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Linguistic Perceptions and Ideologies of Race and Whiteness in the USA

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by

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ABSTRACT

With white supremacist discourses on the rise in recent years, it is important to investigate the ideologies that construct whiteness in the United States. The definition of who is considered white has been quite vague throughout the history of the US, with conflicting views of who is considered white across society and generations. Language has been found to be a key factor in constructions of race (Alim, 2016a, 2016b) and varieties ideologized as Standard English tend to be associated with whiteness (Bucholtz, 2016).

This study sets out to develop a better understanding of how linguistic varieties relate to perceptions, categorizations, and constructions of race and whiteness in the United States. Specifically, in this sequential mixed-methods study, 128 participants completed a modified verbal guise experiment to assess how varieties ideologized as standard-, nonstandard-, and nonnative-accented English affect the perceived whiteness and racial categorization of five models from different regions. Additionally, nine participants completed the same task using the think-aloud protocol to investigate thought processes related to racial perception and categorization, followed by semi-structured interviews to understand what (language) ideologies serve to construct the racial category 'white' in the US.

Standard English and some nonstandard regional guises increased whiteness ratings relative to nonnative accents or a photo alone for four non-European models, and a nonnative accent decreased the whiteness rating relative to both photo and standard guises for a European model; however, these changes in perception tended not to be associated with a change in racial categorization for most models. The think-aloud revealed that, although language was an important secondary factor, racial perceptions and categorizations were most strongly connected to perceived physical traits. The interviews demonstrated that although a standard-speaking,

European-descended, upper-middle-class preppiness was stereotypically and ideologically associated with whiteness, there was not one unified view of whiteness.

Due to the associations of standard English with whiteness, major institutions such as education and industry should acknowledge that the standard is not, in fact, a neutral code, but one clearly associated with whiteness. Furthermore, the US Census definition of whiteness did not fully reflect these participants' understanding, questioning the validity of the definition.

INDEX WORDS: Racial perception, Whiteness, Language ideologies, Sociolinguistics

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Marie Rita Daly (née Cersosimo).

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1   INTRODUCTION

I have never been completely clear on what it means for someone to be white in the United States. Growing up in the Tampa Bay area, I had the chance to meet people who came, and whose families came, from many different parts of the world. I had a friend whose parents both came to Florida from the Iberian Peninsula and who rejected being identified as white despite having parents born in Europe. In high school, I once witnessed a heated debate between some Ashkenazi Jewish friends, some of whom felt Jews were white and only differed in terms of religious beliefs and others who felt differently. I had friends who came from similar countries and backgrounds in Latin America, some of whom did identify as white and some of whom did not. My mother, who was born in New York and is of Irish and Puerto Rican descent, had vicious racial slurs, based on her hair and skin, directed at her and her sisters by their white peers when they arrived in Florida in the late1960s. Despite these experiences, many of her high school students of various ethnoracial backgrounds would later call her white. While experiences such as these led me to be somewhat unsure of what it meant to be white, people around me have always seemed to be very quick to determine who is white and who is not.

Obviously, I always knew that being white meant something along the lines of being vaguely European or of European descent. But, somehow, this always seemed far too simplistic to me, and oftentimes inaccurate. I know that the US Census and the Office of Management and Budget define it thus, "'White' refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa" (2010 Census Brief: Hixson, Hepler, & Kim, 2010, p. 2). This is a very straightforward definition. However, growing up in the United States, I saw evidence that seemed to contradict this definition. For example, many people who fall within this definition, such as Jews and European Catholics, as well as Muslims from the Middle East and

North Africa, have historically been and continue to be targeted by white supremacists and white supremacist organizations (Kreis, 2017; McVeigh, 2009). At times I have had trouble wrapping my head around the idea of someone simultaneously being defined as white and being targeted by white supremacists. As I have grown and learned more about how race and racial systems work, I have wondered where this seeming contradiction comes from. Are there simply different views of who is considered white that are held by different people? Or could this be an instance of ideological recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000), whereby within the group called white there are further distinctions between who is less white and therefore subjected to discrimination? I have also learned that many people who are considered white today within the US were not always thought of in this way, such as Southern and Eastern Europeans (Roediger, 2006). Therefore, who is considered white in the US does not appear to be coherent across society, nor does it seem to be fixed across time.

Unfortunately, how one is considered racially in the US in the twenty-first century can have consequences. Race and the US racial system cause harm in peoples' lives, and those who suffer the most at the hands of the racial system are racial minorities, or those people who are not considered white: "in America, black people receive considerably worse health care than whites …, are much poorer …, and are victims of discrimination in American workplaces …, and courtrooms" (Prinz, 2014, p. 65). This is the result of a racial system that was designed to benefit certain groups of people over others; early Spanish colonists and other Western Europeans in the Americas were able to hold special privileges that were not available to indigenous people, Africans, Mestizos, and others, such as the ability to hold public office (Wade, 2008). Unfortunately, white supremacist attitudes appear to be on the rise rather than on the decline in 2021 in the US. White supremacist propaganda has surged in recent years (Morrison, 2021), and

white supremacist and anti-Semitic attitudes have worked their way back into mainstream

politics (Lebovic, 2021). Therefore, it seems more important than ever to develop a clearer

understanding of what it means to be white in the United States.

In my own experience, language has seemed to play a part in how I am viewed

ethnoracially by others. Although my appearance, especially when matched with my name, has

often caused people to be curious about my ethnoracial background, often asking where I am

from or where my parents are from, I have generally been considered white and am often asked

if I have some type of Mediterranean ancestry. However, when people meet me and I am

speaking Spanish rather than English, I get a very different reaction, with questions about where

in Latin America I or my parents are from. These experiences have shown me that language

seems to be an important factor in ethnoracial perception. This is supported by research in

sociolinguistics which argues that language is central to constructions of race and racial

categorization (Alim, 2016a, 2016b). Therefore, I set out to understand, from a sociolinguistic

perspective, aspects of racial perception with an emphasis on developing a better understanding

of whiteness in the United States. Specifically, I wondered how the same people may be viewed

differently in terms of race and whiteness when speaking different linguistic varieties. I also

wondered what aspects people focus on when perceiving and categorizing others racially as well

as what sets of beliefs serve to construct whiteness and race in the US.

This dissertation seeks to address these questions. In the remaining chapters I will detail

my efforts to develop a better understanding of race and whiteness in the US and how this better

understanding relates to current conceptions of race and definitions of whiteness. In Chapter 2, I

review the literature from sociolinguistics and similar fields related to the relationship between

language, race, and whiteness. Chapter 3 details the quantitative and qualitative methods I have

used to study racial perception, whiteness, and ideologies of race and whiteness in the US. Chapter 4 provides the results of racial perception tasks which center primarily around a modified verbal guise survey technique. Chapter 5 details the findings of a qualitative think-aloud protocol using this same modified verbal guise survey in the hopes of understanding the salient aspects of racial sociolinguistic perceptions. Chapter 6 reviews the findings of semi-structured interviews which aimed to assess and better understand ideologies of language, race, and whiteness in the United States. Finally, Chapter 7 includes my conclusions related to linguistic perceptions and ideologies of whiteness in the United States.

2   THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF RACE AND WHITENESS IN THE USA

Although the modern notion of race has only existed for a handful of centuries, it has become one of the most powerful concepts for dividing humans into distinctive groups, especially in the West, and particularly in the United States. Although race and racial categorization are often treated as immutable, determined, and real, they were in fact created socially, and they continue to exist due to its perpetual reconstruction by the very people it describes, when in fact it is not a biologically meaningful system (Hill, 2009; Prinz, 2014; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). This socially constructed concept and the division it sustains results in prejudice, discrimination, segregation, slavery, war, and racial genocides and holocausts throughout the world. These divisions have existed in the racial history of the United States as well, with a tradition of institutional and noninstitutional discrimination against virtually all groups who were not considered "white" at different points in history (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). However, who is perceived to be white in the US has changed significantly throughout the country's history (Roediger, 2006).

There are several characteristics which individuals draw on in racial perception and categorization, and although phenotype is very important in this process, language plays a central role in the construction of race (Alim, 2016a). This sociolinguistic construction of race can be seen in the characterizations of non-standard, non-native, and multilingual speakers who share a "position as raciolinguistic Others vis-á-vis the white listening subject" (Flores & Rosa, 2015). It is against the "invisibly normal" (Hill, 2009), standard language (Baugh, 2005) white racial backdrop that these non-standard and multilingual speakers stand out. Therefore, it is important to understand the role language plays, and more specifically standard and non-standard linguistic

varieties, in ethnoracial perception and socio-racial categorization in the United States, with an emphasis on the understanding of racial whiteness due to its perceived "unmarked" status.

As a note, the terms *standard, non-standard, and non-native* will be used throughout this paper, and it is necessary to acknowledge that they are social constructs (Aneja, 2016; Lippi-Green, 2012). Because these terms identify the ideological constructs under investigation, they will be used in this paper while recognizing that they are not the most accurate terms to describe such varieties. When used in this paper, the term *nonnative* is intended to refer to individuals who did not grow up speaking English as a primary language.

2.1   Race, Ethnicity, Whiteness, and Language

2.1.1   Race, ethnicity, and whiteness in the United States

Racial terms are widely used in popular discourse, and often in very fixed ways; however, it is important to analyze these terms to determine how they can best be understood and operationalized. Race, in its modern sense, of describing different groups of people based largely on phenotypic traits such as skin tone, did not always exist in this way (Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Wade, 2008). According to Wade (2008), the concept of race has gone through three major shifts from the 14th to the 20th century (focusing specifically on Western notions of the term). Prior to the 14th century in Europe, race existed in a "genealogical" sense which generally indicated group membership based on common ancestry for humans and animals. In this conception of race, the term generally referred to a common shared heritage and, in this understanding, "physical appearance was not a key feature" (p. 177). However, beginning after the 14th century and intensifying in the 18th century a change occurred which resulted in what has been called "scientific racism". In this era race began to be viewed as different "types" which were considered mostly "fixed" and were used "for understanding human physical variation and

behavior" (p. 177). This understanding of race, in Europe and European colonies, also included a hierarchy which situated Europeans above other "races". This era of scientific racism continued into the 20th century and has been more recently supplanted (among race scholars, but perhaps not among the general public) by an understanding of race as socially constructed, a "set of ideas about humans which can have very powerful social consequences such as racial discrimination and racial violence" (p. 177) but does not correspond to biological categories.

Smedley & Smedley (2005) also examine the history of the race concept. In addition to discussing its history, the authors discuss the possible role this concept played socio-politically during the era of scientific racism from the 18th-20th centuries. According to the authors, prior to the 17th century, race and ethnicity (distinctions between race and ethnicity to be discussed below) were not considered to be nearly as fixed. Assimilation played a much wider role in how people could manipulate their race. For example, in ancient Greece, Egypt and the later Muslim Empire, the empires were made up of "peoples whose skin colors, hair textures, and facial features were highly varied" (p. 18). Assimilation into these groups was acquired through linguistic and cultural assimilation and physical characteristics played a much less significant role. However, this changed significantly with the arrival and permanent settlement of Europeans to the Americas at the end of the 15th century.

In both North and South America, it could be said that scientific racism aided in the development of a racial caste system (Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Wade, 2008). During the Spanish colonial period in Latin America, a caste system was developed in which a "socially stratified pyramid emerged, with Europeans at the apex, black slaves and *indios* (indigenous people) at the bottom and an ambiguous and contestable set of intermediate categories in the middle" (Wade, 2008, p. 179). Similarly, at the founding of the United States, there was much

debate over how to conceptualize enslaved African in terms of personhood and citizenship; in fear of losing the Southern states prior to the American Revolution (McPherson, 2003), and "in an era when the dominant political philosophy was equality, civil rights, democracy, justice, and freedom for all human beings, the only way Christians could justify slavery was to demote Africans to nonhuman status" (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p. 19). Thus, refusal to grant African Americans equal status allowed institutional slavery to last until and result in the United States Civil War (McPherson, 2003). Although traditional slavery was abolished in the Americas by the end of the 19th century, institutional segregation and discrimination continued well into the 20th century and in a less traditional form today.

A further issue which must be discussed is perhaps one of the most salient features of racial categorization and has existed since at least the time of scientific racism and continues today, skin tone. This is evidenced by current and past racial category terms such as "white", "black", "red", and "yellow" (Rodríguez, 2015). Although these terms and conceptions have constituted, throughout history, how people are defined and how laws are written (Martínez, 2007; Rodríguez, 2015), skin color is considered by evolutionary scholars to be a largely superficial characteristic and does not constitute a true difference from a biological or anthropological perspective (Hill, 2009; Jablonski & Chaplin, 2000; Jablonski & Chaplin, 2010). From an evolutionary perspective, differences in skin pigmentation are related to different levels of melanin; it is an adaptive trait which can change across generations and across geographical regions (Jablonski & Chaplin, 2000, p. 60). Differences in skin tone aid in adaptation to different climates by, for example, protecting sweat glands and resisting UV radiation in more tropical environments where there is stronger UV radiation, and allowing for skin to more easily absorb vitamin D3 in more arctic environments. Thus, as groups of humans migrated closer to or further

away from the equator their skin pigmentation changed across generations (Jablonski & Chaplin, 2010). This change allowed for adaptability to different environments in humans but does not constitute different "races" and does not correlate with other types of genetic variation, although this adaptive trait has been used to define people across racial lines.

A distinction which must be discussed is the distinction between the notions of 'race' and 'ethnicity'. Both terms are widely used, sometimes contrasting and sometimes overlapping. Scholars generally tend to agree that the terms ethnicity and race are distinct, yet race may sometimes encompass aspects of ethnicity (Fishman, 2009; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Wade, 2008). Smedley and Smedley (2005) describe, in contrast to race as ("biological") fixed categories, ethnicity and culture as related terms:

> Ethnicity refers to clusters of people who have common culture traits that they distinguish from those of other people. People who share a common language, geographic locale or place of origin, religion, sense of history, traditions, values, beliefs, food habits, and so forth, are perceived, and view themselves as constituting, an ethnic group (p. 17)

Fishman (2009) also distinguishes between ethnicity and racism (race). According to the author, ethnicity is "the sense and the expression of 'collective, intergenerational cultural continuity', i.e., the sensing and expressing of links to 'one's own kind (one's own people)'" (p. 436). Fishman describes ethnicity as having negative and positive attributes, however, as distinct from racism. "Racism [Fishman's preferred term for 'race'] inevitably involves more heightened consciousness than does ethnicity … its focus is not merely on authenticity and the celebration of differences or collective individuality [ethnicity and culture], but on the evaluation of differences in terms of inherent better or worse" (p. 443). Therefore, following Fishman, it can be said that

where ethnicity is often connected to cultural difference which may or may not result in positive or negative outcomes (celebration of cultural differences vs culture clashes), racism/'race' inherently leads to evaluations of that difference and hierarchies (p. 443). Wade (2008), although recognizing a distinction between ethnicity and race, acknowledges much more overlap, for example in terms of race "we know that identification of blackness also depends – and not only in Latin America – on cultural factors such as clothing, speech and class status" (p. 184). Thus, it should be acknowledged that often when individuals refer to race, they may be referring to what another would consider ethnicity, and vice versa. These terminological difficulties can be seen in the US Census, for example with the classification of Hispanics/Latinos.

Rodríguez (2015) and Rumbaut (2015) trace the long relationship with US Hispanics/Latinos and the US Census. Although the categories of the Census have changed somewhat throughout history, they have long since reflected a racial binary to distinguish between whites and people who are not white. Currently, the Census includes only five main racial categories, "American Indian", "Native Hawiian or Other Pacific Islander", "Asian", "Black or African American", and "white", as well as "some other race" (p. 44). For much of US history it was the de facto policy for census-takers to mark Hispanics/Latinos as white; however, since the change to self-report towards the end of the 20th century, an increasingly larger proportion of Hispanics/Latinos have begun to mark "some other race". This clearly shows that many members of this group do not see themselves as part of one of the five prescribed "races". This is likely connected to the long and separate racial history of Latin America, which, in addition to groups such as white, black, and indigenous, has also included a culture of "mestizaje" or mixing to become a new group in some countries such as Mexico and Brazil (Wade, 2008). Additionally, the census includes a separate section for Hispanic/Latino ethnicity

which is not considered "race". This mismatch in social construction has led to difficulties for

US Census workers who expect US Hispanics/Latinos to fit into one of the five racial groups

listed above. Additionally, Rumbaut argues that it is through this process of statistics taking that

Hispanics/Latinos, who may or may not see themselves as belonging to one of the five major

racial categories, are thus de facto racialized as Hispanic/Latino, for example, when comparing

educational statistics of Hispanics/Latinos (an ethnicity according to the Census) against the

major racial categories such as whites or African Americans. Thus, it can prove difficult to state

in some cases whether a group constitutes a race, an ethnicity, or both. Therefore, in this paper

the term 'ethnoracial' will be used in cases where both terms may apply, and either ethnicity or

race in more exclusive cases.

The group that is most often discussed as "white" in the US, which is the largest (72.4%

white, 63.7% non-Hispanic/Latino white; Hixson, Hepler, & Kim, 2010) and often perceived as

the least "marked" racial group, is defined in the US Census as "a person having origins in any

of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa" (Hixson, Hepler, & Kim,

2010, p. 2). However, this definition has changed throughout history (Roediger, 2005). In the

18th Century Benjamin Franklin famously did not consider Germans to be white; Franklin's

definition of whiteness was reserved exclusively for Anglos (Rumbaut, 2015). Additionally,

Roediger (2006) discusses the transition for many groups such as Irish, Jews, Poles and other

Southern and Eastern European immigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries who were considered

"dark white", "new white", or "inbetween peoples" and were discriminated against in the United

States until the groups largely underwent a process of cultural and linguistic assimilation.

Therefore, among Europeans, and other groups which are defined as white by the Census in the

United States, there have been divisions at different times between who is and is not considered

white, calling into question the congruence between Census and popular definitions of the term. Because this is the largest and least marked racial category in the US, it is important to develop a better understanding of what constitutes race, ethnicity and whiteness in the US in the hopes of being able to understand why other races and ethnicities either become assimilated into this group or stand out against it. The following section will examine one of the central features in ethnoracial categorization, language.

2.1.2   *Language and race in sociolinguistics*

The study of language and race by sociolinguists has taken place since the beginnings of the field, with pioneering researchers such as William Labov and colleagues (1968) and Walter Wolfram (1969) conducting foundational studies which examined and legitimated linguistic varieties of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Prior to these studies, AAVE was considered by many to be a deficient form of English; however, these early studies showed "inner-city ethnic vernaculars were not substandard linguistic codes, but had their own systematicity" (Bell, Sharma & Britain, 2016, p. 404). Distinguishing features of AAVE include differences in vocabulary, grammar, and phonetics and phonology, with commonly cited characteristics being, for example, grammatical features such as double negatives *didn't nobody ask*, and 'habitual be' *they be reciting my quotes* (Black Star as cited in Green, 2004), and phonetically, "restricted" word final consonants which in other varieties are consonant clusters */spɛn/ 'spend'* (adapted from Green, 2004). Research on AAVE has continued in sociolinguistics, with additional research demonstrating the importance that AAVE plays in African American identities and in African American culture (Green, 2004; Rickford & Rickford, 2000), the use of AAVE by individuals who are not identified as African American (Bucholtz, 1999; Cutler, 1999; Kytölä & Westinen, 2015) as well as the differences in AAVE across social class and the

perceptibility of a more "standardized" form of AAVE, Standard Black English (SBE) among African Americans (Rahman, 2008). Although AAVE has been legitimated in sociolinguistics, it is often considered non-standard and outside the field has been the focus of many controversies such as the Oakland Unified School district controversy of the 1990s (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rickford & Rickford, 2000) as well as the focus of "linguistic profiling" or discriminatory practices based on speaking racially associated linguistic varieties (Baugh, 2005).

An additional variety that is associated with an ethnoracial group in the US is Chicano English, a variety that is one of a larger group of Latino Englishes (Fought, 2006; Fought, 2010; Santa Ana, 2016). Chicano English is a variety of English spoken largely by Mexican Americans and other US Latinos. Although Chicano English is the most studied of the Latino Englishes, there do exist other distinctive Latino English varieties such as Puerto Rican English (Urciuoli, 1999; Urciuoli, 2013). Chicano English has been characterized as a variety of English that has notable influences from Spanish and AAVE (Fought, 2006). The influences from Spanish and AAVE that have been noted in Chicano English include vocabulary, grammar, and phonetic, phonological and prosodic features. Although many of the "non-standard" features of Chicano English overlap with AAVE (such as habitual be), there are several features which are distinctive to Chicano English, such as the high frequency of the modal 'would', *If I woulda been a gangster, I woulda been throwing signs up* (Fought, 2006). The most distinctive features of Chicano English may be found in the phonetic and phonological systems. Where lax vowels may often be found in other varieties of English, in Chicano English tense vowels are found, for example tense vowels /i/ and /e/ where /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ may be found in other varieties, i.e. */goʊin/ 'going'* versus /goʊɪn/, as well as less frequent vowel reduction with the first vowel in 'together' realized as /u/ [tʰugɛðɚ] (adapted from Fought, 2006, p. 81). This variety, much like AAVE,

plays a distinctive role in the identities of many US Latinos: "although it is rarely commented on in the same way, CHE [Chicano English] is also, of course, an important variety for expressing Mexican American identity. And like code-switching, it provides an iconic reflection of the second-generation culture" (Fought, 2010, p. 47). Although this variety has also been legitimated as systematic and rule governed by sociolinguistics, it too has been shown to be subject to discriminatory practices such as linguistic profiling (Baugh, 2005).

An ethnolect which has received less attention in the sociolinguistics literature is that of white middle-class speakers in the US. Much of the evidence for a white ethnolect comes from voicings and performances of "white voice" by minority speakers which generally corresponds to performances of standard or superstandard English (Bucholtz, 1999; Bucholtz, 2016; Fought, 2006; Mason-Carris, 2011). Often, standard English is considered "unmarked" or "invisibly normal"; it is ideologized as the "normal", de facto way that Americans speak (Hill, 2009). It is generally considered, by non-(socio)linguists, to not index regional or social class; however, according to Lippi-Green (2012), it is what many individuals consider to be the way "educated" people speak or akin to the speech of broadcasters (p. 57). In terms of race, Standard American English (SAE) has been characterized as seeming non-ethnic. Fishman (1965) discussed the "non-ethnic" nature of American nationalism as it relates to language: "it did not obviously clash with or demand betrayal of immigrant *ethnic* values … in the absence of significant … exclusionism among either immigrants or hosts there were few reinforcers of language maintenance and few barriers to language shift" (p. 149). Here, Fishman not only discusses the perceived neutrality of English in the United States, but also, its role in cultural assimilation. Because it is characterized as non-ethnic, SAE does not pose a threat to immigrants' ethnic

identities, thus allowing for easier facilitation of multilingualism and potentially across generations, linguistic assimilation.

In addition to SAE, whiteness is often treated in a way that is unmarked in the United States (Bucholtz, 2001; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Markedness and what is "marked" and "unmarked" in linguistics refers to what was originally conceptualized as a binary relationship between different sounds, lexical items, or grammatical features (Jakobson & Pomorska, 1990). Historically, in languages like English and French, masculinity has been treated as unmarked (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Jakobson & Pomorska, 1990). For example, terms such as *waiter* and *actor* have historically been considered unmarked in English and through adding the suffix -ess these terms are marked in the feminine form, *waitress* and *actress* (Lakoff, 2000). However, the linguistic understanding of markedness has been extended in the social sciences. The understanding of the "hierarchical structuring of difference" called markedness has been extended to describe "the process whereby some social categories gain a special, default status that contrasts with the identities of other groups, which are usually highly recognizable" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 372). In the US, the group called white is often treated as "unmarked", or the group with this special, default status (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Importantly, as will be further described below, markedness is highly contextual and what is often treated as unmarked for one group or system, is often viewed as marked by another group or system (Jakobson & Pomorska, 1990). Bucholtz (2001), for example, describes the use of superstandard English features (i.e., the hyperstandard *'tripping'* /tɹɪpɪŋ/ vs the slang term *'trippin'* /tɹɪpɪn/) by nerdy high school students as a way to resist what are perceived as more marked (AAVE) slang terms in light of standard English norms. However, rather than functioning as unmarked, the use

of these superstandard forms caused these students to stand out in a way that marked them as hyperwhite.

Several researchers have attempted to empirically examine the language of whiteness. For example, in a related study to the one just described, Bucholtz (1999; 2009) examined the discourse of a group of European American "nerd girls" in a California high school. The author found that the participants' resistance to what was considered (linguistically) cool or popular led to their group identity being characterized by a superstandard variety of English, which included "resistance to colloquial phonological processes such as vowel reduction … avoidance of nonstandard syntactic forms … [and] avoidance of current slang" among other characteristics (Bucholtz, 2009, p. 217). In other words, these students were resisting what are often treated at the national level as more marked linguistic features.

Very similar features can be found in the description of what is ideologically constituted as white speech. Fought (2006) describes "three basic perspectives on language and whiteness" which include, "anything standard is associated with white speakers … superstandard grammatical forms … [and] stereotyped (often stigmatized) varieties associated with a particular geographic region … e.g., Valley Girl dialects, New York City dialects" (p. 117). Likewise, similarly described features are seen in the parodic voicings of white people by minority speakers. Fought also analyzes voicings of white speakers by two, non-standard baseline, minority stand-up comedians, Steve Harvey, who is African American and has a baseline AAVE speaking voice, and George Lopez, who is Mexican American and has a baseline Chicano English speaking voice. In his voicings, Harvey draws on superstandard features such as "1) An outlandish nasal voice 2) Standard English grammar and phonology [and] 3) corny slang/interjections *Oh! Gee! Oh, Jesus!*" among others (p. 124). Fought also analyzes the stand-

up comedy performances of George Lopez and found similar features, "1) standard English grammar and phonology 2) corny expressions/interjections: *Oh goodness!, The third time's the charm!* … formal language, including: a) superstandard grammar … [and] regional stereotypes (California Valley Girl or surfer personas …)" among others (p. 128).

Bucholtz (2016), drawing on Mason-Carris (2011), describes this use of California Valley Girl speech as perhaps being even more salient in the California context (although Valley Girl speech is found throughout the US) and refers to it as "la voz gringa" (the gringa voice) (Bucholtz, 2016; Mason-Carris, 2011). Both authors, in analyzing discourse from US Hispanics/Latinos in a California high school (Bucholtz, 2016) and in a California restaurant (Mason-Carris, 2011), found that when performing parodic characterizations of whiteness, the speakers draw "on the indexical nature of a 'standardness' of American English pronunciation associated with whiteness. On another level, speakers draw on notions of privilege even as they stigmatize la gringa's speech to position her as a specific Valley-Girl-type" (Mason-Carris, 2011, p. 475). Thus, although SAE is often characterized as non-ethnic, neutral, or unmarked, from the perspective of the speakers performing whiteness in these studies (Bucholtz, 2016; Fought, 2006; Mason-Carris, 2011), this variety is presented as marked (Jakobson & Pomorska, 1990). SAE as performed by these speakers serves the purpose of indexing whiteness. Additionally, SAE may be used in combination with more regionally and/or subculturally associated varieties such as Valley Girl English to index more specific personas. Therefore, there exists a disconnect between how SAE is often characterized in mainstream discourse (neutral) and how it functions in these performances to characterize speakers as white. Although there has been much fruitful research examining connections between language and race and the roles these play in social categorization, it is important to understand empirically how listeners *perceive* different

linguistic varieties and the individuals who use them in terms of race. To investigate these questions further it is important to examine how standard-, non-standard, and non-native varieties have been examined experimentally, in sociolinguistics and related fields such as social psychology, in relation to race, ethnicity, and whiteness.

2.2 Language, Race, Whiteness, and Experimentation

2.2.1 Experimental approaches to the study of language and race

Much of the experimental research in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and social psychology of language which informs ethnoracial linguistic perception and categorization has been conducted using the matched-guise or the related verbal-guise method and is often related to language attitudes (Garrett, 2010). The matched-guise method was first developed by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) to investigate attitudes and perceptions related to the use of English and French in Quebec. The authors recruited three bilingual English/French speakers who provided recordings in both English and French, thus allowing for increased control across guises. Participants (some L1 English, some L1 French speakers) listened to a series of recordings of what they believed to be different people speaking English and French. As they listened, the participant listeners were asked to rate the "different" speakers on various aspects which included height, good looks, leadership, sense of humor, intelligence, religiousness, self-confidence, dependability, and others. Surprisingly, not only the L1 English, but also the L1 French speaking participants rated the English guises more highly on several characteristics, such as height, good looks, leadership, intelligence, and self-confidence, reflecting the differences in linguistic perception and overarching societal attitudes/ideologies toward these different varieties in the Quebec context at the time of the study.

