Kircher & Zipp, 2022a).

3.3. Implicit Association Test

The *implicit association test* (IAT; Greenwald et al. 1998; Lane et al. 2007) is a bias instrument first used in social psychology and now more widely utilized across the social sciences. Linguists have sought to reveal automatically accessed biases that are less susceptible to manipulation or awareness, incorporating the implicit association test into variationist and language attitude research to uncover biases operating at the cognitive level. Campbell-Kibler (2012) used the implicit association test (IAT; see

(Greenwald et al., 1998) to examine the strength of associations between sociolinguistic variables and social categories. The IAT assesses the connection of social concepts, like race or gender, with evaluations and stereotypes (e.g. 'good' or 'bad) and is framed as being "less susceptible to conscious manipulation than direct questioning… allow[ing for] the investigation of implicit sociolinguistic associations with less interference from explicit ideologies" (Campbell-Kibler, 2012, p. 761). While the term *implicit* is disputed when describing the types of biases elicited in the IAT (see Kircher & Zipp, 2022a), the IAT serves as yet another indirect measure to gauge bias expression of which individuals are less conscientious.

During the test, participants are presented with a series of stimuli, such as words or images representing social groups (e.g., race, gender, age) and the positive and negative attributes (e.g., good/bad). The participants are asked to rapidly categorize these stimuli into specific groups. The IAT measures implicit bias by examining differences in response times. If a participant shows faster response times when a positive or more positively associated concept is paired with a positive attribute (e.g., Flower + Good) compared to when negative or a more negatively associated concept is paired with the positive attribute (Insect + Good), it suggests a positive implicit bias toward the first pairing (Greenwald et al., 1998). Conversely, if the response times are faster when negative attributes and a different social group are paired together, it indicates a negative implicit bias.

3.3.1. Setting up an implicit association test

The IAT attempts to determine the association between attitudes (i.e., 'concepts') and evaluative dimensions (i.e., 'attributes'). The concepts and attributes must be relatable to participants completing the experiment, that is, within their cognitive reach, as participants should be able to complete the task rather quickly. For this reason, Good/Bad are common attributes paired with concepts under examination, for example, Flower and Insect. Each concept and each attribute has its own list exemplars that appear in the experiment (e.g., types of flowers and insects). The exemplars listed with each attribute can be relevant to the concepts, but do not necessarily have to be (see Chapters 4 and 5 for examples as related to language).

The IAT is composed of seven blocks. Blocks 1, 2, and 5 are practice trials that consist of sorting the exemplars with their concept (1, 5) or attribute (2) head to get acquainted with the terms. Trials 3 and 4 pair Spanish with the 'positive' attribute (Spanish + Good/Academic) and Spanglish with the 'negative' attributes (Spanglish + Bad/Not Academic). In accordance with best practices attested in IAT tests (Lane et al. 2007), concept labels are positioned on the upper left- or right-hand corner of the frame with the attribute below, with the exemplar presented in the center of the screen (see examples in Chapters 4 and 5).

3.3.2. Analyzing quantitative data derived from the IAT

Score information from the IAT can be calculated using Iatgen (Carpenter et al., 2019). Participants' response latencies are converted into *D* scores (Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji 2003; Lane et al., 2007), a measure of the within-subject difference between the compatible and incompatible block means, divided by a pooled standard deviation. The D score represents the subtle differences in effect size, yielding a final D score for each participant. D scores range from −2.0 to 2.0, whereby zero represents no difference in response latencies between conditions. A positive score indicates bias towards the expected 'compatible' pairing (i.e., Flower + Good). A negative score signifies bias towards the 'incompatible' pairing (i.e., Insect + Good/ Academic).

Positive *D* scores indicate that all participant groups associate the expected pairing (e.g., Flower + Good) more strongly than the unexpected pairing (e.g., Insect + Good). Any participants who have more than 10% of their responses under 300 milliseconds are dropped, as they are considered to be randomly hitting keys, as well as those taking longer than 10,000 milliseconds; errors are replaced with participant block means of correct trials plus 600 milliseconds (or the D600 procedure; (Greenwald et al., 2022). An ANOVA may be modeled to the means between participant groups to determine if there exists any significant differences in their reaction times.

3.3.3. Strengths and criticisms

The IAT has been praised for its reliability through validity testing, as counterbalanced retesting of the same participants produces consistent results (Greenwald et al., 2020). There is also variation in how the stimuli can be offered to exploit a range of senses, for instance, in written (Ianos et al., 2020) and visual or aural form (see Callesano & Carter, 2022). There are criticisms that participants can "fake" their evaluations and results (Rosseel, 2022), however, the IAT has been attested as being quite "fool-proof" (Teige-Mocigemba et al., 2010), thus demonstrates as a fairly reliable measure of automatic bias.

There is wide range of possible stimuli that can be used, but as mentioned, the cognitive load should not be heavy. The longer the stimuli, the longer the participant reaction time, and the less automatic their reactions are. Furthermore, a greater cognitive load presents moment of exhaustion and distraction. This might exclude some linguistic phenomena that require more words to realize themselves, like prosody (Rosseel, 2022, p. 257). Relatedly, such short stimuli are decontextualized, removing the social meaning from evaluation (p. 157). Additionally, it is not ensured that all participants will recognize or equally comprehend the labels, thus testing and piloting is vital with potential feedback follow-up questions to pilot participants. Additionally, the IAT is also criticized for its block order effects (Rosseel, 2022, p. 260), as the IAT effect will be larger if the congruent block (e.g., Flower + Good) precedes the

incongruent block (e.g., Insect + Good), (Teige-Mocigemba et al., 2010), but it is also impossible to know what will be 'congruent' for participants. Thus, counterbalancing the trials among participants can help to reduce this effect, and this can be done using the Shiny applet (Iatgen; Carpenter et al., 2019).

3.4. Experiment order

The order of experimental methods is also a factor to consider when planning to elicit explicit attitudes via direct questioning. Demographic information can be elicited early on the experiment if survey completion is a worry (Krug & Sell, 2013), however, others maintain that participants are more willing to fill out this information at the end of the survey to ensure that the data is collected when they have the most attention to give (Dörnyei, 2007; Oppenheim, 2000). As for the experimental paradigms, the indirect methods should be presented first, as direct methods are more likely to prime participants in the indirect tasks.

4. Determining language attitude changes in progress: Implementing and comparing multiple bias measures

Recent attention has been given to the comparison of results garnered from one methodology to those of another, seeking to understand if there exists a correlation of implicit to explicit attitudes (Lane et al., 2007a) (see Figure 2). The likelihood (or not) of a correlation varies greatly from one environment to another (Fazio & Olson, 2003b), and sociolinguistic research has exploited this variability of outcomes, demonstrating how language, people, and spaciotemporal

Figure 2: Data relationships modeled to correlation analyses
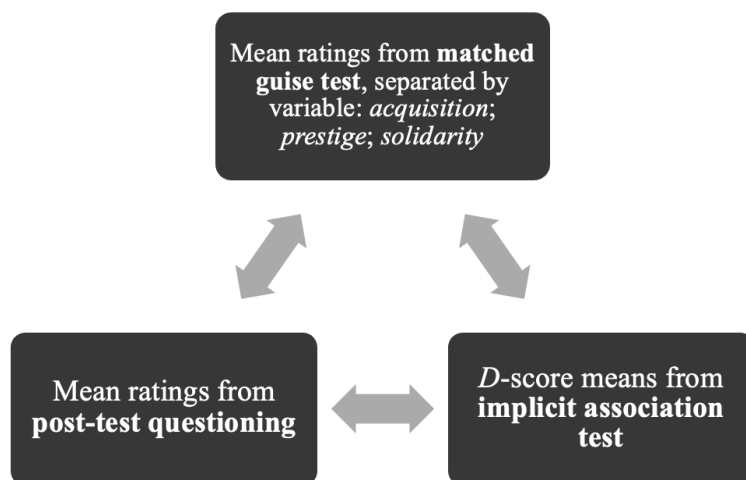
factors may determine a convergence (McKenzie & Gilmore, 2017) or a divergence (Babel, 2010; Calamai & Ardolino, 2020; Pantos & Perkins, 2013) of attitude trends. Those that demonstrate divergence shed light on possible attitude changes in progress (McKenzie & Carrie, 2018). Implicit attitudes are considered to be more stable and unchanging, as they are acquired throughout long-term socialization experiences and slow learning, while explicit attitudes are considered more fluctuating and vulnerable to new exposures and fast learning (Petty et al., 2009). This lends support to the implicit–explicit attitudinal discrepancy hypothesis (IED), which indicates that any divergence of explicit from implicit can be attributed to "an attitude change in progress at a given point in time" (Karpen et al., 2012; McKenzie & Carrie, 2018). The IED hypothesis explains how long-held implicit evaluations may remain stable, even if explicit attitudes about a concept have changed significantly (e.g. a smoker who no longer smokes still holds positive implicit bias towards the habit).

The IED hypothesis as applied to language predicts that a convergence between the results of the MGT and IAT methods should demonstrate stable language attitudes; however, a divergence of the MGT results from those of the IAT should indicate a divergence of attitudes, or language attitude change in progress. The difference in explicit from implicit attitudes purports that the prior are more susceptible to change within the individual and that they are distinct from the same individual's implicit attitudes. As it stands, few sociolinguistic attitudinal studies have addressed this discrepancy and how it may be mediated by social factors. Accordingly, we test the IED hypothesis in two case studies, each with a distinct linguistic variable, to contribute to the growing body of literature that seeks to understand the interconnectedness of listener experience and social indexicality between cognitive processes.

This brings to mind production studies that seek to establish language changes in progress. The gender paradox (Labov, 2001) asserts that "women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not." Countless cases studies (albeit in more Western settings) demonstrate that while women are more likely to employ prestige forms and avoid stigmatized variants, they are also leaders in language change via their use of innovative variants that are initially non-salient. Women's tendency to use language as social capital is in part explained by the disparagement of them in a patriarchal society; as such, micro and macro linguistic modifications can index a higher status identity, and thus be passed down to subsequent generations. In relation to transmission, the apparent-time construct (Bailey et al., 1991; Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2013) can reveal changes in linguistic behavior between generations; that is, if the younger generation is also using an innovative form more than its predecessors, there may be evidence of a language change in progress. As such, we can use the IED hypothesis in conversation with the apparent-time construct to potentially predict shifts in attitudes above or

below the level of consciousness, despite whether or not these shifts lead to actual shifts in language use.

5. Conclusion

Assessments of attitude convergence and divergence contribute to the advancement of variationist sociolinguistics, as this research can provide key evidence to how mental associations between linguistic forms and social characteristics can pave the way but not necessarily predict behaviors in language use. Relatedly, the incorporation of IAT into linguistic production studies can help to explain how and why language might be changing.

The duality of sociolinguistic perception and production research can cast light on how explicit and/or implicit ideological tendencies may play out (sub)consciously in action. The proposed research also adds to the existing literature on dual processing models of social cognition that considers the explicit and implicit attitudes to be two separate mental processes "that act independently and rely on distinct brain structures" (Petty et al., 2009), with implicit biases considered to be associative (automatic or immediate) processing and explicit, propositional (thoughtful) processing (Pantos & Perkins, 2013). Where explicit attitudes may demonstrate a positive shift (e.g. anti-racist) but implicit bias negative (i.e. racist), cognitive research has explored this bifurcation and the possible reversal of implicit biases that are harmful (Dovidio et al., 2000). In keeping with the notion that "linguistic and social information comes packaged in a single complex signal" (Craft et al., 2020, p. 390), harmful, early formed implicit associations can be understood in their sociohistorical context as a means to better understand how they persist.

Overdue discussions on language and diversity, equity, and inclusion have come to the forefront of linguistics. Attitudinal research can provide insights to linguistic subfields that merge with critical perspectives from other disciplines. As critical pedagogy pushes to create a more inclusive classroom, evidence on attitudes towards marginalized linguistic forms and people is vital and useful. Understanding how linguistic bias operates at the implicit level will be important in the creation of an inclusive classroom that allows for equitable self-expression, valuing the individual and understanding systemic barriers (Flores & García, 2017; Knisely & Paiz, 2021). Revealing biases that lie below the level of consciousness will aid in cross-disciplinary and intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989) discussions on race in and outside of academic and US contexts. Lastly, the relationship between explicit and implicit bias highlights how discrimination plays out in damaging ways, affecting opportunities and protections in education (see Piller, 2016), legal matters (see Holliday et al., n.d.) and housing (see Grieser, 2015).

Chapter 4: Case Study #1 – US Spanish

1. Introduction

Varieties of Spanish in the United States have long been characterized by their contact with English, leading linguists and language experts, educators, and laypeople alike to examine these varieties as "hybrids", even creating a term to denote this ideology, i.e. *Spanglish* (Otheguy & Stern, 2011). The lack of institutional and folk acknowledgment of US Spanish(es) as legitimate and distinct varieties from other Spanish(es) has opened the floodgates for Latinx US Spanish languagers to be classified as deficient (MacSwan, 2020; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986; Rosa & Flores, 2017b) and the Spanish language (and its languagers) as pathologized (Rosa & Flores, 2017) and seen as public threat (Hill, 2008), viewing multilingualism from a lens of panic (Martínez, 2006). These attitudes are displayed in plain sight in the language instructional push for monoglossia (i.e. the macro-level use of one language to privilege the dominant social group) that resulted in subtractive education (i.e. replacing the home language with the hegemonic one (i.e. institutionally dominant language; see Valenzuela, 2010), a reflection of *hegemonic Whiteness* (Flores, 2016, p. 14) that materializes outside of educational institutions as well. In efforts to validate racialized multilinguals' cultural and communicative repertoires, bilingual programs that emerged during the Civil Rights era also underwent mass institutionalization, as bi- and multilingualism became thingified into a commodity that could be sold and economically gained within *bilingual hegemonic Whiteness* (p. 14), or the promotion of double monolingualism (see Heller, 2010) as economic capital.

   US Spanish languagers are positioned—via this narrow perception that views languages as separate functions of mind and society—as possessing language deficits that do not satisfy prescriptive expectations for either English or Spanish. How are Latinx US Spanish languagers who do not ascribe to hegemonically prescribed norms of language production and perception positioned, and what biases do they themselves hold towards US Spanish? This case study explores how US Spanish speakers perceive standardized and US Spanish repertoires and seeks to determine if attitudes among younger speakers are diverging in a positive or negative direction from their older contemporaries. This work complements apparent-time research that examines language changes in progress through the examination of explicit and implicit language attitudes, lending insight into the implicit–explicit attitudinal discrepancy hypothesis (IED), which indicates that any divergence of explicit from implicit can be attributed to "an attitude change in progress at a given point in time" (Karpen et al., 2012; McKenzie & Carrie, 2018).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Bordered languages, languageless people: Deficit perspectives of US Spanish

Within this broader body of work, the various phenomena and properties of US Spanish(es) have been further examined through a sociocultural lens. As mentioned in Chapter 2, standard language ideologies and the compartmentalization of languages pushes multilingual individuals to experience *languagelessness* (Rosa, 2016), who grow up with dynamic language practices that are nonconforming to standardized codes. It is worth noting that communities within and outside of academia refer to US Spanish(es) as *Spanglish*, a term that in part denotes a hybridity of sorts and thus has been refuted by scholars who maintain the vitality of US Spanish(es) much like any other national variety of Spanish. In a debate[1] among linguistic scholars regarding the use of the term *Spanglish* to denote US Spanish(es), Dr. Ricardo Otheguy[2] describes the US Spanish situation as a variety of Spanish in contact with another languages (e.g., English), much like other varieties of Spanish—past and present—in diglossia, i.e., Mexican Spanish in contact with Nahuatl or Paraguayan Spanish in contact with Guaraní. In this vein, the term *Spanglish* is seen a expressing an ideological stance of disparagement that has marginalized the North American Latinx community of their rightful linguistic ownership (Otheguy & Stern, 2011, p. 85). However, others in the debate felt differently. Dr. Ana Celia Zentella[3] explains that *Spanglish* does not simply describe language, but rather "captures an entire experience." While she agrees that the term should not be used to underestimate the linguistic skills of its speakers, Zentella maintains that language is executed to perform social function and its speakers are constantly reiterating these functions in-talk. She states that to erase *Spanglish*—which captures the socioeconomic past of its people—is to hide its speakers' identities. Since this debate, the more widespread incorporation of *translanguaging* has been integrated into the examination of discursive practice to liberate scholars and languagers alike from the political projects of naming languages (García, 2011).

This very debate on the term *Spanglish*, its languagers, and its negotiated meanings is informed by the politicization, economization, and commodification of the Spanish and English languages, projects of nation-building and imperial expansion (Kramsch, 2019). In viewing US Spanish languages as "hybrids" of more standardized or 'authentic' English(es) and Spanish(es), languages remain viewed as separate entities and US Spanish languagers as *semilingual*, meaning that they have not fully acquired either named language (see Valencia, 2012; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). The deficit perspectives of US Spanish languagers are resultant of the co-naturalization of standard

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[1] A debate about the term 'Spanglish' took place at the 2*2nd conference on Spanish in the United States (February 2009, Coral Gables, FL).* A transcript can be retrieved from: http://potowski. org/content/article/debate-about-term-spanglish

[2] Professor Emeritus in Linguistics at The Graduate Center, The City University of New York

[3] Professor Emerita in Ethnic Studies at the University of California, San Diego.

language ideologies and racializing practices, resulting in systemic marginalization, surveillance, and 'correction' of their deficits (Avineri et al., 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017). These epistemologies result in models of separateness that attempt to codify a languager's linguistic capabilities by how frequently they use one or the other, such as the matrix language frame (see Myers-Scotton, 1997). However, initial linguistic research on US Spanish sought to legitimize the variety by developing a typology of codeswitching (Poplack, 1980). This research was groundbreaking at the time, as it affirmed that US Spanish languagers who employed Spanish and English in a variety of domains could crosslinguistically navigate Spanish and English with ease, demonstrating that grammatical constraints of more than one language could be learned and employed simultaneously. However, the countless sociolinguistic and anthropological studies that followed and sought to strengthen positive positions of US Spanish languagers have not thwarted the deficit perspectives that plague racialized students in the US (Rosa and Flores 2017, p. 1) and instead (perhaps inadvertently) maintain language distinction as a precursor to the uptake of double monolingualism (Heller, 2006; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Thus, all too often, US Spanish languagers are categorized—both in the US and beyond—as employing an 'English-contaminated' Spanish (Zentella, 2017) and are subsequently pathologized, despite the fact that English integrated into varieties of Spanish outside of the US indexes prestige and thus provides languagers with social capital (Leeman, 2012, p. 55).

These damaging discourses affect children as they acquire new forms of language in educational systems that reject their rich linguistic repertoires (García et al., 2021; García & Otheguy, 2020), and indexical fields can be conditioned by other social factors that distinguish language (see Robinson, 2020), such as religion or gender, and have since been naturalized as racial distinctions in current educational discourse. For example, the educational trajectories of linguistically dynamic Latinx/Hispanic and Black male youth have been historically framed in relation to deficit perspectives and delinquency by powerful decision makers (e.g., schools and governments) (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Children and young adults themselves connect underachievement in schools to male-identifying individuals (Graham et al., 1998), a correlation perhaps underpinned by the systemic treatment of Latinx students as they navigate language maintenance in the home and community, a process that is stratified by gender, race, and economic class, among other social systems (see Lutz, 2006). These perceptions may be related to case studies demonstrating that female-identifying Latinx students are more broadly involved in school activities over their male-identifying contemporaries and also more likely to claim that they are maintaining their home language (Callahan, 2009). With regard to perception of US Spanish varieties, sociolinguistic research that employs social-psychological methodologies offers insights into how attitudes are informed by deficit perspectives towards US Spanish(es), and how these perceptions

may be conditioned by social factors of both participants and languagers alike, including but not limited to age, gender, and language profile.

2.2. Perceptions of US Spanish varieties

Deficit perspectives inform how individual and collective attitudes about US Spanish are undergirded by ideologies about who is a 'valid' user of standardized and named language varieties. Examples of language ideologies informed by deficit models of language acquisition and production include who languages 'correctly', how certain groups should use language in particular instances, and how ethnonational identities are informed by physical and racial borders (Leeman, 2012). People whose attitudes bolster such ideologies may not be aware or conscious that purist notions of language production are directly related to language discrimination, and even those who experience marginalization may internalize hegemonic norms that in effect serve to stigmatize them and their communicative repertoires (p. 46). Thus, direct and indirect methods to gauge language attitudes shed light on how broader societal ideologies affect belief systems at the level of the individual and groups with shared social identities or experiences.