Throughout the years, the matched-guise method has been used to study a wide range of linguistic varieties, and related attitudes and perceptions, such as attitudes and perceptions of "standard" or "German-accented" speakers in the US (Ryan & Bulik, 1982), and race-based discrimination in housing (Purnell, Idsardi,& Baugh, 1999). More recently, matched-guise techniques enhanced with photographs or videos of speakers have been used to investigate ethnoracial linguistic perceptions in employment interview practices (Purkiss, Perrewé, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006), and intelligibility of different guises when matched with different ethnoracial faces (Babel & Russell, 2015).

Purnell, Idsardi, & Baugh (1999) used a matched-guise technique to examine differences in housing availability to speakers of differing ethnolects. Data collection consisted of the third author (Baugh, who is tri-dialectal) assuming three different linguistic guises, the "non-standard" guises AAVE and Chicano-English, and SAE, and calling prospective landlords in the San Francisco Bay area to inquire about housing availability. The authors found that the SAE guise was significantly more likely to be told that housing was available than either of the two non-standard guises. The authors demonstrate that "housing discrimination induced by speech characteristics does take place. Dialects are discriminated by normal listeners" and that even "a single word suffices" for such discrimination (p. 28). Here we see that the ethnoracially "neutral", or perhaps indexically white (Bucholtz, 2016), standard variety was the least likely to be discriminated against.

Also examining differences in attitudes and perceptions between what are ideologized as more standard and more ethnic varieties, Purkiss et al. (2006) examined possible bias in interview practices using a matched-guise design. The authors recruited a bidialectal actor to provide multiple different videotaped "interviews" for a job opening. "Interviews" were

conducted in either SAE or Spanish accented English under the names "Michael Frederickson" and "Miguel Fernandez" (p. 156). Videos of the "interviews" were presented to undergraduate university business students, who were divided into different groups and asked to rate the "interviewee" on several characteristics related to hirability. The authors found that the "interviewee" was judged most harshly under the guise of Miguel Fernandez and when speaking Spanish influenced English. The "applicant" was judged most favorably under the guise of Miguel Fernandez and when speaking SAE, suggesting the salience of ethnoracially marked language over other character traits in hirability and ethnoracial categorization.

Related to the matched-guise technique are the verbal-guise as well as modified matched- and verbal-guise techniques (Rubin, 1992). These methods, rather than matching the different linguistic varieties to be used by eliciting different samples from one multilingual or multidialectal speaker, elicit samples from multiple speakers (verbal guise), or a single sample from a speaker which may be matched with different visual stimuli (modified matched guise). Although the verbal guise technique loses a certain level of control that is found in the matched guise, it allows for different and more complex experimental designs, as well as guise experiments that allow comparison when balanced multilingual or multidialectal speakers are not available. Furthermore, multidialectal speakers may be capable of voicing different varieties in the same way that an actor can, but this does not mean that the speaker will be able to voice the variety in a way that seems natural to many speakers, in the same way that it is often possible to tell when an actor is voicing a non-native variety (Lippi-Green, 2012).

Rubin (1992), in a foundational study, used a modified matched-guise design to investigate the participant recall of the same "especially effective and clear" native English-speaker recording when it was matched with the photograph of a white face for one group and an

Asian face for a different group (p. 515). The author found that the participants who listened to

the identical lecture paired with an Asian face had more difficulty with recall and found the

speaker to be "more foreign and less Standard" than the group who listened to the recording

paired with a white face (p. 518).

Babel and Russell (2015), in a semi-replication of Rubin (1992), also examined different

linguistic varieties matched with visual stimuli in a verbal guise design. The authors investigated

ethnoracial socio-indexical cues as related to speech intelligibility. The authors elicited speech

samples from 12 native English-speaking individuals in Canada, half Chinese Canadian and half

"ethnically white" Canadians (p. 2825). The authors paired half of the recordings with

photographs of the speakers and half of the recordings remained audio-only. These were then

rated for intelligibility. Similar to Rubin's (1992) findings, the authors found that the recordings

that were matched with the Chinese Canadian photographs were perceived as less intelligible in

comparison with the Chinese Canadian audio recordings alone, while the recordings matched

with white Canadian faces were not perceived as less intelligible than the white Canadian

recordings alone, showing once again the effect that the presence of socio-indexical visual

stimuli can have on sociolinguistic perception as well as ethnoracial expectations in terms of

language.

Although Rubin (1992) and Babel and Russell (2015) both found similarities in the effect

the image of an Asian face can have on recall and intelligibility, these findings are questioned by

McGowan (2015). The author examined transcription accuracy of Chinese-accented-English in

noise matched with a Chinese face, a Caucasian face, and an ambiguous silhouette, for listeners

with a high level of experience listening to non-native speech and individuals with a low level of

experience. The author found that for both high and low experience listeners, the 'congruent'

Chinese face resulted in higher transcription accuracy than the 'incongruent' Caucasian face. The author therefore calls for a more nuanced view of listener stereotypes. Although these findings do not discredit those of Rubin (1992) and Babel and Russell (2015), it does show that the researchers' findings may be more complicated than previously thought and that consideration should be given to listener expectations of congruence when considering listener stereotypes.

In addition to researchers working within sociolinguistics, research in the social and developmental psychology of language has addressed issues related to perception and social categorization as it relates to race and language. This is a research area which treats language as highly important for understanding such categorization (Liberman, Woodward, Kinzler, 2017b). Much work within this tradition has been influenced by the social identity approach (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, 1982; Turner & Reynolds, 2011). Social Identity Theory was first developed by Henri Tajfel and colleagues in England in the 1970s as a way to help "explain the psychological forces that culminated in the Holocaust, among other horrors" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 204), and to understand groups, how they are formed and how they interact through intergroup behavior (Tajfel, 1982). This line of research suggests that no matter how arbitrary the group, group members show ingroup favoritism and prejudice and discrimination toward the outgroup (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel, 1982). This research has been influential in understanding group identity in social psychology (Hornsey, 2008) as well as sociolinguistics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Much of this social psychological work as it relates to language has attempted to understand children's perceptions of language and race. A growing body of research in this area has been conducted by Katherine Kinzler and colleagues, analyzing for example how infants infer social information based on language variety (Liberman, Woodward, & Kinzler, 2017a), infants' selective trust in native- and non-native speakers (Kinzler, Corriveau, & Harris, 2011),

and with what level of stability 5-10-year-old children view language and race as social categories (Kinzler & Dautel, 2012). For example, Kinzler et al. (2009), using a modified verbal guise technique, presented white 5-year-old children in the US with photographs of either a white or African American child. These photographs were paired with recordings of American-accented English, French, or French-accented English. The authors found that when the participants were asked to choose who they would like to be friends with based on the *photographs alone*, the children more often chose the white child, thus showing ingroup racial preference. However, when the photograph of the white child was paired with a French accented recording and the African American child was paired with an American English accented recording the children were more likely to choose the African American child, demonstrating linguistic ingroup preference. These findings show that for 5-year-old children, the ingroup preference for language tends to be stronger than ingroup preference for shared ethnoracial phenotype.

Further examining connections between language and race in children, Kinzler and Spelke (2011) examine at what age racial preference appears. The authors conducted a toy giving/receiving experiment with "majority race white" 10-month old, 2.5-year-old, and 5-year-old children (p. 4). Participants were asked to give or receive toys from one white and one African American researcher who were either silent or speaking the children's native language. The authors found that the 10-month-old and 2.5-year-old children both either received (10-month-old) or gave (2.5-year-old) toys equally to the white and African American researchers and the 5-year-old children "robustly chose white" (p. 6), thus concluding that racial preferences emerge between 2.5 and 5 years of age. These findings do not only help to understand social categorization based on race but also inform theories of race as socially constructed (Hill, 2009;

Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Wade, 2008): "though race may be an indicator of coalition in many

societies today, we likely did not evolve to see race per se as a marker of group membership"

(Kinzler & Spelke, 2011, p. 2). In interpreting such findings, the authors state that preferences

for familiarity may be adaptive, because familiarity may indicate safety and that "language, too,

may have served as a valid predictor of native group membership throughout our evolutionary

history" (p. 2) by indicating ingroup membership through similar linguistic variety rather than

physical appearance.

Similar findings were found with adults in Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey (2011).

When asked to categorize photographs of adult speakers as either German or Italian, when

presented with a native German variety or an Italian-influenced German variety, the authors

found that "accents provide more relevant information in directing categorization when

compared with looks" (p. 24), and that it was not relevant to participants what the models looked

like, but rather what linguistic variety they spoke. These findings, taken together, demonstrate

that racial discrimination is likely something that is learned in childhood, and linguistic variety

tends to play a very important role in ethnoracial and social categorization for both children and

adults.

Finally, in an attempt to begin to better understand the relationship between

standard/native US English and whiteness, Chlapowski and Lindemann (2019) directly

investigated, experimentally, the effect of standard/native US English on perceptions of

whiteness. Using a verbal-guise design, the authors asked how the perception of whiteness, of

four Latin-American models (two from Argentina and two from the Dominican Republic, two

male and two female), was affected by the presence of a native/standard US English accent, the

presence of a Spanish-influenced English accent, or no audio. Sixty-eight participants divided

across the three conditions rated the four models paired with the three varieties across three conditions. The authors found that all four models were rated as whiter under the native/SAE condition than the Spanish-influenced condition. In other words, the study demonstrated, in a controlled experimental setting while directly addressing the relationship between SAE and whiteness, that the presence of SAE in comparison to a non-native variety can have the effect of individuals being perceived as whiter.

These findings are important in showing the salience of language in ethnoracial perception and supporting findings that show language is potentially more important than phenotype in ethnoracial perception (Kinzler et al., 2009; Rakić et al., 2011). Although this study serves as an important first step toward better understanding the relationship between language and whiteness, it remains necessary to expand on these findings to further investigate how the perceived whiteness of models from a wider variety of backgrounds is affected by the presence of different linguistic varieties.

This section has provided an overview of sociolinguistic research as it relates to language and race. It has focused primarily on experimental research into these topics. We have seen that perceptions of language and race are not straightforward and often language has a significant impact on how an individual is perceived racially. This paper sets out to understand not only racial perception, but also thought processes of perception, and (language) ideologies related to whiteness. Therefore, the next section will discuss methods for examining the thought processes of ethnoracial perception and ideologies of whiteness using qualitative approaches, drawing on language ideology and closely related discourse analysis research. Taken together, these two approaches (experimentation and qualitative methods) will allow for both a broad and in-depth understanding of these phenomena as well as serve to inform the design of the study.

2.3   Language, Race, and Ideology

2.3.1   *Language ideologies*

Before beginning a discussion of the study of language and race as it relates to

perceptions and ideologies, it is important to first introduce and discuss the field of language

ideology research. Language ideologies were first introduced by Michael Silverstein (1979) and

his definition is still widely cited: "ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any

sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of

perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). This definition has been further expanded upon

to describe language ideologies as "socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions

about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms

in a given society" (Woolard, 2016, p. 7; Woolard, 1998) which can be "implicit or explicit,

systematic or partial, hegemonic or contested" (p. 16; Woolard, 1998). Although these

ideologies are often multiple and can function to serve the interests of different groups (Woolard,

2016), they generally exist, and are partially shared, at the societal level, by the speakers that

make up a particular speech community or community of practice and are informed by an

"'artifactual view of language, a view in which language is seen as a manipulable, bounded

artifact consisting of (grammatical) 'structures' with a clear function, denotation" (Blommaert,

2006, p. 512). This artifactual view tends to contrast with discourse/ideological perspectives on

language which generally do not view language as bounded countable entities which can be

stored in books but rather dynamic, changing, and ideologically constituted (Makoni &

Pennycook, 2005; Pennycook, 2010; Potter, 2003a). Silverstein (1979) illustrates the concept

with examples of the T/V distinction (taking its name from the French second person pronouns

tu/vous, which has rough correlates in many languages such as the German du/Sie, and the

Russian tɨ/vɨ). These pronouns are sometimes ideologized across a formal/informal distinction, but they are discussed by Silverstein as existing along a two-way "power" (superior/inferior) and "solidarity" (equal and solidary/equal and not solidary) distinction (p. 228). Linguistic communities ideologize these pronouns in terms of both structure, for example what is considered "proper" pronunciation (Lippi-Green, 2012), as well as use, for example who should be referred to with *tu* (e.g., someone of equal status and solidarity) vs. *vous* (e.g., someone of superior status where there is not solidarity) (Silverstein, 1979, p. 228). Language ideology research has been approached from a variety of research traditions and perspectives, with much of the research coming from sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2014; Lippi-Green, 2012: J. Milroy, 2001; L. Milroy, 2001) and linguistic anthropology (Agha, 2003; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 2016).

Several authors have emphasized at least two broad distinctions in language ideology research; these are 'critical' and 'neutral' approaches (Blommaert, 2006; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Additionally, there is a distinction between "unconscious" and "conscious" investigations and explanations of language ideologies (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Woolard & Schieffelin (1994) describe more critical approaches to research in this area as investigating "strategies for maintaining social power" through ideological constructions of language, and more neutral approaches as investigating "cultural conceptions of language" which are not assumed to reflect notions of power (p. 58). Additionally, Woolard and Schieffelin note that some approaches to investigating ideologies do so by examining more naturalistic speech practices/discourses which were not undertaken specifically or explicitly to produce language ideologies (unconscious, e.g., Bucholtz, 1999; Chun, 2016), where some investigators will explicitly elicit ideologies of language through interviews or focus groups as a way to ensure on-topic talk (conscious, e.g.,

Anderson, 2008; Modan, 2001). Although there are differences in the focus and methods of this research, in defining language ideologies, Woolard and Schieffelin draw on all these approaches by "emphasiz[ing] language ideology as a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (p. 55). Therefore, whether coming from a critical or neutral perspective, or whether analyzing data that is more naturalistic or elicited, this research is all connected through the purpose of developing an understanding of the connection between culture, social structure, language, and the impacts that they have on each other, by investigating "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35).

A crucial notion in language ideology research is that of the "standard language ideology" (Agha, 2003; Lippi-Green, 2012; J. Milroy, 2001; L. Milroy, 2001). The standard language ideology is a set of beliefs held by speakers of

> certain languages, including widely used ones such as English, French, and Spanish,
> [which] are believed by their speakers to exist in standardized forms, and this kind of
> belief affects the way in which speakers think about their own language and about
> 'language' in general (J. Milroy, 2001, p. 530)

These standard language beliefs generally tend to lead to perceptions of the standard as the "legitimate" or "correct" way to speak the language, thus ideologizing non-standard varieties as "incorrect" (J. Milroy, 2001). It is important to point out that the legitimacy of the standard language is ideologized and does not correspond to linguistic reality; there is nothing in terms of linguistic form or function that makes a non-standard variety such as AAVE any less legitimate or communicatively effective for its speakers than Standard American English (SAE) is for its

speakers. Thus Lippi-Green (2012) refers to the notion of a standard language as the "standard language myth" (p. 55). She says that "the average person is very willing to describe and define it [the standard], much in the same way that most people could draw a unicorn, or describe a being from Star Trek's planet Vulcan" (p. 57); because it can be described does not show that it truly exists in any form other than as a social construct. According to Silverstein (2003), the "standard register in well-developed standard-language communities is, as we know, hegemonic in the sense that ideologically it constitutes the 'neutral' top-and center of all variability that is thus around-and-below it", in these communities the power of the standard draws speakers "into an anxiety before standard" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 219) whereby a non-standard speaker's language may be characterized as deficient or lacking in some way. Importantly, what is ideologized as the standard, and how individuals are ideologized as standard and non-standard speakers differs in different communities. In England, historically standard and non-standard speakers have been ideologized largely across class lines, while in the US, standard and non-standard speakers have been "primarily, but of course not exclusively" ideologized across racial lines (L. Milroy, 2001, p. 235).

A concept related to language ideologies that must be mentioned is 'indexicality' (Blommaert, 2014; Silverstein, 1976; Silverstein, 1993; Silverstein, 2003; Verschueren, 2011). Whereas language ideologies more generally speaking are associated with the metalinguistic link between society and language (e.g. talk about "correctness" of a grammatical structure or a prescriptive rule), indexicality is associated with the metapragmatic link between language and society (e.g. the use of a specific accent or voicing to index, or point to, a "common sense" or ideological societal connection, such as an American using a British or French accent to mock being posh) (Silverstein, 1976; Silverstein, 1993; Verschueren, 2011). Blommaert (2014)

discusses indexicality through the different voicings of a South African college radio DJ. The DJ uses several different voicings which include a variety of Standard English, Black English (AAVE), Reggae/Rastafarian English (a voiced Caribbean variety), and Township English. Through these voicings the DJ attempts to index "masculinity" and "toughness" through his use of Black English, "expertise" and "rasta identity" through his use of Reggae/Rastafarian English, and either "upper" or "lower"/"egalitarian" class status through his uses of Standard and Township English respectively (p. 508). Indexicality shows that different linguistic varieties are linked ideologically to different social categories and a wide range of information is capable of being indexed using different varieties. As Silverstein (2003) says,

> discursive expression in metapragmatic discourse, is ideologically saturated: it relates and, in its discursive mode even describes, explains, or rationalizes the pragmatics of language use (e.g., in terms like 'appropriateness-to-context and 'effectiveness-in-context') (p. 196).

This is seen in indexical-presuppositions and indexical-entailments (Sidnell, 2020; Silverstein, 2003). These terms refer to the importance of context for understanding given utterances. Presuppositions refer to, in a sense, "assumed" knowledge that is either known cognitively or known based on a given context, and entailments refers to more "creative" establishments of context (Sidnell, 2020). Presuppositions can be seen in how a speaker may refer to *this table*. To understand what *this table* refers to it is important that "the context must exist cognitively, and or physically if speech signals are going to be interpretable" (Sidnell, 2020, p. 4). Entailments can be seen in the use of indexical pronouns, such as *I, you,* and *we* which serve to establish who the addressee is in a given interaction (Sidnell, 2020). Such indexical entailments can be much more complex and nuanced. They can include a given pronunciation which can indicate a "speaker's

ethnic or regional origins, his pretensions, his understanding of the addressee's socioeconomic class … [or] a lexical choice (car vs. vehicle vs. automobile) or for the selection of some particular grammatical construction rather than another (passive vs. active)" (Sidnell, 2020, p. 6) and are reliant on "ideologies articulating cultural valorization" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 195).

In the next section, the discussion will turn to how ideologies and indexicality have been examined in connections between race and the indexicality of different linguistic varieties, as well as how these examinations relate to racial perception, thought processes, social categorization, and different qualitative approaches used in these studies.

2.3.2 *Qualitative research and ethnoracial ideologies*

Research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology has investigated issues of language and race qualitatively using a variety of approaches which often have significant overlap in methods and analysis, many of which focus heavily on the notions of ideologies and discourse. These include interview and focus group data, ethnographic approaches, and discourse analysis methodologies, among others. Many discourse analysts view the notions of discourse and ideology as having significant overlap, some even viewing them as pointing to very similar phenomena: "ideology and discourse refer to pretty much the same aspect of social life—the idea that human individuals participate in forms of understanding, comprehension or consciousness of the relations and activities in which they are involved" (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 474). Drawing on a wide range of definitions, Jaworski and Coupland (2014) synthesize a definition of discourse as "language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society" (p. 3). Therefore, according to this definition, discourse is never viewed as neutral. Through discourse, identities and social categories are created, produced, and

reproduced (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) and therefore discourse analysis is not simply the study of how language is structured beyond the level of the sentence, but the study of how perceived social realities are constructed and reproduced through discourse (Jaworski & Coupland, 2009). Thus, the qualitative analysis of discourse may allow for examinations of the ideologies that are found in and constitute discourse.

Discourse studies of race have approached a wide variety of topics which include mockery of racialized linguistic varieties (Bucholtz, 2016; Chun, 2004; Chun, 2016; Hill 1998; Hill, 2009; Mason-Carris, 2011), discourses which (re)construct and reaffirm the notion of race and racial categories (Anderson, 2007; Anderson, 2008; Bucholtz, 2001), and social categorization in terms of race and racialized categories (Alim, 2016b; Chun, 2011; Modan, 2001; Roth-Gordon, 2011). This research has used various forms of data collection which has included more "naturalistic" or "unconscious" data sources (Alim, 2016b; Bucholtz, 2001; Bucholtz, 2011; Bucholtz, 2016; Chun, 2004, Chun, 2016; Mason-Carris, 2011; Roth-Gordon, 2011), as well as data which was elicited and more "conscious" including interviews, focus-groups, and on-topic conversations (Anderson, 2007; Anderson, 2008; Modan, 2001).

Various researchers have demonstrated connections of race and language in discourse through the analysis of "mock" varieties. Hill (2009) examined, using an ethnographic framework, discourses and ideologies of "Mock Spanish", that is uses of Spanish in jocular ways by non-Spanish speaking Americans with, for example, purposeful mispronunciations such as "grassy ass" (gracias) as well as mockery of Spanish native-speaker accents (Hill, 2009, p. 140). The author explains that Mock Spanish is a form of covert racism which functions indexically in a variety of ways which include constructing a "light, jocular, humorous stance" that relies on these negative stereotypes (p. 142), and distancing oneself from a Spanish-speaking identity.

Where Hill examines the use of a mock variety by individuals outside the community, Chun (2004) examined the use of "Mock Asian" by a Korean American comedian in a way that is ideologically subversive. The author argues that because the comedian, Margaret Cho, is ideologically racialized as Asian in the US, her use of Mock Asian, "a discourse that indexes stereotypical Asian identity" (p. 263), and as "one who is critical of Asian marginalization in the U.S." allows her use of Mock Asian to serve as a way to criticize such practices (p. 264). This analysis contrasts with Chun's (2016) examination of use of the term "Ching-Chong" in a YouTube "rant" by a white, female, university student who complains about Asian students speaking in the university library by using the mock phrase "'Ooooh. Ching-chong, ling-long, ting-tong. Ooooh'" (p. 81). This discursive act resulted in a variety of responses, some of which invoked racist ideologies of whiteness which were analyzed by the author. The author concluded that the term "*ching-chong* may seem bereft of meaning, but it can ultimately bear immensely important and complex cultural significance" (p. 95).

An additional mock variety which has been used in a jocular, as well as critical, way is known as "la voz gringa" (the gringa voice; as mentioned above) (Bucholtz, 2016; Mason-Carris, 2011). This is a variety which includes standard or superstandard English grammar and "valley girl" intonation to index whiteness. Mason-Carris (2011), using critical discourse analysis (CDA), demonstrated that in a California Mexican restaurant, the Spanish-speaking employees use this mock variety as a way to mock the Spanish pronunciation of "la gringa" who is "the only white server in the restaurant" (p. 477). Bucholtz (2016) also showed, in a California high school, that Latina students use this variety to mock their non-Spanish speaking peers who are unable or unwilling to pronounce their names in ways that are not "indexically bleached" or anglicized, once again indexing anglophone whiteness.

Rosa (2016), in a similar line of research moves from the notion of mock Spanish, which he questions being equated only with white users, to what he calls "inverted Spanglish". Inverted Spanglish is a "set of language practices that function as a unifying component of the ethoracial experiences of many U.S. Latinas/os" (1.5 generation and beyond) (p. 74). Although these practices are very similar to "la voz gringa", they differ in that they serve, not only to mock white and/or anglophone speakers' Spanish use, but also to demonstrate the L1 English competence/Spanish-English bilingualism of the inverted Spanglish users. Such practices include mock English-influenced Spanish pronunciations, such as "I've got the answer to **numerow trace** [/numɝˈoʊ/ /treɪs/]" (p. 75). These examples of mock language use draw attention to the ideological and indexical connections between specific language varieties and socially significant categories, in these cases ethnoracial categories. Although these cases are often considered and professed to be humorous and light-hearted, they point to differences in social categorization across linguistic and ethnoracial boundaries as well as related prejudices.

Anderson (2007) and (2008) uses critically informed discourse analysis methods to analyze the discourses produced in interviews which asked participants to discuss the race of different recorded voices. Anderson (2007) played 16-second recordings, all elicited from African American women (although this was unknown to the participants), twice for participants and then asked them to racially categorize the speakers. One recording, "Betty", proved more difficult to categorize racially than the others due to the perceived whiteness of her voice. The author found that it was the standardness of Betty's voice that led to these conceptions, once again linking the ideologized Standard American English (SAE) indexically with a white identity rather than an African American identity. This link is also seen in Bucholtz (2001), as discussed above, who found that in the discourse of a group of high school "nerd girls" a "superstandard"

American English was used that served to link them indexically with whiteness and distance them from what was seen as cool and connected to African American youth culture (p. 84).

Anderson (2008) also examined the process of racial construction through the analysis of discourse using a "race talk" framework, a framework which is critically informed and draws on language ideology research. Using a similar design as Anderson (2007), the author played 10 recordings (8 self-identified as African American and 2 as European American) for participants who were interviewed to explicitly elicit discourses related to race and linguistic variety. The author found that in the discourses the "construct of race becomes variably linked to linguistic habits through individuals' interdiscursive orientations to indexical orders that organize patterns and relationships between specific behaviors and social types" (p. 124). In other words, the first order indexicalities (Silverstein, 2003) of linguistic features were seen as connected to the second order indexicalities of ethnoracial categories and the participants' varying orientations to those categories. Therefore, the participants' racial categorizations specifically drew connections between perceived linguistic varieties and broader social cues and categories. These studies have again shown how race and language are connected as well as how discourses serve to (re)construct these connections. Additionally, they demonstrate the value of interview practices in language ideology/discursive research for eliciting on-topic discussions.

Further studies have examined the connections between language, race, and social categorization (Alim, 2016b; Modan, 2001; Roth-Gordon, 2011). Alim (2016b), who is multi-lingual and dialectal, recounts, through autoethnographic narrative, the processes that took place during a trip from the United States to Europe, where over the course of five days he was "raced" or racially categorized in nine different ways. These racial categorizations resulted from Alim's interactions with various individuals who he spoke to or was overheard speaking to in five

different linguistic varieties. The combination of his phenotype, dress, gestures, and other factors with different linguistic varieties such as English, Arabic, Spanish, and "Hip Hop Nation Language" (AAVE-influenced English) resulted in him being racially categorized or "translated" as "'Indian,' 'Algerian,' 'Mexican,' 'Turkish,' 'American Latino,' 'Columbian,' 'Arab,' and 'Black,' and … 'Coloured' or "Cape Malay'" (p. 38). Thus, Alim demonstrates the importance of various factors, as well as context, in social categorization with language being crucial to how he was categorized in terms of race.

Roth-Gordon (2011) used ethnographic methods to examine the relationship of whiteness and language. The author examined the relationship between whiteness, standard language, and Mock Spanish, and how these relate to processes of racial categorizations. The author found that through convergence or divergence from SAE—for example, the use of Spanish by people who are considered white, or the use of SAE by individuals who are not considered white— individuals can either assimilate toward whiteness in the case of non-whites or "actually 'lose whiteness'" in the case of whites (p. 212). Therefore, this research demonstrates the malleability (Alim, 2016b) of racial categories based on language. It also demonstrates the dichotomous relationship between more standard varieties being ideologized as indexical of whiteness and non-standard varieties as indexical of non-whiteness (L. Milroy, 2001; Modan, 2001; Roth-Gordon).

Although ideologies and discourses related to language, race, and social categorization have been examined from differing qualitative perspectives, far less research has attempted to use qualitative methods to examine perceptions and thought processes related to these phenomena. The next section will describe several qualitative methods for examining perceptions and thought processes in racial perception.

2.3.3   Perceptions, thought processes, and racial categorization

As stated above, in terms of race and language, qualitative perspectives have primarily focused on the (language) ideologies that serve to construct notions related to race, as well as how discourse can function in the construction of social categories and categorization. Far less research has attempted to understand, qualitatively, the thought processes that relate to social categorization and ethnoracial linguistic perceptions. Research that has approached this problem has largely used quantitative experimental methods (e.g., Kinzler & Spelke, 2011). However, there do exist methods that can be adapted from other areas of applied linguistics which can function to begin to examine these phenomena.

Quantitative experimental research which has examined questions related to ethnoracial linguistic perception has used matched- and verbal-guise methods (Purnell, Idsardi, & Baugh, 1999; Rubin, 1992; Kinzler, Shutts, DeJesus, & Spelke, 2009; see above). Although guise data is generally analyzed quantitatively to attempt to uncover overarching societal patterns and generalizations related to different linguistic varieties, deeper and richer information could result from analyzing matched- and verbal-guise data qualitatively, allowing for a greater understanding of the thought processes occurring during ethnoracial linguistic perception and categorization. This could be achieved using verbal report methods such as the think-aloud protocol (Barkaoui, 2011; Cohen, 1991; Cohen, 2013).

The think-aloud protocol and other verbal report methods (such as stimulated recall) were developed in language assessment research to "provide mentalistic data regarding cognitive processing" (Cohen, 1993, p. 135). The think-aloud protocol has "the advantage of giving a more direct view of what language users do at the moment that they are doing it" (Cohen, 2013, p. 2). This method involves participants undertaking some language related task, whether it be taking a

test, assessing language test results, or for our purposes participating in a matched- or verbal guise experiment. While they are completing the task, the participants voice out-loud their thought processes which better "reflect[s] what raters actually do...rather than what they believe they do" (Barkauoui, 2011, p.52). This method requires instruction on the part of the researcher, pre-test practice for the participant to become comfortable with the method, and usually feedback from the researcher on think-aloud performance (Cohen, 2013). Although this method provides the researcher with valuable insight into the thought processes occurring during a language task, it has received some criticism that verbal reports cannot provide complete information related to cognitive processes. Although it is beyond the scope of applied linguistics to truly know whether the think-aloud protocol provides complete information related to cognitive processes, related concerns have been addressed within the field. For instance, in order to test the trustworthiness of information being collected from think-aloud protocols, Barkaoui (2011) examined how think-aloud protocols affect rater performance. The author recruited both novice and experienced teachers to rate essays, half silently and half thinking aloud. Afterward the participants were interviewed to uncover what effects thinking aloud had on rater performance. The author was most interested in understanding effects on veridicality and reactivity while thinking aloud. "[V]eridicality concerns whether the TAPs [think aloud protocols] accurately report and represent the participants' true and complete thinking and rating processes, … reactivity concerns whether the requirement to report the rating process alters the process being observed and/or its outcomes" (p. 52). The author found that the data elicited through think-aloud protocols is likely incomplete and likely to affect performance during the process. However, the author does not believe this is reason enough to not use think-aloud protocols, rather that it should inform researcher analysis of think-aloud data. "TAPs are probably the only tool to

provide some insight, though incomplete and imprecise, into the kinds of processes that raters

employ to complete rating tasks, including their evaluation criteria and decision-making

behaviors" (p. 70). Although this method does not provide a perfect reflection of cognitive

processes, it does provide insights into the cognitive processes taking place during a given

language task. Therefore, although not perfect, the think-aloud protocol is likely to be the best

method at present for attempting to understand thought processes and decision making in

language related tasks like verbal guise experiments of ethnoracial linguistic perception and

categorization.

2.4   The Current Study

It has been shown that the race concept is a social construct that does not reflect

biological reality. This concept has had enduring negative consequences for many people

throughout history which continue to this day. The race concept is intrinsically connected to

language and linguistic variation. Different varieties are ideologically and indexically linked to

different racial groups whether this is broadly known explicitly or only implicitly, with varieties

such as AAVE and CHE being explicitly linked to ethnic groups and SAE only implicitly and

covertly linked to whiteness. Therefore, it is important to develop a better understanding of

whiteness and in particular the relationship between whiteness, language, and SAE. As has been

noted, many researchers have begun to examine the relationship between SAE and whiteness, yet

little research has been conducted which directly assesses this connection experimentally,

focusing on the effect accent has on racial perception. Nor has research attempted to examine the

thought processes related to language and racial perception. This is vitally important considering

the connections between language and race and the discrimination that may result from racism

whether it is explicit or more implicit (Baugh, 2005; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006; Smedley &

Smedley, 2005). Standard American English continues to be viewed by many as the de facto "neutral" code within the United States, yet it is clear that many racialized people do not view it as such. The standard variety continues to be promoted as the "correct" way to speak English and the variety that guarantees the most social mobility. It is important to ask whether this variety is in fact recognized as the code of the white middle class rather than a neutral code and whether individuals are being asked to conform to cultural middle-class whiteness in order to be viewed as correct, well-spoken, and capable of social mobility. A sequential mixed-method study which approaches this topic both experimentally and qualitatively in order to better understand perceptions, thought processes, and ideologies related to whiteness and social categorization could be very beneficial in developing a greater understanding of whiteness and language.

2.4.1   Research questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the effect of standard, non-standard, and non-native accented English on the perceived whiteness and racial categorization of five models whose backgrounds correspond to the major US Census race categories?

2. What thought processes are related to language and racial categorization, particularly as it concerns whiteness?

3. What (language) ideologies can be uncovered which serve to socially construct the racial category 'white' in the United States?

3   METHODS

To best understand the phenomena being analyzed, it is necessary to draw on both experimental and qualitative research in sociolinguistics. The study draws on the highly related fields of language attitudes-perceptions (Garrett, 2010; Lindemann, Litzenberg, & Subtirelu, 2014), and language ideologies (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 2016). Although language attitudes-perceptions research is generally carried out using experimental methods and language ideologies research is most often carried out using qualitative methods, the two areas are highly interrelated because attitudes and perceptions are likely a result of broader ideologies and beliefs present in a given society (Garrett, 2010; Lambert et al., 1960; Lindemann, Litzenberg, & Subtirelu, 2014).

The quantitative phase of this study includes a modified verbal guise technique (discussed below). The qualitative phase of this study includes both a think-aloud protocol and semi-structured interviews. The think-aloud protocol was chosen because it currently provides the most reliable way to access what participants are thinking while completing a language related task (Barkaoui, 2011). Following language ideologies researchers such as Woolard (2016), Anderson (2008; 2009), and Modan (2001), semi-structured interviews are used to elicit language ideology data. The semi-structured interview was chosen because it ensures on-topic talk and explicitly elicits ideologies related to language and race. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews allow for a relative level of consistency across interviews while also allowing for new avenues to be explored when they are uncovered (Glesne, 2016).

Because this mixed-method study was carried out sequentially, the quantitative and qualitative sections of the study are described separately beginning with the quantitative/experimental phase due to the importance of the survey instrument which was used

in both phases of the study. The qualitative methods section also includes further discussion of the theoretical framework driving the qualitative phase of the study.

3.1 Quantitative Phase: Methods

3.1.1 Materials

To assess (US) Americans' ethnoracial perceptions related to whiteness and to race more generally, a survey was designed which is based on a modified verbal guise design (See Appendix A). This instrument draws heavily on a design which was successfully implemented in Chlapowski and Lindemann (2019; see above). The survey includes four conditions. These conditions are picture only, non-native, non-standard, and standard. The four conditions are nearly identical except as relates to audio (see Table 3-1).

Table 3-1 Audio-Picture Pairings

	Picture only	Non-native	Non-standard	Standard
Alaskan Man	No audio	Yupik2, *edited*	English70	English62
Belgian Man	No audio	French11	English16	English124
Chinese man	No audio	Mandarin134	English103	English137
Nigerian man	No audio	Yoruba6	English149	English121
Emirian man	No audio	Arabic64	English146	English98

Alaskan Man	Belgian Man
Chinese man	Nigerian man
Emirian man	
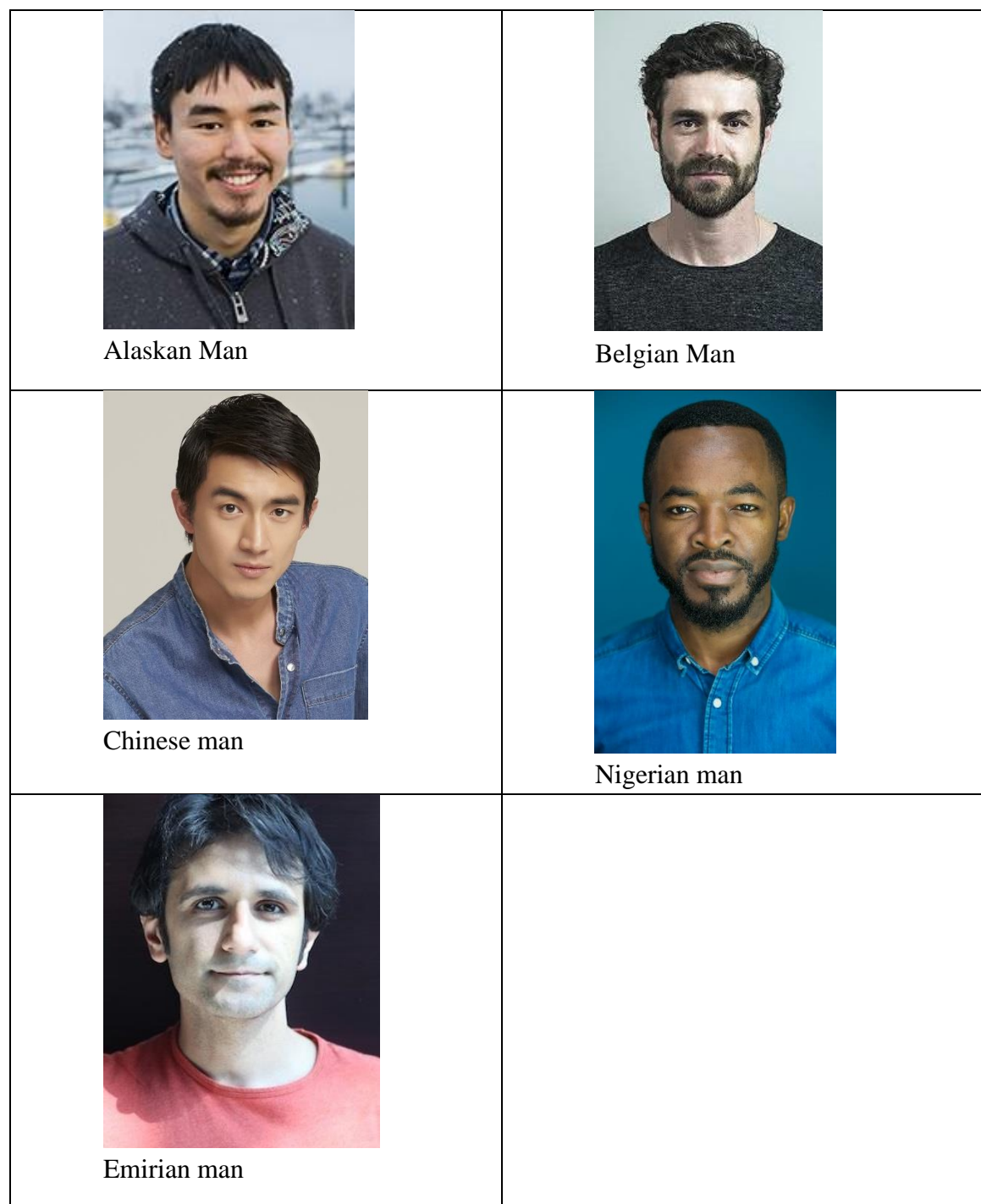
Figure 3-1 Model Photographs

The survey additionally includes photographs of five models (See Figure 1). Chlapowski and Lindemann (2019) used four models (two males, two females). No differences were seen in the results based on model sex. Because the sex of the models did not impact how the models

were rated in Chlapowski & Lindemann (2019), all male models were chosen for this study to create consistency and an increased level of control. These models were chosen to represent four of the five major US Census race categories (American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, and White, excluding Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander) (Rumbaut, 2015). Additionally, one model was chosen from the United Arab Emirates because official definitions of whiteness often include the Middle East and North Africa (Hixson et al., 2010), yet there remains a climate of Islamophobia in much of the US and Europe (Kreis, 2017; Ogan, Willnat, Pennington, & Bashir, 2014). Therefore, this model was chosen to determine the effect of accent on perceived whiteness of an individual from the Middle East as well to assess the soundness of current census definitions of whiteness.

Four of the five models are actors in their countries of origin although they are not well known in the United States. These models were chosen based on their country of origin being within one of the major race regions, and being from countries with large film industries. These individuals were chosen because headshots and background information are often freely accessible on the internet for actors. Actors' headshots also create a certain level of consistency and control in terms of the style of photograph and model attractiveness across all models. The only model that is not an actor is the Alaska Native man. This is because many Native American actors from the United States are recognizable and well known within the US. Therefore, a model from the Alaska studies page of an Alaskan university was chosen as the Alaska Native model.

All audio samples are from the Speech Accent Archive (accent.gmu.edu; Weinberger, 2014). Samples were chosen from the Speech Accent archive for two reasons. First, the archive offers recordings of a wide variety of native and non-native English speakers from around the

world. Second, the archive has a significant amount of demographic information about the speakers, including age, gender, and country and city of origin. Additionally, many of the speech samples also include phonetic transcriptions. The samples were chosen to attempt to represent three of the four conditions, the categories that are ideologized as Non-native English, Non-standard English, and Standard English, and will be referred to as non-native, non-standard, and standard. Although these conventional terms are used, it is recognized that the notions of standard, non-standard, and non-native are social constructs which represent idealized varieties and do not reflect truly distinct categories (Aneja, 2016; Lippi-Green, 2012). However, these terms will be used due to their continued use in the field of applied linguistics and linguistics in general. Additionally, all recordings were assessed based on recording quality. Samples were only chosen which did not include large amounts of background noise and that did not include false starts and longer pauses (greater than 0.5 seconds).

Photographs of the models were chosen first, and the audio recordings were chosen specifically to be paired with the photographs. An attempt was made to match all recordings as closely as possible in age to the models. The only model that could not be matched closely in age was the Alaskan Man. There are very few samples on the speech accent archive for Native American/Alaska Native language speakers. Therefore, the most appropriate sample that came from an Alaska Native language speaker (Yupik) was used, although this speaker was 40 years old, while the photograph shows a young, presumably college-age man. To approximate the sound of a younger speaker, the file (Yupik2) was edited in Audacity by raising the pitch 14%. One false start, "we also need", was removed in Praat.

Additionally, an attempt was made to match all non-native recordings with the country of origin of the speakers. The only recording which could not be matched in country of origin to the

model in the photo was the non-native recording for the Emirian man. The Speech Accent Archive has very few recordings from the United Arab Emirates. Additionally, all recordings on the archive are not of equal quality. The archive does, however, include a large number of recordings from neighboring Saudi Arabia. Due to the lack of recordings from the UAE and the varied options from Saudi Arabia, combined with the close proximity of the two countries as well as both varieties being Peninsular Arabic varieties, a Saudi Arabian's recording was chosen to be paired with the Emirian man. All other recordings come from speakers of languages spoken in the models' countries of origin. These can be seen in Table 3-1 and heard at accent.gmu.edu.

All samples (15 total) were assessed for validity by the researcher and four expert raters. The four raters all hold advanced degrees in linguistics and applied linguistics (two PhDs, one native and one near-native speaker of English, and two MAs, one of whom is currently a PhD student, both native speakers of English) and have all taken graduate coursework in sociolinguistics. All raters were asked to listen to each audio sample and classify the sample as either 'non-native', 'standard/native', 'non-standard/native', or 'not sure'. Out of 15 total audio samples there was complete agreement across 11 of the samples. Three of the four remaining samples (Yupik2, English70, both matched with Alaskan man; and English103, matched with Chinese man) had 75% agreement with three out of four raters agreeing with the researcher's classification.

Yupik2 was chosen as a sample for the non-native condition. The rater who disagreed and rated Yupik2 'not sure' is a near-native speaker of English. Additionally, although Yupik2 was chosen as an audio sample for the non-native condition, three of the raters categorized the sample as 'non-standard/native'. One of the raters described the sample as difficult to classify because it sounded overwhelmingly "Native American". Therefore, the difficulty arose, not from

the indexicality of the variety, but rather due to how the variety should be classified. The rater

compared the sample to Chicano English: although it may sound like an ethnolect, that does not

necessarily mean it is non-native. Because the non-native condition is meant largely to function

as a "country congruent" category, the difficulty of whether to classify this sample as non-native

or non-standard does not prove as problematic, as the sample was shown to index "Native

American/American Indian" identity. All other non-native samples had complete agreement.

Non-standard recordings are all from US speakers. The speakers who provided these

recordings come primarily from the US South (Arkansas, Georgia, Texas, Virginia) with only

one of the five recordings coming from New York City. The recordings were chosen based on

the presence of linguistic features which are ideologized as non-standard. For example,

English149, which is paired with the Nigerian man, includes the pronunciation of 'ask' as /æks/

as well as the voiceless interdental fricative realized as a stop in the word 'with' /wɪt/, both

common phonetic and phonological features of AAVE (Rickford & Rickford, 2000). The

samples were also chosen to match the models as closely as possible in age.

The non-standard category proved the most difficult for classification with only two of

the five recordings showing complete non-standard agreement among the expert raters. Three of

the four raters agreed with the researcher when rating English70 (Alaskan man) and English103

(Chinese man), marking these as 'non-standard/native'. English 70 was classified by one rater as

'standard/native'. A comment was left by this rater which described perceiving some 'Southern'

samples as standard and some as non-standard, therefore it is possible that this sample which was

provided by a Texas speaker may have been perceived as Southern and standard by this listener.

The goal of indexing a social group whose language is often ideologized as "non-standard" was

likely achieved although the rater may hold more progressive views toward Southern and/or non-

standard speakers. English103, which was provided by a New York speaker, was rated 'standard/native' by the near-native speaker rater. This sample was marked as non-standard by the three other raters as well as by the researcher. It may be possible that this speaker's variety is not as obviously marked as 'non-standard' as the Southern varieties which were chosen to represent non-standard speakers. Finally, English149, which was chosen as a sample for the non-standard condition (matched with Nigerian man), had only 50% agreement with two of the four raters agreeing with the researcher that the sample could be ideologized as non-standard/native. However, one of the two raters who rated this sample as standard (the same described above for English70) also commented that the speaker sounded 'Southern'. The other rater that marked it as 'standard/native' was once again the near-native speaker. Therefore, the sample indexed non-standard or "Southern" for three out of four speakers. Given that, indexically, Southern English in the US is often ideologized as non-standard, this sample will be used as it indexed non-standard/Southern for the majority of raters.

Finally, the standard varieties were chosen based on a lack of features which may be ideologized as non-standard. The speakers who provided these samples are from several different regions. The speakers are from Brooklyn, Minnesota, Utah, Washington, and West Virginia. These samples can also be seen in Table 3-1 and heard at accent.gmu.edu. This set of recordings proved to be the most straightforward for raters; there was complete agreement among all raters for all standard samples. It is perhaps the perceived unmarked nature of these recordings which allowed for such unanimous classification. Additionally, it should be mentioned that no disagreement was found across samples chosen for Belgian man and Emirian man.

3.1.2 Survey

The survey included several measures of perception and social categorization on 5-point scales. The survey included six questions related to racial perception and whiteness: 'How White does this person seem?' 'How European does this person seem?' 'How American does this person seem?' 'How assimilated to American culture does this person seem?' 'How middle-class does this person seem?' 'How culturally mainstream does this person seem?'. The survey also included a forced choice racial categorization question which required participants to categorize the models based on the US Census racial categories, and an open-ended question asking participants to guess what country the model is from. Finally, the survey concluded with a demographic questionnaire (See Appendix A). The survey was designed on Qualtrics and administered on Amazon's Mechanical Turk service. Randomization was used on Qualtrics so that participants did not all see and hear the models in the same order.

3.1.3 Participants

Participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk service. Mechanical Turk is a crowd sourcing service. Participants complete tasks online in exchange for monetary compensation. The service has successfully been used in sociolinguistic and sociophonetic attitudes and perceptions studies (Chlapowski & Lindemann, 2019; D'Onofrio, 2019). Although not completely random, the service generally provides a much more randomized sample than university psychology subject pools in terms of age and race (D'Onofrio, 2019). Participants were compensated with the minimum wage for the average time to complete the survey (approximately 10-15 minutes). An AMT task was created, and 200 participants were recruited to complete the survey (50 per condition). This number was chosen due to the likelihood that some data would be unusable as was found in Chlapowski and Lindemann (2019) where 90

participants were recruited and the data from 22 had to be removed due to incomplete

participation or nonsense answers being provided. The potential for some low-quality data on

AMT has been well documented (Ipeirotis, Provost, & Wang, 2010). Therefore, to ensure only

the inclusion of high-quality data, it is necessary to include 'gold standard' questions and

safeguards in order to detect when AMT users have submitted low quality data which can then

be removed (Ipeirotis, Provost, & Wang, 2010). For this study, the gold standard question

"Please select 2 for this answer" and an open-ended question "Where do you think this person is

from?" were included as gold standard questions in addition to a sound check where participants

are prompted to type the first sentence they hear ("Please call Stella"). A total of 72 responses

were removed which resulted in the final inclusion of 128 participants (across four conditions) in

the quantitative phase of this study. Participant responses were removed for: nonsense answers

such as "good man" in response to the question "Where do you think this person is from?";

participants who did not meet the criteria for the study, such as living at least half their life in the

US; failing to select 2 when prompted; answering all questions with the same answer; age and

time spent in the US not matching; issues related to the audio check such as "please cost tell as

per define with these things from the store"; and other inconsistencies and incongruities, or

combinations of the above.

The 128 participants who were included in the analysis included 50 women and 78 men.

The average age was 37 years (SD=11.6). The participants identified racially as follows: 75%

white, 7% Hispanic/Latino, 7% Black or African American, 5% Asian, 2% American Indian or

Alaska Native, and 5% two or more races. In terms of education: 12% high school graduates,

10% high school and technical training, 11% some college, 4% 2-year degree, 48% 4-year

degree, and 15% graduate degree. The aspects of the participants' identities that were most

important included: 31% family, 20% gender, 16% religion, 13% race/ethnicity, 9% political

affiliation, 5% profession, 4% other (for example, "my personality", "character"), and 2%

subcultural affiliation (e.g., "video games", "gamer"). One demographic question asked

participants to rate themselves politically on a scale from 1 to 5, 1-liberal and 5-conservative.

The political self-ratings included: 24% 1(most liberal), 27% 2, 15% 3(middle rating), 18% 4,

16% 5(most conservative). Finally, related to the language(s) the participants spoke growing up:

88% only English, 9% English and at least one other language, and 2% language(s) other than

English.

3.1.4   Procedure

Each survey group participated in only one condition. In other words, one set of

participants completed the picture-only survey for all five models, another set of participants

completed the non-native survey condition for all five models, and so on. This allowed for

statistical analysis when conducting a mixed ANOVA.

When participants began the survey, they began with the consent form which asked them

to click an arrow to proceed if they consented. They then read survey instructions and heard a

short audio sample. This sample included a video slide show which showed each model paired

with the first sentence of the audio sample they were matched with under a given condition

("Please call Stella"). This ensured that all participants heard and saw all models before

proceeding to the survey. Participants were asked to write the first sentence they heard in the

audio sample to ensure that their audio was properly functioning and that they were actively

participating before proceeding. The picture only group was asked to write the number of models

they saw in the video (five) to ensure they were actively participating in the survey.

Participants then proceeded to the survey. They were presented with the photograph of the first model and were asked to click play to listen to the speaker and to then answer all questions pertaining to that model. The participants first rated the first model for whiteness and other perception questions, then classified the first model racially based on a forced choice and concluded by guessing what country the model was from. The participants had the chance to leave additional comments after answering all questions for the first model. Participants needed to answer all questions for a given model before proceeding to the next. This was repeated for each model. After rating all models, the participants had a chance to leave additional comments on the survey as a whole and concluded the survey by filling out a demographic questionnaire. The order in which models were presented was randomized in Qualtrics.

3.1.5   *Analysis*

Survey data were analyzed quantitatively in SPSS. The perception data were analyzed using a Mixed ANOVA. Mixed ANOVAs allow for all four conditions and all five models to be analyzed using one test for each dependent variable under investigation, in this case the most important being perceived whiteness. Therefore, it was possible to examine whether there is a significant difference for each condition in terms of racial perception at the same time as examining whether there are significant differences in racial perception across models. This shows how the different varieties affect the whiteness of each model, as well as demonstrating the different possible effects each condition may have on each model. Forced-choice racial categorization and country guesses were both analyzed using descriptive statistics. Before being quantified, the country guess questions were coded in Excel and tagged with the most appropriate geographical and/or cultural area for each specific model; for example, England, Germany, and Italy were all tagged as "Europe" for the Belgian man, Korea, and Japan were

tagged as "Asia" for the Chinese man, and Morocco, Turkey, and Iraq were all tagged as "Middle East/North Africa" for the Emirian man. Country guesses that are more associated with the models' country of origin, such as "China" for the Chinese model were tagged separately from the broader regions such as Asia.

3.2   Qualitative Phase: Methods and Theoretical Framework

3.2.1   Materials and procedure

Due to the exploratory nature of investigating the thought processes related to racial categorization as well as the ideologies related to whiteness within the United States, qualitative methods were used. This included two separate approaches. First, to access thought processes in racial categorization, a think-aloud protocol was used in combination with the survey described above. Apart from the quantitative data, which was collected using the survey, qualitative data were collected from nine participants (see below) which were kept separate from the quantitative participant pool.

The survey for the think-aloud phase of this study was nearly identical to the survey used above. One difference was in the conditions of the surveys. In the quantitative phase there were four groups which each took part in one of the four conditions. For the qualitative portion, only the three audio conditions (non-native, non-standard, and standard) were used with the participants distributed across the three surveys. The main interest for the think-aloud section was to examine the thought processes that are related to language and racial categorization. Therefore, the picture-only category, which functions primarily as a comparison group for the larger quantitative group, was not included.

Due to the 2020-21 Covid-19 pandemic, all data were collected remotely, recorded using Zoom Video Communications software. Before opening the survey link, participants participated

in a sound check. Participants were sent a YouTube link to a classical piano song. Participants were directed to open the link to ensure that their computer audio could be heard and recorded through Zoom by the researcher.

After this audio check, the participants proceeded through the survey answering perception questions; however, to collect verbal data, the participants voiced aloud all thoughts they were having as they proceeded through the survey. Therefore, it was necessary, as with all think-aloud protocols, to have a brief training session with the participants before they began the actual survey. For the practice section, an additional model was added to the survey and paired with an audio sample from the Speech Accent Archive. Based on pilot testing, it was found that the thoughts associated with thinking aloud during racial perception happened very quickly. Therefore, it was difficult for participants to voice all thoughts aloud without prompting. To remedy this, participants were asked to state any initial thoughts they had upon first seeing and hearing the model. Then they were asked to state how they were rating the participant for each question and to provide a justification for why they were rating the model thus, for example, "I'll choose X for this question because of Y". Once the participants completed the training section, they continued through the survey thinking aloud throughout. The think-aloud protocol was audio- and video-recorded using Zoom, which creates both an audio recording file (M4A) and a video file (Mp4). While participants completed the think-aloud, I followed along taking notes on anything that could prove relevant for follow-up questions at the beginning of the interview. Additionally, if participants forgot to think aloud, I was present to encourage them to continue to do so by asking them, for example, "What are you thinking?" or "Why did you give that rating?". The think-aloud protocol took on average 12 minutes to complete.

Immediately following the completion of the survey and the think-aloud protocol, participants participated in a semi-structured interview. The interview began with a reflection question asking participants to describe their thinking and decision making while taking the survey. This served as a way to compare what the participants actually said (and thought) while taking the survey compared with their after-the-fact reflections on what they thought while taking the survey. Additional follow-up questions were asked as required. After discussing the think-aloud protocol and the survey, participants were asked twelve additional questions related to their background and to race, language, and whiteness within the US in the hopes of uncovering (language) ideologies related to the construction of whiteness in the US (See Appendix B for interview questions). The interviews took between forty-five minutes to one hour to complete. Combined, the Zoom set-up, training, think-aloud protocol, and the semi-structured interviews took on average 66 minutes (40-98 minutes).

3.2.2   Participants

Participants for the qualitative phase of this sequential mixed-method study were selected based on maximum variation sampling (see Table 3-2 below; Participant detailed description discussed in Chapter 4). This was done to gain a diversity of perspectives related to language, race, and whiteness. The goal was to recruit participants from diverse backgrounds in terms of self-identified ethnoracial background, gender, age, level of education, political affiliation, and self-identified important identity aspects. Participants were recruited through the researcher's personal and professional social network. This was done partly due to restrictions resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic and also to take advantage of previous rapport that I have with members of my social network. This proved very beneficial in terms of level of comfort discussing sensitive issues related to race. In general, during the data collection process, the

participants I had greater rapport with were more comfortable discussing the topics of the

research. As can be seen in Table 3-2, a high level of variation was met, but with participants

skewing younger and more educated. However, in these areas too, there remains a level of

variation.

Table 3-2 Qualitative Participant Survey Responses

Pseudonym	*Age*	*Gender*	*Self-Identified Race*	*Highest Education*	*Important Aspect of Identity*	*Politics (1 Libl-5 consv)*	*Languages Growing Up*
Anh	30	Female	Asian	4-year degree	Family	4	Vietnamese
Breanna	30	Female	Black or Af Am	Graduate degree	Race/Ethnicity	2	English
Claudia	33	Female	Other-Haitian/ Dominican	4-year degree	Race, Religion, Subculture	3	English
Becca	31	Female	Black or Af Am, Hisp/Lat	4-year degree	Subculture: music	1	English and Spanish
Adrián	27	Male	Hisp/Lat	11th grade	Race/Ethnicity	3	Spanish
Sophie	30	Female	Hisp/Lat	Graduate degree	Family	2	English
Christopher	46	Male	White	Graduate degree	Profession (Teacher)	3	English
Sam	31	Male	White	Some college	Subculture: open-minded	3	English
Janie	60	Female	White, Other-Italian/ Jewish	Some college	Family	4	English and some Polish

One participant with a background in linguistics was included (Breanna). Inclusion of

this participant, who is likely more sensitive to differences in language than other participants,

was justified because people who have more sensitivity to linguistic differences are also a part of

society. Additionally, two participants who immigrated to the United States in their teens and did

not grow up speaking English as their primary language were included. These participants were

included because immigrants and second-language English speakers are also part of US society.