Language attitude researchers examining US Spanish have revealed how deficit models of language acquisition and semilingualism have undergirded perception of US Spanish languagers for decades. De la Zerda Flores and Hopper (1975) employed the verbal guise technique to Mexican Americans and found that Mexican Spanish-accented English and Texas Spanish were evaluated less favorably than standardized American English and Mexican Spanish repertoires, save participants who self-identified as Chicanx. Those in a lower income bracket and with less formal education offered more positive evaluations of the standardized varieties; however, those with more education had less severe ratings of Mexican Spanish-accented English and Texas Spanish and reacted more favorably to Mexican Spanish-accented English than a standardized American English repertoire. Overall, all participants reacted favorably to the standardized Mexican Spanish repertoire. A longitudinal study (Mejías et al., 2003; Mejías & Anderson, 1988) revealed that families that had been established in the Lower Rio Grande Valley viewed the Spanish language as valuable, while those more recently arrived in the area—and perhaps under pressure to assimilate and escape discrimination—did not compart in these views. Dailey et al. (2005) implemented a verbal guise with youth participants and found that if they lived in a Spanish-prominent linguistic landscape, Hispanic youth rated the Hispanic-accented guise more positively than the Anglo-accented one, again demonstrating how solidarity and the connection of language-to-place is an important mediator of attitudes.

Further assessment of attitudes towards code switching or translanguaging repertoires elicit varying evaluations. Hidalgo (1986, 1988) and Galindo (1996) reported

conflicting attitudes towards the languages present in the community. Hidalgo (1988) found that Mexican residents of Juarez evaluated both standardized American English and standardized Mexican Spanish (i.e., Spanish from Mexico City) as prestigious for its economic value and preservation of culture and heritage (respectively) yet disparaged code mixing, for its lack of beauty and correctness as well as de-ethnicization (p. 209). Galindo (1996) surveyed adolescents in Austin, Texas, who also awarded English and Spanish with similar attributes of prestige, however viewed the US Spanish varieties at the border as being "broken" because of a level of alleged code mixing that crossed the conventional boundaries of named language (p. 10). In the study of explicit attitudes in a small Northern California town named Fortuna (Rivera-Mills, 2000), where the population of Latinx people is highly concentrated, a higher self-professed acculturation to the surrounding Fortuna community decreased language loyalty, particularly among those in a higher income bracket. Likewise, members of the first generation and those in the lower income class believe more so that *Hispanidad* and Spanish language use are strongly tied, a tension that decreased with the subsequent generations who were not maintaining Spanish but still felt strong connections to the Hispanic community. In contrast, Martínez (2003) found that younger generations in McAllen, a border town in Texas, offer more solidarity and less disparaging perceptions of the local Spanish, demonstrating how personal connections with and community use of the variety are at the forefront of acceptance and change.

Recent studies have explored the role of social factors in mediating attitudes towards US Spanish. Rangel et al. (2015) used the matched guise technique to gauge the attitudes of multilingual languagers towards standardized Spanish and American English and US Spanish in Southern Texas and presents findings that mirror those found 40 years prior in De la Zerda Flores and Hopper (1975). Both standardized American English and standardized Mexican Spanish—when juxtaposed with a code-switching repertoire—elicited more positive evaluations from participants in the towns of Laredo and Edinburgh (Texas) with regards to solidarity, status, and personal appeal, though participants offered more positive solidarity ratings towards standardized Mexican Spanish over English, demonstrating long-held community ties with a prestige variety of Spanish. The social factor of gender also conditioned perception of the speakers. In Laredo, male-identifying participants offered more positive ratings to Spanish male speakers while female-identifying ones favored the standardized Spanish variety spoken by anyone. The examination of particular linguistic variables within US Spanish(es) also sheds light on the indexical field available to languagers. In a sociophonetic perception study, Chappell (2019) examined /b/ production in US Spanish contexts, wherein the presence of the labiodental [v] is socially salient. Findings demonstrate that heritage speakers positively evaluate [v] when female-identifying speakers employ it, rating them as more intelligent/hard-

working and confident than their male-identifying contemporaries, results that largely parallel attitudes to [v] of Spanish speakers in Mexico (Chappell, 2020).

These localized language ideologies are representative of contextual comparisons among hegemonic (i.e. standardized Spanish) and minoritized varieties (i.e. US Spanish[es]) that can be generalized on a regional or global level across the Spanish language world. In a perceptual dialectology experiment (Callesano & Carter, 2019), found that Peninsular Spanish speakers was rated higher than Cuban and Colombian speakers for competence traits, an ideology that has undergirded Spanish second language pedagogy in the US since the colonial era (Burns, 2018). Relatedly, Caribbean varieties are often perceived to be less prestigious when compared to other varieties of Spanish, even in US environments (Alfaraz, 2002; García et al., 1988; Otheguy et al., 2007). A shift of the hegemonic axis—when a marginalized language like standardized Spanish becomes the language of prestige when paired with 'lesser than' Spanish varieties—teaches us more about how binary systems of judgement are created, maintained, and contextually shifting. The tendency to compartmentalize juxtaposed languages into binaries of correct/incorrect or appropriate/inappropriate are deeply rooted cultural naturalizations of the neocolonial pursuits aligned with language domination and linguicide (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995).

To understand how these dichotomous ideologies are learned early on, linguists have incorporated the implicit association test in attitude studies. As Callesano and Carter (2022) found with participants in Miami, when Spanish and English were contrasted in the implicit association test (IAT), participants more quickly associate English + Good over Spanish + Good, an effect that was mediated by increased time spent in Miami, demonstrating how binaries shift when language hegemonies shift. Similarly, Ianos et al. (2020) issued an IAT and direct questionnaire to adolescents to evaluate bias towards Catalan and Spanish. IAT results validated an overall positive bias towards Catalan over Spanish, though positive bias shifted when tested against the adolescent's home language (i.e. Spanish in the home produced positive associations to Spanish). These findings demonstrate how a strong sense of solidarity and institutional support can combat intuitional and social pressures to assimilate at the local or regional level. These studies shed light on the importance of group membership and belonging. However, they also elucidate the damaging effects of standard language and gender ideologies in maintaining harmful stereotypes, in spite of actual language use and solidarity.

3. Methodology

This study seeks to add an innovative approach to the existing literature on attitudes towards a Northern California variety of US Spanish via the combination of various research paradigms that evaluate a range of explicit to implicit biases. In assessing two

generations of Spanish languagers in the US on their varying attitudes towards a standardized and US Spanish repertoire, I aim to offer a first insight into how differing bias measures towards US Spanish demonstrates potential attitudinal shifts within two generations.

This study combines three research paradigms to gauge varying degrees of social cognition towards the language varieties, which include the *matched guise technique* (MGT, (Lambert et al., 1960; indirectly elicits explicit attitudes), the *implicit association test* (IAT, Greenwald et al., 1998; elicits automatic association), and quantitative direct questioning (Kircher, 2022; directly elicits explicit attitudes). All participants begin the experiment with a short demographic survey (see Section 3.2). Participants completed all sections in Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT), an online survey platform, with IAT integration using Iatgen (Carpenter et al., 2019b). Participants accessed the survey through Prolific, a crowdsourcing platform. Participants were asked to use headphones on a desktop computer and complete the experiment alone; they took between 20-30 minutes to complete the experiment and short breaks were provided if needed. Using this experimental setup, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Are younger Latinx Spanish languagers exhibiting positive attitude changes towards US Spanish varieties that are moving away from deficit perspectives and illegitimacy?
2. Do younger Latinx Spanish languagers feel more connected to US Spanish varieties than older participants?
3. Do the attitudes and associations elicited from indirect (i.e., the MGT) and direct methods (i.e., direct questioning) and automatic response (i.e., the IAT) add to the existing literature that demonstrates explicit and implicit biases as resultant of distinct cognitive processes?

3.1. Stimuli

3.1.1. Matched guise test

Ten people provided audio samples that composed the sequence of 12 voices. All speakers were male- or female-identifying (5:5), in their twenties, and born in the US or came to the US at an early age (before age 10). All learned Spanish in the household and English in early childhood or learned both Spanish and English in the home, and all speak a variety of US Spanish that was most influenced by Mexican or Guatemalan Spanish. Audio samples were cleaned (i.e. background noise removed) in Audacity (V.3.0.0). Speakers read a short passage giving directions to a familiar person (see Appendix A), either in standardized Spanish (SS) typical of that which a student might learn from a United States Spanish textbook or a US Spanish repertoire (USS). The USS guise passages contained lexical and lexicalized items common to Spanish(es) in contact

with American English in the United States. Passages were written by the author and edited by both Northern and Southern Californian US Spanish languagers and judged by three Californian Spanish languagers. Speakers were told to read the passages as naturally as possible. The designated guises read one story in each variety and fillers read one passage each to minimize the suspicion of similarity between the designated guises in both varieties. All speakers were told to read naturally, which resulted in all using Spanish-like phonology in their renditions (e.g. 'ticket' pronounced similarly to [ˈtiket] as opposed to [ˈtɪkɪt]). The audio sequence is visualized in Figure 3. Participants were told that they would be listening to twelve different speakers, when in reality there were only ten. The audio samples were organized for a single group of judges (Stefanowitsch, 2005), meaning that all participants heard and rated all audio samples (four compared guises, eight fillers) in a within-subjects design.

Figure 3: Matched guise sequence for single group of judges, two guises, two varieties*

*Audio type = filler (F), guise (G); repertoire = standardized Spanish (SS), US Spanish (USS); speakergender = female (F), male (M); passage A-E (see Appendix A)

Participants evaluated the speakers on seven social scales. Using a six-point Likert scale (see Figure 4), participants addressed how much they disagreed or agreed with the sociolinguistic evaluation of the speaker. The seven evaluative scales include the following:

1. *I believe that this person learned their language not only through speaking, but also through reading and writing.*
2. *I believe that this person is still learning their language.*
3. *I believe that this person could communicate easily using their language in a predominantly Spanish-speaking country.*
4. *I believe that this person has not fully acquired their language.*
5. *I believe that this person could use their language in a university classroom.*
6. *This speaker sounds like people that I grew up with.*
7. *My friends and I talk like this person when we are together.*

3.1.2. Implicit association test

Participants completed an IAT that assessed the association of Spanish/Spanglish (i.e. concepts) to the binary values of Good/Bad (i.e. attributes). The concepts must be relatable to and understood by the participants, thus standardized Spanish (SS) is labeled as *Spanish* and the US Spanish (USS) is labeled as *Spanglish*. The concepts are subjected to named language practices for two reasons: 1) laypeople adhere to the separateness in explicit understanding and are less likely to comprehend what a standardized or US Spanish repertoire means in cognitive and social terms; and 2) the cognitive load in IAT tests must be reduced for participants to complete the task in a timely manner. The attributes present positive/negative binaries that are related to 'complete' or 'appropriate' language (Rosa & Flores, 2017). The exemplars for both the concepts and attributes are listed in Table 1.

Figure 4: Sample matched guise scalar prompt with a six-point Likert scale
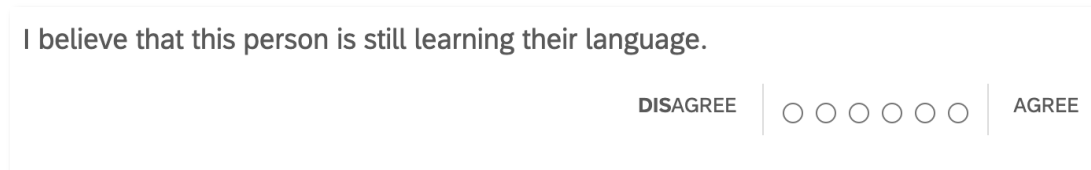
Table 1: Concepts and attributes and respective exemplars for IAT experiment

Concepts	Exemplars
Spanish	estacionar (*to park*); sin embargo (*however*); el boleto (*the ticket*); la camioneta (*the truck*); las facturas (*the bills*); vincular (*to link*)
Spanglish	parquear (*to park*); pero like (*however*); el ticket (*the ticket*); la troca (*the truck*); los biles (*the bills*); linkear (*to link*)
Attributes	**Exemplars**
Good	correct, appropriate, accurate, complete, clear
Bad	wrong, inappropriate, error, broken, confusing

The IAT is composed of seven blocks. Blocks 1, 2, and 5 are practice trials that consist of sorting the exemplars with their concept or attribute head words. The trial blocks provide participants with the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the exemplars and match them to concepts. The results are not examined in the analysis. Trials 3 and 4 pair Spanish with the 'positive' attribute (Spanish + Good) and Spanglish with the 'negative' attribute (Spanglish + Bad). Trials 6 and 7 switch the positions of the attributes (Spanglish + Good and Spanish + Bad). In concordance with best practices attested in IAT tests, concept labels are positioned on the upper left- or right-hand

corner of the frame with the attribute below, with the exemplar presented in the center of the screen (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Screenshot from IAT Block 3

3.1.3. Direct questioning

Participants conclude the experiment with a series of direct prompts that aim to elicit explicit attitudes that participants hold with regards to a general *legitimacy* of the varieties. Prompts were similarly organized to those of the MGT—"I believe" statements followed by *disagree to agree* Likert scales. This set of questions include the following:

P1. *I believe that the Spanish spoken by younger generations in the United States is as legitimate as other varieties of Spanish, like Mexican Spanish or Argentinian Spanish.*
P2. *I believe that people who regularly speak Spanglish in school are competent English speakers.*
P3. *I believe that people who regularly speak Spanglish in school are competent Spanish speakers.*
P4. *Spanish in the United States is as legitimate as other varieties of Spanish, like Mexican Spanish or Argentinian Spanish.*
P5. *I believe that Latinx students in the US who grew up speaking Spanish should be able to speak and write in **Spanglish** when in class.*
P6. *I believe that people learning Spanish should learn US Spanish, which includes Spanglish.*
P7. *I believe that speaking Spanglish helps an early speaker of Spanish maintain their home language and culture.*

3.2. Participants

One hundred and thirteen participants completed this experiment. The majority were recruited through Prolific, with several recruited via word of mouth, particularly from the older group, who is less present on the crowdsourcing site. The pool of participants was narrowed down using filters set in Prolific that recruited those born in the United States whose home language is minimally Spanish and pertained to the two age groups under examination: 18-25 and 35-50. Demographic information on the participants is found in Table 2.

Table 2: Participants' demographic information

Age group	Gender identification	Birthplace	Mean years of Spanish language learning (TBD)
Younger $n = 61$	Gender queer: 1 Nonbinary/gender fluid: 1 Female: 42 Male: 15 Nonbinary: 2 Decline to state: 1	United States: 62	3.4
Older $n = 52$	Nonbinary: 1 Female: 25 Male: 26	United States: 38 Outside of US: 14	2

3.3 Data processing and statistical models

The responses from the matched guise test were converted into numerical values and normalized, meaning that an evaluation of "1" indicates a negative response to the prompt and an evaluation of "6" indicates the positive response. Normalized data was submitted to exploratory factor analysis (EFA; Gaskin, 2014; Helms, 2020), which reduced the number of correlated measures to a set of three salient social variables that are henceforth *acquisition*, *prestige*, *solidarity*, which serve as the dependent variable (see Tables 3 and 4). Two evaluative scales (Q2, Q4) grouped together into Factor 1, which pattern together under *acquisition*, as they all relate to how 'complete' a person's repertoire is. Two scales (Q1, Q3, Q5) are grouped into Factor 2, as they patterned similarly under the *prestige*, as they all relate to language capital. The last two (Q6, Q7) pattern under the quality of *solidarity*, or how connected participants are to the language varieties.

Table 3: Loadings of rating scales for female guises in EFA on Factors 1 (*acquisition*), 2 (*prestige*) and 3 (solidarity). Loadings above an absolute value of .5[4] are bolded, loadings below +/− .1 are removed

Rating Scale	Factor 1: *acquisition*	Factor 2: *prestige*	Factor 3: *solidarity*
Q1. *I believe that this person learned their language not only through speaking, but also through reading and writing.*	**0.75**	-0.2	0.19
Q2. *I believe that this person is still learning their language.*	-0.29	**0.74**	-0.08
Q3. *I believe that this person could communicate easily using their language in a predominantly Spanish-speaking country.*	**0.80**	-0.23	0.27
Q4. *I believe that this person has not fully acquired their language.*	-0.2	**0.97**	-0.08
Q5. *I believe that this person could use their language in a university classroom.*	**0.79**	-0.24	0.19
Q6. *This speaker sounds like people that I grew up with.*	0.31	-0.08	**0.8**
Q7. *My friends and I talk like this person when we are together.*	0.13	-0.06	**0.68**

Table 4: Loadings of rating scales for male guises in EFA on Factors 1 (*acquisition*), 2 (*prestige*) and 3 (solidarity). Loadings above an absolute value of .5 are bolded, loadings below +/− .1 are removed

Rating Scale	Factor 1: *acquisition*	Factor 2: *prestige*	Factor 3: *solidarity*
Q1. *I believe that this person learned their language not only through speaking, but also through reading and writing.*	**0.72**	-0.28	0.16
Q2. *I believe that this person is still learning their language.*	-0.27	**0.96**	-0.06

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[4] This is the recommended threshold given the population size (see Hair et al., 2009)

Q3. *I believe that this person could communicate easily using their language in a predominantly Spanish-speaking country.*	**0.82**	-0.24	0.2
Q4. *I believe that this person has not fully acquired their language.*	-0.26	**0.71**	-0.08
Q5. *I believe that this person could use their language in a university classroom.*	**0.78**	-0.25	0.19
Q6. *This speaker sounds like people that I grew up with.*	0.34	-0.1	**0.59**
Q7. *My friends and I talk like this person when we are together.*	0.1	-0.05	**0.99**

One ordinal model (Christensen, 2015) per each of the dependent variables was fit to the raw data from MGT evaluative scales in R (R Core Team, 2018). All models were fit with a three-way interaction term involving the same three predictors: participant age (younger/older); guise language (SS/USS), and guise gender (female/male[5]). Individual participant was included as a random effect.

 The IAT data was cleaned and processed using Iatgen (Carpenter et al., 2019). Participants' response latencies were converted into *D*-scores (Greenwald et al., 2003; Lane et al., 2007), a measure of the within-subject difference between the compatible and incompatible block means, divided by a pooled standard deviation. The *D*-score represents the subtle differences in effect size, producing a final *D*-score for each participant. *D*-scores range from −2. and 2, where 0 represents no difference in response latencies between conditions. A positive score indicates bias towards the socially expected 'compatible' pairing; that is, Spanish + Good.

 Evaluative responses from direct questioning was submitted to EFA analysis (Gaskin, 2014; Helms, 2020), which revealed only one salient factor, thus each evaluative scale was aggregated for correlation analyses (see Section 4.4) and examined individually for mean differences between groups (younger, older). For each evaluative scale, a *t* test was modeled to the average ratings of the younger and older participant groups.

 Continuous data from each research paradigm were correlated. Each MGT variable, separated by participant group (younger/older) and language variety (standardized Spanish/US Spanish), was modeled with each group's *D*-score means and

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[5] I do not affirm with these chosen variable levels that other gender identifications do not exist, but rather, I treat gender in this case as a sociopolitical construct, whereby the stereotypes that surround the use of male- and female-identifying Latinx people are historically situated, much like those who identify outside of the male/female binary.

direct questioning data, resulting in 28 analyses in R using the Pearson formula to determine whether linear relationships exist between the bias measures.

4. Results

4.1. Assessing bias from the MGT

The *acquisition* ordinal model (see Table 5) demonstrates that the younger group significantly rated the USS speakers as having 'finished' acquiring their language variety more so than those employing SS ($p < .0001$). A Tukey post hoc test of the significant interaction of participant age and guise language (see Figure 6) reveals that within the younger participant group, USS speakers were rated more positively in terms of their acquisition of their language variety than SS speakers ($p < .0001$). Contrastingly, older participants evaluated SS speakers more significantly positively than did the younger group ($p < .0001$).

Table 5: Summary of mixed effects ordinal regression model fit to perceived *acquisition*

	Estimate	Standard Error	*z* value	*p* value
Younger [Participants]	0.05457	0.36950	0.148	0.88259
Male [Guise]	0.16621	0.35093	0.474	0.63577
Standardized Spanish (SS)	-0.34141	0.39157	-0.872	0.38325
Younger : Male	0.38256	0.46386	0.825	0.40953
Younger : SS	-1.97339	0.51308	-3.846	**< 0.0001*****
Male : SS	-0. 48391	0.54414	-0.889	0.37384
Younger : Male : SS	0.62270	0.70775	0.880	0.37896

* The intercept for this model is **older** participants evaluating **USS female** languagers. Negative β values indicate that the participant has evaluated the speaker as having less complete acquisition of their variety. The estimated variance of the random effect of listener is 0.031.