Therefore, I felt that these participants added robustness to the data set.

The ultimate goal was to recruit at least nine participants to allow at least three participants per survey condition. Ultimately, due to an issue related to Qualtrics randomization (a participant opening and then closing the survey), four participants completed the standard condition, three the nonstandard condition, and two completed the nonnative condition (see Table 3-3).

Table 3-3 Qualitative Think-aloud Conditions

Pseudonym	Condition
Becca	Standard
Sophie	Standard
Sam	Standard
Janie	Standard
Christopher	Nonstandard
Breanna	Nonstandard
Claudia	Nonstandard
Adrián	Nonnative
Anh	Nonnative

All participants were compensated with a $20 gift card for participating in the qualitative phase of the study.

3.2.3   Theoretical framework and analysis

The analysis of the think-aloud and interview data were conducted qualitatively using a language ideology framework (Blommaert, 2006; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 2016). Language ideology research often takes either a critical or more neutral stance in terms of analysis. Although this current study has many commonalities with more critical approaches, the

goal was to approach the data making as few assumptions as possible. Due to the assumptions of social power maintenance that are inherent to critical language ideology research, the analysis did not take a critical stance a priori. However, the analysis was informed by both language ideology research and critical language ideology research as described above (see also Blommaert 2006; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Furthermore, the analysis was not only interested in the participants' metalinguistic commentary (Anderson, 2008; Silverstein, 1979), or what they said about language, but also the related metapragmatic concept of indexicality (Blommaert, 2014; Silverstein, 2003) which indicated what types of linguistic indexes were related to language, race, and whiteness.

The think-aloud data as well as the semi-structured interview data were analyzed using qualitative analytic methods. The audio collected through the think-aloud protocol and the interviews were both transcribed using conventional orthography (Labov, 1972). This conventional orthography included approximations of some phonetic features (or pseudo-phonetic transcriptions) such as the word-final alveolar nasal /n/ in place of the velar nasal /ŋ/ in words such as 'singin'. Additionally, when necessary, both broad and close phonetic transcription were used to represent participant pronunciation more closely. Transcriptions were completed in two stages. First, Zoom M4As were run through automatic transcription software at transcribe.wreally.com. Once the automatic transcriptions were completed, a second stage of transcription was completed using the self-transcription tool on transcribe.wreally.com. This involved listening to the recordings and editing/correcting the automatic transcriptions for accuracy and increased detail (for transcription conventions see Appendix C).

Once the recordings were transcribed, think-aloud data were coded through an iterative process that included a deductive-inductive cycle (Glesne, 2016). Coding progressed participant

by participant with the think-aloud data coded first. This was repeated for each participant. Coding participant by participant allowed for common codes to appear across data for each participant. Coding was done manually by hand and in Microsoft Word. Different colored highlighting was used to represent different coded topics and a code book was kept to organize and document all stages of coding (See Appendix D). The first round of coding began deductively with codes developed based on research literature and through pilot testing. As the first round of deductive coding progressed, inductive codes that were discovered were logged in the code book. Thus, at the end of the first round of coding, the code book included codes that were uncovered inductively as well as the deductive codes that were present in the data. Any expected deductive codes which were not found in the data were removed from the code book. This process was repeated until theoretical saturation was reached.

The semi-structured interviews were coded question-by-question analyzing responses across participants. Key words or phrases were identified in each participant response to each question which were logged in the code book. In response to question nine, for example, four participants mentioned "skin" or "skin color" and three mentioned the way people "look". These key words or phrases were then analyzed and categorized for common themes or categories of answers. The responses to question nine above were all categorized as 'physical traits'.

Once all data were coded, the think-aloud data and the interview data were analyzed separately. This involved first analyzing all think-aloud data participant by participant to get an understanding of each participant's thought processes. All participants were then compared to uncover common codes across participants to develop broader patterns and themes. By first focusing on the think-aloud data, an emphasis was placed on uncovering common thought processes in racial categorization across all participants. Following this analysis, all interviews

were analyzed question by question to uncover common themes across all participant interviews, allowing for a focus on ideologies across participants that may serve to construct the racial category 'white' within the United States. These question-by-question analyses were then compared to try to understand ideologies related to the construction of race and whiteness in the US. Once themes from each data set were analyzed, a cross comparison was conducted across both data sets. This cross comparison served to develop a broader picture of what served to construct whiteness and to try to better understand how this construct related to racial perception.

3.3 Study Summary

Table 3-4 includes a summary of the research questions and how each section of the study addressed those questions.

Table 3-4 Study Summary

Research questions	Methods used to address RQs
1. What is the effect of standard, non-standard, and non-native accented English on the perceived whiteness and racial categorization of five models whose backgrounds correspond to the major US Census race categories?	Quantitative modified verbal guise survey experiment
2. What thought processes are related to language and racial categorization, particularly as it concerns whiteness?	Qualitative think-aloud protocol using modified verbal guise survey
3. What (language) ideologies can be uncovered which serve to socially construct the racial category 'white' in the United States?	Qualitative semi-structured interviews

3.4 Researcher Positionality

While designing and conducting research, the researcher plays an active role in the collection and co-construction of data (Talmy & Richards, 2011); therefore, it is important to recognize the role the researcher plays in this co-construction. Thus, it is important for me as the researcher to state my positionality as it relates to this research and potentially to my participants. I am descended primarily from what has been described as the "new white" or "inbetween peoples" (Roediger, 2006). These are individuals who arrived in the United States from parts of Europe and the European diaspora that at the time (late 19th and 20th centuries) were not considered completely white or in some cases were not considered white. These ancestors came primarily from Poland (both Slavic Catholic and Ashkenazi Jewish), Ireland, and Puerto Rico. According to Roediger (2006), it was largely through cultural and linguistic assimilation that these Europeans (excluding Puerto Rico) largely assimilated to the dominant US white culture.

For most of my life I have largely been perceived as white. However, how I am perceived ethnoracially sometimes differs depending on what language I am speaking. English is my native language, and I am a highly proficient L2 Spanish speaker. I have dark, curly hair and my skin tans easily. My ethnic background was frequently met with curiosity growing up and I was often asked where I was from and what my background was with guesses usually being somewhere in the Mediterranean or some Latin American countries. Growing up with a Slavic surname and speaking English I was viewed by most as white. However, often when someone meets me speaking Spanish, I am asked where in Latin America I am from or where in Latin America my parents are from. These encounters gave me first-hand experience with the connection between ethnicity-race and language and how these factors may influence people's ethnoracial perception.

In many instances, the linguistic code I used gave people very different impressions of my ethnoracial background.

  Although depending on the linguistic code I choose I am viewed as more or less white, I am aware that I am most often viewed as white. Additionally, this research was conducted almost exclusively in English. Therefore, it is likely that the majority of my participants viewed me as white. While conducting the think-aloud protocol and interviews it was important to bear this in mind. I explicitly asked participants from various ethnoracial backgrounds questions related to ethnicity and race, whiteness, what it means to be white in the USA, and relationships between language and whiteness. Although I aimed to be as objective as possible while conducting and analyzing research it is important to keep in mind that as the researcher, I co-constructed the data with the participants (Talmy, 2010; Talmy & Richards, 2011). Additionally, my background and personal history is likely relevant to my approach in designing materials for this study. Therefore, during interviews and while analyzing the data I continually reminded myself of my role in designing the instrument and collecting the data, as well as the impact my ethnoracial background may have had on the participants and their responses.

4   MODEL PERCEPTION RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As stated previously, the participants for the quantitative phase of this study answered perception questions on a five-point scale, as well as an open-ended country guessing question asking them to guess where they think the models are from, and a forced-choice racial classification question, with participants choosing between the major racial categories of the US Census. The discussion of these results will begin with the results of the open-ended country guesses, move on to the racial classification results, and will conclude with a discussion of the results of the whiteness perception question.

4.1   Results

4.1.1   Country guessing

The results of the country guessing question can be seen in Figure 4-1. As can be seen from Figure 4-1, the perceived countries of origin for each model were influenced by the speech variety their photographs were matched with. This demonstrates, unsurprisingly, that the linguistic code the models are paired with does have an impact on how their country of origin is perceived, and more importantly that the majority of raters were paying attention to the linguistic variety as they rated the different models.
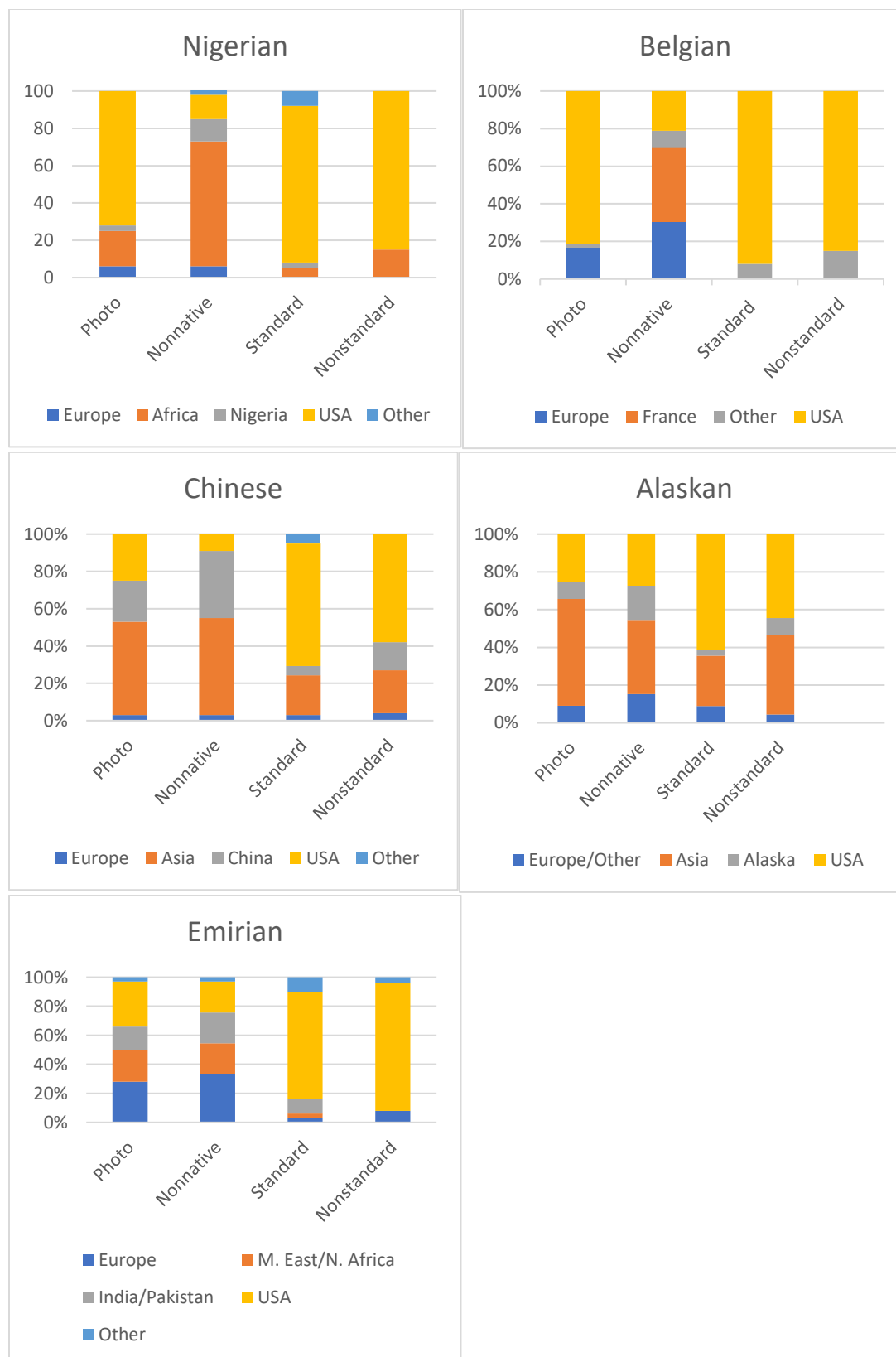
Figure 4-1 Guesses as to Where Models are from.

Figure 4-1 also shows that the perceived countries of origin for Nigerian man and Belgian man were both most impacted by the presence of a nonnative/country congruent guise, with the Nigerian model being perceived as being from African countries and Belgian man being perceived as being from European countries. Interestingly, both models were largely perceived as being from the United States based on their photos alone. This differed for both the Chinese model and the Alaskan model who most participants perceived as being from Asian countries based on their photos alone. A larger proportion of participants perceived these latter two models to be from Asian and/or congruent localities (such as Alaska for Alaskan man) when matched with the native guises (standard and nonstandard) in comparison to the Nigerian man and the Belgian man who were both overwhelmingly seen as being from the US under these guises. Both models were seen as being from Asian countries by 30% or more of participants under the standard guise and over 40% in the nonstandard guise. This contrasts with Nigeran man and Belgian man, who were viewed as being from countries outside the US by less than 20% of participants under these guises. It is important to consider whether this is due to the photographs of Chinese man and Alaskan man priming the participants to hear these varieties as "nonnative" or "foreign" in some way as was found by Rubin (1992), or whether these participants did not listen to the audio. This is an important point which will be discussed in greater detail in the think-aloud findings and discussion sections. However, it should be noted that the same participants rated all five models under the standard guise and the same participants rated all models under the nonstandard guise. Therefore, due to the differences seen across models, it suggests that a similar effect as that found by Rubin is likely present. Like the Nigerian and Belgian, the Emirian model was guessed to be from the US at a higher rate under the standard and nonstandard guises, but unlike them, was not often guessed to be from the US in the photo

condition. This may point to Emirian man being perceived as more ambiguous from the perspective of national origin. The Emirian model was perceived as being from the Middle East/North Africa, Europe, or the United States by roughly equal numbers of participants under the photo and nonnative guises.

4.1.2   Racial classification

Figure 4-2 paints a very different picture to that found in Figure 4-1. Where in Figure 4-1, the different linguistic varieties had large impacts on the models' perceived countries of origin, the same effect was not seen for the models' perceived race when participants were presented with a forced-choice racial classification question for each model. As can be seen in Figure 4-3, Nigerian man's and Belgian man's perceived race was not perceptibly impacted by the presence of different linguistic varieties. Nigerian man was perceived as being Black or African American by greater than 95% of participants under all guises, while Belgian man was seen as being white by greater than 90% of participants in all conditions. Chinese man and Alaskan man were also seen as Asian by the majority of participants, with Alaskan man also being perceived as American Indian or Alaska Native by less than 20% of participants in all conditions. Emirian man again showed a large amount of diversity in how he was perceived, in this case racially. He was viewed as white by the majority of participants in all conditions. Interestingly, he was the only model for whom "Some other race" (Other) was a substantial proportion of participant choices in the photo and nonnative conditions (more than 20%). The greater diversity of racial classification for Emirian man, especially in the photo and nonnative guises, may again point to this model as being perceived as more ambiguous in terms of race than the other models.
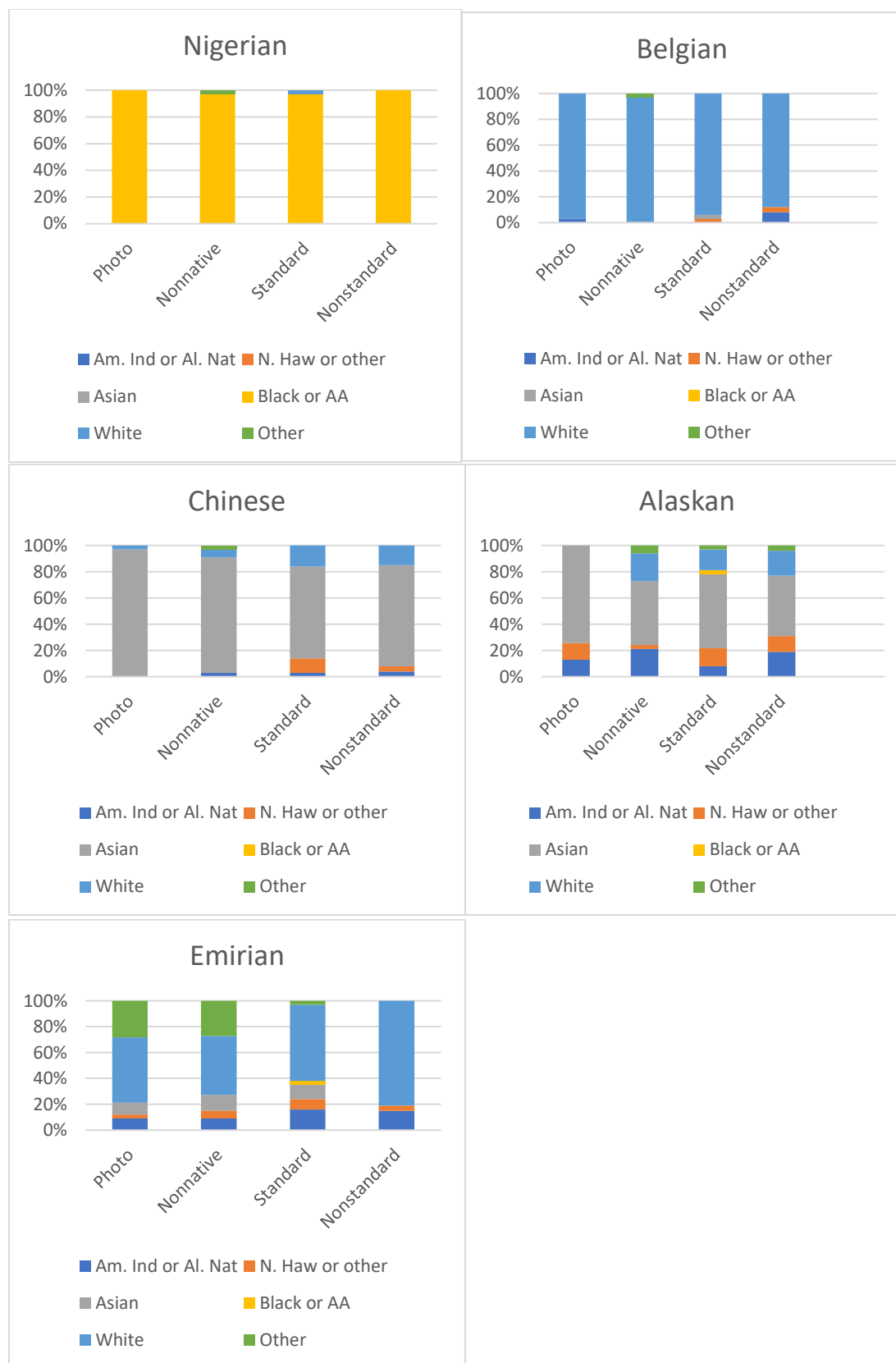
Figure 4-2 Model Racial Classification

4.1.1 *Whiteness perception*

The main focus of the quantitative phase of this study was to investigate the effects of differing accents (standard, non-standard, and non-native) on the perceived whiteness of five models of different ethnoracial backgrounds which correspond to four of the five US Census race categories, including two models who would both be defined as white according to the US Census (Belgian man and Emirian man; research question 1). To answer this question, inferential statistics were used to examine the data from all four conditions (photo, standard, non-standard, and non-native) corresponding to the question "How white does this person seem?". Whiteness ratings for each of the models in all four conditions are presented in Figure 4-3.
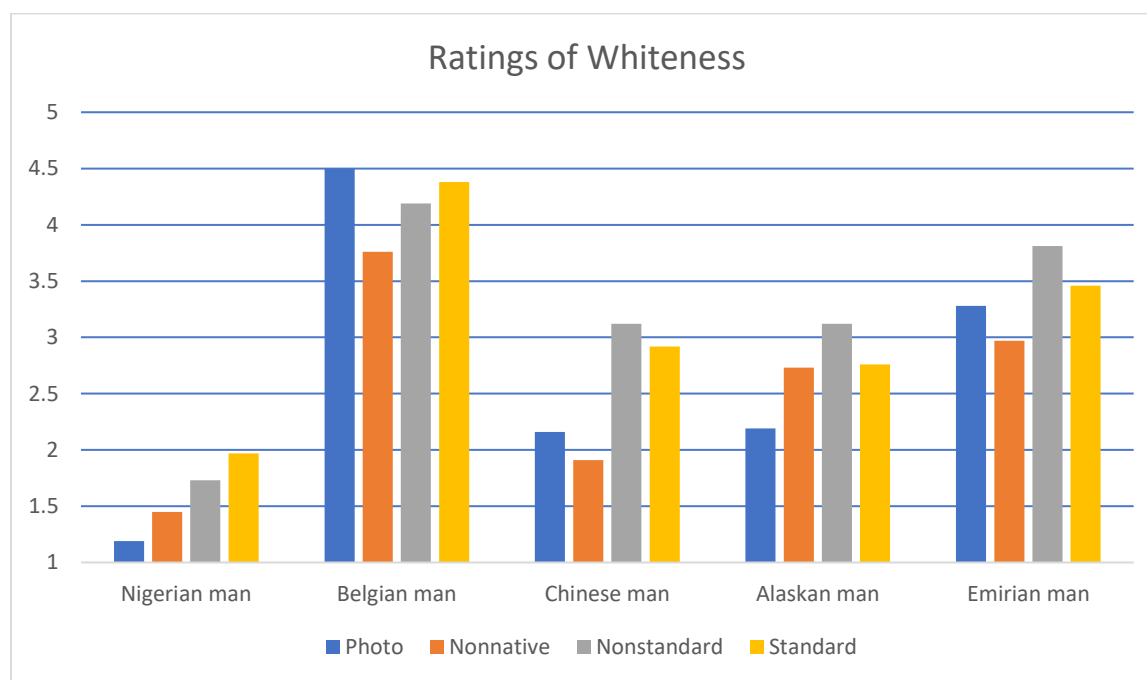
Figure 4-3 Whiteness Ratings

As can be seen from Figure 4-3, different patterns of whiteness ratings emerge for different models. However, based on what can be seen in the figure, it appears that in all cases the models tended to be rated as whiter in non-standard than nonnative conditions, and all but

Alaskan man tended to be rated as whiter in the standard condition than in the nonnative

condition. The photo condition does not show a clear pattern across models in relation to the

other conditions. To test the patterns that are seen in Figure 4-3, a two-way mixed ANOVA was

run in SPSS where the within-subjects factor was the model photographs, and the between-

subjects factor was the conditions the models were presented in.

 Before running the mixed ANOVA, all ANOVA assumptions were tested. The five-point

survey scale is treated as a continuous variable and the design includes both a within- (models)

and a between-subject (conditions) variable. The data did include outliers as can be seen in figure

4-4.
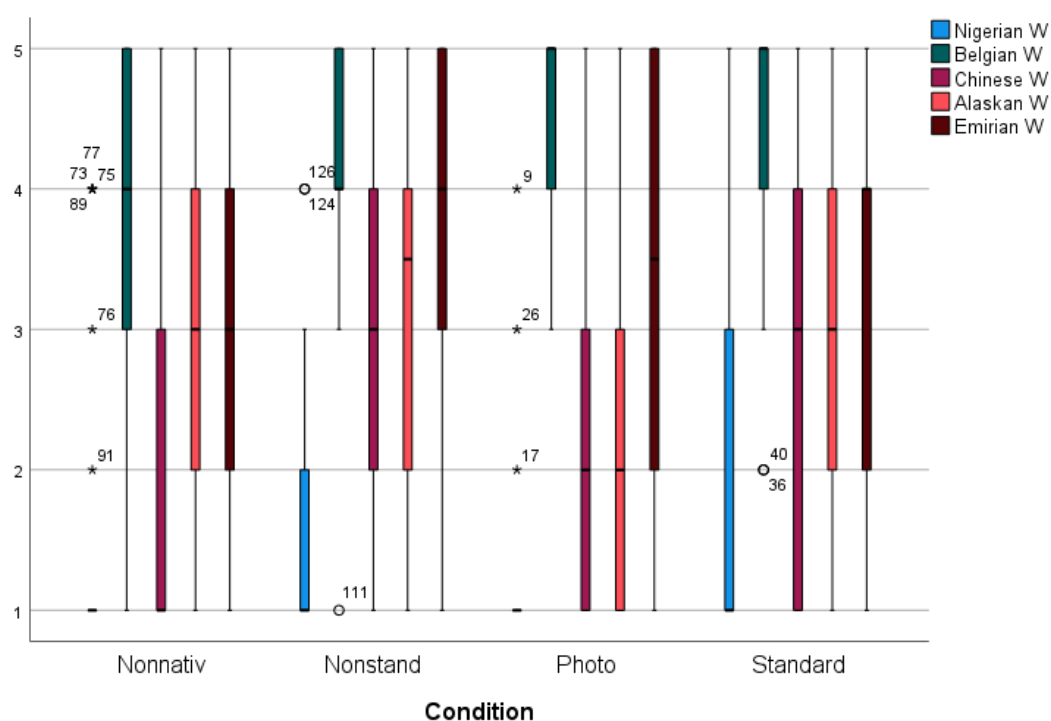
Figure 4-4 Whiteness Rating Boxplots

 Two two-way mixed ANOVAs were run, first, with the outliers included, and second,

with the outliers removed, which will be discussed below. Ultimately, the results were not

drastically changed with the removal of the outliers; therefore, the outliers were included in the

final analysis to best represent the participant ratings. A Shapiro-Wilkes test revealed that the

data for all models were shown to not be normally distributed (p < .05). Additionally, data for all

models were shown to skew in different directions creating potential issues for successfully

performing data transformations. Fortunately, group sizes for each condition were roughly equal

(see table 4-1).

Table 4-1 Survey Conditions

Survey Conditions

		N
Condition	Nonnative	33
	Nonstandard	26
	Photo	32
	Standard	37

Because the assumption of normal distribution can be met by either the sample being

normally distributed or the sample sizes being mostly equal, the assumption is met by the

equivalence of the group sizes for the different conditions (Field, Miles, & Field, 2012). There

was homogeneity of variances for three of the five models, as assessed by Levene's test of

homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). Because of the issues associated with data transformation (see

above), the mixed ANOVA was run while only partially satisfying this assumption. There was

not homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box's test of equality of covariance matrices ($p =$

.001); however, for the same reasons as above, the test was run while violating this assumption.

The choice to continue with the analysis while violating and partially violating these last two

assumptions was made because ANOVAs are considered to be robust tests which can yield valid

results while violating such assumptions (Schmider, Zeigler, Danay, Beyer, & Buhner, 2010).

Because the assumption of sphericity was not met, the Greenhouse-Geisser correction

was used to determine if a significant interaction existed. The Greenhouse-Geisser revealed that

there was a statistically significant interaction between condition and models on whiteness, $F(10.541, 435.675) = 107.77$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .055$. Tukey Honest Significant Differences post hoc tests revealed several significant interactions between model whiteness ratings (see Table 4-2).

Table 4-2 Two-Way Mixed ANOVA Results
Each row shows one significant comparison. Means are listed after the first listing of a given condition for a given model, followed by standard deviations in parentheses.

	Higher Whiteness Rating			**Lower Whiteness Rating**			**d=**	**p=**
Nigerian man	Standard	1.97	(1.40)	Photo	1.19	(.644)	.79	.016
Belgian man	Photo	4.5	(.76)	Nonnative	3.76	(1.28)	.74	.012
	Standard	4.4	(.83)	Nonnative			.62	.04
Chinese man	Standard	2.9	(1.38)	Nonnative	1.9	(1.23)	1.01	.007
	Nonstandard	3.12	(1.28)	Nonnative			1.21	.003
	Nonstandard			Photo	2.16	(1.19)	.96	.026
Alaskan man	Nonstandard	3.12	(1.5)	Photo	2.19	(1.15)	.93	.037
Emirian man			No significant differences					

Table 4-2 shows that significant differences between conditions were found for four of the five models (excluding Emirian man). Additionally, for two models (Belgian man and Chinese man), multiple interactions were found. Only the Belgian model was viewed as whiter in the photo condition compared to a language condition (nonnative). Three models were perceived to be whiter under language conditions compared to their photo alone: the Nigerian, Chinese, and Alaskan models. Of these three models, the Chinese man and the Alaskan man were viewed as whiter in the nonstandard condition compared to their photos alone, and the Nigerian man was

perceived to be whiter under the standard condition compared to his photo alone. Additionally, a contrast is seen between nativeness and nonnativeness, with the Belgian model and the Chinese model being viewed as whiter in native guises compared to nonnative guises, with Belgian man viewed as whiter in the standard condition compared to nonnative, and Chinese man as whiter in both the standard and nonstandard conditions compared to nonnative. In this study all standard and nonstandard samples were from speakers who are likely to be considered native speakers from the US.

Because of the high number of outliers, a second two-way mixed ANOVA was run with the 14 outliers removed from the data set. The significant interactions previously listed did not change with the outliers removed. However, for one model, Emirian man, one significant difference was revealed by post hoc tests which did not exist in the original data set. Specifically, Emirian man was perceived to be whiter under the Nonstandard guise (M=3.9, SD=1.16) compared to the Nonnative guise (M=2.85, SD=1.43), d=1.06, p=.034. Although this additional interaction was found, the original data set was discussed here because it represents the true scores for the full set of participants. However, it should be noted that the significant interaction seen here does follow a similar pattern to that found for Belgian Man and Chinese man where a native variety was perceived as whiter than a nonnative variety.

4.2   Discussion

Based on the results described above, it is clear that different linguistic varieties can impact the way models are perceived racially in terms of whiteness, although in most cases, this change in perceived whiteness is not likely to be accompanied by a perceived change in racial categorization. This lends support to the notion that language is integral to the construct of race

(Alim, 2016a) and can impact how people are viewed racially (Alim, 2016b). However, the impacts that are seen differ for different models.

Several important patterns are found in the results. The Nigerian, Chinese, and Alaskan models were all rated as less white based on their photo when compared to either a standard variety (Nigerian model) or a nonstandard variety (Chinese and Alaskan models). The only model who was rated as whiter based on his photo compared to a language condition (nonnative) was Belgian man. Therefore, the Belgian model, who was chosen to represent the white US Census category, was the only model perceived to be whiter based on his photo alone while all three models who would likely be classified as "people or color" were all perceived to be less white based on their photo alone compared to one of either two guises, standard or nonstandard.

The standard and nonstandard guises are the only language guises that appear in the higher whiteness rating column, and the only guises that appear in that column at all for models who did not fit the US Census definition of whiteness (Nigerian, Chinese, and Alaskan). Therefore, it can be seen that both the standard and nonstandard varieties, all native varieties in this case, tended to increase perceptions of whiteness for those models who are likely to be classified as people of color. It must be noted though, that not all of these models were viewed as whiter under their nonstandard guise. The Nigerian model was only viewed as whiter in the standard condition compared to his photo alone. His nonstandard guise was chosen to index African American English while those nonstandard guises for Chinese man and Alaskan man are either an urban Northeastern variety or a rural US Southern variety, respectively. Therefore, not all nonstandard varieties were perceived as increasing whiteness.

However, the finding that nonstandard varieties, and particularly a nonstandard Southern variety, were seen to increase perceptions of whiteness is somewhat surprising given research

which has suggested that nonstandard US English varieties such as Southern varieties can be associated with individuals losing or failing at whiteness in comparison to standard varieties (Roth-Gordon, 2011). While Fought (2006) has noted associations between whiteness and "particular geographic regions" (p. 117), such as valley girl English and New York City English, she did not specifically discuss possible associations between Southern varieties and whiteness. Additionally, nonnative varieties were seen to decrease whiteness ratings for two models, Belgian man when compared to photo and Chinese man when compared to standard and nonstandard. These results, compared with, and taken together with Belgian man's overall results, suggest that models matched with nonnative varieties are perceived as less white than when matched with native varieties or when compared to baseline whiteness (Belgian man photo condition).

Additionally, it is important to note that although models were perceived as whiter under certain conditions, their perceived race did not necessarily change in agreement with this increased whiteness. For example, Nigerian man was rated as whiter under the standard guise compared to his photo alone, but he was still overwhelmingly categorized as Black or African American. Similarly, although Chinese man was rated as whiter under the nonstandard condition compared to the photo condition, he was classified as Asian by an overwhelming majority of participants in both cases. Therefore, although a model may appear whiter in a given condition, it does not mean it changes their perceived race. This is important to consider as these results may be construed as suggesting that individuals can change their race by altering their linguistic variety; this suggestion would not be supported by these findings. Instead, these results would suggest that standard and certain nonstandard varieties (in this study the significant nonstandard

varieties were US Southern and urban Northeastern) are more associated with whiteness than nonnative varieties or a non-European appearance alone.

What is found in these results is a pattern which suggests that models who come from regions less associated with whiteness (Nigerian man, Chinese man, and Alaskan man) are perceived as whiter when matched with a native US English guise, either standard or nonstandard depending on the specific variety and the context, compared to their photo alone. Also, the model from a country more associated with whiteness (Belgian man) was perceived as less white when matched with a nonnative variety compared to his photo alone. Therefore, in response to the first research question, both standard and some nonstandard (native) varieties do appear to be related to increased perceptions of whiteness. Nonnative varieties were the least associated with whiteness. For one model who appears to be white based on his appearance alone, being paired with a nonnative variety made him appear less white. At the same time, for models who do not appear to be white based on their photo alone, being matched with either a standard or certain nonstandard (native) varieties caused them to appear whiter than when matched with a nonnative variety or based on their photo alone. Additionally, although models may be perceived as whiter under certain guises, this does not generally appear to correspond to a change in perceived racial classification.

5   QUALITATIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION I: THINK-ALOUD

The purpose of the think-aloud was to address the second research question: What thought processes are related to language and racial categorization, particularly as it concerns whiteness? Several questions on the survey, which served as the main instrument for the think-aloud section, also addressed ideas related to class and culture. These questions were included because constructs such as class and notions like culture are often considered to be related to race (Kendi, 2019; Wade, 2008). Additionally, definitions of whiteness, particularly as they relate to language, often associate it with the mainstream middle class (Bucholtz, 2016; Fought, 2006). Examples of these class and culture questions included, "How middle class does this person seem?" and "How culturally mainstream does this person seem?". The findings from these questions will be discussed when they relate to the topic of race, with the main focus of this analysis on questions which related to the construct of race, such as "How white does this person seem?" and "How would you classify this person racially?".

It was found during pilot-testing that thoughts related to racial perception often happen automatically or very quickly and may not give participants time to voice these thoughts aloud. As was described in the methods section, participants were instructed to explain why they were giving the rating they were for these questions, such as "How white does this person seem?". Therefore, for some questions the participant responses may be more appropriately characterized as an immediate retrospective accounting of their choice. However, all think-aloud protocols were followed during the study.

Before presenting the findings of the think-aloud protocol and the semi-structured interviews, detailed descriptions will be provided for each of the nine individuals who participated in the qualitative phase of the study. These descriptions will be presented by

condition, with the participants from the standard condition being presented in the standard condition findings, for example. Some information from Table 3-2 will be repeated to add contextualization. Although as much relevant detail will be provided as possible, information will be withheld if it could lead to participants being identified. Pseudonyms have been given for all participants and certain aspects of their lives will not be elaborated on to maintain anonymity. As was stated previously, partially due to the COVID-19 pandemic and partly due to preexisting rapport and purposeful maximum variation sampling, all participants were recruited from my personal and professional social networks. After each participant for a particular condition is described in detail, the think-aloud findings are discussed for that condition. The chapter concludes with the findings from participants' reflections on their survey performance.

5.1   Think-Aloud Findings

The discussion of the think-aloud findings is presented by condition and for each model separately. Therefore, the findings for the standard condition will be discussed beginning with Belgian man, then proceeding to Nigerian man, Chinese man, and so forth. Then the nonstandard condition findings will be presented, followed by the nonnative condition findings. Following this model-by-model discussion in each condition, a more holistic discussion of the findings for that condition will be discussed. After all conditions have been discussed, a holistic discussion of all three conditions and all five models will be presented. As can be seen in Appendix D, all think-aloud data were coded deductively based on four main codes: language, physical traits, fashion/culture/lifestyle, and other. These codes were determined based on pilot testing and on the research literature which often associates whiteness with the middle class, mainstream culture, and what is ideologized as Standard English (Bucholtz, 2016; Fought, 2006; Lippi-Green, 2012). The data will be discussed primarily in terms of these four main codes.

Additionally, when referenced together, questions 1 and 2 from the survey (See Appendix A) will be considered whiteness questions, and questions 3-6 will be considered class/culture questions.

5.1.1   Standard condition

Becca, Sophie, Sam, and Janie were randomly assigned to the standard condition through Qualtrics randomization. These four participants rated all five models in the standard condition.

5.1.1.1   Standard condition participant descriptions

5.1.1.1.1   Becca

Becca is a 31-year-old female who was born in a major city in the Northeastern US and who grew up in the Southeastern US. Becca does identify by race in general; however, as she says, "it depends on what the form's for" (Becca, interview). Her father was African American from the US South, and her mother was from Puerto Rico. She identifies as biracial Hispanic and African American. She grew up speaking Spanish and English, Spanish being her first language. Growing up, she did not think of her situation in terms of class. She works on the business side of the entertainment industry and has a bachelor's degree in Interpersonal Organizational Communications. Politically, she identified as a 1 on a scale of 1-5 (1-liberal, 5-conservative). She feels that her race/ethnicity has played an important role in her life, but that it is not the most important aspect of her identity. In work situations she says her race has served the role of "you know being a quota situation [T: Mhm] of not having all the white staff" and that it "has excluded me from things" (Becca, Interview). Rather than her race, it's been the punk rock music scene that has been the most important aspect of her identity:

Yeah um I think especially um being um biracial and like coming from a mixed

background of not completely understanding or maybe having the early on education of

acceptance and like acknowledging kind of being this blend and not feeling like not

feeling like assimilated either way [T: Mhm] um music became that outlet and the music

community like in itself became like a big family you know [T: Cool] of what was like

the unwanted (Becca, interview)

5.1.1.1.2   Sophie

Sophie is a 30-year-old female who has lived her entire life in the Southeastern US with

the exception of an extended trip to the UK when she was in college. Sophie also generally

identifies by race. Sophie's mother is from South America and her father's family comes from

two different countries in Central America. She is a "first generation American" and identifies

racially as "Spanish or Hispanic". Her mother works in healthcare and her father in the aviation

industry. Growing up, she says, "we were middle class [T: Mhm] upper middle class somewhere

in that range" (Sophie, interview). She grew up speaking primarily English but listening to her

family speak Spanish. She says she knows "basic Spanish". She works in business and has a

master's degree in business administration. Politically, she self-identified as a 2 (1-liberal, 5-

conservative). When asked if her race was important growing up, she said that it was mostly a

positive aspect of her life and that,

> Umm I think so I think a lot of it has to do with culture um [T: Mhm] Spanish culture is
>
> very, you know, big and loud and in each other's faces, um and like no personal space So
>
> that's kind of what I grew up in and like all my family We're all pretty close (Sophie,
>
> interview)

Her race/ethnicity is not the most important aspect of her identity. Instead, she said,

"family is definitely my like core of everything [T: Right] um basically every decision is made

on my you know little core There's four of us in our family It's made around us four" (Sophie, interview).

5.1.1.1.3   Sam

Sam is a 31-year-old male who has spent the majority of his life living in the Southeastern US with the exception of a few years spent living in the Western US. His father's side of the family is mostly Irish and German with the possibility of some Polish ancestry. His mother's side of the family is "very much Irish and a little bit of Scottish", but that he "always just says Irish" or "just white" (Sam, interview). He grew up speaking English and has learned "some Spanish" (Sam, survey). Sam's father worked in the construction industry and his mother was an accountant "until shit went downhill [T: Right] then she wasn't an accountant" (Sam, interview). Sam's parents were separated with joint custody when he was a child. In terms of class, Sam says it was

> very much middle class with my dad But, then like when it was my mom's week, it was very much um obvious that uh she was um living below the poverty line [T: right] So, it was weird going back and forth and it was something that I thought about a lot (Sam, interview)

He does identify by race and says that he has recently been made aware of his "privilege as a white man" (Sam, interview). He says, "with my job and the type of work that I do um there's um you know, I just noticed that not everyone's equal and [T: Yeah], um you know the world is still very much a very racist place" (Sam, interview). Politically, Sam identifies as a 3 (1-Liberal, 5-conservative) and says that he is "socially liberal economically conservative" (Sam, interview). Sam attended some college, and he works in the construction industry where he is "surrounded by a bunch of old conservative white dudes [T: Yeah], for the most part who uh

who are um openly racist" (Sam, interview) with whom he often disagrees with on topics related to politics and society,

> S: If I tried to stand up and change somebody's mind [T: Yeah], about like their beliefs and like, you know, stop people in their tracks with what they say to me It's like I I would just constantly getting into fights, [T: right] [so?], it happens though [T: Yeah] um I don't say that I

> T: And when you say fights do you mean arguments or like fist fights

> S: Um arguments that could turn into fist fights (Sam, interview)

Race is not the most important aspect of Sam's identity. Instead, he says it is being an "open minded um young person [T: Mhm] who is kind of uh into the more like I want to say obscure stuff", "I love skateboarding and like music" (Sam, interview).

5.1.1.1.4 Janie

Janie is a 60-year-old female who was born in a small town in the Northeastern US and has spent the majority of her life in the Southeastern US. Her "biological father was a hundred percent Italian" and her mother is Jewish and Polish. She grew up speaking English and some Polish. Her father who raised her "was an entrepreneur He did everything", "he had apartments He had a bar He had a retirement home" (Janie, interview). Her mother was "a mom and raised kids till my dad died" when she began working as an older adult (Janie, interview). In terms of class or socioeconomic status, she says "I thought we were poor actually [T: Yeah] [TEXT REMOVED] we all had hand-me-downs [T: right, yeah] It was a big deal if we got something new for [T: Right] just for us", but that "you know, when I think about it, we always had food [T: Mhm] [?] When I remember asking my mom Always I could say Hey, Mom, can I have twenty dollars She always had money in her wallet, always" (Janie, interview). For the purposes

of the survey, Janie identified as white and other (Italian/Jewish); however, in general, she says she does "not really" identify by race or ethnicity, "I'm just me" (Janie, interview). Although identifying by race or ethnicity is not something she generally does, she did say that, growing up, her ethnicity was important to her, "when I was young [T: Mhm] I always, I mean, I was just always attracted to everything Italian" (Janie, interview). Janie attended some college and is a business owner. Politically, she identifies as a 4 (1-liberal, 5-conservative) which she lowered from a 5 saying, "you know what, I'm gonna not put all the way because I do I mean I have liberal thinking too [T: Mhm] but just not fiscally, ya know" (Janie, think-aloud). Family is the most important aspect of Janie's identity, "it's what makes me happy like [T: Yeah] I bought this house [TEXT REMOVED] because I wanted a place that everybody could come to" (Janie, interview).

5.1.1.2 *Belgian man standard condition*

The Belgian model will be the first discussed because he is from Europe, the region that is most associated with whiteness and ancestral whiteness. Therefore, the discussion of the reactions to the Belgian model will provide a quasi-baseline that other models can be compared to. When rating Belgian man, language was the most common code found across all four participants.

When considering his racial classification (Becca) and when responding to first hearing the audio sample (Sam), these participants described Belgian man as sounding "white".

1) **Becca**

He sounds like a white man

2) **Sam**

All these audio recordings sounds like the same dude to me Sounds like a white dude

In Excerpt 2, Sam also referenced the perceived similarity of the different standard audio recordings, which could be related to the often-associated unmarked nature of standard English (J. Milroy, 2001).

Additionally, when considering how American the Belgian man seemed, Becca, Sam, and Sophie discussed the unmarked nature of his voice or his sounding generally "American".

3) **Sam**

   I was tryna pick up any like the slightest accent but, I couldn't really pick up any accent

4) **Becca**

   They seem like they're American um accent-wise seems somewhere in America

5) **Sophie**

   Still sounded like he had an American accent to me

While Sam explicitly described the perceived lack of "accent" for the Belgian model's guise, Becca and Sophie both described him as sounding generally "American" which could be understood to mean the accent did not stand out as particularly marked. These three participants' comments lend support to findings which describe an ideology of standard English being viewed as a neutral or unmarked code (Fishman, 1965; J. Milroy, 2001). However, Janie did not follow this pattern and demonstrated a difference in perception.

6) **Janie**

   And the way he talked wasn't very American like it wa- not you know what I mean

These examples shed light on variation found in the country guesses in the quantitative phase of this study, which yielded small numbers of unexpected guesses. They also show that participants, and sometimes the same participant, can have very different reactions to the same stimulus. Interestingly, although Janie described the Belgian model's guise as not sounding very

American, all participants, including Janie, gave him very high scores for how American he seemed. Janie rated this model at 5 for how American he seemed and said, "just he looks it [T: Yeah] I can see the guy walking down the street or whatever". Yet, she rated this model at a 3 for how assimilated to American culture he seemed which elicited the response in excerpt 6 above. Therefore, it appears that she may have considered separate factors when considering these two questions, focusing more on his appearance for how American he seemed and his voice guise or a combination of his guise and appearance for how assimilated to American culture he seemed.

Belgian man's physical traits and appearance were also discussed by all four participants when considering whiteness questions. For example,

7) **Sophie**

He looks white to me So I'm gonna say just based on appearance um

8) **Janie**

I would say very white I guess [TEXT REMOVED] He also looks very European

9) **Becca**

This is a white person who's very white

As was seen in Excerpt 8 and Excerpt 10 below, Belgian man was described as white and also very European in terms of his appearance, thus associating whiteness with Europeanness, which agrees with common conceptions of whiteness and US Census definitions.

10) **Sam**

This guy looks like he could be European though, or of close to European descent

Becca also mentioned several traits that are often ideologically associated with the standard and with whiteness, although she did not explicitly mention race in relation to these aspects.

11) Becca

They sound pretty middle class They sound like they're educated um They speak well
Being "educated" and "speaking well" are both aspects that are ideologically connected with the
standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2012).

One participant (Janie) was more reluctant or had trouble giving scores for the more
cultural and class related questions, which was a pattern that held for her throughout the think-
aloud protocol. Janie said she could not adequately rate Belgian man on these characteristics
based on the data provided.

12) Janie

How middle class does this person seem Uh can't tell [Text removed] How culturally
mainstream does this person seem Um again, middle cla-, middle of the road

Janie selected 3s for these answers, which she also did for the other models. In a different
but related pattern, Sam at certain points during the think-aloud suggested that his answers were
overly repetitive for these class and culture questions. He described the majority of participants
presenting a similarly mainstream and middle-class appearance which he largely judged based on
their appearance, particularly fashion choices, and the content of the recording which he
described as "just normal American culture" (Sam). This suggests that he may be using similar
evidence to judge the different models on in terms of these questions. It also indicates that the
majority of these models present similarly to Sam in terms of class and culture. For Sam at least,
the differences in physical features does not seem to play as important a role in his perception of
their class and culture as these other aspects.

Becca and Sam, when rating Belgian man on different characteristics, discussed the
model's language use more than any other features, with a secondary emphasis on physical traits.

Sam, in addition to physical traits, expressed thoughts related to fashion/culture/lifestyle only when rating class and culture questions. These two participants explicitly tied the Belgian model's standard guise to sounding white and said that he looked white. Sophie and Janie also said that the Belgian model looked white. Their comments were more evenly distributed with Sophie touching on language and physical traits when considering the whiteness and race questions, and fashion/culture/lifestyle in relation to the class and culture questions, and Janie drew on all three areas (language, physical traits, and fashion/culture/lifestyle; however, when rating the race questions her comments were almost exclusively related to physical appearance. These patterns of thoughts demonstrate the importance of both linguistic features and physical traits when rating the Belgian model in terms of whiteness and race. They also show that fashion/culture/lifestyle did not appear to be an important factor for these participants when expressing thoughts related to the model's perceived race or whiteness.

In sum, this quasi-baseline condition has yielded results that show general agreement with common conceptions that a more European physical appearance is associated with whiteness as well as highlighting the salience of standard varieties for indexing whiteness directly.

5.1.1.3   Nigerian man standard condition

In terms of how white Nigerian man seemed, for several participants, a discrepancy was found between his language and his physical appearance.

13) Becca

So far this person doesn't seem white at all [TEXT REMOVED] How white does this person seem um I would say He sounds kinda white um

14) Janie

How white does this person seem I would say . verbally I'm gonna say 2 because verbally

he does [T: Yeah] Um He doesn't have a black accent [T: Right] uh or native the way

they at least not in the South

15) Sam

I think that uh that this voice could maybe come out of this guy's mouth, but I don't think

it is uh his voice I'd imagine him kind of havin um a little bit more of a Southern accent

Maybe Um I'm gonna say this guy's not white at all cause he looks black to me

In Excerpts 13 and 14, Becca and Janie's comments point to the notion that what is ideologized

as Standard English is associated with whiteness for these two participants. Both Excerpts 14 and

15 show an expectation that Nigerian man would have a "black accent" or a "Southern accent".

Both of these comments suggest an expectation that Nigerian man would speak a variety similar

to AAE. Excerpt 15 also demonstrates Sam's feelings that there are incongruities between some

varieties he has heard (which will be discussed below) and the models' photographs, although in

relation to Nigerian man, he said that this combination is possible although unexpected.

Therefore, there is a similarity between his comment and those of the other two participants. In

addition to Janie's rating of 2 for the Nigerian model's whiteness, Sam and Sophie both also

gave low scores (1 and 1). Therefore, although participants either said that this model sounded

white or that they would have expected him to speak a variety closer to AAE, this did not appear

to impact their ratings greatly. Becca, who is the only participant in this group who self-identifies

as Black in some way, was the only participant to rate the Nigerian model at a 3 for whiteness

which may show that the voice guise might have played a greater role in her rating than the other

participants.

Sophie and Janie also join Becca and Sam in their comments that the Nigerian model's appearance plays an important role in how he is perceived racially.

16) Sophie

Um he looks Black or of African American descent

17) Janie

Um I would say he is Black or African American [T: Mhm] and because of his skin color

For most participants, whether or not Nigerian man seemed European was presented as mostly contingent on his voice, for example,

18) Sam

Um I wouldn't say he's European judging by the voice recording

For these participants, Nigerian man appeared to be black or African American; however, his matched voice did appear to index whiteness. Nonetheless, as was seen in the forced-choice answers above, this linguistic whiteness did not supersede the model's physical appearance in terms of race. Thoughts related to fashion/culture/lifestyle were only expressed in relation to questions related to class or culture and mostly described the Nigerian model as seeming mostly middle-class and mainstream based on his fashion choices.

5.1.1.4   Chinese man standard condition

When responding to the whiteness questions, Sam and Becca's comments were primarily related to language, although the focus on language was also related to other factors.

19) Becca

Um I would say they seem kind of white just because of um .. just like speech and he also seems kinda like I don't know he kinda seems like he's a model or he's tryna be

20) Sam

I guess this time, um you know I I feel like that voice could come out of this dude's

mouth Um So I'm gonna assume that this is an Asian American um who was born here

[T: Cool Thanks] um and just in case the picture's deceiving I went with a 2 because

maybe the dude is white

The more stylized nature of Chinese man's headshot distinguished him from the other models for

Becca, as can be seen in 19 and in 21 below. This was also the only model for whom Sam

described the picture as being potentially "deceiving". Whether this is related to the more

stylized nature of the photo is not possible to say. In 21, Becca compared Chinese man to Ben

Stiller's lead character in the film *Zoolander* where he plays a model in a satire of the fashion

industry.

21) Becca

He seems pretty American . like .. [I don't know] he's givin like a Zoolander look .. gel

Although his fashion choices and the style of the photo had some impact on how they described

viewing Chinese man, their comments related to his whiteness were primarily related to

language. Importantly though, both participants did describe Chinese man as Asian and they both

rated him at a 2 for whiteness. Sophie and Janie, who also identified him as Asian, primarily

described his physical traits rather than focusing on language in relation to the whiteness

questions.

22) Janie

Oh just because yeah, because he looks Asian [T: Okay] Yeah, so there's you know [T:

Mhm] [?] He's either a mix or he looks [T: yeah] you know

23) Sophie

So this I'm putting this one just purely based on how he's looking cause this one still

sounds like an American, but probably of Asian descent

Here, we again see a similar divide across the participants to that which was seen for

Belgian man and to a certain extent for Nigerian man, with two participants focusing more on the

model's language use and two focusing more on his physical appearance. However, it should be

noted that the two participants who referenced his language use also described his physical traits

and rated the model's whiteness more in accordance with those comments. Therefore, in terms of

thought processes related to language, racial categorization, and whiteness, we see that in spite of

differences in participants' overt comments, physical traits remained a dominant aspect of

thought processes related to such categorization. Additionally, although Sam and Becca both

discussed the model's language use and Becca specifically described it as white, Janie gave the

Chinese model a higher whiteness rating at 3. This is perhaps based on her comment that he

looks "mixed". Sophie, who rated this model "purely based on how he's looking" rated him at 1

for whiteness. Therefore, in a similar pattern that was seen with the Nigerian model, although the

model's voice may have indexed whiteness, physical features may play a bigger role in ratings of

whiteness for this model. That is not to say that language does not play any role, as was seen in

the quantitative results.

5.1.1.5   Alaskan man standard condition

In terms of whiteness questions, again, Sam and Becca spoke more about language while

Janie and Sophie shared a pattern of focusing on the models' physical traits. Although it may or

may not be relevant to their decision-making, these pairs also named the same categories as most

important to their identity, with Sam and Becca both identifying with related subcultures and

Sophie and Janie both identifying with family. However, self-identified race was not shared

across the two sets of participants. Becca identifies as Black and Hispanic and Sam as white.

Sophie identifies as Hispanic and Janie as white and other (Italian and Jewish).

When considering the Alaskan model's whiteness, Sam and Becca said:

24) Becca

How white does this person seem Imma say very Yeah they seem very white um He

sounds very white .. um

25) Sam

Um I think that this voice could definitely come outta this dude here Um So, assuming

that that this is his voice um I'm gonna say that this guy is probably not white judging by

his photo

Here, these participants' comments are consistent with their ratings with Becca rating the

Alaskan model at a 5 for whiteness and all other participants rating him at a 2. Although these

two participants talked primarily about language, Sam's attention to Alaskan man's appearance

caused him to perceive him as not white. He also stated that Alaskan man "looks Filipino" (Sam,

think aloud). Although Becca described and rated Alaskan man as "very white", she also

classified him as being either Pacific Islander, Asian, or mixed. Therefore, in spite of her initial

focus on Alaskan man's whiteness, it did not outweigh her ultimate assessment that he is Asian

or Pacific Islander.

Sophie and Janie both focused more on Alaskan man's appearance when rating his

perceived whiteness, for example,

26) Janie

> This guy looks like my nephew [nephew's name], so he could possibly be mixed [TEXT REMOVED] How white does this person seem I'll say a little bit [T: Mkay, and that's based mostly on how he looks] Yeah I think he's a mix ya know [T: Mhm]

My question to confirm that her response was "based mostly on how he looks" was asked because Janie had responded that her answers were based on the models' looks for previous models and had begun only listening to a few seconds of the recordings at this point in the think-aloud. This was the last model that Janie rated and at that point she only listened to the first sentence of the audio guise before moving on to answer the questions. This is a pattern that was also followed by Adrián which will be discussed below. This is an important factor to consider. It is possible that some participants from the quantitative phase may have also followed this pattern of only getting a sense of the model's voice before moving on to rate the model. However, this likely does not invalidate the data, as Baugh (2005) has pointed out that participants may only need to hear one word to gather background information on a given speaker. In any case, for Alaskan man, Janie's comments were primarily related to his physical appearance.

Although Alaskan man was described as seeming very white by Becca, all participants categorized him as being Asian, Pacific Islander, Alaska Native, or a mixture of Asian and white. Sam and Becca's comments in response to the whiteness and race questions were primarily related to language. Physical appearance also played an important part in their thought processes, as Sam also described the model as having what he perceived to be a Filipino appearance. Additionally, both participants ultimately categorized him as a race other than white despite his voice guise indexing whiteness. Janie's comments were exclusively related to physical traits, and

Sophie's were primarily related to physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions. Participants continued to primarily only reference fashion/culture/lifestyle when considering the class and culture questions.

5.1.1.6   Emirian man standard condition

When rating Emirian man for how white and European he seems, Becca, Sam, Sophie, and Janie all commented on Emirian man's physical appearance, although their specific claims differed. Becca and Sam both suggested that Emirian man did not have physical traits associated with whiteness.

27) Sam

This guy looks Indian American You know, seems like uh he was born here and that voice I could definitely imagine that voice coming out of uh that dude there Um, so judging by the photo um You can say that this person doesn't seem white at all

Sophie and Janie both expressed the contrary view.

28) Janie

Looks it, he looks white [T: Mhm] How European does this person seem He could be except for his voice [T: Mhm] I'll say 4 he could

These comments are mostly in agreement with their whiteness rating for this model. Becca and Sam both rated him at a 1 for whiteness while Janie gave him a 5 and Sophie a 3. As can be seen from Excerpt 27, Sam, as well as Becca (excerpt not shown), expressed thoughts related to his voice in addition to physical appearance when assessing Emirian man's whiteness. Janie and Sophie primarily focused on his appearance in terms of his whiteness, with Janie considering his voice more as it related to the possibility of him being from Europe. Interestingly, the two participants who commented more on his voice guise gave him the lowest whiteness ratings.