Figure 6: Interaction plots showing participant evaluations of the speakers' perceived *acquisition* of the language varieties, conditioned by participant age
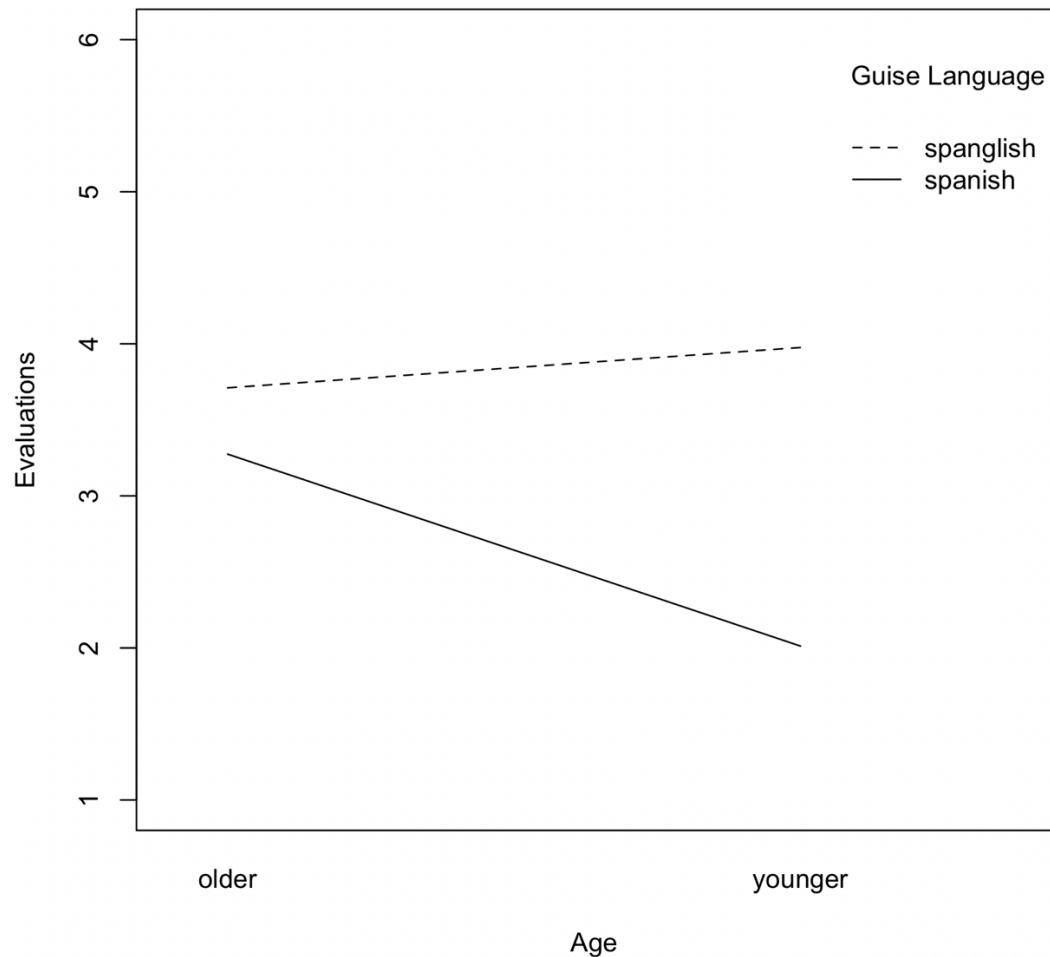
Table 6: Summary of mixed effects ordinal regression model fit to perceived *prestige*

	Estimate	Standard Error	z value	p value
Younger [Participants]	-0.4316	0.3708	-1.164	0.2444
Male [Guise]	-1.5661	0.3624	-4.322	**< 0.0001*****
Standardized Spanish (SS)	4.0810	0.4537	8.994	**< 0.0001*****
Younger : Male	0.7612	0.4736	1.607	0.1080
Younger : SS	-0.7167	0.5261	-1.362	0.1731
Male : SS	1.1078	0.5703	1.942	**0.0521.**
Younger : Male : SS	-0.8012	0.7311	-1.096	0.2731

* The intercept for this model is **older** participants evaluating **USS female** languagers. Negative β values indicate that the participant has evaluated the speaker as having less complete acquisition of their variety. The estimated variance of the random effect of listener is 0.66.

The ordinal model fit to *prestige* (see Table 7) reveals that both younger and older participant groups significantly rated the SS speakers as employing a more prestigious language variety than those employing USS ($p < .0001$; see Figure 7). The male speaker overall was also rated as using a less prestigious variety than the female speaker ($p < .0001$; see Figure 8). A marginally significant interaction of guise language and guise gender may suggest that participants rated the female USS speaker as sounding more prestigious than the male USS speaker ($p < .052$).

Figure 7: Boxplots showing listener evaluations of speakers' perceived *prestige,* conditioned by guise language
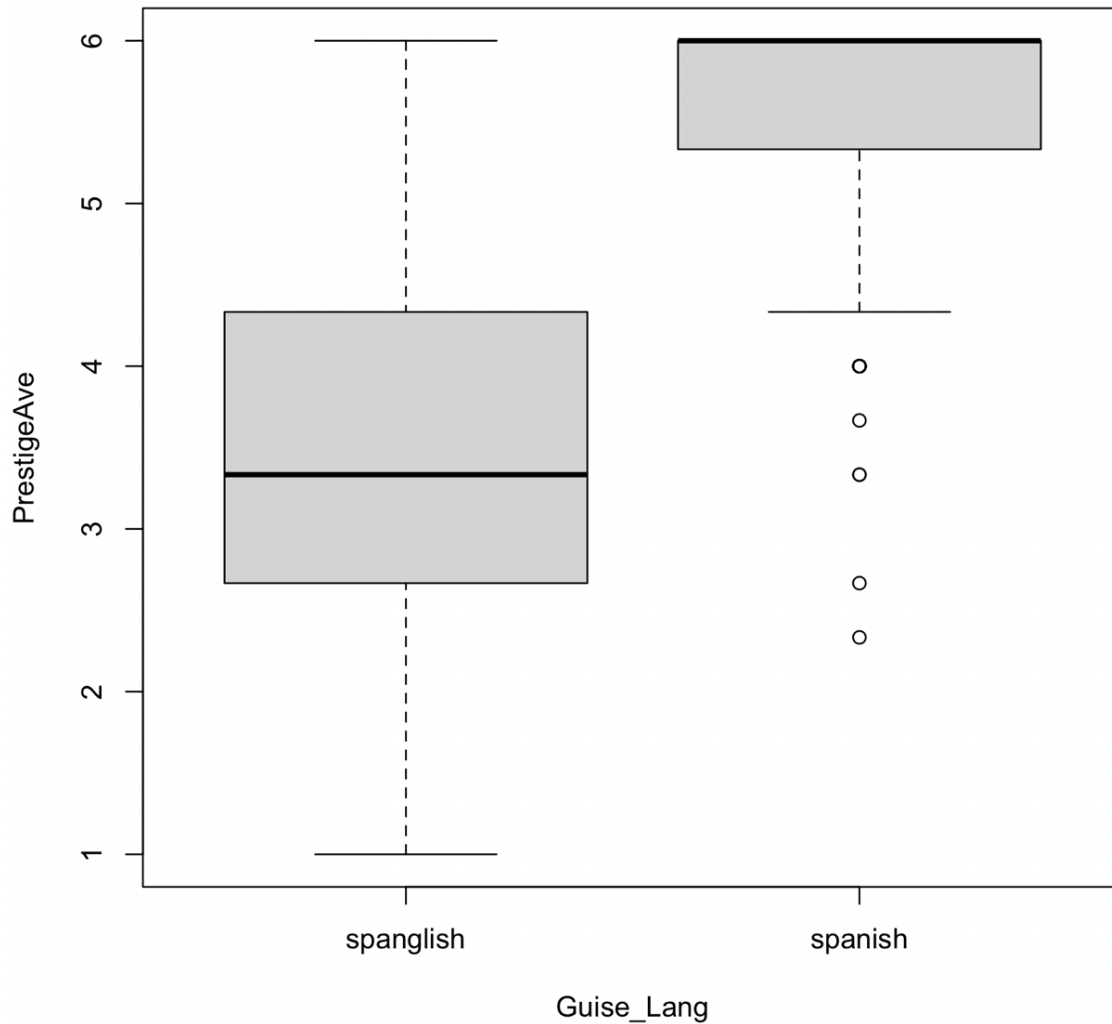
Figure 8: Boxplot showing listener evaluations of speakers' perceived *prestige*, conditioned by gender
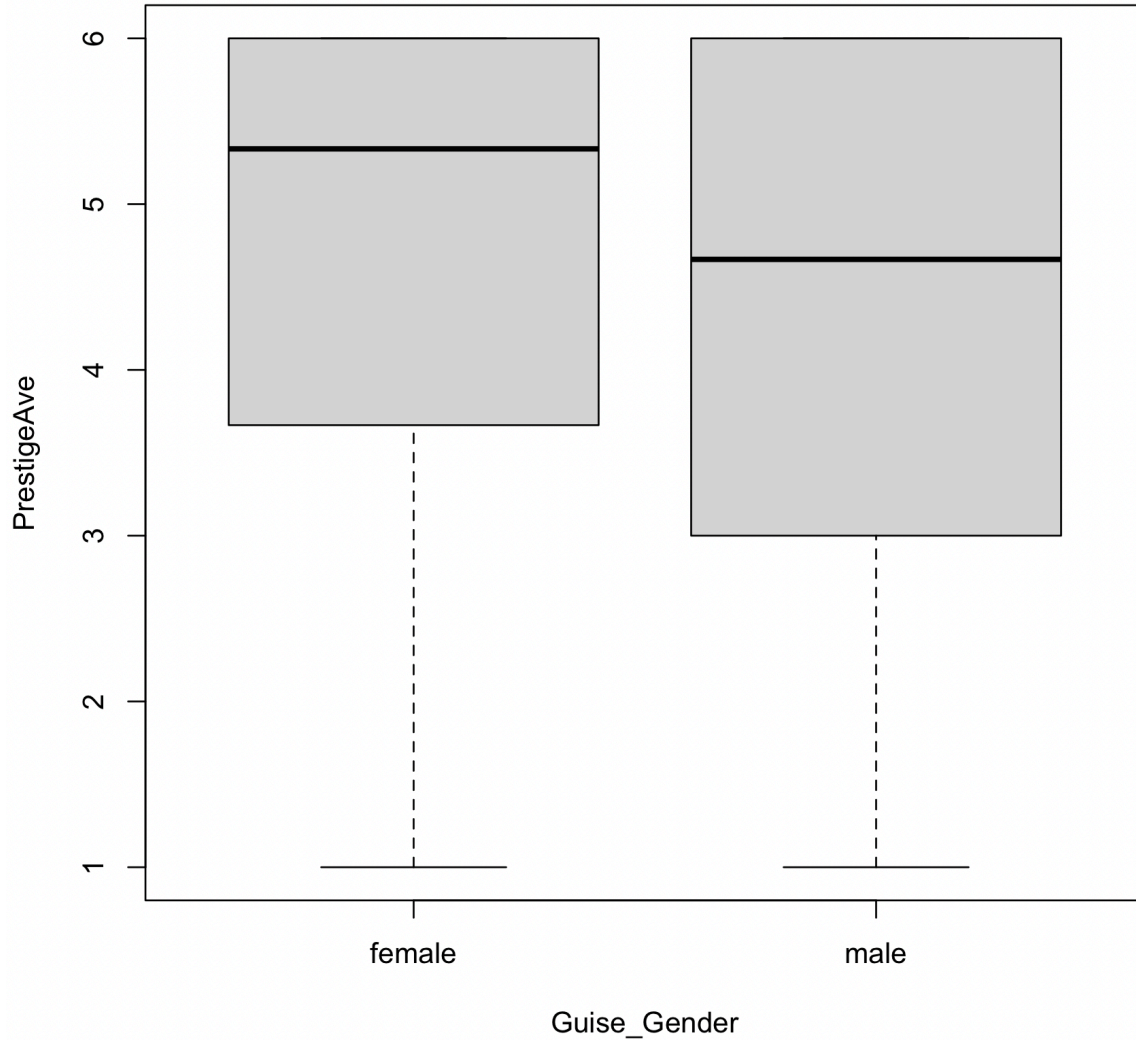
The ordinal model fit to *solidarity* (see Table 7) reveals that both older and younger participants offer higher solidarity ratings towards SS over USS speakers ($p < .0001$; see Figure 9), though a marginally significant interaction of participant age and guise language suggests that older participants express significantly more solidarity to SS than their younger contemporaries ($p < .056$).

Table 7: Summary of mixed effects ordinal regression model fit to *solidarity*

	Estimate	Standard Error	*z* value	*p* value
Younger [Participants]	0.6052	0.4135	1.463	0.1434
Male [Guise]	-0.6387	0.3679	-1.736	0.0826
Standardized Spanish (SS)	1.8037	0.4341	4.849	**< 0.0001*****

Younger : Male	0.4341	0.4872	0.891	0.3729
Younger : SS	-0.9244	0.4842	-1.909	**0.056.**
Male : SS	0.3144	0.5239	0.6	0.5484
Younger : Male : SS	-0.6619	0.6879	-0.962	0.3359

* The intercept for this model is **older** participants evaluating **USS female** languagers. Negative β values indicate that the participant has evaluated the speaker as having less complete acquisition of their variety. The estimated variance of the random effect of listener is 1.54.

Figure 9: Boxplot showing listener evaluations of speakers' perceived *solidarity*, conditioned by gender
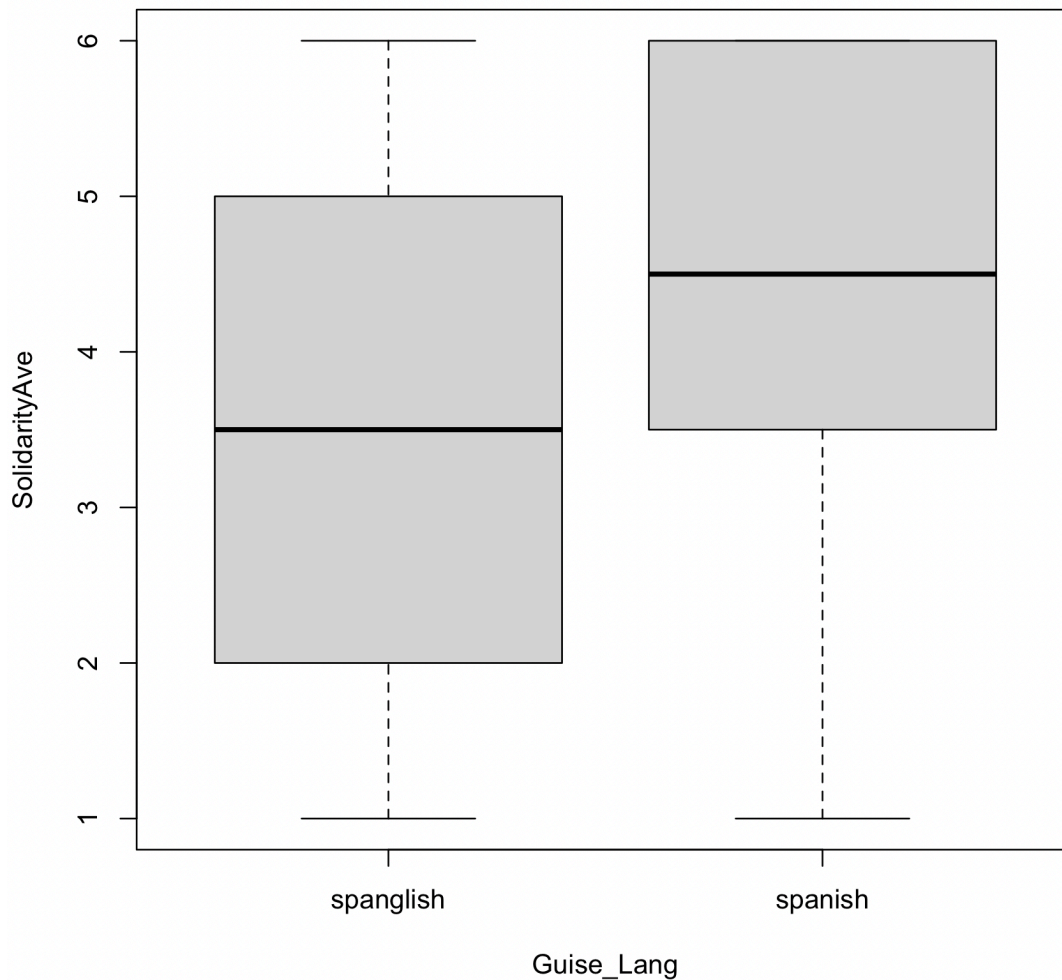
4.2. Assessing implicit bias in the IAT

Positive *D*-scores indicate that participants more quickly associated positive exemplars to Spanish + Good. The timeout rate (trials > 4000 *ms*) was < .09% across both groups and the drop rate (number of participants dropped for overly fast responding under 300 *ms*) was one participant for the younger group. The error rate (% of trials that were

incorrect) was less than or equal to 10% across groups (within the normal range, see Carpenter et al. 2019) and errors were replaced with participant block means of correct trials plus 600 *ms* (or the D_{600} procedure; Greenwald et al., 2003). The reliability measure for both groups was > 80%. Both younger and older participant groups demonstrated significant stronger positive associations between Spanish + Good ($p < 0.00001$ for both) than Spanglish + Good (see Table 8), meaning that the *D*-score means were significantly greater than zero.

Table 8: Spanish/Spanglish + Academic/Not Academic IAT data information for all participant groups

Participants, *n = 114*	*D*-score Mean	*p*-value
Younger, *n* = 62	0.29	< 0.00001***
Older, *n = 52*	0.57	< 0.00001***

4.2.1. Implicit bias differences between participant groups

A *t* test analysis was modeled to *D*-score means to examine differences between the younger and older participant groups for the IAT, indicating that there are significant differences in automatically processed bias among the two groups ($p < .009$). These results demonstrate that although both groups had stronger associations between Spanish + Good, younger participants' associations were significantly weaker than older participants.

4.3. Assessing explicit bias through direct questioning

The data elicited from direct questioning and submitted to EFA analysis revealed only one salient factor, thus each evaluative scale was aggregated for correlation analyses and examined individually for mean differences between groups (younger, older). For each evaluative scale, a *t* test was modeled to the average ratings of the younger and older participant groups. Significant differences in mean ratings were presented (see Figures 10 and 11), with the younger participants displaying more agreement than participants regarding the legitimization of US Spanish when compared globally (P1; *p* < .07, median = 4), as well as Spanglish speaking students being competent English (P2; *p* < .0001; median = 5) and Spanish (P3; *p* < .0002; median = 4) speakers. Both groups offered similar judgements of whether US Spanish speakers would have

Figures 10 and 11: Mean explicit bias ratings by age group

P1. Spanish in the United States is as legitimate as other varieties of Spanish, like Mexican Spanish or Argentinian Spanish.

P2. People who regularly speak Spanglish in school are competent English speakers.

P3. People who regularly speak Spanglish in school are competent Spanish speakers.

P4. A Latinx person who learned Spanish in the United States will have no trouble communicating with a Spanish speaker from Colombia or Spain.

P5. Latinx students in the US who grew up speaking Spanish should be able to speak and write in Spanglish when in class.

P6. People learning Spanish should learn US Spanish, which includes Spanglish.

P7. Speaking Spanglish helps an early speaker of Spanish maintain their home language and culture.

difficulty communicating in Columbia or Spain (P4), and these ratings straddled at the middle point of the scale, though the median was 4. Younger participants agreed more than older that Spanglish can be used in the classroom (P5; $p < .07$), however, both groups offered mean ratings below the midpoint and the older group below the median (3). Similarly, both groups largely disagreed with the idea of US Spanish being learned

in Spanish courses, which mean ratings below the scale midpoint but above the median (2). Lastly, younger participants agree more than older that using Spanglish can help an early Spanish/English bilingual person maintain their home language [Spanish] as well as culture (P7; $p < .07$; median = 4).