This is likely more evidence that points to physical appearance playing a more important role for rating some models on whiteness than language.

When classifying Emirian man racially, the participants were divided with Sam perceiving Emirian man to be Indian, Becca perceiving him to be Middle Eastern, and Sophie and Janie perceiving him to be Southern European (Spanish and Italian, respectively). This is unsurprising given the more racially ambiguous appearance of Emirian man, as it relates to major US race categories. When presented with the option, two participants chose to classify him as a race/ethnicity other than white, thus speaking to the difficulty of classifying the world's population into a handful of "races". Sophie also chose 'some other race' when classifying this model and wrote in "Spanish". However, this response provided her the opportunity to be more specific with her answer as this was the only choice with a write-in option. On the other hand, these findings do demonstrate that current census definitions which would classify Emirian man as white may not be congruent with these participants' understandings.

In terms of Emirian man's whiteness, for these participants, physical traits were the most frequently mentioned, followed by language. In keeping in line with the other models and conditions, the class and culture questions primarily elicited fashion/culture/lifestyle comments, with language being secondary.

5.1.1.7   Standard condition summary

Becca, Sam, Sophie, and Janie rated the five models in the standard condition. When considering the whiteness and race questions, the four participants primarily focused on language, physical traits, or a combination of the two. The fashion/culture/lifestyle code was primarily found in relation to class and culture questions and did not appear to have much impact on how the participants perceived the models racially, as will be discussed in more detail below

when discussing the survey reflection findings. Some participants found the class and culture questions to be difficult or impossible to answer based on the information provided.

Although aspects of the models' linguistic features were often associated with whiteness and may have impacted the participants perceptions of the models' relative whiteness, these linguistic features did not appear to have an impact on how the participants categorized the majority of the models in terms of race and at times also did not impact their whiteness ratings. For example, Belgian man was categorized as white, Nigerian man as Black or African American, and Chinese man as Asian by all four participants. Alaskan man was classified across several races other than white. Emirian man was the one participant who divided the participants with half viewing him as white (Southern European) and half viewing him as non-white, although one of the non-white 'races' used to categorize him, Middle Eastern, would be considered white according to Census definitions.

5.1.2 Nonstandard condition

Breanna, Christopher, and Claudia all rated the five models in the nonstandard condition.

5.1.2.1 Nonstandard condition participant descriptions

5.1.2.1.1 Breanna

Breanna is a 30-year-old female who grew up in the Southeastern US and now lives on the West Coast. She does identify by race as "a black person" (Breanna, interview). She says her family is originally from the Southern US and that her "ancestors were slaves" (Breanna, interview). During the Great Migration, her family resettled in the Midwest before eventually returning to the South. On her mom's side, her great-grandfather was white. Her grandfather and one of his siblings were separated from his "two brothers who could pass for white {who} went to live with the white side of the family" while her grandfather stayed in the Midwest (Breanna,

interview). While she was growing up, her father worked for a company that serviced pay phones and later for an airplane manufacturer. Her mother was a stay-at-home mom. In terms of class or socioeconomic status, she says, "I was just very well aware that like we were struggling and we were poor [T: Right] Um but at the same time it was kind of like um I guess you know like my parents owned their own house" and that "I knew we- there were people who were definitely like more poor than we were" (Breanna, interview). She grew up speaking English and also speaks Spanish. Breanna has a master's degree in Applied Linguistics and works in public schools teaching special education. Politically, she identifies as a 2 (1-liberal, 5-conservative). She says the older she gets the more she sees the role race has played in her life related to institutional wealth and institutional racism:

> It had to do with the lack of wealth in my family from generations before [T: right] They didn't have anything and things that could be passed down to my white peers [T: Mhm] Like, they were not- no one had them, so nobody could pass it down to me (Breanna, interview)

Although she stated that race was the most important aspect of her identity, the second most important aspect was being a Southerner. She says that living on the West coast has "really made me realize like how much growing up in the South affected me in a lot of different ways" (Breanna, interview).

5.1.2.1.2 Christopher

Christopher is a 46-year-old male who grew up in the suburban Midwestern US, but who has lived in many US states and different countries around the world including Italy, Korea, Japan, and China. He said he does generally identify by race. He is white and his family is mostly Irish, Scottish, "and a little German" (Christopher, interview). He grew up speaking

English, but now also speaks Italian and Korean at an intermediate level. He has a master's

degree in education. Politically, he identifies as a 3 (1-liberal, 5-conservative) and elaborated that

he is "slightly right of center, socially liberal" (Christopher, survey). His father worked for

companies as a middle manager and his mother was a stay-at-home mom who later transitioned

to working as an administrative assistant, then in lower management, and was eventually self-

employed. Growing up, he says, "I guess I knew I wasn't rich" and that "maybe it wasn't until

even like high school that I realized that you know some families were just a lot wealthier"

(Christopher, interview). Christopher says, "growing up I had actually very very little exposure

to other races" and that "we were all you know Irish Catholic" (Christopher, interview). He says

that race didn't play an important role in his life until later, "because I didn't really understand

that there were a lot of different ways to look at things [T: mhm] and Um and I wouldn't say I

was necessarily isolated but I was isolated in like a racial sense" (Christopher, interview). Race

is not the most important aspect of his identity. Instead, it is his profession as an ESL teacher, "as

a teacher, you know, I feel really good about what I do", and being an educated person, "I enjoy

learning about new things and [T: Cool] it makes me who I am I think" (Christopher, interview).

5.1.2.1.3 Claudia

Claudia is a 33-year-old female who was born in a major city in the Northeastern US and

who grew up in and lives in the Southeastern US. She has lived the majority of her life in the US,

but has visited many countries including Ivory Coast, Brazil, and others. Her mother is "Black

American her family is from Barbados", and her father is Haitian/Dominican from Haiti, "his

dad was the Dominican one and his mom was from Haiti" (Claudia, interview). Her mother, who

raised her, worked as a security guard and was a student, and her father owned a landscaping

company. Related to socioeconomic status, Claudia says, "we were- my family was very poor

[T: Mhm] So when we moved to [the South], we were homeless [T: Mm] for about four four years like staying in the woods homeless" (Claudia, interview). When asked if she identifies by race, she says,

> I do now [T: Mhm] um more than I did growing up only because growing up when I came to [the South] [TEXT REMOVED] it was embarrassing to be Haitian [TEXT REMOVED] Now, very much so Uh very much so I I identify with being black, you know [T: Mhm], and even Haitian Dominican I like [T: Yeah] I rock it, you know (Claudia, interview).

Growing up, she spoke primarily English, and is now also proficient in Spanish and Portuguese. She completed a bachelor's degree in Spanish and works as an art teacher. Politically, she identifies as a 3 (1-liberal, 5-conservative) and writes, "I am too liberal for conservatives and too conservative for liberals" (Claudia, survey). Race is one of three aspects that are important to her identity which also includes religion (Christianity) and her subcultural affiliations with art, music, and dance.

5.1.2.2 Belgian man nonstandard condition

For these three participants, this condition elicited a greater degree of language related comments and judgements compared to the standard condition group. Breanna and Claudia, in particular, commented extensively related to the models' language. The only participant that didn't mention language in terms of Belgian man's whiteness was Christopher. His comments reflect both Belgian Man's physical traits and his fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics. Christopher was the only participant in the study who mentioned fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics in relation to whiteness or race questions.

29) Christopher

I mean he looks looks very white Um uh white kind of haircut White kind of facial hair I guess So seems very white to me I'll go ahead and give him a 5 here

Claudia and Breanna both mentioned Belgian Man's language in terms of his whiteness.

30) Breanna

So again this person sounds very fairly Southern And so how white does this person seem um I would say 4 again because this is a little bit more of a typical Southern accent

31) Claudia

This person seems very white Does not seem European [T: So um for that for those last two, is that based on the voice again or the voice and the picture together] This is the accent again [T: Okay gotcha] Now it just sounds like a Southern accent

As can be seen in Excerpts 30 and 31, two of the three participants, who both identify as African American and have lived much of their lives in the South, referenced Belgian Man as sounding both Southern and white. Here, we see both of them following a similar pattern that was found in the quantitative results which situates some rural Southern varieties, which are likely to be ideologized as nonstandard, as white. Additionally, all three participants gave the Belgian model high whiteness scores with Christopher giving a 4 and Breanna and Claudia both giving 5s. Therefore, these participants' ratings all appear to be congruent with their comments for this model.

For the culture and class questions, all three participants referenced Belgian Man's language use, with Claudia and Christopher both referencing education, for example.

32) Claudia

Maybe not so much culturally mainstream and that's only because of how slow he's

talking his dictation [sic] um and that accent man [T: Mhm] Why do I equate a deep

southern accent with less than educated That's horrible

33) Christopher

Actually, I want to go back to the the middle class one more time When I listened to the

recording he seemed to have some problems um reading actually like a little maybe like

less educated So I'm gonna go ahead and change that one from a 5 or just listening I

would have marked him much lower So maybe I'll just give him a a 3 for that one as far

as middle class Whoa, that's a tough one

Excerpt 33 highlights Christopher's change in judgement when he pays closer attention to

Belgian man's nonstandard guise. He first rated the model at a 5 when he was paying less

attention to the recording. Therefore, based on the model's appearance (whether his physical

traits, fashion choices, or both) he would have given a high middle-class rating. An increased

attention to the recording resulted in the highest score for middle class being lowered to a

medium score of 3, highlighting the importance of the association between a standard or

nonstandard variety, class, and education. Interestingly, both these participants described Belgian

man as sounding less educated. Claudia and Breanna also described this model as sounding

white. Therefore, we can see that this perceived lack of education does not cause problems for

their perception that he also sounds very white. This is an important point to consider since what

is ideologized as the standard is often associated with increased levels of education and the

standard is often associated with whiteness (Lippi-Green, 2012; also see chapter 6). Additionally,

as stated above, Christopher was the only participant to reference Belgian Man's appearance in

terms of his perceived whiteness. He mentioned both physical traits and fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics as can be seen in Excerpt 34 below.

34) Christopher

> I mean he looks looks very white Um uh white kind of haircut White kind of facial hair I guess So seems very white to me I'll go ahead and give him a 5 here How European Um Yeah, I mean I guess if I didn't hear him talk, I might have guessed he was like British or something like that just just based on the appearance

Christopher's initial impression of Belgian man as very European was impacted by hearing Belgian man's nonstandard guise, yet this did not impact his perceived whiteness which he rated at the highest score of five.

For these three participants in the nonstandard condition, thoughts related to language dominated the think-aloud for Belgian man. Claudia only discussed language and Breanna only made one comment that was not directly related to language, which was on the possibility of Belgian Man having European ancestry. Christopher primarily discussed language; however, as was seen in Excerpt 34, he also discussed Belgian man's physical traits, but more so his fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics.

The think-aloud findings potentially add complexity to ideologies of language and whiteness. Much of the literature explicitly draws connections between whiteness and what is ideologized as standard English (Bucholtz, 2016; Fought, 2006). However, here we see Belgian man being viewed as very white while matched with a nonstandard Southern guise. Although common associations between Southern varieties and whiteness may not be uncommon, it is somewhat surprising given that researchers have suggested that many nonstandard varieties, including nonstandard Southern varieties, may be associated with a precarious hold on whiteness

(Roth-Gordon, 2011). As stated previously, research has drawn associations between whiteness and regional varieties; however, Southern varieties, which are often stigmatized in much of the US, are often not given as examples of these particular regional varieties (Fought, 2006).

5.1.2.3 *Nigerian man nonstandard condition*

Comments centered on both language and appearance for these three participants when they rated the Nigerian man.

35) Christopher

Um So how how white does he seem Maybe maybe not at all and obviously a-a-a-appearance He looks African American Um also his speaking style um sort of like the the African American Standard dialect I guess Um I'm gonna go ahead and do a 1 for that one (Clears throat)

36) Claudia

[T: So for this one did the uh picture have a bigger impact] *Absolutely* because as a African-American or a black woman myself who has [T: Mhm] oftentimes been told that I don't sound black [T: Hm] [Laugh] when I talk and I see someone else who's black and who sounds more like they speak what would what others have been said to you know have said to be a a whiter accent

Claudia was the one participant of these three who said that the Nigerian model's guise could be perceived as whiter. This is likely due to the standard grammar and lexicon which results from the Speech Accent Archive script, as noted by Christopher when he described the model's guise as "African American Standard Dialect". He is likely referring to what some scholars call Black Standard English (BSE), or English that has phonetic and prosodic features of AAE, but which follows the grammatical rules of Standard English (Rahman, 2008). Claudia's comment also

draws further connections between whiteness and what is ideologized as standard grammar. However, much like Christopher, Breanna described the Nigerian model's guise as an African American variety:

37) Breanna

I'm pretty sure this person this person sounds like they're speaking African American Vernacular English

Again, as was found for the standard condition, Nigerian man's perceived whiteness was connected to both language and race. However, in contrast to the standard condition, the perceived congruity of Nigerian man's photo and voice in the nonstandard condition reinforced the perception that he was Black or African American rather than complicating the perception as was found in the standard condition. Additionally, all three participants in this condition gave this model lower whiteness ratings, with Christopher giving a 1 and Breanna and Claudia both giving 2s. Again, as was found in the standard condition, comments related more to fashion/culture/lifestyle were found only in relation to class and culture questions, where Nigerian man was described as having a mostly mainstream appearance or style. However, such comments were present for only one member of this group, Christopher.

5.1.2.4 *Chinese man nonstandard condition*

As has been seen with other models, when rating Chinese man, this group of participants, and particularly Breanna and Claudia, tended to give the most attention to language. Chinese man was the one model whose nonstandard guise was an urban Northeastern variety. Breanna and Christopher both heard Chinese man's guise as Northeastern US; however, Claudia perceived it to be from outside the US.

38) Breanna

This sounds like a Northeastern accent, but it also sounds like a fake accent to me

because it's kind of inconsistent

39) Claudia

That's interesting because that accent was like in between um How white does this person

seem This person does seem very white, but this person also seems very European In the

beginning his accent seemed kinda Scottish kinda Australian It was in between [T: Mhm]

and then that's where at the end I was like, he's changing up [Laughter]

Interestingly, both Breanna and Claudia perceived the Chinese model's guise to be incongruous

or suspicious in some way. It is difficult to know whether this is a result of the specific guise or

whether it is related to this specific voice/guise pairing. However, Christopher did not say that he

found this pairing incongruous or suspicious. Christopher is the only participant of the three who

has spent many years living in East Asia and has also lived in many regions in the US. It is

possible that these experiences have given him a broader experience with voice/physical

appearance pairings. Importantly, two participants described in further detail how they were

thinking when rating Chinese man.

40) Claudia

This is all on his accent [T: Okay] Yeah, I mean at this point when I look at the pictures

the pictures are not moving me at all when it comes to [T: Gotcha] the options

Claudia's comment above contrasts with her comment in 36 where she said the Nigerian model's

appearance struck her as significant. The Chinese model was the third that she rated, and the

Nigerian model was the last of the five. It was not until she came to a model/guise pairing that

she connected with personally that she said the photograph was significant in how she rated the model. This will be discussed more in section 5.2.2 below.

41) Christopher

> So I [mean] based on appearance You know, I would I would say if I were gonna racially classify 'em, you know, maybe Asian um maybe South Asian or uh Chinese But how white does he seem He seems to have maybe a Boston accent Um So if I were just listening I probably would have graded him quite high on the how white he seems Listening and looking at him, you know .... Yeah, I'll just I'll go ahead and do a .... I guess I'll go ahead and pick a 3

In Excerpt 40, Claudia described focusing primarily on Chinese man's voice. This is important considering that later she classified him as white. This raises the question of whether some participants may be classifying the voice guise or the photos on their own as sounding white rather than the model matched with the guise. Claudia is the only one of these three participants who rated the Chinese model at 5 for whiteness while the other two participants rated him at 3. Additionally, she and Breanna categorized him as white (Breanna categorized him as 'some other race' and wrote in "white, or also some other race") with Christopher categorizing the model as Asian. Therefore, it is possible that this increased attention to language impacted Breanna and Claudia's ratings. Christopher provided further complexity to this question considering he would have given one score for the voice (a high whiteness rating) and a different score for the physical appearance of the model (a low whiteness rating). He, therefore, settled on a middle score of 3, essentially splitting the difference. As will be described below, Breanna also stated during the interview that she was consciously focusing more on language. She also said

that Chinese man "could possibly be white" (Breanna, think aloud). These comments provide insight that participants may be considering the voices and appearances of the models separately.

As was found with other models, when rating Chinese man, these participants tended to pay more attention to the models' language use when rating him on different traits. While Breanna and Claudia did give occasional attention to other aspects, such as fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics, it was primarily in relation to class and culture questions. Christopher did tend to differ somewhat from the other participants in this group because he also expressed thoughts related to the model's physical traits.

5.1.2.5   *Alaskan man nonstandard condition*

The pattern for Christopher, Breanna, and Claudia when rating Alaskan man is strikingly similar to how they rated other models. The group, but particularly Breanna and Claudia, tended to place a heavier emphasis than participants in other conditions on linguistic characteristics when rating Alaskan man across all questions. This could be for one of two reasons. Either it could be that nonstandard varieties are more salient and elicit more attention to language, or it could be that these participants, and particularly Breanna and Claudia, are more sensitive to linguistic features. Considering all three participants have either studied foreign languages or linguistics (Breanna-Applied Linguistics and Claudia-Spanish) or taught language classes (Christopher and Breanna), it is possible that these three participants are more sensitive to language, although Christopher did pay more attention to other factors than the other two participants.

In terms of Alaskan man's perceived whiteness, Breanna and Claudia focused primarily on language, for example,

42) Claudia

How white does this person seem He still seems very white very [T: And is that based mainly off his language or the way he looks or both] This is based off of his accent solely

However, Christopher paid more attention to physical features rather than language.

43) Christopher

Um based on appearance seems very Asian to me Um . But . you know could also be, you know, maybe Asian parent and white parent just based on appearance Um So I'm gonna go ahead and pick uh 2

Breanna rated the Alaskan model's whiteness at 3 and Claudia at 4. Both of these participants also categorized him as white (Breanna again selected 'some other race' and wrote "white, or some other race"). However, it is important to note that these two participants said they were basing their scores primarily off of the recordings.

Across models, these three participants demonstrate a striking trend. Breanna and Claudia focused almost exclusively on linguistic features while rating models across all questions while Christopher focused on both language and physical traits, with very infrequent references to fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics related to whiteness and race questions as was seen with his rating of the Belgian model.

5.1.2.6 Emirian man nonstandard condition

Again, Claudia and Breanna mostly focused on language, while Christopher focused on language and physical traits when considering race and whiteness questions.

Christopher and Claudia both perceived Emirian man to be "very white" which was reflected in their whiteness ratings of 5 and 4, respectively.

44) Claudia

They seem very white [T: And what's that What's that based on] Um again I hear a very country accent Very Southern accent

45) Christopher

I can I can feel my bias toward um Southern Accents coming through here um But so how white is he seem seems seems very white just based on the appearance and the um speech

Here, we see both participants perceiving Emirian man's guise to be both Southern and white. Therefore, there appears to be an association for these two participants between Southern English and whiteness, which differs somewhat from research which has suggested that Standard English is potentially more associated with whiteness than nonstandard varieties such as Southern English (Roth-Gordon, 2011; Wray, 2006) and may support researchers who have suggested that certain regional varieties are associated with whiteness (Fought, 2006). We can also see that Claudia was primarily focused on Emirian man's language use while Christopher considered both his accent and his physical traits. Breanna continues to follow a similar pattern as Claudia when considering mostly linguistic features as they relate to whiteness; however, she did not see Emirian man as being very white.

46) Breanna

OK How white does this person seems I mean, I think you really cannot tell so I would just go with 3 cause this accent is kind of one of those accidents [sic] that I think you could associate with any sort of maybe suburban rural-ish type of area in the United States in any state um So, I don't know

As we can see from the previous excerpt, Breanna was primarily focused on the regional aspects of Emirian man's guise, as well as the potential dynamics related to rural and urban sociolinguistic variation. Therefore, it may be possible that this participant associates whiteness with some regional and settlement types over others.

Both Claudia and Christopher classified Emirian man as white, and Breanna classified him as some other race. We continue to see a split in terms of Emirian man's perceived race, likely due to his background, which does not fit as neatly into the major race categories. These three participants also exhibited a consistent pattern of being more focused on language overall, but with Christopher differing somewhat significantly by focusing on physical traits as well when considering whiteness and race.

5.1.2.7   *Nonstandard condition summary*

The participants in the nonstandard condition were strikingly consistent as they rated the models in this condition. Christopher followed a pattern that was more similar to Becca, Sam, and Sophie in the standard condition, focusing on a combination of language and physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions and primarily expressing thoughts related to fashion/culture/lifestyle when considering the class and culture questions with a secondary emphasis on language. Christopher stands somewhat apart from the other participants in the study by also considering fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics in relation to whiteness when describing the Belgian model's hairstyle and facial hairstyle. Breanna and Claudia follow a very similar pattern of focusing primarily on language for all models and largely ignoring the photographs with the exception of Claudia's rating of Nigerian man. In terms of perceived whiteness, all participants associated the majority of the nonstandard varieties with whiteness, with the partial exception of Nigerian man's guise which has identifiable features of AAE.

Additionally, Christopher tended to racially classify the majority of models in a way that is consistent with most of the participants from the standard condition, based mostly on their appearance. Claudia and Breanna, however, tended to much more frequently describe and classify the models as white. Although Breanna often described the models as white, she generally chose to select 'some other race' and write in her responses as was described above. However, as was stated previously, these two participants relied primarily on the voice guises when making such classifications and apparently ignored the photographs.

5.1.3   Nonnative condition

Only two participants, Anh and Adrián, rated all models under the nonnative condition. Coincidentally, thanks to the Qualtrics randomization tool, these were the only two participants who did not spend their childhood speaking English.

5.1.3.1   Nonnative condition participant descriptions

5.1.3.1.1   Anh

Anh is a 30-year-old female who was born in Vietnam and lived there until she was 15 and moved to the Southeastern US. Anh's mother is Vietnamese, and her father was born in Vietnam to Chinese parents. Her mother worked doing sales in a market and her father did not work. In terms of class or socioeconomic status, Anh says that before the Vietnam War her family was "doing well because my grandma did like a lot of uh business", but that the "Vietnam War it just like throw my whole entire [T: Yeah] family line off of like balance [T: Mhm], but that's why my mom had to work [T: Mhm] after the war" (Anh, interview). She does generally identify by race as Asian, but usually more specifically as Vietnamese. She says, "even though I'm half Chinese technically [T: Yeah] I never say I'm Chinese", because "I just don't like Chinese", "it's a racial thing [laughter]" (Anh, interview). She grew up speaking Vietnamese and

is also a proficient English speaker. She has two bachelor's degrees, in Psychology and Nursing, and works as a registered nurse. Politically, she identifies as a 4 (1-liberal, 5-conservative). The most important aspect of Anh's identity is not her race, but rather her family, "my dad's side it have nine people like siblings [T: Mhm yeah] and my mom's side, they have twelve [T: OK] So, I grew up in a huge family [T: Yeah] and cousins [TEXT REMOVED] that's my social circle" (Anh, interview).

5.1.3.1.2 Adrián

Adrián is a 27-year-old male who spent the first half of his life in Mexico before moving to the Southeastern US. His ancestors all come from Mexico with the exception of one remote ancestor from the Philippines, "it's probably like 99 percent Mexico and just 1 percent As-Asian" (Adrián, interview). He was primarily raised by his grandparents and his parents both worked in the food service industry. In terms of class, he said, "I didn't really think about it [T: Okay cool] until I moved to this country" and that he thinks class is a more important notion in the US compared to where he grew up in Mexico (Adrián, interview). Adrián does identify by race as Hispanic, and he says that it is the most important aspect of his identity, "I identify myself by my race" (Adrián, interview). He grew up speaking Spanish and is now also a proficient English speaker. He completed high school until the 11th grade and works in commercial cleaning. Politically, Adrián identifies as a 3 (1-liberal, 5-conservative). He says that race has played an important role in his life because it is the first thing that people notice about him, "Well, um ... when people first get to know me they I mean the first thing they assume is that I'm Mexican [T: Yeah], so" (Adrián, interview).

5.1.3.2   Belgian man nonnative condition

When considering the whiteness question, Anh's response was automatic, and she did not express thoughts related to her response other than that the model was "very white". This was consistent with her whiteness rating of 5 for this model. When considering how European the model seemed, language and physical appearance were intertwined.

47) Anh

So, how white does this person seem Um very white How European does this person seem Super [T: So is that based mainly on um like the way they sound or the way he looks or both] Both for sure He does not look like American at all [T: OK thanks] and doesn't sound like it at all

Adrián primarily focused on physical traits when considering the whiteness and race questions with only one reference to language:

48) Adrián

How white does this person seems He looks like a number 4 cause his I mean he looks just whike I mean white He he he just has the face Um How European does this person seem We'll say 4 cause it kind of the way he looks kind of goes with the way he talks

Fewer voiced thoughts were related to language when rating Belgian man than were found across the other conditions. An important question is whether this difference was related to a difference in the condition or a difference in these two participants compared to the other participants. Both participants are highly proficient English speakers and noted that Belgian man did not sound American (Excerpt not shown) or that he did sound European (Excerpt not shown); thus, they were both attuned to Belgian man's guise being a second language English speaker.

5.1.3.3 *Nigerian man nonnative condition*

When rating Nigerian man Anh did not elaborate on the race questions beyond stating that he "is not white at all" while Adrián focused mainly on his physical appearance when considering him racially.

49) Adrián

How white does this person seems Not at all cause he's really a color person black How European does this person seems Not at all cause he just looked like an normal African American to me

It's difficult to say whether Adrián's reference to this model looking "like an normal African American" suggests that he did not recognize the recording as a nonnative variety or whether he used the term automatically to mean Black regardless of country of origin. However, as will be discussed below, Adrián is one of two participants who stopped listening to the entire recording for each model and who paid much more attention to physical traits than language throughout the think-aloud.

Following the same pattern found with most participants in the two previous conditions, both participants referenced Nigerian man's fashion/culture/lifestyle features only in reference to class or culture questions.

50 Anh

How middle class does this person seem Probably a 3 He seem like a normal person as well

51 Adrián

How middle class does this person seems ... I'll say 3 Cause, I mean he's dressing he's

wearing a nice t-shirt, but most color person in Americans are not like really middle clash

class I mean some are, but It's really just a few of them

We can see that, like the other participants, both Anh and Adrián identify Nigerian man as quite

mainstream with Anh describing him as "normal". Upon first glance, it appears that Adrián

perceived Nigerian man to be mainstream middle class; however, when factoring in his

perceived race it is clear that this had an impact on how he rated Nigerian man from a class

perspective.

When rating Nigerian man, Anh and Adrián displayed different tendencies. When

considering the race and whiteness questions, Adrián focused primarily on Nigerian man's

physical traits while Anh considered both linguistic features and physical traits at different

points. When categorizing him racially, she referred to him as sounding Haitian or Jamaican, for

example. Both participants referred to fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics when considering

the class and culture questions. Although aspects such as the model's fashion choices did not

appear to have an impact on the participants' racial perceptions, Adrián's class perceptions were

impacted by what he perceived as the Nigerian model's racial membership. Additionally, both

participants classified Nigerian man as Black or African American and rated him at 1 for

whiteness.

5.1.3.4 *Chinese man nonnative condition*

Both Anh and Adrián showed a very similar pattern when answering the whiteness

questions for Chinese man under the nonnative guise. This pattern included attention to both his

physical traits and his linguistic characteristics.

52) Adrián

How white does this person seems Not at all How European this person seems 1, cause

he just looked completely Asian, and he sounds Asian as well

53) Anh

So, he looks kind of mixed between Asian and white, but he sound pretty Asian to me So,

I'll give him like a 3 for how white does this person seem because he looks kind of half

white How European does this person seem I'll give him a 2 um

Both participants described Chinese man as sounding like he is from Asia when he speaks

English. They also described his physical traits, with the two participants being divided between

perceiving him as "completely Asian" or "Asian and white". In contrast to Anh's whiteness

rating of 3, Adrián rated this model at 1 for whiteness.

Although Anh did not state it in the same way, she began to follow a similar pattern to

Janie in terms of cultural and class questions, giving Chinese man threes for all these questions.

Adrián followed a pattern which is more similar to the other participants from the standard

condition group and Christopher from the nonstandard group, describing characteristics that are

more related to fashion/culture/ lifestyle when thinking about these questions.