4.4. Correlation analyses

Correlation analyses were carried out to determine the relationship of MGT ratings to IAT results. Among the two listener groups (younger and older), each MGT result set (*acquisition* and *academic-ness*) was separated by guise language (SS and USS), which were each paired with each IAT result set.

All models demonstrated weak and/or non-significant relationships between explicit attitudes elicited indirectly from the MGT and directly from direct questioning, as well as implicit bias automatically from the IAT, whereby closer to -1 indicates a strong negative correlation and closer to +1 a strong positive correlation. The correlations presented with p values less than 0.05, while statistically significant, are less practically significant as they are considered to be weak by social sciences standards[6], adding to the existing literature that has determined implicit and explicit evaluations to be distinct constructs (Ianos et al. 2020). These results suggest that the cognitive processes explored in the three research paradigms are distinct, even in those instances where they pattern similarly (McKenzie & Carrie, 2018).

Table 9: Correlation analyses, separated by participant group and language

	Younger/SS	Younger/USS	Older/SS	Older/USS
MGT *acquisition* ratings + IAT *D*-score means	r = -.04 $p < .59$	r = .03 $p < .72$	r = -.001 $p < .98$	r = -.04 $p < .59$
MGT *acquisition* ratings + direct questioning ratings	r = .06 $p < .47$	r = -.09 $p < .32$	r = .19 $p < .04$	r = .26 $p < .007$
MGT *prestige* ratings + IAT *D*-score means	r = .10 $p < .25$	r = -.10 $p < .26$	r = .06 $p < .51$	r = .04 $p < .64$
MGT *prestige* ratings + direct questioning ratings	r = .16 $p < .06$	r = .04 $p < .59$	r = .08 $p < .37$	r = .16 $p < .06$
MGT *solidarity* ratings + IAT *D*-score means	r = .17 $p < .06$	r = -.16 $p < .07$	r = -.16 $p < .09$	r = -.13 $p < .19$
MGT *solidarity* ratings + direct questioning ratings	r = .19 $p < .04$	r = .09 $p < .3$	r = .07 $p < .48$	r = .21 $p < .03$

IAT ratings + direct questioning ratings	r = .14 p < .12	r = .14 p < .12	r = -.23 p < .01	r = -.24 p < .01

5. Discussion

This study employs three research paradigms of social cognition—the matched guise technique (MGT), the implicit association test (IAT), and quantitative direct questioning—to examine if generational differences among US Spanish languagers condition implicit and explicit attitudes towards a standardized Spanish (SS) and a US Spanish (USS) repertoire. The first linguistic study known to employ the three paradigms to examine language attitudes in progress, this study is also among the first (see Licata, in press[b]) to use the implicit association test to examine if early learned biases towards a USS differ from an SS. Results echo prior studies and additionally offer new findings with respect to bias towards US Spanish(es). Both participant groups demonstrated positive implicit bias (derived from IAT) associated with an SS repertoire over USS. This position was affirmed with regard to *prestige*, and somewhat surprisingly, *solidarity*. However, younger participants offered more positively grounded bias (derived indirectly from the MGT) towards USS in terms of perceived *acquisition* of the speakers, a finding that stands in contrast to the older groups' evaluations. Likewise, younger participants' more positive explicit evaluations (directly elicited) as compared to older participants towards USS also support their generation's changing attitudes. Additionally, no correlations presented between the three bias measures, adding to the existing literature in social cognition that demonstrate how attitudes are not all processed in the same way. Relatedly, this study presents additional evidence that the apparent time construct is just as important and necessary in examining evolving language attitudes as it is language production trends.

The MGT indirectly gauged younger and older participants' explicit attitudes towards the perceived *acquisition* of both a standardized Spanish and US Spanish repertoire as well as assigned *prestige* and demonstrated *solidarity* towards both varieties. Both participant groups' evaluations with regard to *prestige* pattern similarly to previous literature assessing bias differences towards SS and USS. These findings demonstrate that, despite the increase of Spanish/English bilingual and Spanish heritage language programs across the country, lexical items and discursive strategies that are typical of US Spanish repertoires are not valorized as prestigious, particularly when contrasted with SS. In addition, male USS speakers were awarded lower *prestige* ratings than female USS speakers, a finding that is attested in the literature that links deficits to male subjects (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

Spanish(es) from pedagogical materials maintain language hierarchies that privilege the a hyperstandardized variety of Spanish divorced from surrounding communities (Train, 2003), a "language-elsewhere" (Mena, 2022) that is not exemplary

of US Spanish languagers' repertoires. Contrastingly, attitudes derived from perceptions of speakers' *acquisition*, or command of their varieties, presented a shift in perspective than what we often see in MGT studies examining US Spanish. The younger group evaluated US Spanish languagers more positively than the older group, meaning that they deemed USS speakers to have acquired their varieties more so than SS speakers, the latter of which was evaluated more positively by the older participants. The findings with regard to perceived *acquisition* demonstrative that the younger generation of L1 Spanish languagers may be veering away from deficit perspectives. That said, more information about the indexical field of the US Spanish features (and others) presented in this study need to be explored. For example, are US Spanish 'accents' salient, and how might this salience interact with standardized language ideologies? In my experience as an Italian heritage speaker and per the testimonials of colleagues and students that are Spanish heritage speakers, even our use of a standardized repertoire is 'marked'; that is, we stand out noticeably as US speakers of our heritage varieties in part due to phonological features. Thus, there is the possibility that younger participants, particularly if they do not think that USS speakers can be 'native' speakers of an SS repertoire, may not evaluate them positively when they employ it. Equally surprising was the lack of solidarity that either group offered to USS, despite growing up in the United States, though an interaction approaching significance demonstrates that older participants offer higher solidarity to SS. This lines up well with the results of the direct questioning (see below for details), wherein younger participants offered more agreement with the legitimization of USS when directly asked. Interestingly, it appears that the MGT, when examining solidarity evaluations, may elicit intended attitudes that do not line up with language use. Consequently, ethnographic study on how these attitudes compare with actual language use would shed light on potential contradictions among USS languagers.

The IAT examined automatically accessed associations between the concepts of Spanish/Spanglish with the attributes of Good/Bad, all participant groups significantly demonstrated faster reaction times when Spanish was paired with the positive qualities, as indicated by a *D*-score mean above zero. These results affirm longstanding associations of an SS repertoire being associated with 'appropriateness', 'wholeness', and 'overall' good qualities. These automatically processed biases are confirmed in parts of the MGT, in particular when evaluating language variety *prestige* as well as older group's attitudes towards perceived *acquisition*. Despite associations presented in the IAT, a *t* test between participant group *D*-score means reveals that older participants had more instances of faster reaction times when Spanish + Good were paired, perhaps indicating that younger participants may not hold these associations as strongly as the older group. These findings are in line with the diverging attitudes that younger participants hold when perceiving speakers' fluency when employing a USS repertoire, presenting a potential attitude change in progress towards US Spanish(es),

or at the very least, a repertoire that includes lexical features typical of USS. Figure 12 demonstrates these shifting perspectives, whereby a divergence between IAT scores and MGT ratings indicate evolving attitudes that frame USS in a more positive light.

Figure 12: MGT *acquisition* and IAT scores plotted by group (younger/older)
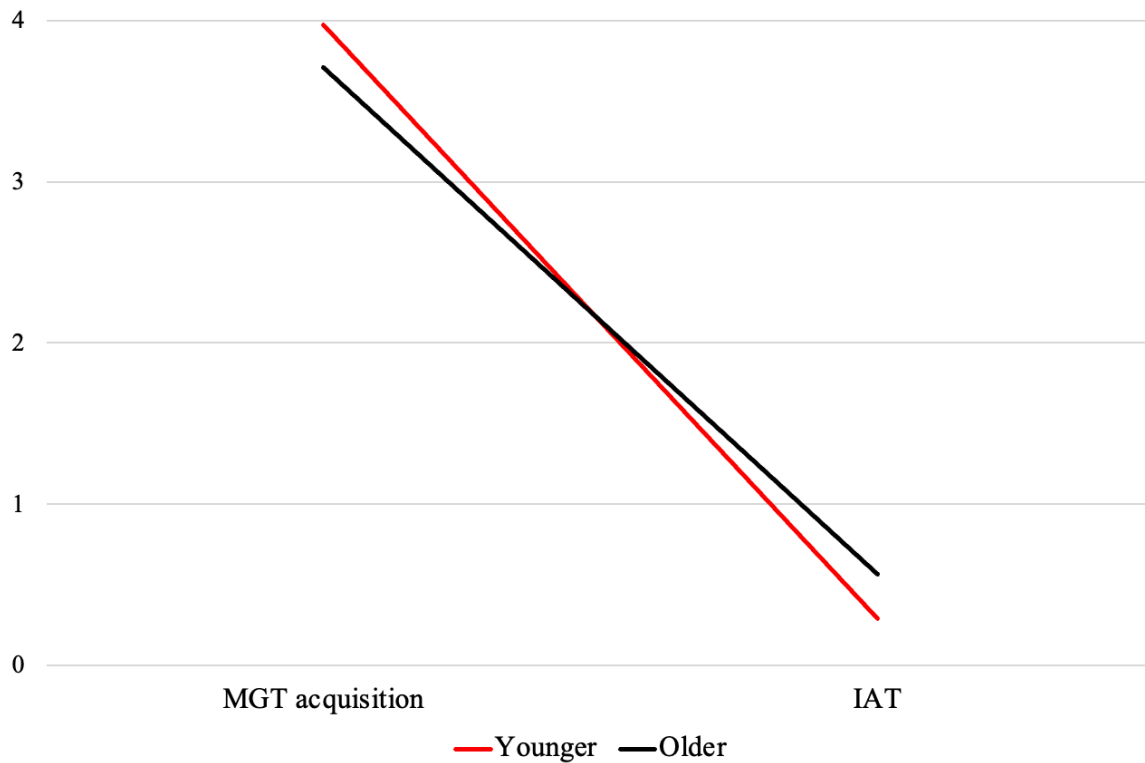
An examination of participants' evaluations from direct questioning also sheds light on how explicit attitudes, when directly elicited, differ between younger and older participant groups. On a scale of 'Disagree' to 'Agree', younger participants offered more positive evaluations than the older group of USS speakers being 'competent' in both English and Spanish, legitimizing the latter by agreeing more with the statement that US Spanish was like other nationalized varieties of Spanish. These findings corroborate younger groups' diverging attitudes from older with regard to *acquisition*. The younger group also expressed that the use of Spanglish can help to maintain home culture and language, a solidarity marker that did not line up with *solidarity* expressed in the MGT. This may indicate that they are at the early stages of a divergent attitude that indicates more personal, cultural, and communicative connectedness with USS repertoires, despite denial in the MGT. *Language solidarity* is a quality that must be explored further using ethnographic methods, sociolinguistic interviews, and language production studies, as they can highlight patterns of behavior that may complement or contradict explicit and implicit biases. Contrastingly, both groups offered lower ratings overall for any prompts related to US Spanish being taught in schools or useful on a

global scale, thus these evaluations demonstrate that attitudes towards the *prestige* of US Spanish are not shifting, but rather, indicate stability across bias measures for both groups. These results are not shocking, as US Spanish(es) continued to be negated and delegitimized at the institutional (read: educational) level, which trickle down to folk conceptualizations of what constitutes a valid or appropriate language variety for academic purposes (Preston, 1996). This examination of bias demonstrates how younger US Spanish languagers perhaps feel empowered in their own legitimizations of USS features yet may still experience top-down influences that seek to delegitimize US Spanish(es) and this may affect their expressed solidarity towards their varieties. It is vital to consider the role of education, where standard and academic language use is expected.

Unsurprisingly, the correlation analyses demonstrate weak to very weak relationships between data derived from the three research paradigms. These findings are supported by previous literature that demonstrates weak implicit-explicit relations in experiments evaluating bias towards a variety of topics (Greenwald et al., 2009; Nosek et al., 2007), and specifically with linguistic variables (McKenzie & Carrie, 2018b). These findings demonstrate that explicit and implicit biases are not monolithic in their processing, but rather multifaceted and can be accessed via different methods to better understand how explicit attitudes may be diverging (or not) from early learned biases. This study also offers new insights into how some language attitude changes may be occurring at a faster rate with particular qualities while others remain stable or are progressing more slowly.

US Spanish(es) are not disappearing, as the vibrance of Spanish language communities in the United States continues to evolve with each new generation. Even US Spanish languagers who demonstrate low explicit solidarity to the variety, or claim it is 'inappropriate' or 'broken' do in fact use it frequently (cf. Zentella, 2017). Language contact phenomena are inevitable—there are no varieties of Spanish that exist in 'pure' form (purism is yet another ideology). Spanish has been influenced by other language varieties for centuries—*almohada* ("pillow") is not from Latin, but rather Arabic; *tomate* ("tomato") is of Nahuatl origin. Relatedly, deep analyses of standard language ideologies (Lippi-Green, 2012) and raciolinguistic ideologies (Rosa & Flores, 2017) must undergird examinations of folk perceptions of the social qualities (i.e., *acquisition*, *prestige*, *solidarity*) presented in this study. What does language conceptualization look like when boundaries are not created and maintained? Must a variety be codified in order to legitimize it institutionally? These very questions push us to reject the stringent bordering of languages and identities to instead refocus our attention on liberated languaging practices that valorize an individual's entire linguistic and cultural repertoire.

6. Conclusion

In this study, it was demonstrated that younger US Spanish languagers are somewhat diverging from older languagers in their biases towards both SS and USS. These findings offer exciting possibilities to examine how education and social media can positively affect how US Spanish varieties are legitimized among those who employ them. There were limitations to the study that suggest further exploration of bias and standard language ideologies is needed. For example, the stimuli used in the MGT and IAT were different, with audio stimuli used in the former and written stimuli used in the latter. Additionally, the indexical meanings associated with Spanish phonologically inflected lexical items in the USS guise passages may vary with different stimuli or morphosyntactic variations, which can affect perception. Finally, a larger participant pool may be necessary to better understand the potential interactions among independent variables and those that were emerging.

Chapter 5. Case Study #2: Italian Native Speaker Status

1. Introduction

Work in sociolinguistic perception has demonstrated how linguistic cues are not perceived in isolation, but rather in unison with nonlinguistic social information (Craft et al., 2020). That is, top-down information, like gender (Johnson et al., 1999; Strand, 1999) or race (Kang & Rubin, 2009; Rubin, 1992), serve as 'filters' that affect how a language is heard and understood. These 'filters' are ideological products of intentional processes of subordination and racialization of both people and their forms of communication (Rosa & Flores, 2017), among other aspects of identity. Integral to this process are fictions of the 'native speaker', a construct heavily tied to cultural ideologies of the 'authentic' citizen and language user (Birkeland et al., 2022; Lowe & Pinner, 2016).

'Italian' as a national language is still relatively new in terms of its status as a language of public domain, originally deriving from Florentine, the prestige Tuscan dialect utilized by famed literary figures like Dante Alighieri and Francesco Petrarca in the fifteenth century. When Italy was born a nation in 1861, this Tuscan variety moved from a regionally ethnic and literary language to a codified national (and later, imperial) language meant to be disseminated to those now called 'Italians' within the newly bordered country, eventually meaning that anyone living and educated in the Italy would have a public right to learn Italian. The linguistic diversity in Italy was vast; however, the growth of the Italian nation did not mean that all were considered 'Italians'. The cultural, sociopolitical, and economic divides of North and South were evident in such conceptualizations, which originated in and favored the hegemonic North (De Mauro, 2017). The racialization of Southern Italians led to longstanding stereotypes that framed Northerners as being more competent and possessing higher status in Italy (see Durante et al., 2009) and abroad (Dewhirst, 2014; Jackson, 2020).

However, when faced with differently racialized groups, such as those with African or East Asian descendance, Southern Italians can use "their undefined status to become racially transient', considered both 'white' and racialized/othered (Jackson, 2020, p. 35). Relatedly, the immigratory waves of the 20th and 21st century in Italy have shifted the linguistic landscape and population of Italians, to a point diluting the dichotomy of 'North versus South' into populist politics of 'Italians versus Other', a movement still very centralized in the North (Betz, 2003).

In this case study, I examine how race and gender affect Italians' perception of a Roman repertoire. I utilize the three research paradigms described in Chapter 3—*matched guise technique* (MGT; Lambert et al., 1960), *implicit association test* (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998), and quantitative direct questioning (see Kircher, 2022)—as varying measures of social cognition to reveal a continuum of biases. I also utilize top-

down effects to examine if *reverse linguistic stereotyping* (Kang & Rubin, 2009; Rubin, 1992), or the differentiated perception of the same female and male voices matched with photos of people representing different racial/ethnic backgrounds, is occurring.

The findings from the MGT indicate that both younger and older participants have a negative evaluation of the white female Roman voice when paired with the photo of the East Asian woman, in terms of social qualities such as authentic native speaker status and public prestige. However, no significant differences were observed when the same voice was paired with photos of white and Black women, or when male study subjects of any race were involved. Furthermore, the results of the two Implicit Association Tests (IATs) showed that both age groups had faster reaction times, indicating stronger associations, when Italian descent was associated with "Good" in both tests compared to East Asian/African descent. In contrast, when direct questioning was used, the data revealed more positive explicit attitudes towards an expanded concept of the "Italian native speaker". Weak to very weak correlations were present, with the older group presenting correlated associations highly motivated by standard language ideologies and whiteness as default (see Mena, 2022).

As Italy continues to grow more diverse through immigration and facilitated movement within the European Union, I aim to understand the language attitudes of two generations of Italians if are in progress among in their perceptions of who 'counts' as a 'native' and 'competent' speaker. These results provide insight into how raciolinguistic ideologies (Rosa & Flores, 2017) in Italy—highly understudied— undergird language enregisterment in racialized language communities in Italy.

2. Literature review

2.1. Xenophobia and racialization through the Italian language

Racism propagated through language bias (and vice versa) across Europe often goes unchecked, as the hesitance and resistance in talking about race is the status quo, propagating a falsehood that racism is a nonissue in European societies (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021; Lentin, 2008, 2020). Thus, over time, the idealization of a 'native Italian speaker' (cf. De Mauro, 2017; Guerini, 2011; Robustelli, 2018), while perhaps varying by region (see Berruto, 2005, for a detailed discussion on the regional restandardization of Italian in contact with Romance varieties, like Sicilian), is entrenched with raciolinguistic ideologies, as assimilation to whiteness via a rejection of home repertoire is critical in the attempt to become Italian (Chini, 2011; Migliarini & Cioè-Peña, 2022). As notions of what it meant to become 'Italian' grew stronger through global events like World Wars and mass waves of immigration to Europe, citizenship status was also integral to 'becoming Italian' . One gains citizenship in various ways, one being through proving an Italian bloodline (i.e., *jus sanguinis*), however those who cannot claim bloodline but were born and raised on Italian soil without the right to *jus*

sanguinis must apply for citizenship as adults (Zincone, 2010). Though immigrants eventually establish themselves as 'no longer immigrants' as new family generations are born and raised in Italy, the co-naturalization of race and ethnicity with citizenship are enforced through language policy (Klein, 1989; Rosa & Flores, 2017) and other aspects of identity keep some groups at the margins of society (see Cere, 2010). The borders created around Italy are not specific to the nation, as white Europeans from other European Union nations also find belonging, while *extracomunitari*, or migrants from outside the EU, are framed as the "other" and "a danger" to Italy (Perrino & Jereza, 2020)

The aforementioned 'silence' (Lentin, 2008) that governs European discussion about race complements the rise of far-right political activity, particularly as the linguistic landscape and population continue to diversify in representation. With continued immigration into Southern Italy, Northern Italy has become the national epicenter for right-wing populist and xenophobic rhetoric—sentiments that are widespread across Europe—particularly as center-right parties and coalitions gain traction[6] in national governments (Greven, 2016). As anthropologist H. Samy Alim details autobiographically, being in Northern Italy involved "endur[ing] three weeks of the most horrifying and psychologically damaging racist terror I have ever experienced in my life" (Alim, 2016), which involved the following firsthand experiences:

> "[Getting] kicked out of establishments and denied service in cafes, bars, and first- class trains; I was screamed at (multiple times), laughed at, ridiculed, threatened, and followed by White men who made monkey and ape noises behind me I was identified as a racial Other to be expelled from the country no matter what language I spoke or how I dressed." (p. 44)

These are overt examples of racism and xenophobia, however perhaps less obvious is how they manifest more covertly in a silent avoidance of racism as a European problem (Lentin, 2008), "transcend[ing] immigration and citizenship status… [shedding light on how] questions of 'difference' are framed institutionally in Italy" (Hawthorne, 2017, p. 154). Examination of Italian language policies demonstrate how 'silent' racism is passively manifested in conceptualizations of the idealized Italian lagnguager and citizen. For instance, Italian citizenship is among the basic requirements for serving as editor of an Italian newspaper, even those called *Africa News*, written in Italian and English, as well as the bilingual Italian-Chinese magazine *It's China* (Guerini, 2011). Likewise, language policies in schools for non-citizens whose first language is not Italian are assimilatory and exclusionary, aiming to produce monolingual students and achieve societal monoglossia (Barni et al., 2009; Migliarini & Cioè-Peña, 2022). The representation of Italian in the linguistic landscape is also legislated, for example,

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[6] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-63029909

Chinese storekeepers in Rome must place the Italian translation above the Chinese; however, English store titles are exempt from this rule due to the social capital that the latter brings to businesses (Barni & Bagna, 2008).