Adrián also related race to class when rating the Chinese model:

54) Adrián

How middle-class does this person seem I'll say 4 Asian people always has money

In much the same way that he related the Nigerian model's perceived race to class status, he also

related the Chinese model's race to class. However, the association is quite different here where

he gives the Chinese model a high score in contrast to giving Nigerian man a lower score based

on his race. Adrián is the only participant who drew connections between certain races and class

status when rating the class question. Although Christopher from the nonnative condition drew

on fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics when considering the whiteness question, he did not

express thoughts that connected races to different classes when rating the class question.

These two participants followed a similar pattern when rating Chinese man as they did

for the other models. Adrián focused primarily on physical traits with some references to

language when considering the models from a racial perspective. Anh focused on the language

and physical traits of the model when rating for whiteness and race questions, a pattern that she

also followed for the remaining two models (coincidentally, her randomized survey presented the

models to her in the same order they are presented here). These two participants said they viewed

Chinese man as either Asian or a mix of Asian and white, although Adrián's categorization was

'some other race' – "Asian/American". This perhaps suggests that Adrián did not note this

model's guise as a nonnative speaker. It is difficult to say whether this was due to his primary

attention to physical traits or some other factor.

5.1.3.5   Alaskan man nonnative condition

Anh and Adrián followed very similar patterns to those for Chinese man in terms of what

aspects they mentioned when rating Alaskan man. It should be noted that Anh showed slightly

different patterns across models, always focusing on language, but also focusing more on

physical traits for Chinese man and Alaskan man. Adrián showed a strikingly consistent pattern

across all models, focusing primarily on physical traits with a secondary focus on language when

rating whiteness and race questions.

In terms of whiteness, both participants agreed that Alaskan man "looks Asian".

55) Anh

OK, so How white does this person seem Uh According to the look He's look Asian He sounded whiter Like he sounded more like an Asian American to me like was raised in America than the previous person

56) Adrián

I'll just give 'er a 2 cause he doesn't look European, but he kind of has the accent when he speaks

Adrián rated the Alaskan model at 1 for whiteness while Anh rated him at 4. Anh's rating appears to be consistent with her comment in the excerpt above which shows her being conflicted between how the model looks and sounds. Based on her higher rating it appears that the voice guise outweighed the model's physical appearance. However, both participants categorized the model as Asian. Therefore, it appears that the increased whiteness did not outweigh the ultimate categorization that this model seemed Asian for Anh.

In this condition, the clearest patterns that appeared were not related to how each model was rated by the two participants, but instead related to the consistency of the individual participants' expressed thoughts when rating different models. This is true not only with Anh and Adrián, but with all participants as will be discussed below. While there were similarities between Ahn and Adrián, individual differences appeared to play an important role in how they rated the models.

5.1.3.6   *Emirian man nonnative condition*

In rating the Emirian model, Anh and Adrián followed a similar pattern as for rating the other models, with Adrián focusing primarily on physical traits when considering whiteness and

race questions and Anh focusing largely on a combination of language and physical traits for all ratings of the Emirian man.

57) Anh

So, this one um He looks like he's from like the Middle East but the way he talks more American than English for sure So how white does this person seem . Huh Going to the looks, he does not look white Maybe he sound enh, I'll give him a 2 on this Kind of white, but kind of not

58) Adrián

How white does this person seems I'll say 2 because he doesn't really seems white How European does this person seem ... Um: I'll go on 3 on this one cause he kind of looks like he could be like more European than any other ethnicity

Anh and Adrián displayed different tendencies in their expressed thought patterns as they rated Emirian man. Both participants gave the Emirian model a 2 in relation to whiteness. As with the other conditions, Emirian man seemed not white for some participants and possibly European for others. In the case of Adrián, the model seemed both not white and somewhat European. In a similar pattern found with Becca, Sophie, and Sam from the standard condition and Breanna from the nonstandard condition, they both classified Emirian man as some other race, although Adrián also wrote in "European". Therefore, there appears to be inconsistency in Adrián's responses. Where strong connections are normally drawn between Europe and whiteness, as is seen in the US Census definition, Adrián did not appear to be making these connections, although in a later interview question, he said that one could not be white in the US without having European ancestry. The participants' different classifications are perhaps evidence that both the nonstandard and standard guises did have an impact on racial

classification for Janie from the standard condition who described Emirian man as looking Italian and classified him as white, and Claudia and Christopher from the nonstandard condition who classified him as white.

5.1.3.7 *Nonnative condition summary*

Anh and Adrián both displayed consistent patterns as they rated the models. Anh primarily focused on a combination of language and physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions. Adrián, however, focused primarily on physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions while less frequently drawing on language. These two participants classified the Belgian model as white, and both gave him high whiteness scores, and classified the Nigerian model as Black or African American and gave him lower whiteness scores. Their ratings diverged slightly for the Chinese model and the Alaskan model. Both participants classified these two models as Asian in some way (Alaskan – Asian; Chinese – Asian/white and Asian/American), but Anh gave them both higher whiteness ratings, 3 for the Chinese model and a 4 for the Alaskan model, while Adrián gave them both 1s. Both participants also gave the Emirian model lower whiteness ratings at 2 and classified him as 'Some other race' while Adrián wrote in "European". Interestingly, Anh gave the Alaskan model, who she classified as 'Asian', a higher whiteness rating than the Chinese model who she classified as a "mix between white and Asian". She described the Alaskan model's Yupik-speaker guise as sounding more American than the other guises. Therefore, it is possible that this may have influenced her rating. This may again be related to the relationship between whiteness and nativeness that was found in the perception survey results.

I will now turn to the common patterns and themes seen across conditions, which will be followed by a discussion of common patterns related to how different participants approached rating the models.

5.1.4   *Common patterns across participants and conditions*

The rating of these five models on this survey appears to be highly contextual, differing for different models, conditions, and participants. However, common patterns were found across all models and conditions in terms of thought processes and judgements when rating these models.

When rating models based on whiteness or other questions related to race, the participants focused primarily on language, physical traits, or a combination of the two, effectively thinking along a continuum from language to physical traits. This perhaps does lend support to theories which position language as a significant factor of race and racial categorization (Alim, 2016a, 2016b). However, it is important to note that in the think-aloud findings, as well as the survey findings, the models' language guises generally did not supersede physical traits in categorizing individuals racially, even when someone "sounded white", with the partial exception of Emirian man, and in very few cases, Chinese man and Alaskan man (although the Chinese and Alaskan models' categorizations were likely due to the participants' attention to language while ignoring the model photos). In some cases, even when models were given a high whiteness rating, they were categorized as races other than white. Fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics were very seldom considered in relation to questions of whiteness or race. It should be noted that Sam and Janie both asked if the guises used for the standard condition were the same speaker. These guises were often associated with "sounding American" or sounding like one "does not have an accent", and even "sounding white". This

supports both the commonly perceived unmarked nature of the standard (Lippi-Green, 2012; J. Milroy, 2001), and the studies which have drawn associations between whiteness and what is ideologized as Standard English (Bucholtz, 2016; Fought, 2006). However, in agreement with the quantitative survey results, for the participants in this study, some nonstandard, especially Southern US English, as well as Urban Northern, varieties were also associated with whiteness. This points to a more complex notion of language and whiteness than is often presented. Whiteness is often most closely linked to what is thought of as the standard, and nonstandard varieties such as Southern English varieties may be associated with "failing" at whiteness (Hartigan, 1999; Roth-Gordon, 2011; Wray, 2006).

In terms of common themes across physical traits, despite the lack of firm boundaries between constructed "racial" phenotypes, it appears that participants had somewhat defined ideas of what individuals from different races look like. Nearly all participants described the different models' physical traits based on how they "look" at some point during the think-aloud. For example, according to the participants, Belgian man "looks white"; Nigerian man looks "Black or African American"; Chinese man "just looked completely Asian" or "of Asian descent"; Alaskan man "was probably not white judging by the photo" and looks "very Asian" or like "a mix"; and Emirian man "looks Indian American", "looks white", and appears to be "more European than any other ethnicity". As can be seen, many of these references are to categories that correspond to the major US Census race categories.

Participants commented primarily on "skin color" (Janie, Becca, Christopher, and Sam), and facial features (Adrián and Christopher) when describing the models' physical traits. Additionally, participants' comments tied physical traits to different regions or countries. For example, Alaskan man was described as looking "Filipino", Belgian man was described as

looking like he was from "England", Chinese man was described as appearing to be from "Japan" or "Taiwan", and Emirian man was described as looking like someone from "Spain", "Italy", from the "Middle East", or "Indian American". In much the same way that participants' comments were reflective of defined ideas related to racial categories, their comments were likewise reflective of seemingly straightforward ideas related to country and regional appearances, which agrees with common conceptions that people from different countries share a common physical appearance. However, research has shown that accent sometimes overrides physical appearance; for example, German participants do not appear to be able to tell Germans apart from Italians when their photographs are matched with contrasting native German or Italian-influenced German voice guises (Rakić, Steffens, & Mummendey, 2011). Therefore, this points to these associations being more ideological in nature and socially constructed. This is perhaps evidenced by the wide variety of countries or regions that participants associated with certain models who do not fit as neatly into the black/white binary racial system (Rumbaut, 2015), such as the Alaskan and Emirian models, who were racially categorized in multiple different ways and were not as straightforwardly categorized by the participants as other models. Somewhat varied responses were also found with Chinese man, who was straightforwardly categorized by some participants (Adrián and Sam) as "completely Asian" (Adrián, think aloud) and considered to appear half white and half Asian by others (Anh and Janie). Therefore, it appears that the appearance of the models who do not neatly fit into the black/white racial binary which is common in the US resulted in multiple, often conflicting racial or ethnic categorizations.

There was only one instance of a participant who related fashion/lifestyle/culture characteristics to race. While rating the Belgian model, Christopher from the nonstandard

condition described the model's "white kind of haircut [and] white kind of facial hair". All other expressed thoughts related to fashion were in reference to the class and culture questions.

The class and culture questions only elicited responses by one participant related to race or ethnicity. When rating the Nigerian model and the Chinese model on the middle-class question, Adrián rated the Nigerian model lower based on his race and the Chinese model higher based on his. This seems to suggest that Adrián does associate different races with certain class statuses. However, when considering these questions, the other participants tended to express thoughts related to fashion/culture/lifestyle. This is perhaps unsurprising given that fashion often indexes class, culture, and lifestyle groups. These comments were often related to the activities described in the guise audio script, especially as they relate to being middle class or mainstream, such as taking the train and shopping. They were also related to people's fashion and appearance with middle class and mainstream often being associated with good hygiene and trendy or semi-formal fashion choices, such as wearing button-down shirts. There was a secondary emphasis on language as it related to the class and culture aspects. These tended toward associations between the standard varieties being perceived as more middle class and educated and the nonstandard varieties being perceived as less middle class and less educated. This is also unsurprising as many foundational studies in sociolinguistics have shown that there are relationships between language and class (Labov, 1966) and that the standard is often more ideologically associated with the middle class and higher levels of education (Lippi-Green, 2012). However, these questions did not tend to elicit responses related to racial perception or categorization.

This discussion of common patterns will be continued below when the think-aloud findings are compared to the survey results. However, first, I will turn to the most surprising

finding of the think-aloud, which is the high consistency in thinking across models for individual participants and how this thinking compares across participants.

5.1.5   Participant patterns

Three broad groups emerged from the data considering participants' approach to rating the models. Particularly as it relates to rating whiteness and race, participants tended to fall along a continuum from expressing thoughts associated with language to expressing thoughts more associated with physical traits, with over half of participants focusing on combinations of the two. These three broad groups will be discussed and any commonalities between the participants' backgrounds and behaviors will be noted.

5.1.5.1   Janie and Adrián

The two participants whose expressed thoughts were most frequently related to physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions were Adrián, who completed the nonnative condition, and Janie, who completed the standard condition. Behaviorally, these two participants shared a common trait as they proceeded through the survey. Both participants began the survey listening to the entire audio sample and by the end of the survey they were both only listening to the first sentence or first few words before pausing the recording and moving on to answer the questions. This may have been related to a frustration with all samples using the same script. However, this tendency to want to skip the audio to begin rating may have been related to a propensity to associate whiteness and race more with physical traits over other possible characteristics.

For Janie, this was apparent by her decreased focus on language and increased focus on physical traits as she progressed through the task. For the first model she rated (Belgian man), she voiced thoughts in relation to race and whiteness that were more related to physical traits,

while the second model she rated (Nigerian man) elicited the most comments related to language. For the third and fourth models there was only one small mention each related to language (e.g., "Yeah, he doesn't have an accent either OK", Chinese man), and finally for the last model (Alaskan man) she only expressed thoughts related to physical appearance.

Adrián expressed the fewest thoughts related to language of the nine participants. From the first model he was primarily focused on physical traits when it comes to whiteness and race questions and this continued as he progressed through the survey, and, like Janie, he spent progressively less time listening to the audio recordings. Where Adrián differed from Janie was in his attention to fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics. Where Janie suggested that she could not judge the class and culture questions based on the information provided, Adrián tended to associate the class and culture questions with fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics, paying special attention to the models' fashion choices as well as apparent race. Where it is potentially less surprising that a participant in the standard condition paid less attention to language, perhaps because she perceived the voices to be similar or unmarked in some way, it is somewhat more surprising that a participant in the nonnative condition would pay less attention to language given the variation across guises in this condition. This may provide further support for the possibility that Adrián was more focused on physical traits.

5.1.5.2 *Breanna and Claudia*

Where Adrián and Janie's comments related primarily to physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions, with only very infrequent references to language, on the opposite end of the spectrum, Breanna and Claudia, both of whom completed the nonstandard condition, commented almost exclusively on language. The two participants' expressed thought patterns differed only slightly, with Breanna expressing brief thoughts related to fashion/culture/lifestyle

and Claudia having one instance where her attention shifted to physical traits for one of the models (Nigerian man). Breanna's comments related to fashion/culture/lifestyle were still tied to language, as they mostly related to whether a speaker sounded urban or rural and her thoughts related to people from urban or rural areas. Claudia's attention shifted to physical traits when she began rating Nigerian man because she said she related personally to his photo guise pairing which she identified as Black or African American but sounding whiter.

These two participants share several aspects in common in terms of their backgrounds and experiences; they are close in age, socioeconomic status growing up, they both identify as Black women, race is important to their identities, and they have both studied language or linguistics. It is therefore possible that these two participants are more sensitive to language use because of their studies and perhaps even because of their personal experiences. As stated previously, these two participants also both rated models under the nonstandard guise; therefore, it is possible that nonstandard varieties elicit more attention to language. However, Christopher was also part of the nonstandard condition and followed a somewhat different pattern, as will be discussed below.

5.1.5.3   *Becca, Sam, Christopher, Anh, and Sophie*

The remainder of the participants, who participated in all three conditions, can be classified into one broad category. Although there were certainly differences in the voiced thought patterns across these five participants and across rating different models for individual participants, these participants all drew on both language and physical appearance in answering the whiteness and race questions. These participants, to different degrees, also all commented on fashion/culture/lifestyle for the class and culture questions.

Becca, Sam, Christopher, and Anh's voiced thoughts were all divided somewhat evenly across language and physical appearance when thinking about whiteness and race questions, with Christopher also once referencing fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics (haircut and facial hair for the Belgian model) as relating to race and whiteness. Sophie differed somewhat, falling between this group and Janie and Adrián in how much time she devoted to thoughts related to physical appearance over language. For this group, which is also the largest group, there appeared to be somewhat of an interplay between language and physical traits when considering whiteness and race questions.

Although there are commonalities across different people in this group, the group as a whole is quite diverse in terms of experience and background characteristics. Additionally, the participants from this group represent the three different survey conditions. Therefore, based on the diversity of participant backgrounds and the number of participants (the largest of the three groups), this group may provide a baseline for understanding how factors interact when individuals are rating models based on race and whiteness. This baseline includes focusing on multiple factors simultaneously rather than giving too much attention to either linguistic features or physical traits. However, although linguistic features do receive attention and do appear to influence racial perceptions in terms of whiteness, physical traits appear to carry much more weight when it comes to racial categorization.

In summary, across these three groups of participants, three broad categories emerged, particularly as it related to whiteness and race questions. Some participants focused primarily on physical traits (and were less interested in listening to the entire voice guise), some participants mostly focused on language and essentially ignored the photographs (this will be discussed further in section 5.2), and the majority of the participants fell somewhere in the middle

considering both linguistic features and physical traits, and in one instance even fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics, when considering whiteness and race questions.

It is possible that these tendencies represent how these participants approach this type of racial perception and categorization task generally, or it is possible that a type of priming may have occurred across these participants. It could be that once the participants began the activity, focusing on specific characteristics, this encouraged them to continue focusing on those characteristics. And it could be that if asked to complete a similar task again they would behave differently. However, it was seen that some participants changed the way they rated for certain models or during the survey; Janie paid less attention to the models' language as she progressed through the survey, for example. Therefore, it is possible that with the inclusion of multiple models, a more representative set of examples of the participants' rating was provided. The discussion of the participants' rating patterns will be continued in the next section.

5.2   Survey Reflection

At the beginning of the semi-structured interviews, all participants described their impressions of how they made decisions while completing the survey. In this section, I will discuss the findings from these reflections as they relate to the three participant groups described in the previous section. As will be discussed further below, eight out of the nine participants' reflections corresponded to their think-aloud findings in relation to what they focused on during the survey. One participant's reflection did not correspond to her think-aloud findings (Janie).

5.2.1   Janie and Adrián

As was described above, Janie and Adrián's comments as they considered race and whiteness questions were primarily related to physical traits. Also, these were the two participants who stopped listening to the entire audio sample as they proceeded through the

survey. Adrián's reflections on how he performed during the survey corresponded to his comments during the think-aloud.

59) Adrián

> T: When it said how white does this person seem for example, what kind of stuff were you focusing on Was it
>
> A: Race
>
> T: Yeah, was it more like the way they looked or like how important was the way they sounded
>
> A: By the look

Adrián's comments in the excerpt above appear to show a very straightforward association between race and appearance which is treated as self-evident. Adrián also went on to say that the model's fashion choices did "not really" have an impact on his thinking. For Adrián, it appears that the most important factor as he rated models was their physical appearance and language was not mentioned as playing an important role.

Where Adrián's reflection corresponded well with his comments during the think-aloud, Janie's differed significantly. Whereas during the think-aloud, her responses to race and whiteness questions primarily related to the model's physical traits, in her reflection, she stated that she was most focused on linguistic features.

60) Janie

> T: if you could just kind of let me know um sort of how you were making decisions, especially for like how white does this person seem how European all those, like, what were you focusing on the most as you kind of went through
>
> J: I think the voice

T: Oh, yeah Okay

J: Yeah

T: The voice stuck out to you

J: Yeah, it wasn't um like even the black guy didn't have any accent at all

In Excerpt 60, we see that Janie's reflection contrasted with the thoughts she voiced during the think-aloud. However, it is important to note that Janie hedged her response with "I think" before answering. Therefore, it is possible that she is not completely confident in her response to this question. Nonetheless, there appears to be internal inconsistency in Janie's response. Although she says she was focusing mostly on the voice recording, her response suggests that she categorized the Nigerian model as Black despite his not having "any accent". During the think-aloud she also said that "he doesn't have a Black accent". This seems to suggest that she would have had an expectation that the model would speak AAE, which suggests she was focusing on other aspects besides the voice guise. However, Janie does not appear to be cognizant of this as she claimed that she was focusing on "the voice". Additionally, she categorized the model as Black or African American; therefore, she may have been paying attention to the voice, but other factors were likely involved in her decision making. Another possibility might be that she is trying to reconcile her approach to this question with the idea she later expressed that "Americans specifically make too much out of race" and her comments distancing herself from the notion of race and racism (Janie, interview), which will be discussed in the next chapter. This may be related to the possibility that talking about race in terms of skin color may seem in some way more racist than discussing language, particularly for someone who tends to downplay the importance of race and racism in the United States.

5.2.2   *Claudia and Breanna*

Claudia and Breanna were both in the nonstandard condition. These two participants commented far more on linguistic features than the other participants. Claudia also commented on physical traits, particularly in relation to Nigerian man, and Breanna drew on fashion/culture/lifestyle in answering the class and culture questions, although these comments still mostly related to linguistic features in some way.

When reflecting on her thoughts, Claudia stated:

61) Claudia

C: Honestly Taylor if I'm honest the picture- I was like- I had a blinders on [T: right], like it

T: So, it just didn't register

C: It just didn't register [T: OK] like the picture meant nothing until that last person with the Black guy and then I was like this makes sense, you know [Laughter]

As was found in the think-aloud, Claudia commented almost exclusively on language until she arrived at the last model she rated, the Nigerian model. As Claudia puts it, she had "blinders on" when rating the other models. This demonstrates that, as suspected, some participants appeared to focus almost exclusively on the photographs when rating the models (e.g., Adrián) and other participants focused almost exclusively on the linguistic features. As was seen in the think-aloud findings, it was not until she made a personal connection to the model based on what she perceived as shared physical and linguistic characteristics that Claudia gave the photograph any attention. Claudia's racial categorizations of the models also supports the idea that she had "blinders on" when rating. She categorized all models as white except for the Nigerian.

Breanna described a somewhat similar pattern in her thinking as she reflected on the experience:

62) Breanna

Yeah, so I didn't . really pay the pictures any attention [T: Uh-huh], I think because the pictures and the voices didn't match in my head So I didn't really look at the pictures at all I focused one hundred percent on the voice

Where Claudia described the pictures as "not registering", Breanna, who was also in the nonstandard condition with Claudia, described her lack of attention to the photos being based on a lack of congruence between the models and their nonstandard guises. This perceived lack of congruence is something that was described by two participants from two different conditions (Breanna-nonstandard; Sam-standard) and will be discussed further below.

Claudia also further described why she associated many of the voice guises in her survey (nonstandard condition) with whiteness.

63) Claudia

I would pick out certain words like on [T: Mhm] the first the first accent that I heard um was very heavy in the [T: Mhm] Southern kind of twang so [T: Yeah] when I heard that twang combined with the- a frog and a snake I was like [Laughter] this person is is white and Southern you know

As can be seen, the combination of a "heavy" "twang" with animals that are commonly found in Southern states such as her own appear to have indexed Southern whiteness for Claudia.

5.2.3   *Becca, Sophie, Sam, Christopher, and Anh*

In the think-aloud, this group of participants all appeared to focus on multiple factors when answering whiteness and race questions. Although their comments did not always follow

identical patterns, when considering whiteness and race questions, these participants all

expressed thoughts related to linguistic features and physical traits. They also expressed thoughts

related to fashion/culture/lifestyle only when considering class and culture questions except for

Christopher who made one comment related to fashion/culture/lifestyle when answering a

whiteness question.

Becca (standard condition) described her thinking as she completed the survey:

64) Becca

I think a lot of it is um just like speaking [from] experience or people you've met or like

[T: mhm] you know've known like traveling and stuff just like where you if you've

known somebody that looks like that or sounds like that [T: mhm] um you can kind of

[use] that as reference

In this excerpt, we see that Becca referenced both how the model looks and sounds. Thus, her

reflection agrees with what she said in the think-aloud portion. We also see that Becca described

thinking in terms of similar references based on past experiences. This suggests the possibility

that she is drawing on exemplars which were formed from her past experiences. Becca went on

to give further detail about what aspects she considered most as she was rating the models.

65) Becca

Yeah um I think between like features and fashion choices and just like photo um .. kind

of helped a lot more than just like off of their voice or like [T: mhm] [?] or what they

sound like

Here, Becca described the photo being more important than the linguistic features, although she

later said that she may not agree with this line of thinking. However, her initial impression

situated the photo, and thus the models' physical traits, as being more helpful than the voice

guise and the linguistic features of the models when rating them on questions related to race and whiteness.

Christopher described a similar pattern of thought as Becca, drawing on multiple different factors. Christopher's reflection also corresponds to what was found in the think-aloud findings.

66) Christopher

Well, I guess since the first thing that was kind of presented was the picture I kind of looked at the basic appearance and then maybe secondarily the clothing [T: Mhm] Um and by the face like obviously the you know skin color or things like that, but also maybe like facial hair or haircuts [T: OK yeah] and then sec- Then followed by the clothing and then you know, maybe listening and hearing, you know, the different accents or [T: Mhm] fluidity or pronunciation things like that

In this excerpt, Christopher clearly described his thinking process while he completed the survey, beginning with attention to physical traits and ending with attention to linguistic features. Christopher was also the only participant who referenced fashion/culture/lifestyle in reference to the whiteness question which is also reflected in this excerpt where he mentioned paying attention to clothing, haircuts, and facial hair.

Anh, like Christopher, gave a very succinct answer during her reflection that corresponded with what was found in the think-aloud findings paying attention to "facial features" followed by the "accent". However, she differed slightly because she paid less attention to fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics than Christopher did.

In the think-aloud data it was found that Sophie paid attention to multiple factors while saying more about physical traits. This is supported in her comments below:

67) Sophie

> T: Can you just describe uh as you were taking the survey kind of how you made choices
>
> Kind of what what kind of stood out to you as as you were thinking [S: Umm] and trying
>
> to rate and things like that
>
> C: Yeah, um so I would say accent was the first thing [T: OK] that I was listening for um
>
> When I heard the first one I thought the others were gonna be like, oh a Spanish accent a
>
> Brazilian accent or, whatever so I was like ready for it and I was like, oh wait everyone
>
> sounded very American to me [?] [T: OK Yeah] Um and then just general appearance of
>
> the people on the picture I would say [T: OK] how they're dressed [TEXT REMOVED]
>
> like do they look like they brush their hair like one guy had like gel in it

In the excerpt, Sophie described being surprised that all models "sounded very American". This
may again point to expectations that resulted in a perceived lack of congruence or simply an
expectation that she would hear a variety of guises. When asked if physical traits were important
as she made her decisions, she said,

68) Sophie

> Um not as just because I mean I'm pretty mixed race [T: Mhm] and it's like I could be
>
> American I could be if I told you I was from Spain you'd probably believe that if I told
>
> you I was Filipino you probably believe that too [T: Mhm] um Yeah, I don't think that
>
> really has anything as much to do with it

Here, Sophie described her own background as impacting her thinking when considering these
questions. Based on her experience, she said that she could be perceived racially in many ways.
Her family comes from South and Central America, but she says she could be perceived as being
from a European country, Spain, as well as from an Asian country, the Philippines. In addition,

in the think-aloud she described recently being asked by a neighbor if she was Japanese. Therefore, based on what she said about her personal experiences, it appears that Sophie may have a more fluid relationship with race and distinctions between different racial categories. However, despite the potential for this more fluid relationship, in her think-aloud she was found to pay more attention to physical traits. Relatedly, she categorized all models congruently with US Census definitions of race, for example Chinese man as Asian and Alaskan man as American Indian or Alaska Native, except for the Emirian. Therefore, it appears that physical features likely played a role in her ratings.

Sam's reflection corresponded with the findings from the think-aloud where his voiced thoughts related to multiple factors while rating models. In Sam's reflection he described the issues he experienced related to congruence very succinctly, stating that "I struggled to believe that some of those voices came out of um those people" and that "I wasn't too sure uh what to base uh my my answers off of" (Sam, interview). He went on in more detail,

69) Sam

T: Yeah, so was it kind of easier if you felt like that really could be their voice [S: Yeah] Like was it easier to answer the questions yeah

S: Yeah . Yeah because I didn't have to pick between the two [T: gotcha gotcha] Alright this is a this is a believable scenario [T: right] And you know, I could base it on all the information as a whole rather than well You know

In the think-aloud findings, the only two models for whom Sam (standard condition) expressed a lack of congruence were the practice model, who was Fijian, and the Nigerian man. However, as he explained in the excerpt above, when he perceived a lack of congruence or an unbelievable pairing, he said he felt he had to pick between either the voice or the model's appearance to base

his ratings on. This may help describe why some participants' voiced thoughts leaned more toward language or more toward physical traits. It is possible that in some scenarios some participants felt they must choose to rate the models based on one quality over another if they felt the two did not agree. This was also seen with Breanna who focused primarily on language and said, "the pictures and the voices didn't match in my head So I didn't really look at the pictures at all I focused one hundred percent on the voice". It is not until a more believable or relatable pairing is presented, as was seen with Claudia's reaction to Nigerian man, that it is possible to take a more holistic view. As she said in her reflection on rating that model, "the picture meant nothing until that last person with the black guy and then I was like this makes sense". Sam went on to say that the models' fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics were not as impactful as physical traits and linguistic features, "It wasn't as important". Sam also described his thinking when it comes to consciously trying to racially categorize someone:

70) Sam

> Um when it came to trying to pin down [T: Mhm] their race, then um, you know, the the photos um [T: Mhm], you know, it was just an easy choice after looking at the photos, you know, for sure [T: Gotcha] This guy's obviously could very much um for sure like African American [T: Mhm] Asian American [T: Mhm] Indian whatever [T: Yeah, gotcha] but it's uh listening to to their voices where uh it made things a little bit more difficult [T: Mhm] cause um you know I would just for all those people I would assume that they were born in America

Here we see that when categorizing someone racially, physical appearance was the most important factor for Sam. This agrees with the quantitative forced-choice racial classification results where the models' perceived races were not heavily impacted by different voice guises.