As a *raciolinguistic perspective* comes to the forefront of research investigating language, systems, and racism, attitude and bias research becomes vital in implementing a critical lens. Though much work has to be done in the Italian context, the next section details the existing literature that explores these themes in Italy.

2.2. Sociolinguistic perception in Italy

The limitations of standard language, native speaker, and raciolinguistic ideologies help us analyze biases that are derived from direct and indirect methods exploring a range of attitudes. Little research in this area in Italian language contexts has been carried out, particularly from an intersectional lens that may combine race, gender, and other variables in the analysis of bias and attitudes. However, as a raciolinguistic perspective begins emerging as a framework in research about Italian language communities in Italy, existing research helps us explore how standard language ideologies and native speakerism can shed light on how race and language are co-constructed in Italian societal contexts. Calamai (2015) used the verbal guise to assess the effects of ethnicity and accent on high school listeners' perceptions of Italian and non-Italian accents (i.e., Romanian, Albanian, and American/British English). While Italian was rated the most positively for socioeconomic condition and professional reliability, the young listeners rated all accents positively in the other social categories. A recent study incorporating explicit attitudes and the IAT in a school where Italian monolingualism was imposed in all school spaces (e.g., classroom, playground, halls, etc. unearthed that teachers hold negative implicit biases towards their Chinese students' accents when they speak Italian, though they expressed more positive evaluations of the students when directly questioned. These findings demonstrate a divergence of implicit to explicit biases, highlighting how harmful biases may play covertly out in the classroom, particularly where overtly limiting monolingual policies are in place. Via quantitative direct questioning, Piccardi et al. (2022) explored linguistic insecurity and perceived discrimination in a Tuscan school with a high number of migrants, finding that language insecurity positively correlates with feelings of being discriminated against while inversely correlating with self-regard scores of the students.

Several studies have assessed Italians' perceptions of regional Romance and Italian varieties, which as mentioned in Chapter 2, have been systemically stigmatized to varying degrees since Italian Unification in 1861, shedding light on the power of standard language ideologies and idealizations of speakers. In a language attitude survey, Ruffino (2006) found that students that spoke 'dialect' (i.e., another Romance variety, like Sicilian or Sardinian) in the home consciously felt insecure using Italian in

schools, feeling ashamed of their home language use and describing the punishment they faced when speaking in 'dialect'. In a verbal guise experiment, De Pascale et al. (2017) paired one speech sample of a national standardized Italian repertoire with eight Italian varieties that have undergone restandardization (see Cerruti et al., 2017) at the regional level due to historic contact with the local Italo-Romance varieties. They found that listeners showed more dissatisfaction towards the Milanese variety, but also Neapolitan Italian, which is the area that most of the participants are from. A few studies using the MGT have also examined how speaker gender conditions evaluations. Licata (in press) found that when the female guise employed the Genoese variety (Gallo-Italic variety of Liguria), she was rated less favorably with respect to her speech quality (e.g., pleasant accent, command of variety) than when she spoke a standardized Italian repertoire, and her male contemporary was also rated more positively in both varieties. Marsano (2021) also examined linguistic competence with speakers who can employ both a standardized Italian repertoire and an urban Trentino, a variety of the Trentino-Alto Adige autonomous region of Northern Italy bordering Germany. Findings reveal that when the female guise spoke Trentino, participants evaluated her more favorably in terms of solidarity (i.e., social closeness) by Trentino listeners, she was also rated lower in terms of competence and socio-economic status as compared to the male speaker using both varieties by all participants (Trentino or not). This brings the discussion back to the gender paradox (Labov, 2001), demonstrating how the negative indexical meanings associated with stigmatized Romance varieties in Italy afford [female] languages users less social capital.

These findings reveal how powerful monoglossic language policies were in nation building and continue to be in the maintenance of negative indexical meanings surrounding nonhegemonic language and language users, fostering linguistic insecurity of the speakers of those very varieties. Thus, the national prestige of Italian becomes evident when paired with other language varieties autochthonous to the region, and the present study aims to add to this literature by complicating the examination through a raciolinguistic lens and the use of multiple models of social cognition.

3. Methodology

This study employs various research language attitudinal paradigms that elicit a range of biases to determine if there are generational differences in how Italians are influenced by nonlinguistic factors—namely, race and gender—to conceptualize the 'native speaker', an area of research in Italian language communities that is highly understudied. Surveying two generations of Italian languagers in Italy will reveal if and how reverse linguistic stereotyping occurs when Italians make judgements on the linguistic characteristics of L1 Italians in Rome. Similar to the case study in Chapter 4, this study adds to the literature of differing bias measures and how they are processed.

To address this research gap, this study combines three research paradigms determine potential bias changes towards notions of the Italian 'native speaker', including the matched guise technique (indirectly elicits explicit attitudes), the implicit association test (elicits automatic association), and direct questioning (directly elicits explicit attitudes). Participants completed all sections in Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT), an online survey platform, with IAT integration using Iatgen (Carpenter et al., 2019). Participants accessed the survey through Prolific, a crowdsourcing platform (www.prolific.co). Participants were asked to use headphones on a desktop computer and complete the experiment alone; they took between 25-35 minutes to complete the tasks and short breaks were provided if needed. Using this experimental setup, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

4. Are younger Italians exhibit diverging or converging from older Italians with regards to their attitudes towards the 'Italian native speaker'?
5. How does nonlinguistic information, like race and gender, affect listener perceptions of a standardized Italian repertoire?
6. Do the attitudes and associations elicited from indirect (i.e., the MGT) and direct methods (i.e., direct questioning) and automatic response (i.e., the IAT) add to the existing literature that demonstrates explicit and implicit biases as resultant of distinct cognitive processes?

3.1. Participants

Two hundred and fourteen participants completed the study online in Qualtrics (*Qualtrics*, 2013), which was distributed through the crowd-sourcing online platform Prolific (www.prolific.co). The demographic requirements were set to individuals be born and live in Italy, be fluent in the Italian language, and either pertain to the 18-25 or 35-50 age group. Participants were asked to use headphones on a desktop computer; they took between 25-35 minutes to complete the experiment and short breaks were provided if needed. Demographic information for the participants is provided in Table 10.

Table 10: Demographic information for participants

Age *n* = 214	Self-identified gender	Region	Self-identified race/ethnicity
younger (18-25) *n* =100	female: 40 male: 53 male/other: 1 nonbinary: 6	Abruzzo: 1 Basilicata: 1 Calabria: 7 Campania: 13 Emilia-Romagna: 9	White (Italian/ European): 97 African: 1 African/Middle Eastern: 1 Arabic: 1

		Friuli-Venezia Giulia: 2	
		Lazio: 11	
		Liguria: 1	
		Lombardia: 16	
		Marche: 5	
		Piemonte: 4	
		Puglia: 7	
		Sardegna: 2	
		Sicily: 7	
		Tuscany: 2	
		Trentino-Alto Adige: 1	
		Umbria: 2	
		Veneto: 9	
Older (35-50) n =114	female: 44 male: 70	Abruzzo: 3	White (Italian/ European): 114
		Basilicata: 2	
		Calabria: 2	
		Campania: 6	
		Emilia-Romagna: 10	
		Friuli-Venezia Giulia: 4	
		Lazio: 13	
		Liguria: 3	
		Lombardia: 15	
		Marche: 5	
		Molise: 1	
		Piemonte: 9	
		Puglia: 6	
		Sardegna: 10	
		Sicily: 8	
		Tuscany: 3	
		Trentino-Alto Adige: 1	
		Umbria: 1	
		Veneto: 12	

3.2. Stimuli and setup

3.2.1. Matched guise test

Fourteen photographic visual primes were utilized in the matched guise in the study, all used with permission from the Chicago Face Database (CFD; see Ma et al., 2015). The

visuals used for the guises are shown in Figure 1. Six of these photos comprise the guises in the matched guise test (Positions #2, #4, #7, #9, #12, and #14) and the rest fillers. Guise photos are displayed in Figure 13. Though these photos are normed based on a variety of social and characteristics through the CFD project, the photos need to be subjected to a norming task relevant to this study in Italy, where the participants are located. Photographs were cropped to the same size.

Via Prolific (www.prolific.co), 73 Italian residents and language users completed the task, and these participants were later disallowed from participating in the attitude research experiments. The norming task required that participants respond to a series of prompts and questions (see Table 2 and 3) to determine differences between the people in the photos that would serve as variables in the MGT and IAT (i.e., race and gender). Questions relevant to the experiment were also included, and I refrain from labeling the photos and instead provide (Likert scale: Disagree [1] to Agree [6]) and multiple-choice prompts with fill-in options to guide participants but allow them to use their experiences understanding of social categorization on their own. As specific ethnicity is not provided in the CFD, the people in the photos of those characterized as white per CFD also needed to be normed as potentially Italian.

Tables 11 and 12 demonstrate the criteria for the multiple-choice options in the norming task. Origins categorizations with ≥ 75% of the majority choice identifying the photos with white, Black, and East Asian people (per CFD norming) as descending from Europe, Africa, and Asia (respectively) were chosen to be the guises. The same threshold was applied to categorize the self-identified gender (male/female) of the people in the photo. Those photos with average age ratings between approximately 25-35 years were also included. Table 13 and 14 display the Likert scale ratings that dig deeper into the origins and 'Italian nativeness' the people in the photo are perceived to possess. The photos of both the white male- and white female-identifying individuals were evaluated as being born in Italy, living in Italy, and having an Italian accent with mean ratings > than 4 (1 indicating 'disagree', 6 indicating 'agree'). These means are considerably higher than the means for the East Asian male- and East Asian female-identifying individuals as well as Black male- and Black female-identifying individuals. Likewise, the photos of East Asian people were evaluated as being more likely to be born in Italy and more likely to have an Italian accent than the photos of Black people, with significant differences.

Tables 11 and 12: Differential scale ratings for visual prime norming task (means and standard deviations) related to origins, age, and gender

Photo: Race/Gender	Origins	Age	Gender
East Asian/Female	Asia: 64 → 88%	μ 29	female: 73

	Italy: 8 → 10% Not sure: 2 → 2%	σ 4	
Black/Female	Africa: 53 → 73% USA: 8 → 11% Italy: 7 → 9% France: 2 → 3% South America: 2 → 3% Not sure: 1 → 1%	μ 32 σ 4	female: 72 → 99% male: 1 → 1%
White/Female	Italy: 56 → 77% Other Europe: 10 → 14% USA: 4 → 5% Slavic: 3 → 4%	μ 25 σ 3.5	female: 71 → 97% nonbinary: 2 → 3%

Photo: Race/Gender	Origins	Age	Gender
East Asian/Male	Asia: 67 → 92% Italy: 6 → 8%	μ 30 σ 5	male: 73
Black/Male	Africa: 55 → 75% Italy: 11 → 12% Latin America: 3 → 4% Other Europe: 2 → 3% USA: 5 → 6%	μ 28 σ 4	male: 72 → 99% female: 1 → 1%
White/Male	Italy: 56 → 77% Other Europe: 10 → 15% Slavic: 3 → 4% USA: 4 → 4%	μ 25 σ 3.5	female: 71 → 97% nonbinary: 2 → 3%

Table 12 and 13: Differential scale ratings for visual prime norming task (means and standard deviations) related to birthplace, residence, and accent

Photo: Race/Gender	Born in Italy	Lives in Italy	Has Italian accent
East Asian/Female (AF)	μ 3.2 σ 1.2	μ 3.7 σ 1	μ 3.1 σ 1.2
Black/Female (BF)	μ 2.8 σ 1.2	μ 3.7 σ 1.2	μ 2.7 σ 1.2
White/Female (WF)	μ 4.2 σ 1.3	μ 4.3 σ 1.3	μ 4.2 σ 1.4
Differences			

AF ~ WF	$p < .0001$ (WF ↑)	$p < .0001$ (WF ↑)	$p < .0001$ (WF ↑)
AF ~ BF	$p < .007$ (AF ↑)	$p < 1$	$p < .002$ (AF ↑)
WF ~ BF	$p < .0001$ (WF ↑)	$p < .0001$ (WF ↑)	$p < .0001$ (WF ↑)

Photo: Race/Gender	Born in Italy	Lives in Italy	Has Italian accent
East Asian/Male (AM)	μ 2.2 σ 1.2	μ 2.9 σ 1.4	μ 2 σ 1.1
Black/Male (BM)	μ 2.7 σ 1.2	μ 3.2 σ 1.4	μ 2.6 σ 1.2
White/Male (WM)	μ 4.7 σ 1	μ 4.7 σ 1	μ 4.7 σ 1
Differences			
AM ~ WM	$p < .0001$ (WM ↑)	$p < .001$ (WM ↑)	$p < .0001$ (WM ↑)
AM ~ BM	$p < 0.04$ (AM ↑)	$p < 1$	$p < 0.04$ (AM ↑)
WM ~ BM	$p < .0001$ (WM ↑)	$p < .004$ (WM ↑)	$p < .0001$ (WM ↑)

Ten people provided the auditory stimuli for the matched guise experiment. All speakers were male- or female-identifying (5:5), aged 25-35, and born and raised in Rome, Italy (to control for regional variation as much as possible) and had Italian as their first language. The person providing the female guise voice is a colleague, and the rest of the audio, including the male guise, was collected via Prolific using Phonic.ai (www.phonic.ai). These people were also disallowed from the main experiment. Speakers read short passages with colloquial themes (see Davidson, 2019; and Appendix B) in standardized Italian variety. Passages were edited by three L1 Italians and audio was evaluated by three Roman Italians, who rated that all speakers were from Rome.

The two individuals who produced the designated guises (one male, one female) read Story D, providing the same audio sample for each of the target photos; that is, the photos of three male-identifying people, one of each race represented (East Asian, Black, white) and the same for the three female-identifying people. The two guises were white Italians born, raised, and living in Rome in their early thirties. The designated guises were separated by the audio of the other eight speakers, who each read one passage, serving as 'fillers' to distract listeners from the similarity of voices across the designated guises. Speakers were told to read the passages as naturally as possible. Audio samples were normalized for sound and speed using Praat (Boersma & Van Heuven, 2001). The audio samples were organized for a single group of judges (Stefanowitsch, 2005), meaning that all participants heard and rated all audio samples (six compared guises, eight fillers) in a within-subjects design. The photo and audio

sequence is visualized in Figure 13. At the end of the experiment, participants were asked if they heard the same person twice, and if they responded 'yes', their data was disqualified.

Figure 13: Matched guise sequence for single group of judges; race and gender of person in photo as independent variables

3 female guises: Same voice from white female Roman Italian paired with each photo

Position	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14
Gender	F	F	M	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	M
Story read	A	D	B	D	E	A	D	C	D	E	B	D	C	D
Photo		👤		👤			👤		👤			👤		👤

3 male guises: Same voice from white male Roman Italian paired with each photo

Participants evaluated the speakers on eleven social scales. Using a six-point Likert scale (see Figure 14), participants addressed how much they disagreed (value = 1) or agreed (value = 6) with the sociolinguistic evaluation of the speaker. The eleven evaluative scales include the following:

Q1. *I believe that this person learned their language not only speaking, but also reading and writing.*
Q2. *I believe that this person has finished learning their language.*
Q3. *I believe that this person speaks an authentic Italian.*
Q4. *I believe that this person native language is Italian.*
Q5. *I believe that this person speaks Italian with their family.*
Q6. *I believe that this person is still learning their language.*
Q7. *I believe that this person could communicate well in a university course.*
Q8. *I believe that this person could easily communicate in public spaces in Italy.*
Q9. *I believe that this person this person could use their language to communicate in governmental institutions.*

Figure 14: Sample matched guise scalar prompt with a six-point Likert scale

Questa persona suona come un tipico italiano.
This person sounds like a typical Italian.

Per niente d'accordo   ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○   Pienamente d'accordo
Strongly disagree   *Strongly agree*

3.2.2. Implicit association test

The same guise photos used as visual stimuli in the MGT are also used in the IAT as well as additional filler photos. Participants completed two IATs that assessed the association of the binary values of *Buono/Cattivo* ('Good'/'Bad') (i.e. attributes) to two different sets of concepts, *Descendenza italiana* ('Italian descendance') with either *Descendenza asiatic*a ('Asian descendance') or *Descendenza africana* ('African descendance'). The attributes present positive/negative binaries that are related to comprehensibility and authenticity. This results in two IAT tests, juxtaposing the photos of white people with the photos of East Asian people, and another that juxtaposes the same photos of white people with the photos of Black people. The exemplars for both the concepts and attributes are listed in Tables 15 and 16.

Tables 15 and 16: Concepts and attributes and respective exemplars for IAT #1 and #2, respectively

Concepts	Exemplars
Italian Descendance (*Descendenza italiana*)	
East Asian Descendance (*Descendenza asiática*)	
Attributes	**Exemplars**
Good (*Buono*)	intact (*intatto*); authentic (*autentico*); *legitimate* (*legittimo*); clear (*chiaro*); sincere (*sincero*)
Bad (*Cattivo*)	broken (*rotto*); inauthentic (*inautentico*); legitimate (*illegittimo*); incomprehensible (*incomprensibile*); fake (*falso*)

Concepts:	Exemplars:
Italian Descendance (*Descendenza italiana*)	
African Descendance (*Descendenza africana*)	
Attributes	**Exemplars:**

| Good (*Buono*)	intact (*intatto*); authentic (*autentico*); *legitimate* (*legittimo*); clear (*chiaro*); sincere (*sincero*)
Bad (*Cattivo*)	broken (*rotto*); inauthentic (*inautentico*); legitimate (*illegittimo*); incomprehensible (*incomprensibile*); fake (*falso*)

The IAT is composed of seven blocks. Blocks 1, 2, and 5 are practice trials that consist of sorting the exemplars with their concept or attribute head words. The trial blocks provide participants with the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the exemplars and match them to concepts. The results are not examined in the analysis. Trials 3, 4, 6, and 7 are the experimental trials and pair concepts with attributes. Trials 3 and 4 maintain a consistent pairing, for example, Italian Descendance + Good (*Descendenza italiana + Buono*) on one side, and African Descendance + Bad (*Descendenza africana + Cattivo*). Trials 6 and 7 switch the positions of the attributes: Italian Descendance + Bad (Descendenza italiana + Cattivo) and African Descendance + Good (*Descendenza africana + Buono*). In concordance with best practices attested in IAT tests, concept labels are positioned on the upper left- or right-hand corner of the frame with the attribute below, with the exemplar presented in the center of the screen (see Figures 15, 16, 17, and 18). Additonally, placement of concepts and attributes are randomized and counterbalanced in experimental trials.

Figures 15, 16, 17, and 18: Screenshots of IAT practice trials, sorting exemplars (red text added for clarity in paper)
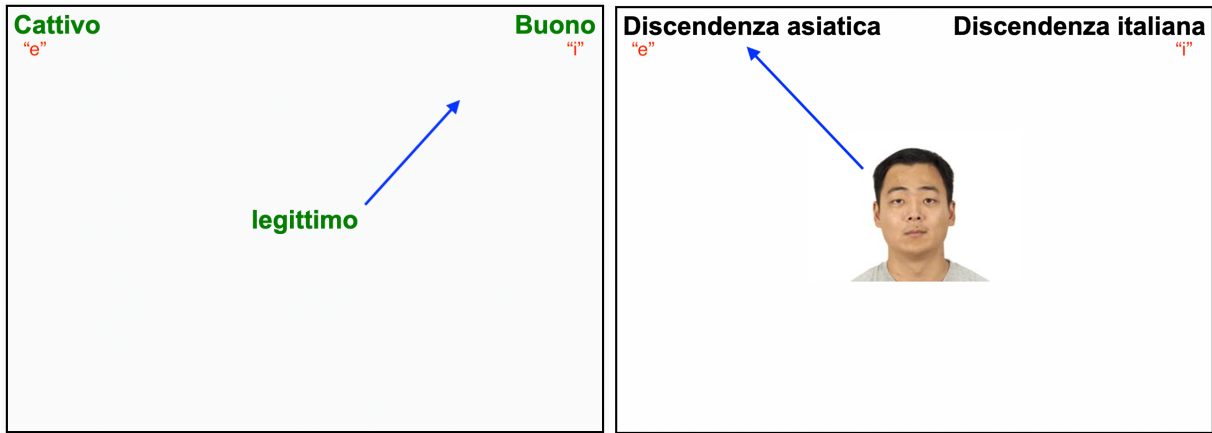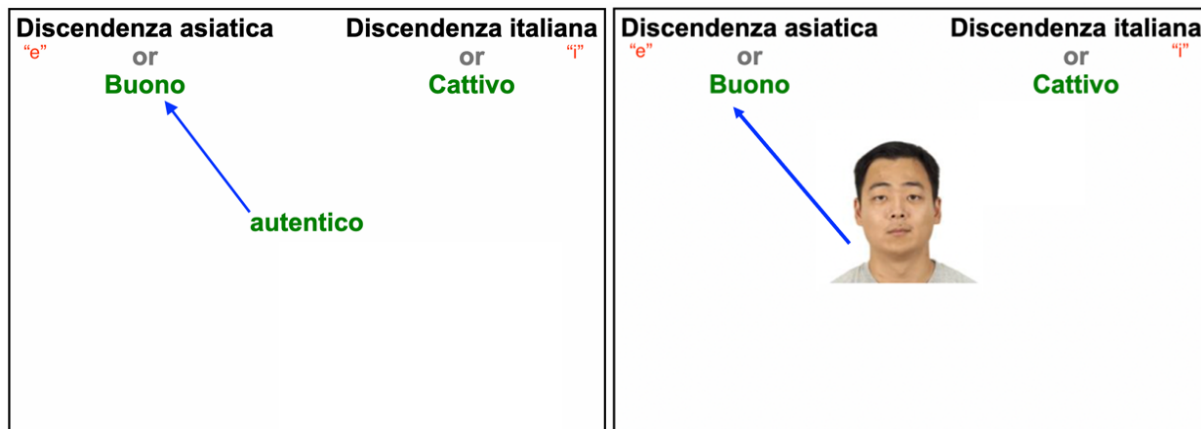
3.2.3. Direct questioning

Participants conclude the experiment with a series of direct prompts that aim to elicit explicit attitudes towards the Italian [language] nativeness. Prompts were similarly organized to those of the MGT—"I believe" statements followed by *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* Likert scales. This set of questions include the following:

P1. *Being Italian means having an Italian bloodline.*
P2. *People from any race or ethnicity that are born and raised in Italy are Italian.*
P3. *People from any race or ethnicity can be native speakers of Italian.*
P4. *People from any race or ethnicity can speak Italian authentically.*

3.3. Data processing and statistical models

The responses from the matched guise test were converted into numerical values and normalized, meaning that an evaluation of "1" indicates a negative response to the prompt and an evaluation of "6" indicates the positive response. The normalized data was then submitted to exploratory factor analysis (Gaskin, 2014; Helms, 2020), which categorized the number of correlated measures to a set of two salient social variables that are henceforth *authentic native speaker status* and *public prestige* (see Tables 17 and 18).

Table 17: Loadings of rating scales for female guises in EFA on Factors 1 (*authentic native speaker status*) and 2 (*public prestige*). Loadings above an absolute value of .4[7] are bolded, loadings below +/− .1 are removed.

Rating Scale. *I believe that this person('s) …*	**Factor 1**: *authentic native speaker status*	**Factor 2**: *public prestige*
Q8. *learned their language not only speaking, but also reading and writing.*	**.62**	.44

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[7] This is the recommended threshold given the population size (see Hair et al., 2019))

Rating Scale	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q9. *has finished learning their language.*	**.69**	.36
Q10.*speaks an authentic Italian.*	**.73**	.45
Q11.*native language is Italian.*	**.85**	.24
Q12.*speaks Italian with their family.*	**.78**	.33
Q13.*is still learning their language.*	**.55**	.18
Q14.*could communicate well in a university course.*	.33	**.87**
Q15. *could easily communicate in public spaces in Italy.*	.38	**.76**
Q16. *… this person could use their language to communicate in governmental institutions.*	.31	**.86**

Table 18: Loadings of rating scales for male guises in EFA on Factors 1 (*native speaker status*) and 2 (*public prestige*). Loadings above an absolute value of .4 are bolded, loadings below +/− .1 are removed.

Rating Scale. *I believe that this person('s) …*	**Factor 1**: *authentic native speaker status*	**Factor 2**: *public prestige*
Q1. *learned their language not only speaking, but also reading and writing.*	**.56**	.34
Q2. *has finished learning their language.*	**.53**	.24
Q3. *speaks an authentic Italian.*	**.67**	.32
Q4. *native language is Italian.*	**.79**	.08
Q5. *speaks Italian with their family.*	**.76**	.11
Q6. *is still learning their language.*	**.40**	.14
Q7. *could communicate well in a university course.*	.19	**.88**
Q8. *could easily communicate in public spaces in Italy.*	.26	**.71**
Q9. *this person could use their language to communicate in governmental institutions.*	.23	**.85**

The IAT data was cleaned and processed using Iatgen (Carpenter et al., 2019). Participants' response latencies were converted into *D*-scores (Greenwald et al., 2003; Lane et al., 2007), a measure of the within-subject difference between the compatible and incompatible block means, divided by a pooled standard deviation. The *D*-score represents the subtle differences in effect size, producing a final *D*-score for each

participant. *D*-scores range from −2. and 2, where 0 represents no difference in response latencies between conditions. A positive score indicates bias towards the hypothesized pairing based on native speaker ideologies in Italy, that is, Italian descendance + Good. A negative score signifies bias towards the 'incompatible' pairing (i.e., Spanglish + Good/Academic).

Evaluative responses from direct questioning was submitted to EFA analysis (Gaskin, 2014; Helms, 2020), which revealed two salient factors, *Italianness* (Q1 and Q2) and *native speaker status* (Q3 and Q4; see Table 19). Values from the prompts of each variable were aggregated and examined for mean differences (*t* test) between groups (younger, older).

Table 19: Loadings of rating scales for evaluative scales (via direct questioning) in EFA on Factors 1 (*native speaker status*) and 2 (*Italianness*). Loadings above an absolute value of .4 are bolded.

Rating Scale	**Factor 1**: *native speaker status*	**Factor 2**: *Italianness*
Q1.*Being Italian means having an Italian bloodline.*	.20	**.53**
Q2. *People from any race or ethnicity that are born and raised in Italy are Italian.*	.29	**.81**
Q3. *People from any race or ethnicity can be native speakers of Italian.*	**.99**	.01
Q4. *People from any race or ethnicity can speak Italian authentically.*	**.54**	.26

Continuous data from each research paradigm were correlated. Each MGT variable, separated by participant group (younger/older) and guise photo (East Asian/Black/white), was modeled with each group's *D*-score means and direct questioning data, resulting in 52 analyses in R using the Pearson formula to determine whether linear relationships exist between the bias measures.

4. Results

4.1. Assessing bias from the MGT

The *authentic native speaker status* ordinal model (see Table 20) demonstrates main effects of guise gender and race, whereby the male guise were evaluated by all participants as sounding more authentic/native when reading the passage in Italian than the female guise ($p < .0001$). There is also a main effect of the race of the person is the photo ($p < .0001$). A Tukey post hoc reveals that white 'Italians' were perceived as more

authentic/native than the Black ($p < .006$) and East Asian ($p < .0001$) people in the photos (see Figure 19). Likewise, the photos with Black people were rated more positively than the photos of the East Asian people ($p < .0001$). However, a significant two-way interaction (see Figure 20) between guise gender and race in the photo reveals that the same white Roman Italian female voice over the photos of the white 'Italian', East Asian, and Black women is rated by all participants as sounding less authentic/native when paired with the photo of the East Asian woman ($p < .0001$). Thus, the difference in evaluations between the photos of white and Black people disappear given the inclusion of gender as a variable, in particular the level of 'female'. Furthermore, participants also rated the photo of the East Asian female less favorably than the photo of the East Asian man ($p < .0001$) (see Figure 20). A significant three-way interaction of participant age and gender and race of the people in the photos demonstrates the same effects as the two-way interaction; that it, both age groups offer the female guise voice paired with the female East Asian photo less favorable ratings than the photos of the East Asian man and Black and white women, as there are no significant differences between the age groups in their evaluations ($p < .0001$) (see Figure 20). Nonetheless, the estimates for the older group are fairly larger than those of the younger group. While the inclusion of age as a variable does not improve the model fit, perhaps with a larger participant pool, significant generational differences between younger and older groups would arise.

Table 20: Summary of mixed effects ordinal regression model fit to *authentic native speaker status* social attribute, conditioned by participant age and gender and race of person in photo

	Estimate	Standard Error	z value	p value
Participant age: Younger	-0.048	0.393	0.122	0.9
Guise gender: Male	3.787	0.289	13.126	< 0.0001 ***
Guise photo race: Black	3.463	0.287	12.087	< 0.0001 ***
Guise photo race: White	4.149	0.3	13.816	< 0.0001 ***
Younger:Male	-0.874	0.38	-2.298	< 0.02 *
Younger:Black	-0.691	0.38	1.81	0.07 .
Younger:White	-1.233	0.39	-3.164	< 0.0001 ***
Male:Black	-3.636	0.389	-9.345	< 0.0001 ***
Male:White	-4	0.401	-9.987	< 0.0001 ***
Younger:Male:Black	0.935	0.535	1.749	0.08 .
Younger:Male:White	1.668	0.548	3.046	< 0.002 **

* The intercept for this model is older participants evaluating the voice of a white female-identifying Roman and photo of female-identifying person of East Asian descent. Negative β values indicate that the participant has evaluated the speaker as sounding less authentic/native in their language variety.
The estimated variance of the random effect of listener is 5.895.

Figure 19: Boxplot showing main effect of the race of the person in the photo on participant evaluations of *authentic native speaker status*
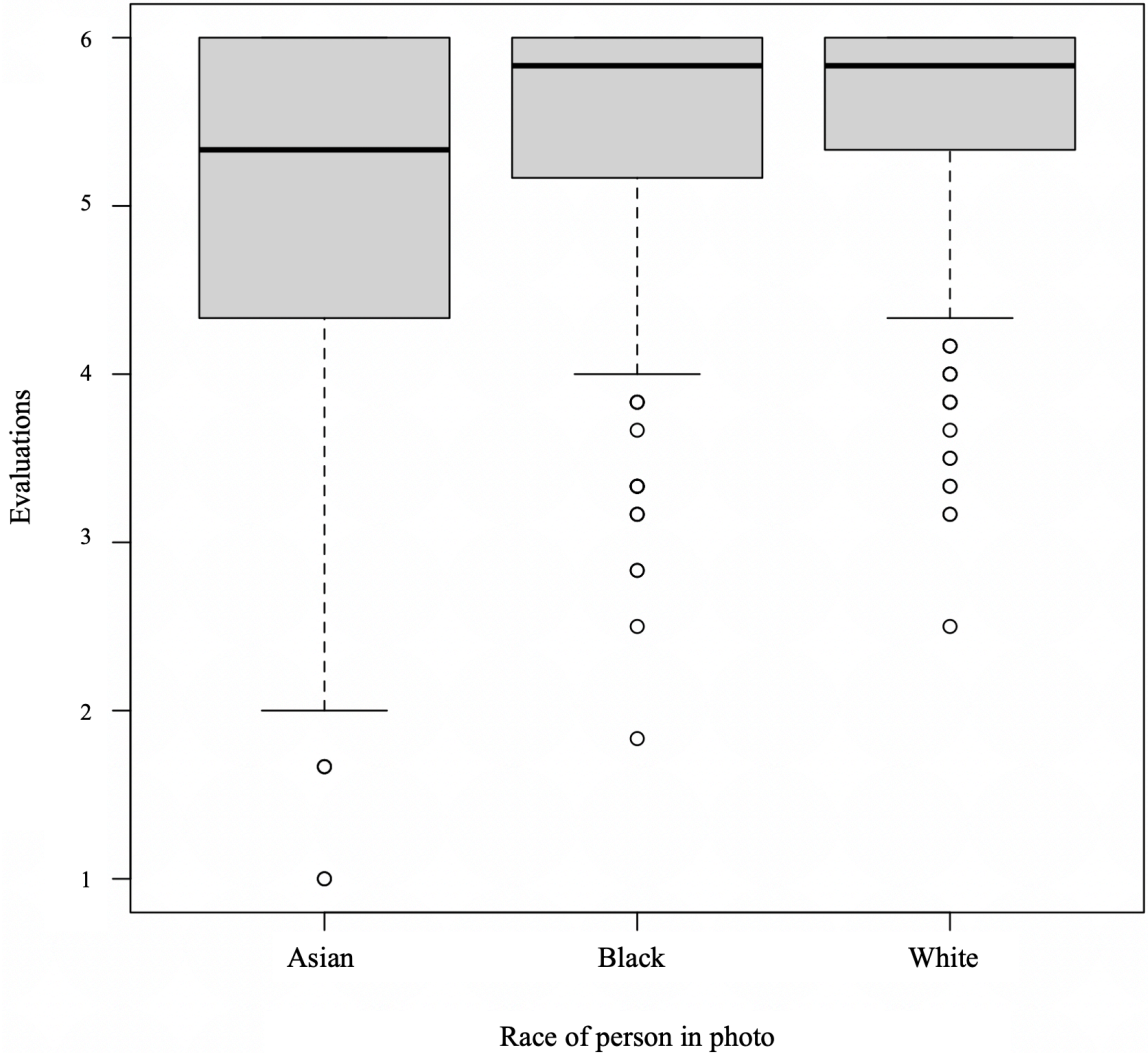
Figure 20: Interaction plot showing participant evaluations of *authentic native speaker status*, conditioned by race and gender of the person in the photo
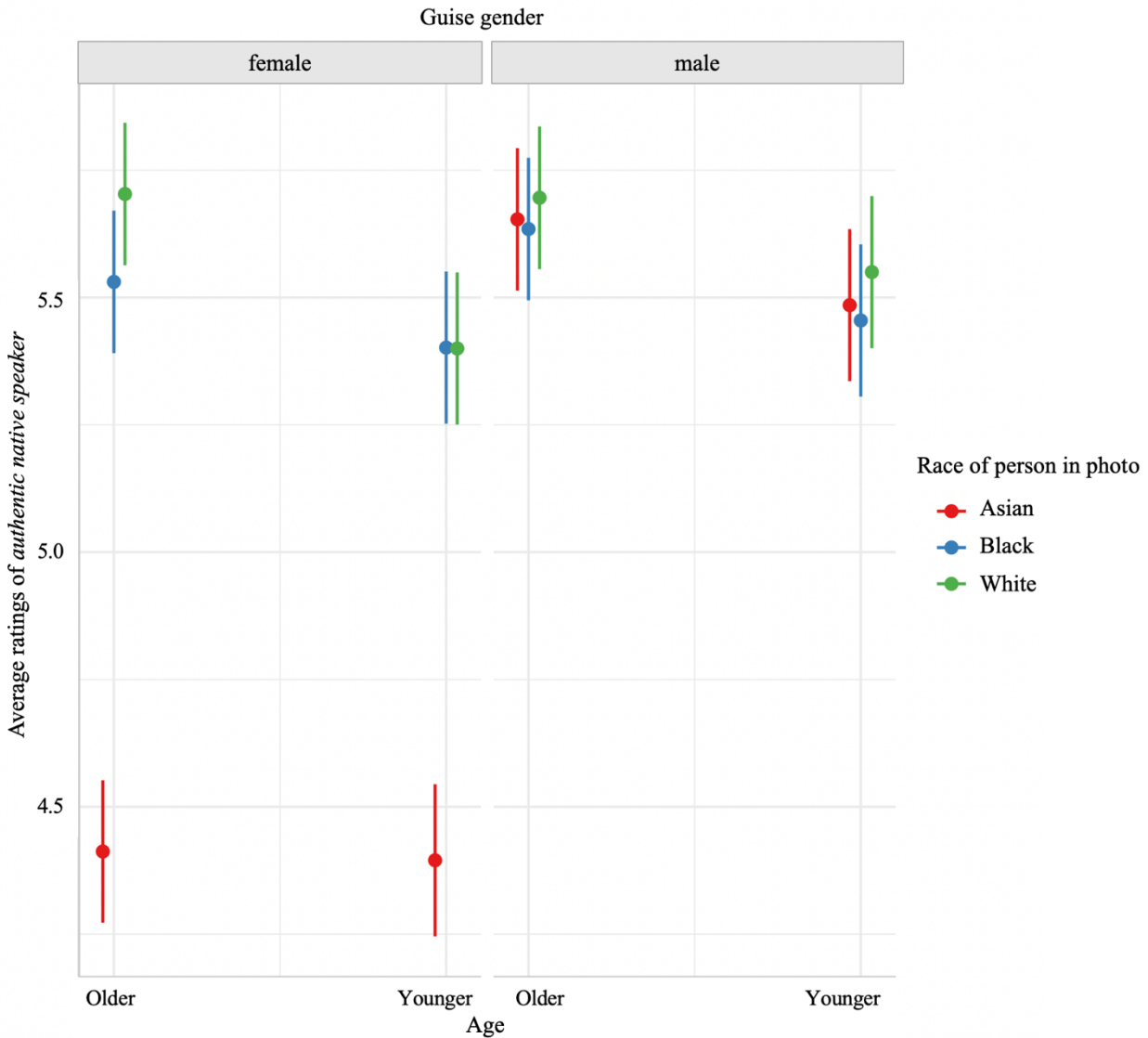
The *public prestige* ordinal model (see Table 21, Figure 21) demonstrates the nearly the same main effects and interactions as the previous model. The male guise was evaluated by all participants as sounding less prestigious when reading the passage in Italian than the female guise ($p < .0001$). There is also a main effect of the race of the person in the photo ($p < .0001$). A Tukey post hoc reveals that guise voices paired with the white and Black people in the photos were perceived as having less public prestige than when the voices were paired with the photos of East Asian people ($p < .0001$). A significant two-way interaction between guise gender and race in the photo once again demonstrates that the white Roman Italian female voice paired with the photo of the East Asian woman is rated as less prestigious than when paired with the photos of Black and white women ($p < .0001$). As before, participants also rated the photo of the East Asian female less favorably for prestige than the photo of the East Asian male ($p <$

.0001). A significant three-way interaction of age, guise gender, and race mimic the effects of the two-way interaction; that is, both age groups offer unfavorable evaluations to the female guise voice paired with the female East Asian photo than the others ($p <$ .0001).

Table 21: Summary of mixed effects ordinal regression model fit to *public prestige* social attribute, conditioned by participant age and gender and race of person in photo

	Estimate	Standard Error	*z* value	*p* value
Participant age: Younger	0.8752	0.4222	2.073	0.03 *
Guise photo gender: Male	4.206	0.292	14.431	< 0.0001 ***
Guise photo race: Black	4.271	0.229	14.285	< 0.0001 ***
Guise photo race: White	4.317	0.293	14.761	< 0.0001 ***
Younger:Male	0.586	0.39	-1.507	0.13
Younger:Black	-1.0189	0.398	-2.56	< 0.01 *
Younger:White	-1.495	0.388	-3.855	< 0.0001 ***
Male:Black	-4.61	0.404	-11.408	< 0.0001 ***
Male:White	-4.592	0.398	-11.547	< 0.0001 ***
Younger:Male:Black	0.714	0.557	1.281	0.2
Younger:Male:White	1.428	0.553	2.584	< 0.009 **

* The intercept for this model is older participants evaluating the voice of a white female-identifying Roman and photo of female-identifying person of East Asian descent. Negative β values indicate that the participant has evaluated the speaker as sounding less authentic/native in their language variety. The estimated variance of the random effect of listener is 4.3.
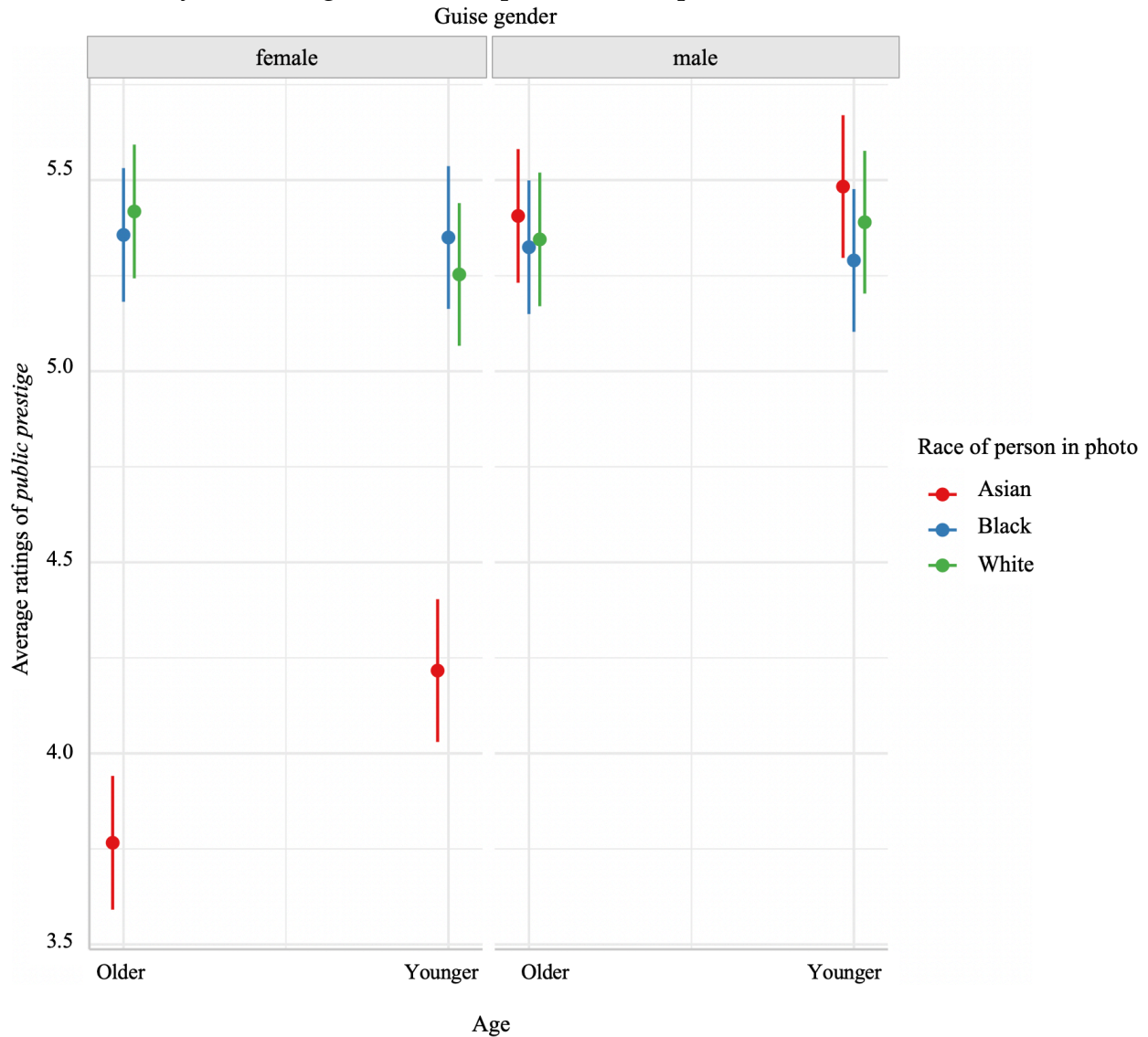
Figure 21: Interaction plot showing participant evaluations of *public prestige,* conditioned by race and gender of the person in the photo

4.2. Assessing implicit bias in the IAT

Positive *D*-scores indicate that participants more quickly associated positive exemplars to Italian/ East Asian Descendance + Good /Bad (IAT #1). The timeout rate (trials > 4000 ms) was < .001% for the older group and <.0001 for the younger and the drop rate (number of participants dropped for overly fast responding under 300 ms) was one person for the younger group. The error rate (% of trials that were incorrect) was less than or equal to 5% across groups (within the normal range, see Carpenter et al. 2019) and errors were replaced with participant block means of correct trials plus 600 ms (or the D_{600} procedure; Greenwald et al., 2003). The reliability measure for both groups was > 80%. Both younger and older participant groups demonstrated significant stronger

positive associations between Italian Descendance + Good (p < 0.00001 for both) than East Asian Descendance + Good (see Table 22), meaning that the D-score means were significantly greater than zero, which would indicate no differences in bias between the concepts and attributes.

Table 22: Italian/East Asian Descendance + Good /Bad IAT #1 data information for all participant groups

Participants, *n* = 214	*D*-score Mean	*p*-value
Younger, *n* = 100	0.45	< 0.00001***
Older, *n* = 114	0.56	< 0.00001***

Positive *D*-scores indicate that participants more quickly associated positive exemplars to Italian/African Descendance + Good /Bad (IAT #1). The timeout rate (trials > 4000 ms) was < .05% for the older group and <.03% for the younger and the drop rate (number of participants dropped for overly fast responding under 300 ms) was 1 for the younger group. The error rate (% of trials that were incorrect) was less than or equal to 7% across groups. The reliability measure for both groups was > 75%. Both younger and older participant groups demonstrated significant stronger positive associations between Italian Descendance + Good (p < 0.00001 for both) than African Descendance + Good (see Table 23), meaning that they reacted faster when Italian Descendance was paired with Good.

Table 23: Italian/African Descendance + Good /Bad IAT #2 data information for all participant groups

Participants, *n* = 214	*D*-score Mean	*p*-value
Younger, *n* = 100	0.43	< 0.00001***
Older, *n* = 114	0.47	< 0.00001***

4.2.1 Implicit bias differences between participant groups

T test analyses were modeled to both IAT *D*-score means to examine differences between the younger and older participant groups. The first IAT, Italian/East Asian Descendance + Good /Bad, presents significant differences between the older and younger groups ($p < .04$); that is, the older group has faster associations between Italian Descendance + Good than the younger group. The second IAT, Italian/African Descendance + Good /Bad, demonstrated no differences in reaction times between the groups.

4.3. Assessing explicit bias through direct questioning

For the salient factors of *Italianness* and *native speaker status*, a *t* test was modeled to the average ratings of the younger and older participant groups. No significant differences in mean ratings between groups were presented in their evaluations (see Figure 22). Both groups agree more with *Italianness* as related to having an Italian bloodline of what it means to be 'Italian". However, the median for the younger group (6) was a full scalar point higher than the older group (5). Likewise, positive ratings for the factor of *native speaker status* demonstrate diverging attitudes from those of the MGT, revealing how indirect methods using visual and auditory cues can draw out varying forms of bias that direct questioning cannot.

Figure 22: Mean explicit bias ratings by age group for *Italianness* and *native speaker status*
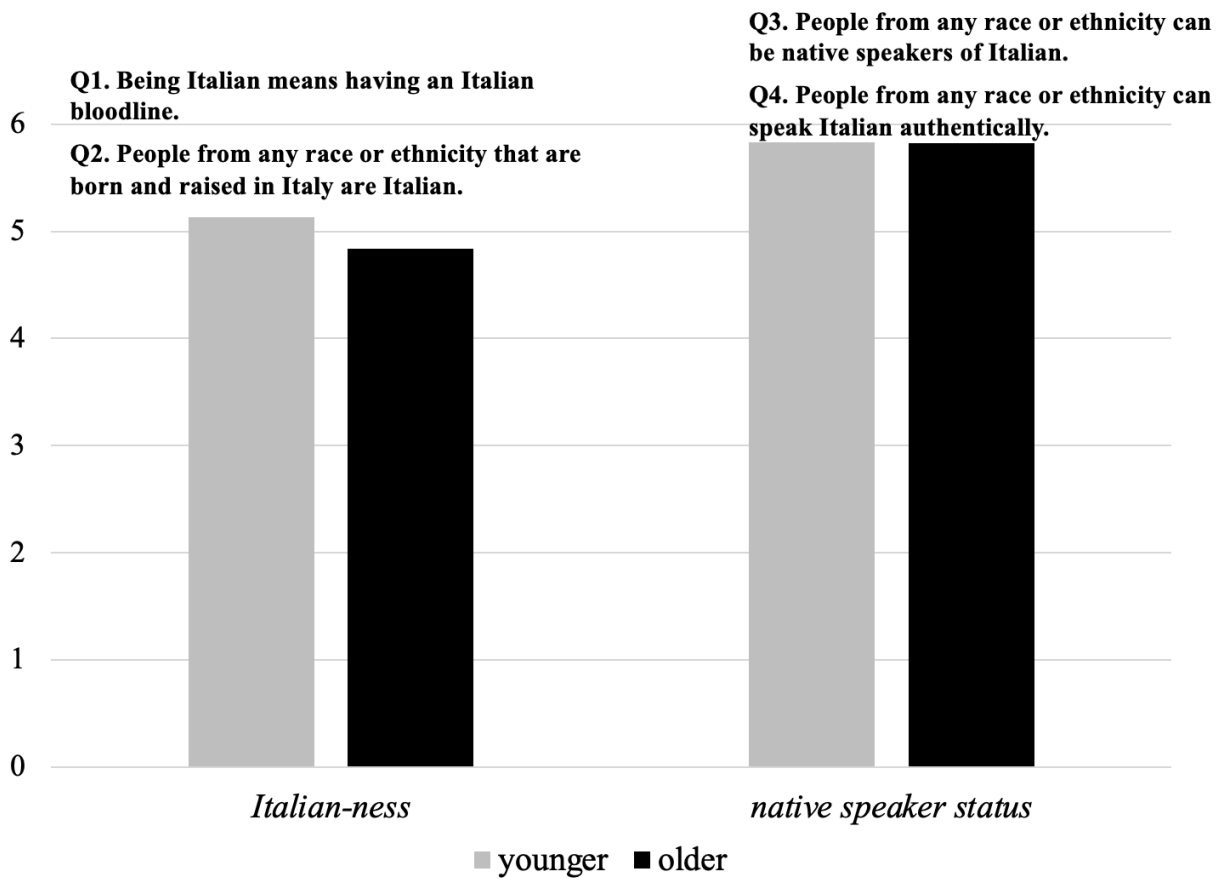
Q3. People from any race or ethnicity can be native speakers of Italian.

Q1. Being Italian means having an Italian bloodline.

Q4. People from any race or ethnicity can speak Italian authentically.

Q2. People from any race or ethnicity that are born and raised in Italy are Italian.

4.4. Correlation analyses

Correlation analyses were carried out to determine the relationship between the data collected from all three paradigms, that is, the MGT to IAT to direct questioning results (see Tables 24 and 25). Among the two listener groups (younger and older), each MGT result set (*authentic native speaker status* and *public prestige*) was separated by the race of

the person in the photo (i.e., East Asian, Black, white), which were each paired with their respective IAT (photos of white people were paired with both). MGT and IAT data were also modeled with the data from direct questioning.

All correlation analyses demonstrated weak and/or non-significant relationships between explicit attitudes elicited indirectly from the MGT and directly from direct questioning, as well as implicit bias automatically from the IAT, whereby closer to -1 indicates a strong negative correlation and closer to +1 a strong positive correlation. However, the weak correlations in Tables 24 and 25 (-2.0 to 2.0) do shed some light on potential emerging patterns of attitudinal correlation. For example, the younger participants demonstrate a positive correlation (r = 0.2) between their MGT ratings for *authentic native speaker* status ratings for the photos of white people with the IAT #2 *D*-score means, meaning that as their associations of Italian descendance + Good increased, so did their agreement with the white voice/photo combo being more 'authentically native'. Older participants had the same correlation pattern but with the MGT *public prestige ratings* (r = 0.12). Older participants also negatively correlated both the IAT #1 and IAT #2 scores with the direct questioning social attribute *native speaker status* (r = -0.16 and r = -0.14, respectively). This means that as they more quickly associated Italian descendance + Good, they agreed less with broader conceptuaizations of the Italian native speaker. Relatedly, older participants also had a positive correlation between the MGT evaluations of *public prestige* (voice paired with Black people in the photos) with the direct questioning social attribute *native speaker status* (r = 16). These correlations, while statistically significant, are less practically significant as they are considered to be weak by social sciences standards[6], adding to the existing literature that has determined implicit and explicit evaluations to be distinct constructs (see Ianos et al., 2020; Karpen et al., 2012).

These results suggest that the cognitive processes explored in the three research paradigms reflect biases that may be distinctly processed, even in those instances where they pattern similarly (McKenzie & Carrie, 2018).

Table 24: Data correlation for younger group

Photos of male- and female-identifying East Asian people			
	IAT #1 *D*-score means	Evaluations from direct questioning	
		Italianness	*Native speaker*
MGT *authentic native speaker status* ratings	r = -0.04 $p < 0.5$	r = 0.1 $p < 0.1$	r = 0.02 $p < 0.8$
MGT *public prestige* ratings	r = -0.03 $p < 0.6$	r = 0.06 $p < 0.4$	r = 0.009 $p < .9$
IAT #1 *D*-score means	----------------------	r = -0.09	r = -0.11

		p < 0.2	p < 0.1

Photos of male- and female-identifying Black people			
	IAT #2 *D*-score means	Evaluations from direct questioning	
		Italianness	*Native speaker*
MGT *authentic native speaker status* ratings	r = 0.5 $p < 0.04$	r = 0.02 $p < 0.7$	r = 0.06 $p < 0.3$
MGT *public prestige* ratings	r = 0.06 $p < 0.4$	r = 0.9 $p < -0.002$	r = 0.02 $p < 0.7$
IAT #2 *D*-score means	----------------------	r = -0.06 $p < 0.3$	r = -.11 $p < 0.1$
Photos of male- and female-identifying white 'Italian' people				
	IAT #1 *D*-score means	IAT #2 *D*-score means	Evaluations from direct questioning	
			Italianness	*Native speaker*
MGT *authentic native speaker status* ratings	r = 0.02 $p < 0.7$	**r = 0.2** **$p < 0.004$**	r = 0.06 $p < 0.4$	r = 0.03 $p < 0.7$
MGT *public prestige* ratings	r = 0.006 $p < 0.9$	r = 0.06 $p < 0.4$	r = 0.04 $p < 0.6$	r = -0.03 $p < 0.6$
IAT #1 *D*-score means	-----------	-----------	r = -0.06 $p < 0.4$	r = -0.12 $p < 0.1$
IAT #2 *D*-score means	-----------	-----------	r = -0.03 $p < 0.6$	r = -0.12 $p < 0.1$

Table 25: Data correlation for older group

Photos of male- and female-identifying East Asian people			
	IAT #1 *D*-score means	Evaluations from direct questioning	
		Italianness	*Native speaker*
MGT *authentic native speaker status* ratings	r = -0.05 $p < 0.4$	r = -0.01 $p < 0.8$	r = 0.1 $p < 0.1$
MGT *public prestige* ratings	r = 0.04 $p < 0.5$	r = 0.03 $p < 0.6$	r = 0.12 $p < 0.06$
IAT #1 *D*-score means	----------------------	r = -0.07 $p < 0.2$	**r = -.16** **$p < 0.01$**
Photos of male- and female-identifying Black people			

	IAT #2 *D*-score means	Evaluations from direct questioning	
		Italianness	*Native speaker*
MGT *authentic native speaker status* ratings	r = 0.16 *p* < 0.2	r = -0.09 *p* < 0.2	r = 0.03 *p* < 0.5
MGT *public prestige* ratings	r = 0.05 *p* < 0.46	r = 0.02 *p* < 0.6	**r = 0.16** ***p* < 0.01**
IAT #2 *D*-score means	----------------------	r = -0.08 *p* < 0.2	**r = -0.14** ***p* < 0.03**
Photos of male- and female-identifying white 'Italian' people			
	IAT #1 *D*-score means	IAT #2 *D*-score means	Evaluations from direct questioning
			Italianness	*Native speaker*
MGT *authentic native speaker status* ratings	r = 0.01 *p* < 0.8	**r = 0.12** ***p* < 0.06**	r = -0.06 *p* < 0.3	r = 0.8 *p* < 0.01
MGT *public prestige* ratings	r = 0.03 *p* < 0.6	**r = 0.12** ***p* < 0.06**	r = 0. *p* < 0.	r = -0. *p* < 0.
IAT #1 *D*-score means	-----------	-----------	r = -0.07 *p* < 0.3	r = -0.17 *p* < 0.009
IAT #2 *D*-score means	-----------	-----------	r = -0.07 *p* < 0.3	r = -0.15 *p* < 0.02

5. Discussion

This study employs multiple research paradigms examining social cognition—the matched guise technique (MGT), the implicit association test (IAT), and quantitative direct questioning—to examine if generational differences among Italians condition implicit and explicit attitudes towards constructions of the 'Italian native speaker', historically linked to white, ethnic Italians. As Italy becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, and Italian emerges more broadly as a nationality, the examination of raciolinguistic ideologies will be vital to unearthing how the ideologies that undergird oppressive language policies and language pedagogy trickle down to individual and community attitudes. One of the few or only studies in the Italian context to incorporate top down effects and examine *reverse linguistic stereotyping* (Kang & Rubin, 2009) in the MGT, this research also brings the implicit association test into Italian sociolinguistic research. Likewise, this study adds to the emerging but sparse literature that examines language attitudes in Italy through a raciolinguistic lens.

The results of the three experimental paradigms offer new findings with respect to whiteness and bias towards ideologies of native speakerism and language prestige in Italy. Firstly, the norming data presents participant evaluations that favor the photos of white people as being more likely to be born in Italy, live in Italy, and have an Italian accent than the photos of Black and East Asian people. Additionally, the photos of East Asian people were ranked higher on these attributes than the photos of Black people. We see these ideologies echoed in the experimental stages of the study to varying extents. The MGT paired the same white Roman female and male voices with photos of female and male (respectively) people of differing races. The results explored in the previous section affirm that reverse linguistic stereotyping does occur, but seemingly only for the East Asian woman. This association of whiteness to *authentic native speaker status* and *public prestige* was affirmed in the MGT, however, this testing condition presented results that were heavily conditioned by the intersection of race and gender. Relatedly, the unfavorable evaluations that affected the female guise voice when paired with the female East Asian photo did not affect the East Asian male contemporary, a perhaps unexpected finding considering the previous literature examining white and East Asian-descended men (D'Onofrio, 2019; Ghanem & Kang, 2021; Kang & Rubin, 2009; Rubin, 1992), whereby photos of the latter were rated as 'intelligible' despite being the voice of a white man. Contrastingly, in this study, only East Asian women are rated unfavorably on *authentic native speaker status* and public prestige, thus there are gender and race dynamics here that attach negative indexical meanings to the white female Roman voice, an effect that when paired with the photo of the Black woman is nonexistent. Likewise, no disparities are presented among the male guises, thus an intersectional examination of race and gender is critical to best understand the widespread unfavourability towards the voice and photo of the East Asian woman that was demonstrated across both social variables.

These findings stand in contrast to the norming data, demonstrating how the presence of linguistic and nonlinguistic cues can cast a complex indexical field that requires a critical analysis. It is also perhaps surprising that the guise voices paired with the photos of the Black people were not significantly rated less favorably than the white contemporaries. These results can be examined in the larger sociopolitical context, wherein anti-Asian crimes have increased dramatically in the ensuing violence of the global unrest of the pandemic (among other world events) in Italy (Dipoppa et al., 2023), which is compounded by the sexist and misogynistic status quo of Italian society, particularly as it relates to [perceived] migrant women (i.e., the other) (Dino, 2022; Frisina & Hawthorne, 2018). While xenophobia is Italy is not only directed at women of East Asian descent, research that transcends experimental sociolinguistics will be vital in understanding the raciolinguistic ideologies that undergird interactions in classrooms, governmental institutions, and everyday interactions.

The IAT results echoes the association found in the norming data, as both participant groups demonstrated positive implicit bias towards Italian Descendance + Good, whereby the exemplars of Good were related to Italian [speaker] authenticity. These results present perhaps the first implicit bias measures of descendance and qualities of nativeness, authenticity, and clarity in the Italian context, and the results reflect longstanding notions of whiteness to qualities of *good*, a set of attributes that operates at the co-construction of race and language. As mentioned in depth in Chapter 3, the IAT elicits associations that are learned early in life. While Italy is a fairly diverse country today, I have interacted with Italians in rural and more suburban areas (not far from cities, either) who did not recall meeting nonwhite Italians or nonwhite people in general until they left home for university or a trip abroad. The diversification of ethnicities and communities in some parts of Italy, especially in more remote areas of the North, is 'new' when compared to other European countries. As such, early learned biases will only shift if exposure also changes.

The data derived from direct questioning unearth slightly more positive generalized attitudes towards *Italianness* and very high agreement with broader conceptualizations of *native speaker status* that may indicate the more linguistic or scientific underpinnings of language learning. That is, if a person is born and grows up in a certain country, they will learn the surrounding language natively. These attitudes also might indicate more explicit acceptance of nonwhite italians and/or migrants as native speakers. However, the median for the younger group (6) was a full scalar point higher than the older group (5) . These ratings, particularly those related to *native speaker status*, demonstrate the malleability of explicit bias derived from varying methods, as the indirect methods elicits attitudes that diverge from those of the MGT, revealing how indirect methods using visual and auditory cues can draw out varying forms of bias that direct questioning cannot. These results from direct questioning are promising in that they demonstrate how experiences and learning later in life can shift longheld and hegemonically sustained monoglossic perspectives.

As also attested in Chapter 4, the correlation analyses demonstrate very weak relationships between data derived from the three research paradigms. Once again, these findings are supported by and add to the previous literature that claims weak implicit-explicit relations in experiments evaluating bias towards a variety of topics (Greenwald et al., 2009; Nosek et al., 2007). However, we did see some weak correlations, particularly with the older generation, that were in line with the bias elicited in the MGT and IAT. That is, the older generation had more bias correlations that were informed by standard language ideologies and whiteness, which was less prevalent among the younger generation. These findings provide useful information in the examination of explicit and implicit biases as diverse processes, and aids in our comprehension of how the sociopolitical climate of each subsequent generation can change. As mentioned, right-wing populism and xenophobia is on the rise, and thus

continued examination of bias through a myriad of research paradigms (the ones presented here, ethnography, interviews, etc.) will be vital to earthing and tackling discrimination.

6. Conclusion

This case study examined reverse linguistic stereotyping that was directed at photos of East Asian women when paired with a white Roman Italian's voice. There were no generational differences in bias, demonstrating how the silence around discussing race and misogyny in Italy is pervasive in linguistic perception. Italian [linguistic] identity is shown to be informed by whiteness and Italian as an ethnicity and not necessarily a nationality, which has shifted from a North-South dichotomy to a national-foreign one. This ideology, supported by global and touristic conceptualizations of the 'typical Italian' is heavily tied to nationalized Italian ethnicity. In examining close ties between nationality, ethnicity, and also gender roles, and the difficulty that Italians who cannot prove an Italian bloodline have in attaining citizenship, the status quo of residency and citizenship laws in Italy and the European Union will continue to make whiteness an inherent component of Italianness, muddling ideas of what it means to hold Italian nationality and/or be born and grow up in Italian (see Caiazza, 2018 for a discussion of whiteness in Italy).

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The recent development of critical linguistic frameworks has helped us understand how linguistic bias is often invisibilized, operating on a gradient scale of implicitness that sustains systemic and oppressive structures. As critical pedagogy pushes to create a more inclusive classroom (Bucholtz et al., 2018; Paris & Alim, 2017), evidence on attitudes towards marginalized linguistic forms and communities is vital. A raciolinguistic perspective (Rosa & Flores, 2017) has challenged long-standing notions of what it means for a language to be 'formal' or 'academic' or a languager to be 'native' or 'proficient'. Raciolinguistics has been applied to a myriad of case studies in different language environments, revealing how semiotic systems have been informed by hegemonic ideologies that center white speakers (Alim et al., 2016). Relatedly, Crip Linguistics aids our analysis of raciolinguistic ideologies to reveal the subtleties of how language users are pathologized through their 'nonstandard' or 'inappropriate' language expression (Rose & Flores, 2017).

The two case studies presented in this dissertation provide key empirical evidence for how the analysis of various processing models of social cognition can detect an attitude change in progress or stable attitudes. Case Study #2 assessed if a younger generation of US Spanish languagers are shifting their attitudes away from deficit perspectives when evaluating lexical features of US Spanish. Attitudes across implicit (IAT) and indirect (MGT) measures were relatively stable for *prestige* and *solidarity*, however, *acquisition* demonstrated that the younger generation is diverging from the older in their evaluation of US Spanish speakers. That is, they are more legitimizing of US Spanish speakers, shifting away from old stereotypes that the US Spanish is 'broken' and its languagers not 'competent'. Relatedly, the younger group also had significantly slower reaction times to the pairing of Spanish + Good then the older group. These results, when examined with those of the other bias measures, present some hopeful results for shifting perspectives among younger US Spanish languagers.

Case Study #2, on the other hand, did not reveal any generational shifts. In fact, both generations of participants perceived the guises the same. The presence of both auditory and visual cues shed light on the strength of associations between nonlinguistic and linguistic information, affirming how gender ideologies in conversation with raciolinguistic ones in Italian culture strongly condition the indexical field of an Italian voice with a a photo of an East Asian women. As race comes to the forefront of more conversations in a rapidly changing European landscape, confrontation with colonial histories, including xenophobia and assimilatory practices, will facilitate the examination of raciolinguistic and deficit ideologies in Italian linguistic research. This study demonstrates that both younger and older participants, despite the strong biases presented in the MGT and IAT that disfavor East Asian

women and nonwhite Italians, did offer more explicit attitudes that are diverging in a positive direction. However, the top-down social information presented in the MGT and IAT were not present in the direct questioning. As such, it is vital to use mixed methodologies to explore how explicit biases arise in natural situations, via ethnography, for example (recall H. Samy Alim's experiences earlier in this chapter).

Limitations were presented in both studies that suggest further exploration of bias and standard language ideologies using experimental paradigms. In Case Study #1, the stimuli used in the MGT and IAT were different, with audio stimuli used in the former and written stimuli used in the latter. Additionally, the indexical fields associated with Spanish phonologically inflected lexical items in the USS guise passages may vary with different stimuli or morphosyntactic variations, which can affect perception. In Case Study #2, to control for variability, Roman Italian speakers were chosen for the guises. However, participants may have biases towards Roman Italian dialects that were not made evident in the study. Additionally, a larger participant pool may be necessary to better understand the potential interactions among independent variables in both experiments, as well as the potential for weak correlations to strengthen.

Correlations across both experiments were fairly weak, a finding that is attested in previous literature evaluating explicit and implicit attitudes (see McKenzie & Carrie, 2018) towards the same social concepts, which indicates the dynamic and complex nature of attitudes and bias, and as such should not be treated monolithically. While I utilize quantitative measures to gauge listener perceptions of people and linguistic variables in this dissertation, I cannot stress enough the importance of mixed methods to unearth individual and community attitudes. Many researchers are doing ethnographic work to reveal how attitudes may emerge in a myriad of ways, including examining linguistic landscapes (Dailey et al., 2005), social media scraping (Durham, 2022) and simply talking to people (Preston, 2019).

The case studies presented here, particularly the results of Case Study #1, highlight the possibility of explicit biases shifting, especially when effortful measures are taken to reduce the effects of damaging [language] ideologies. These efforts can start with the individual choosing to increase their own metalinguistic awareness; however, the most effective change begins at the top, with shifting systems. I believe that the most effective change begins with education. While I attempt to demonstrate the limitations of narrow conceptualizations such as 'academic' or 'native'—ideologies that perpetuate the harmful practice of racializing and singling out multilingual students as needing remedial education. Once acknowledging these limitations, theoretical concepts can then be put into practical application. Understanding how linguistic bias operates at the implicit level will be important in the creation of an inclusive classroom that allows for equitable self-expression, valuing the individual and breaking down systemic barriers (Flores & García, 2017; Knisely & Paiz, 2021).

The long-term goals of experimental studies like the one presented here are to understand bias as a means to dismantle oppression and fully embrace the potential of dynamic language learning for all languagers, regardless of variety, culture, and nation. There are already many individuals doing important work to reframe US Spanish and Italian language education. For instance, Higby et al. (2023) challenge deficit frameworks as a starting point for examining heritage language bilingualism. Prada (2019), Flores (2020), Seltzer & Wassell (2022), and Carbonara & Scibetta (2020) demonstrate how translanguaging can be used to reconfigure and reimagine oppressive frameworks in the classroom to center students' dynamic expressive abilities. De los Ríos et al. (2021) explore how cultural practices and translingualism can foster language exploration and identity expression, while Baquedano-López (2021) demonstrates the power of learning in community with indigenous families and their traditions and languages. Train (2020) promotes the teaching of language variation as a means to achieve social justice, while Holguín Mendoza (2018) prioritizes home and community repertoires in the planning of a heritage language program. Cioè-Peña (2021) and Migliarini (et al., 2021) center critical disability studies in classroom inclusion and family engagement. Anya (2021) demonstrates the benefits of critical race pedagogy for more inclusive world language education, Austin (2022) goes counters anti-Black racism in preservice training and promotes reflexivity in teacher formation, and Formato (2018) explores integrating critical language pedagogy in the Italian language classroom. Licata, Austin, and Moreno Clemons (under revisions) also exhibit the benefits of a course on raciolinguistic theory and practice to increase metalinguistic awareness in both language teachers and students. These are just a few examples of the important work that transcends academia into community. It is crucial to explore how the widespread implementation of liberating language curricula can shift community perspectives to reduce deficit perspectives and the pathologization of communities across cultures and systems.

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Appendix

Appendix A: *Case Study #1 — Guise passages*
(English words **bolded** refer to SS and those <u>underlined</u> USS)

	Standardized Spanish (SS) Repertoire	US Spanish (USS) Repertoire	English Translation
Story A	**Bueno**, para ir al **muelle**, tienes que doblar a la derecha en la **calle** Retiro. Puedes dar vuelta en Pacheco, pero hay mucho **tráfico** ahí **todo el tiempo**. **Ya sabes**, es mejor evitar **los semáforos**. Te espero en **la camioneta verde** de mi papá. **Bueno**, nos vemos ahí.	<u>So</u>, para ir al <u>pier</u>, tienes que doblar a la derecha en Retiro <u>Street</u>. Puedes dar vuelta en Pacheco, pero hay mucho <u>traffic</u> ahí <u>all the time</u>. <u>You know</u>, es mejor evitar <u>las traffic lights</u>. Te espero en <u>la troca verde</u> de mi papá. <u>Ok pues</u>, nos vemos ahí.	**Well**/<u>So</u>, to go to the pier, you have to turn right on Retiro Street. You can turn on Pacheco, but there is a lot of traffic there all the time. You know, it's better to avoid the traffic lights. I'll be waiting for you in my dad's green truck. Ok, see you then.
Story B	Para llegar a la tienda, tienes que **tomar la carretera** que va al **centro**. **Sin embargo**, habrá mucha gente porque es la hora **del almuerzo**. Todos irán a los restaurantes durante **el descanso** para **comprar comida**. Yo estoy **lleno/a y** no voy a comer, **pero** si quieres, podemos **llegar** al restaurante.	Para llegar a la tienda, tienes que <u>subirte al freeway</u> que va al <u>downtown</u>. <u>Pero like</u>, habrá mucha gente porque es la hora <u>del lonche</u>. Todos irán a los restaurantes durante <u>el break</u> para <u>agarrar comida</u>. Yo estoy <u>full so</u> no voy a comer, <u>pero like</u>, si quieres, podemos <u>parar</u> al restaurante.	To arrive at the store, you need to get on the freeway and go downtown. **However**/ <u>However</u> or <u>But like</u>, there will be a lot of people because it's lunch time. Everyone will be going to restaurants during break to get food. I'm full so I won't be eating, however/<u>but like</u>, if you want, we can stop at the restaurant.
Story C	**Pues** para llegar al parque, debes **dar vuelta a la izquierda** en **la calle** Olivares. Puedes dejar el carro en **la estructura de estacionamiento** de la esquina, pero no sé si **está abierta**. **De hecho**, mejor pasa por la calle San Andrés y por ahí puedes entrar. Si prefieres, podemos hacer las compras para **la fiesta** en la tienda cerca **de la parada**. También, tengo que	<u>So</u>, para llegar al parque, debes <u>hacer</u> <u>una izquierda</u> en Olivares <u>Street</u>. Puedes dejar el carro en <u>el parking lot</u> de la esquina, pero no sé si <u>están abiertos</u>. <u>Actually</u>, mejor pasa por la calle San Andrés y por ahí puedes entrar. Si prefieres, podemos hacer las compras para <u>el party</u> en la tienda cerca del <u>bus</u>. También, tengo que <u>regresar</u> unas cosas que ya no me sirven.	So, to get to the park, you need to turn left on Olivares Street. You can leave your car in the parking lot on the corner, but I don't know if they are open. <u>Actually</u>, it's better to pass through San Andrés Street and you can enter through there. If you want, we can shop for the party in the store near the bus stop. Also, I have to return some things that I don't need anymore.

	devolver unas cosas que ya no me sirven.		
Story D	**Bueno**, la **película** empieza a las ocho. Si quieres comer antes, podemos ir al **restaurante** que está cerca. **Pero**, Daniel no puede entrar porque hay un bar y todavía está en **la escuela secundaria**. Nos reunimos enfrente del **supermercado**. Primero voy **de compras** con Elena, quien también quiere **platicar** sobre los planes para este **fin de semana**. Una cosa más: ¡no te olvides de los **boletos de entrada**!	<u>So</u>, la <u>muvi</u> empieza a las ocho. Si quieres comer antes, podemos ir al <u>restaurán</u> que está cerca. <u>Pero like</u>, Daniel no puede entrar porque hay un bar y todavía está en <u>la high school</u>. Nos reunimos enfrente de la <u>marketa</u>. Primero me voy <u>shopping</u> con Elena, quien también quiere <u>discutir</u> sobre los planes para este <u>weekend</u>. Una cosa más: ¡no te olvides de los <u>tickets</u>!	**Well**/<u>So</u>, the movie starts at eight. If you want to eat before, we can go to the restaurant that is nearby. **But**/<u>However</u> or <u>But like</u>, Daniel can't go in because there's a bar and he's still in high school. Let's meet in front of the market. First, I'll go shopping with Elena, who also wants to discuss plans for this weekend. One more thing: don't forget the tickets!
Story E	**Pues**, la ruta más rápida es por la **Avenida** Paloma. Pero quizás **esté** cerrada, **así que** puedes también pasar por la calle Francisco. Aunque tal vez **llegues** tarde – **ya ves**, siempre hay mucho tráfico y poco **estacionamiento**. Javier nos va a acompañar porque **renunció** a su trabajo y ya no tiene que trabajar **por** las noches. Cuando estés **listo**, ¡**envíame un mensaje**!	<u>So pues</u>, la ruta más rápida es por Paloma <u>Avenue</u>. Pero quizás <u>estará</u> cerrada, **so** puedes también pasar por la calle Francisco. Aunque tal vez <u>estés</u> tarde – <u>you know</u>, siempre hay mucho tráfico y poco <u>parkin</u>. Javier nos va a acompañar porque <u>cuitió</u> su trabajo y ya no tiene que trabajar <u>en</u> las noches. Cuando estés <u>ready</u>, ¡<u>textéame</u>!	**So**/<u>So like</u>, the fastest route is down Paloma Avenue. But maybe it will already be closed, so you can also go down Francisco Street. Even if you get there late – you know, there's always a lot of traffic and little parking. Javier is going to accompany us because he quit his job and now, he doesn't have to work at night. When you are ready, text me!

Appendix B: *Case Study #2 — Guise passages*

	Standardized Italian Repertoire	English Translation
Story A	Ieri non avevo proprio voglia di svegliarmi. La mia sveglia ha suonato e ho visto che il sole non era ancora risorto. Dopo di essere andato/a in bagno, mi sono preparata un caffè e anche qualcosa da mangiare. Il mio cellulare ha squillato mentre andavo in sala da pranzo: era un mio amico. Mi ha detto che giovedì voleva andare con qualcuno a vedere un concerto in cui avrebbe suonato la nostra amica. Pensavo che sarei stato molto triste se non fossimo andati. Alla fine, ho deciso di andarci, quindi siamo andati insieme.	Yesterday I really didn't want to wake up. My alarm went off and I saw that the sun hadn't risen yet. After I went to the bathroom, I made myself some coffee and something to eat too. My cell phone rang on my way to the dining room: it was a friend of mine. He told me that on Thursday he wanted to go with someone to see a concert where our friend was going to play. I thought I would be very sad if we didn't go. Finally, I decided to go, so we went together.
Story B	Oggi è una bellissima giornata. Dopo un inverno molto freddo, siamo già in primavera. Se esci, vedrai subito che nessuno indossa un cappotto. Tra poco andrò con degli amici a prendere un caffè, visto che non ci vediamo da molto tempo. Anche se di solito andiamo in un posto qui vicino, questa volta vogliamo trovarne un altro qui intorno. Come ho detto, oggi è una giornata perfetta per fare una passeggiata.	Today is a beautiful day. After a very cold winter, we are already in spring. If you go outside, you will quickly see that no one is wearing a coat. I'm going to go with some friends for a coffee soon, since we haven't seen each other for a long time. Although we usually go to one place near here, this time we want to find another one around here. As I said, today is a perfect day for a walk.
Story C	Un giorno, stavo passeggiando nel parco quando ha cominciato a piovere. Non avevo portato il mio ombrello, quindi non avevo altra scelta che stare vicino a un grande albero, sotto i rami e le foglie. Fortunatamente, ha smesso di piovere dopo circa dieci minuti e non ero così fradicia. Ho camminato di nuovo, e presto è uscito il sole e il tempo era bello. Ho deciso di tornare a casa a piedi, approfittando del bel tempo.	One day, I was walking in the park when it started to rain. I hadn't brought my umbrella, so I had no choice but to stand next to a large tree, under the branches and leaves. Luckily, it stopped raining after about ten minutes, and I wasn't so soaked. I walked again, and soon the sun came out and the weather was fine. I decided to walk home, taking advantage of the good weather.

Story D	A volte, quando voglio rilassarmi, mi piace andare in spiaggia. Amo camminare sulla sabbia e prendere il sole. Se fa davvero caldo, entro in acqua per un po'. Molte volte vado in una spiaggia specifica con un gruppo di amici, dove trascorriamo qualche ora di relax, ma a volte quando voglio un po' più di pace, vado in un'altra spiaggia dove di solito non c'è molta gente. Mi toglie sempre tutto lo stress.	Sometimes when I want to relax, I like to go to the beach. I love walking on the sand and sunbathing. If it's really hot, I go into the water for a while. Many times I go to a specific beach with a group of friends, where we spend a few hours relaxing, but sometimes when I want a little more peace, I go to another beach where usually there aren't many people. It always takes all the stress out of me.
Story E	Ricordo che l'altro giorno dovevo comprare delle mele rosse al supermercato. Dato che hanno sempre le mele, non avevo pensato di andare a comprarle fino al pomeriggio. Così, alle quattro sono uscito di casa e sono andato al supermercato. Sono andato direttamente al reparto frutta e, che sorpresa; non ne avevano! Ho cercato per circa cinque minuti prima di accorgermi che non ne avevano proprio più. Ho deciso di andare in un altro supermercato un po' più lontano e non sono tornato a casa fino alle sei.	I remember the other day I had to buy some red apples at the supermarket. Since they always have apples, I hadn't thought of going to buy them until the afternoon. So, at four o'clock I left the house and went to the supermarket. I went straight to the fruit department and, what a surprise; they had none! I searched for about five minutes before realizing they just didn't have any left. I decided to go to another supermarket a little further away and didn't get home until six.
Story F	L'altro giorno, ho avuto una brutta esperienza in un ristorante. Innanzitutto, quando sono arrivato, il posto era così affollato che non c'era spazio per aspettare all'interno; quindi, ho aspettato fuori dove faceva abbastanza freddo. Poi, quando ho ordinato il mio piatto preferito, il cameriere mi ha detto che avevano esaurito gli ingredienti, quindi ho dovuto ordinarne un altro. Più tardi, a causa di qualche problema con i fornelli in cucina, ci sono voluti quaranta cinque per portare il cibo. Che sfortuna, vero?	The other day, I had a bad experience at a restaurant. First, when I arrived, the place was so crowded that there was no room to wait inside; so, I waited outside where it was quite cold. Then when I ordered my favorite dish, the waiter told me they were out of ingredients, so I had to order another. Later, due to some problem with the stove in the kitchen, it took forty-five to bring the food. What bad luck, right?