Sam went on to describe the voices as being a complicating factor that makes this type of

decision making more difficult, particularly when there is a perceived lack of congruence.

Interestingly, Sam perceived the models as being American based on their photos ("African

American, Asian American") and perceived all the standard guises as sounding American, but

nevertheless perceived a lack of congruence. Therefore, it may be that if some of the models

were paired with nonstandard US varieties, he may not have experienced the lack of congruence.

This perhaps suggests that Sam would not expect some of the models which lacked congruence,

such as the Nigerian, to speak a standard US variety. These findings suggest there is an important

relationship between language and racial categorization. However, it should be noted that Sam

did describe perceiving the majority of models as being congruent as he took the survey, the

practice model being the one model that he did not believe corresponded to the voice recording

and Nigerian man being somewhat hard to believe under his specific standard guise. Therefore, it

is possible that the first practice model may have primed Sam to be suspicious of the other

models.

Another important note is that the reflection asked the participants to reflect on their

thoughts overall. Therefore, they were reflecting holistically on all questions that were asked.

However, the participants did primarily discuss physical traits and linguistic features in their

reflections.

5.2.4   *Survey reflection discussion*

When compared, the think-aloud findings corresponded to the survey reflections for the

vast majority of participants. The general pattern that appeared showed that physical traits were

the most important factor when considering whiteness and race questions. This was followed by

linguistic considerations. Fashion/culture/lifestyle characteristics were only considered in one

instance when considering whiteness and race questions. The participant, Christopher, who was seen to mention these characteristics also described paying attention to them in his reflection. Although culture and constructs like class can certainly be connected to racism (Kendi, 2019), for these participants, the more cultural and class aspects seemed to be tertiary or were not considered when considering or classifying someone racially. Additionally, participants' comments on fashion/culture/lifestyle were primarily in response to class or culture questions rather than whiteness or race questions. Therefore, although things like class and culture may be associated with race, as was seen in Adrián's references to the Nigerian and Chinese models' race when responding to the middle-class question, and perhaps connected more strongly with ethnicity in the case of culture, these findings point to them being separate ideas or constructs. However, it is important to note that variation in fashion and attractiveness were both controlled for in this study by choosing actors' headshots. Therefore, different findings may have resulted if there were more variation in fashion choices across the models.

Furthermore, the survey reflections made apparent that some participants said they perceived a lack of congruence for some of the voice/model pairings. This led to Sam describing a situation where he had to make a choice between the voices and the photographs. This may be a similar situation to that which arose for other participants who focused exclusively on either the photos or the voices when making decisions. This is an important factor that will be considered in the next section as well as in the conclusion.

5.3   Comparing the Think-Aloud Findings and Quantitative Results

The findings from the think-aloud and survey reflections provide a great deal of insight into how participants approach rating models paired with differing voice guises on whiteness and race, as well as class and culture. The think-aloud supports many of the findings from the

quantitative phase of this study. Specifically, it supports the results which found that photos paired with standard and some nonstandard varieties (in this case, all native varieties) can be perceived as whiter than the photo alone or the photo paired with a nonnative accent. This perhaps supports a possible connection between nativeness and whiteness, or between foreignness and decreased whiteness. However, an increase in perceived whiteness does not necessarily correspond to the individual being categorized as white. During the think-aloud, models could be described as sounding very white or being very white when considering the whiteness question but would often then be categorized as a race other than white. Therefore, although certain varieties may be associated more with whiteness, and may cause a model to be perceived as in some way whiter than otherwise, it does not necessarily influence a change in perceived race for that model.

This difference between description and categorization was most evident as it relates to the Belgian and Nigerian models, who were categorized very consistently as white and Black or African American across guises. This likely speaks to the idea of the Black/white racial binary in the US (Rumbaut, 2015). For much of US history individuals were racialized according to this binary, and the people who defined racial groups, such as census workers, were confused by people who did not fit neatly into the binary. This was true for the classification of Asians, who were eventually given their own racial designation on the US Census, as well as Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders for whom a Census category was much more recently created (Rumbaut, 2015). Therefore, the more historically established racial categories such as Black and white appear to result in more consistent categorization across conditions. However, for the Alaskan and Emirian models, their standard and nonstandard voice guise pairings did result in some participants categorizing them as white. Therefore, in more ambiguous cases in

terms of the Black/white US racial binary, a difference may be seen in racial categorization due to different voice pairings.

Importantly, the think-aloud also gives insight into how participants interacted with the survey used in the quantitative phase of this study. All participants' explanations of answers to race and whiteness questions were on a continuum between focusing on language to focusing on physical traits, with the majority of participants falling in the middle considering both factors. This relationship between language and physical traits helps to explain and support the quantitative survey results which found that the majority of models were rated significantly whiter under the standard and nonstandard guises in comparison to nonnative guises or photos alone, particularly for those models who would not be defined as white. It also supports sociolinguists' assertions that language is important in the construction of race and different racial categories.

An additional interesting point related to the current survey design was also highlighted in the think-aloud findings. Specifically, some participants described particular pairings of voices with photographs as incongruent. This reported incongruence was found in the standard and nonstandard conditions but may have also impacted the participants in the nonnative condition, as was seen with Adrián's reported attention only to the models' "looks" (See Excerpt 59). This perceived lack of congruence caused one participant to choose between rating based on the voice and rating based on the photo for some models (Sam). Additionally, some participants paid little attention to the photos and others paid little attention to the audio. It is likely that this also occurred in the quantitative participant pool. This could be related to some individuals being more attuned to physical traits when it comes to racial perception and classification, or it could be a fault of the study design. Thus, an important question is raised as to whether this perceived

lack of congruence was related to the study design, to participants' preconceived notions and expectations about what people "should" sound like, or whether it was indicative of individual differences in racial perception across participants. A way to test this would be to pair more examples of each variety type with each picture to test whether it is the specific voices in the guises, the varieties, or the participants' perceptions that are leading to these differences in attention and the reported lack of congruence. In any case, more than half of the participants took a more holistic view when rating the models.

Considering the quantitative and qualitative (think-aloud and reflection) survey findings together begins to paint a picture of racial perception which considers both physical traits and linguistic features playing important parts in racial perception and categorization. It also shows that for most models, physical traits superseded linguistic features in terms of participants' racial categorizations and perceptions overall. These findings also show a relationship between what is ideologized as Standard English, as well as certain nonstandard varieties (both rural Southern and urban Northeastern) being associated with whiteness. I will now turn to the findings from the semi-structured interviews in the hopes of better understanding the beliefs and ideologies that serve to construct and reproduce whiteness in the United States.

6   QUALITATIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION II: INTERVIEWS

As was described in the qualitative methods section, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the same nine participants who participated in the think-aloud. The interview questions (See Appendix B) were designed based on pilot testing and the literature related to language, race, and whiteness. The findings will be presented in the order that the interview questions were asked. This is to allow for any possible influence the question order may have had on responses to be made visible. The chapter will begin with findings related to connections between language and race. It will then proceed to findings related to the construct of whiteness in the USA and how whiteness relates to language. Finally, I will discuss findings related to the construct of race more generally. The chapter will conclude with a general discussion of common themes and ideologies found in the data that relate to whiteness and race in the USA.

6.1   Language and Race

6.1.1   Connections between language and race

When asked if they felt there exists a connection between language and race or if they believed language is a part of race, the nine participants reacted to the question in different ways. The majority of participants responded to the question in ways that directly addressed the relationship between language and race. A minority of participants responded in a way that did not address this relationship directly, but which allowed them to discuss topics that they may have preferred to discuss or may have felt more comfortable discussing. Additionally, almost half the participants (Anh, Claudia, Sam, and Sophie) needed the question to be rephrased before responding, as can be seen in several excerpts. This question more than any other required the most rephrasing. This may indicate that either there was an issue with the wording of the question, or that this is something that participants had spent less time consciously thinking

about in the way the question was asked. Considering that over half the participants did not need the question rephrased, it may indicate that this is a tougher question or that this is something some participants had spent less time consciously considering in this way. When rephrasing, I made efforts to maintain the original meaning of the question as closely as possible, asking, for example, if language is an aspect or a part of race. However, for Anh, as can be seen below, the rephrased question may have carried a slightly different meaning related to perceptions.

Of the majority of participants who did respond in a way that directly addressed this relationship, three responses (Anh, Claudia, and Breanna) fell along a spectrum of how closely they described language being connected to race, and two participants (Sam and Christopher) provided somewhat similar answers to each other which related the relationship between language and race to social factors other than race. Of the three participants who described a relationship between language and race, Anh most readily responded that there did exist a relationship.

1) **Anh**

A: ... What do you mean like language is important factor for

T: Yeah, So so do you think like the way people speak kind of has an impact on how people view them racially I guess is what I'm asking

A: Oh, yeah, I think definitely like [T: yeah] I do have people that came from Vietnam to here and they speak kind of like, you know, Vietnamese English [T: Mhm, right] then [T: right] You know kind of English English, [T: Right Yeah] So yeah, they they are viewed differently for sure

Of the participants who responded to this question, Anh is one of two for whom English is a second language. The other participant, Adrián, also responded that he did feel there was a

connection, but his answer was unclear and there was no follow-up to clarify his answer due to other constraints. Therefore, Anh is the only participant who will be discussed in this section who moved to the US in her teens, learned English, and experienced being a second language speaker of English in the US. It can also be seen that her response was readily available and that she was quite certain in her answer, "I think definitely". As was seen in her detailed description in the previous chapter, she is also a member of a large social network of Vietnamese Americans which may be reflected in her response to this question when she described seeing different people's experiences.

Breanna and Claudia, who both identify as Black or African American women and have spent much of their lives in the South, also described connections between language and race, but both said they had mixed feelings related to this relationship.

2) Breanna

T: Um So, do you do you think that there's a connection between um language and race or language and ethnicity

B: [TEXT REMOVED] It's a very loaded question for someone like me to answer because I'm well aware that like African American Vernacular English is such you know, it's just considered to be, you know, an accent without prestige [T: Mhm] as well as Southern American English for the most [T: Right] part as well So, for me, it's one of those things where ever since I've been a kid race has been tied with you don't sound like you look or things like that [T: Right] And I think that it's been that way for a lot of black people [T: Mhm] um and so it's kind of a weird question because of course, I think it's true, but then at the same time, you know, if you think that race is tied up with language,

then you may always walk around in your head with this person should sound like this

[T: Mhm] But, inevitably I think it is but, um sometimes it isn't

In the next excerpt, Claudia begins by describing an interaction with a telemarketer that involves

her name, which is a more traditional African American name than the pseudonym she chose.

3) **Claudia**

T: Is language like an aspect of of race do you think or like a part of a part of race

C: [TEXT REMOVED] The way she sounds doesn't match this name [T: Mhm], you

know, so if it comes to like when we're talking about the aspect of language as it pertains

to accents, as it pertains to dialect, as to that [T: Mhm] kind of stuff . perhaps [T: yeah],

perhaps, you know, but at the same time I'm that black girl that doesn't sound black [T:

Mm], you know [T: OK], like so, you know [T: Yeah Gotcha], I think so and also I

would say yes I would say, yes, it does [T: OK] in in some ways but in other ways, it

doesn't I don't know

As both of these participants stated, they have experienced situations where others perceive a

lack of congruence between the way they speak and the way they look or with what their name

is. As both participants said, they do see connections between language and race, but they also

express that "in other ways" or "sometimes" the connection does not exist or is less clear. This

appears to be a result of their own experiences of coming up against other people's linguistic

expectations which did not reflect their lived realities. These participants both identified their

race as either the most important aspect of their identity (Breanna) or one of the most important

aspects of their identity (Claudia). The fact that they place so much importance on this aspect of

their identities might be the cause of their responses that indicate one can be Black without

speaking a variety commonly associated with this group. These two participants further

elaborated on this topic when asked what it means for someone to sound white, which will be discussed below.

Christopher and Sam, who are the only two participants who identify as white males, both drew connections between language, race, and factors such as environment and how one is raised.

4) Christopher

Um, I think it's much more of a maybe a situational thing [T: mhm] Yeah, I think you know you can uh You can hear people talk all different ways regardless of you know, what they look like or what their you know what their race is um [T: mhm] [TEXT REMOVED] I think maybe you know much more the environment that you're raised in or grow up in [TEXT REMOVED] Like you're not born destined to speak a certain way [T: Yeah] Um I think it's more the way you're taught or the people you're around or you know even talking different ways around different groups of people

5) Sam

T: [REPHRASED FROM ORIGINAL QUESTION:] Do you think that language is kind of a part of people's racial identity Sorta like the way they speak and things like that

S: I think it goes hand in hand [T: Yeah] uh I think that um it's expected [TEXT REMOVED] But, I know that it doesn't, you know what I mean, it's just all It's it's where you're actually from [TEXT REMOVED] I have my biases and I didn't believe that there's that that voice could've come out of that black dudes mouth or whatever [T: Right yeah], Um just because I I because of my experiences throughout my life, I expect these people {the different models} to sound a certain way, [T: right, yeah] when I know

that's not actually the case [TEXT REMOVED] But there's just a lot of exceptions um

[T: Yeah] to the rule

These two participants' responses share the commonality that the environment one is raised in, how they are raised, and education/the way you're taught are connected more strongly with language than one's race. However, there are also key differences in their responses. Where Christopher did not draw connections between language and race in his response, Sam, similarly to Claudia and Breanna above, appears to have drawn connections. Christopher's response described people speaking all different ways "regardless of" "their race", and Sam described "a lot of exceptions to the rule". It is important to note that Christopher may have interpreted the question as asking if people speak a certain way because of their race. This interpretation may explain his comment that "you're not born destined to speak a certain way". This comment may indicate a more biological interpretation of the question rather than a more sociocultural understanding. Nonetheless, in agreement with the responses above, Christopher (nonstandard condition) did not express any lack of congruence in the model/voice pairings during the think-aloud where Sam (standard condition) did experience a lack of congruence for some models and here described a difficulty believing the model/voice pairing for the Nigerian model. Interestingly, Sam simultaneously recognized that he has expectations of what people from different racial backgrounds should sound like and that he knows that it "is not actually the case". Yet, his expectations appeared to outweigh this knowledge in his response and when completing the think-aloud. Sam said his biases and expectation are based on his experiences. This may help explain the differences in these responses. Sam has always lived in the US whereas Christopher has spent much of his life living outside the US in Europe and East Asia. It is perhaps a result of these experiences that Christopher does not describe connections between

language and race in the same way that Sam does. Chieffo and Griffith (2004) have shown that even one month spent abroad can have a significant impact on students' attitudes toward multiculturalism, specifically when considering intercultural awareness and awareness of global interdependence. Therefore, it is understandable that there would be differences in perspectives between Christopher, who has spent many years abroad, and Sam who has lived his life in the United States, living mostly in the Southeastern US. It could also be that Sam being in the standard condition had his expectations challenged more or in different ways than Christopher who was in the nonstandard condition. However, it should be noted that despite the differences seen here, during the think-aloud protocol there were many similarities seen in how these two participants approached rating models, focusing on similar aspects. Additionally, in terms of the most important factors in determining if someone is white, these two participants gave very similar answers, as will be discussed below.

As can be seen in the excerpts above, both Anh and Sam needed to have this question rephrased. This could indicate that the question was worded in a confusing way. However, considering not all participants needed the question reworded, it could indicate that this is a topic that some participants have not spent time considering, or at least not in the way it is presented in the interview question.

The participants discussed thus far, who are the majority of participants, were able to respond to this question more directly in ways that discussed the relationship between language and race. There was also a minority of participants who responded in a way that less directly addressed the relationship between language and race, but rather addressed related topics; however, their responses varied significantly.

6) **Becca**

   I think that there definitely is I think a lot of it just has to do with um just like resources being available [T: Mhm] Whether it's like, you know, there's a lot of just like underprivilege and you know, and just pover- poverty in the communities where there's not a lot of [education?] there's way too many kids in a school where you don't get to um you know really learn as much as you you know as much as other people are able to

7) **Sophie**

   T: So do you do you think that language is is kind of a part of race like if you had to describe like like what is race do you think that that language fits into that or uh do you think it's kind of not of not really a part of it

   S: Um … I guess I would say it's part of it Um I think there's like a lot of blurred lines between when people say your race and your culture [T: Mhm Yeah] I think cause It depends if you're using that interchangeably but if I said my race is you know German then, you know you speak German that's different than someone who's Spanish and speaks Spanish

8) **Janie**

   T: Do you think when it comes to language and race do you do you see like a connection there between language and race in the the US [TEXT REMOVED]

   J: They're they're both uh Well, let's put it this way I don't I don't care about what anybody's race is, but when you're in the United States, it really does *offend* me when I go get my nails done and these Asian girls are not speaking in a way I understand

These three participants come from a variety of backgrounds: Becca identifies as Black or African American and Hispanic, Sophie as Hispanic, and Janie as white and other (Jewish and

Italian); Janie is older than the other two participants. In terms of the content of their responses, they share very little in common. What these three participants do share in common is that their responses move away, to varying degrees, from the topic of language and race. Becca's response is similar in many ways to what was seen in Christopher and Sam's responses when they referenced "environmental" or "situational" factors such as education. Although Becca described underprivilege and a lack of resources in some communities, she did not explicitly explain how the lack of resources in some communities related to language and race. Additionally, it appears that her response places more judgement on differences in language use than Christopher's response. It is possible that rather than explicitly tying specific ways of speaking to ethnoracial groups she may have been more comfortable describing how resources are allocated differently in different communities. It is also possible that her response which related to education, as well as Sam's and Christopher's, reflect the commonly held ideology that what is called Standard English is a result or indicator of higher levels of education (Lippi-Green, 2012). Indeed, some sociolinguists critique what appears to be a major priority of the US education system, which is to teach children the standard variety (Bernstein, 2004).

Sophie also responded in a way that pivoted the topic slightly from discussing race toward discussing culture. This is a pattern that appears in several of her answers. It may be possible that culture is a topic she is more comfortable discussing than race. It is also interesting to note that many times when Sophie references culture she appears to be focusing on or referring to language. In terms of the content of her response, Sophie uses the term "Spanish" in a way that is synonymous with Hispanic or Latino/a. Therefore, it is possible that when she compares German and Spanish people, she is referring to German and Hispanic people. She also went on to say that "I'm Hispanic um that is my race". Based on her response, it appears she is

conflating culture, ethnicity, and race. It is also possible that she is using German, which is most often considered an ethnicity or culture, hypothetically when she refers to it as a race, meaning if one considers German a race then language is a part of race.

Janie's response perhaps pivoted the furthest away from the topic of the interview question. Rather than discussing connections between language and race, she expressed a view of multilingualism that appears to be reflective of a monoglossic language ideology (Flores & Schissel, 2014). This was also a somewhat more emotional response as can be seen in the emphasis on "offend". Janie is the most conservative of the participants. This reaction may have been a way for her to discuss a topic that she was more interested in discussing and which is also more closely related to conservative or nationalist attitudes toward language and multilingualism (Anderson, 1991).

6.1.2   *Language and race summary*

The majority of participants responded in ways that directly addressed the relationship between language and race. While responding to a slightly revised question that asked about perceptions of language and race, Anh said that there was a connection between language and race, and this was based on her own experiences seeing how people in the US reacted to first and second language English speakers. Breanna and Claudia said that in some ways there is a connection and in other ways or sometimes there is not. This was also based on their experiences and relationship with language and how people have reacted to their own language use. Christopher and Sam both said that language is more related to environmental factors while Sam also said he had expectations of what people should sound like based on their race while simultaneously recognizing these expectations to not actually be the case.

There was also a minority of participants who pivoted away from the question somewhat in their answers. However, there answers differed greatly. When considering these last three responses, it is important to remember that these interviews took place during the summer of 2020 during the Black Lives Matter movement and a heightened focus on race in the US national media and international media. Therefore, this heightened focus and potential for heightened sensitivity to the topic of race must be considered in how these participants responded to this question. Only Anh drew a clear connection between language and race in her response. Her response was to a slightly revised question which focused more on perceptions. Therefore, it is possible that *perceptions* of race may be easier or more comfortable to discuss in comparison to talking about race directly. Although several participants recognized that there are connections between language and race, the vast majority of participants did not draw clear connections. This differs somewhat significantly from how they discussed the language of whiteness.

6.2 Whiteness in the USA

Several interview questions asked participants to consider different aspects of what it means to be white in the United States, including whether a prototypical white person could be described, language and whiteness, relationships between whiteness and class, cultural variation across whiteness, what the most important factor is in determining if someone is white, and how whiteness relates to European ancestry.

6.2.1 Stereotypes, class, and variation within whiteness in the USA

6.2.1.1 Stereotypical and prototypical whiteness

When asked whether a prototypical or stereotypical white person can be described, participants had several different reactions, with some finding it easy to describe a stereotype or prototype, others finding it easy to stereotype but not claiming to believe this stereotype, and

others finding it too difficult or impossible to describe such a prototype due to the inherent

variation within whiteness. Reactions to this question ranged from one participant saying "Yeah,

I think it's pretty easy to stereotype a white person" (Sam) to "that's like impossible to that's

hard to answer" (Sophie). Sophie was the second interview that was conducted after Becca. Her

reaction to this question and others led to slight rephrasing or hedging when asking this question

for later participants. Although she identifies as Hispanic, she said her husband is white which

may have impacted some of her responses to interview questions. Although Sophie and Janie

both found the question difficult to answer, all participants except for Janie responded with some

characteristics they associated with stereotypical or prototypical whiteness.

Almost half the participants' (Sophie, Christopher, Becca, and Claudia) first reactions to

describing a stereotypical white person relied on descriptions of physical features. These

descriptions all reflected features that are commonly associated with Northern Europe, for

example,

9) **Christopher**

Gosh a typical white person [T: Mhm] Um Normally I would say maybe you know blue

some kind of blue shade of eyes [T: OK], a a a maybe a lighter color of hair is what I

would first imagine [T: Mhm] relatively light complexion

All four participants listed above drew on similar features with some using terms such as "fair

skin" or complexion (Becca, Sophie, and Claudia) rather than "lighter", and some adding

features such as freckles (Sophie). It should be added that not all these participants recognized

this to be a true stereotype and described being aware they were drawing on societal stereotypes

when answering (particularly Sophie and Claudia). In addition to physical features, three of the

participants mentioned above, Christopher, Becca, and Claudia, as well as Adrián, described

fashion choices that were explicitly described as "preppy" or could be associated with preppy attire. For example,

10) **Adrián**

They kind of looks like the same thing to me Just khakis and a polo shirt

11) **Becca**

Yeah, um J Crew [Laughter] [T: OK] Actually more like like preppier style

Becca, Claudia, and Adrián, who all described a preppier lifestyle associated with whiteness, and who all self-identify as races other than white, all noted advantages and privileges that are associated with prototypical or stereotypical whiteness (Breanna, who also self-identifies as a race other than white, also described institutional privilege being related to whiteness when asked if class relates to whiteness which will be discussed below).

12) **Claudia**

Yeah privilege [T: Okay] privilege um I think that that uh that that is that is that's the only thing that comes to mind when I think of stereotypical because not all white people are rich [T: Mhm] not all white people have money not all white people are upper class [T: Yeah], but they but all white people are privileged I think [Laugh]

13) **Adrián**

Privilege [TEXT REMOVED] they assume that they're better than any other ethnicity [TEXT REMOVED] always complaining about their rights and freedoms

Although Claudia was able to draw on commonly held stereotypes to describe a preppy version of whiteness which she did not support as factual, here she describes her thoughts related to this question. We see that Claudia described there being much variation within the group that is constructed as white, but the unifying factor across prototypical whiteness is privilege. Adrián, in

addition to describing the stereotypical or prototypical white person as privileged, also suggested

that white people view themselves as better than other ethnoracial groups. This relates to

Fishman's (2009) notion of racism rather than race as a useful construct. In this interpretation,

racism is inherently hierarchical, which we see reflected in Adrián's comments where he

described hierarchical positioning between racial groups. Both participants' comments seem to

recognize the original intended purpose of developing the race construct which was to position

Europeans in an advantageous position in comparison to other "races" (Smedley & Smedley,

2005). Additionally, these excerpts draw a connection to the lifestyle stereotypes previously

discussed. The preppier lifestyle choices that these three participants described could likely be

related to or indicative of the privilege they describe in these excerpts.

One participant diverged from those just mentioned in his description of a stereotype of a

white person:

14) Sam

Um like a 50-year-old Midwestern lady [T: Mhm] uh sitting on the couch watching Dr.

Phil every single day [T: right, gotcha] [laugh] um Ya know, they're um mostly

conservative [T: Mhm] Um But, yeah, I think it's pretty easy to stereotype

As we can see, where the previous participants' prototypical or stereotypical white person was

described as being more upper-middle class and preppy in terms of lifestyle choices, for Sam, the

stereotype he drew on is quite different. Interestingly, he associated stereotypical whiteness with

a particular region (the Midwest), which is commonly associated with folk linguistic ideas

related to the Standard Language Ideology (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003), and he also connected

stereotypical whiteness with cultural and political stereotypes that stand out in contrast to the

preppier lifestyle described above. These contrasts in stereotypes speak to the culturally varied

nature of the different groups that are considered part of the racial group white and the multiple ways that these participants consider this group. Where the previously discussed participants drew on privilege in their descriptions of stereotypical whiteness, Sam's description is more associated with Midwestern conservativism. Although privilege and conservatism are not mutually exclusive, the characterization that Sam presents does not appear to evoke the preppier lifestyle that the other participants did. This variation will be discussed more below.

Breanna and Anh described multiple stereotypes existing related to whiteness, with Anh describing these differences primarily in terms of subcultural affiliations or lifestyle choices, and Breanna describing them as based around different regions.

15) **Anh**

T: Is there such a thing as like a stereotypical white person .. or is it- is that kind of too hard to say

A: No, I definitely think there's different different stereotype in [T: Mhm] in white people alone [T: Yeah] [TEXT REMOVED] The way they dress and stuff [T: Yeah] You can say somebody's like a lumberjack or [T: Yeah; T laughs], like a surfer like [my husband], [T: Yeah right Yeah Okay] or like sometimes a mix or you can go like um I have friends [that] like dressed like, you know city people and you know, more professionals like stuff like that

16) **Breanna**

I think that they're {the stereotypes} kind of like um stereotypes of white people for different areas [T: Right] because in my head the stereotype of a Southern white person of a certain age is very different from the same stereotype I have of that person maybe here in [this major West Coast city] [T: Uh-huh Gotcha] But, yeah, I mean there are

definitely like in my head there are definitely like stereotypes of white people or things

that are associated

Anh's and Breanna's descriptions of different stereotypes for white people demonstrate variation

across regions or different lifestyles. Neither of these descriptions agree or overlap with the

overall preppy stereotype that was described by several participants above, although Anh's

descriptions of city people and professionals may include this preppy image.

Whereas Anh and Breanna described multiple stereotypes of white people, Sophie and

Janie focused on variation within whiteness. Although Sophie was able to draw on some physical

traits related to stereotypical whiteness, she, and Janie, both described it being too difficult to

stereotype white people due to inherent variation. For example,

17) Janie

T: So, do you think it's possible to describe a stereotypical white person or is that an

impossible task

J: Well, not really because there are white people that are, you know, all different

ethnicities [T: Yeah] Like, I got a friend he's from [Laughs] he's Danish and he was born

in North Africa, [T: Yeah] you know, so [T: Uh huh] Yeah and not, it's kind of a hard

Both of these participants described this question as being "hard" to answer due to the inherent

variation of whiteness. This relates to another interview question which had two parts asking

participants if they believed whiteness is related to class or socioeconomic status in some way

and if they believed variation exists within whiteness.

6.2.1.2 *Whiteness and class*

When asked if it is possible to describe white people from a class, subculture, or lifestyle

perspective, the majority of participants said that there is not a direct relationship between

whiteness and class, or that there are many socioeconomic levels within whiteness in the US.

Sophie, who is Hispanic and is married to a white person, and Janie and Sam, who both identify

as white, all said that a relationship did not exist between class and whiteness within the US. For

example,

18) Sam

No, I don't think [T: No] um I don't think there's a correlation there

19) Janie

Cause there are all different classes [T: Yeah] of people that some people are struggling

some people are startin off [T: Mhm], you know, um Some people are It just depends

Mostly, the older people are more set I think [T: Uh huh, yeah], probably in a better

situation whether you're white or black

As we can see from the excerpts above, Sam described not seeing any connection between class

and whiteness. This contrasts with his response in the section on language and whiteness below

where he associated sounding white with sounding middle class. This may indicate that Sam is at

times able to draw on ideologies related to race and whiteness and at other times may draw on

other information that may be related to his own experiences or knowledge. As described in his

detailed description, Sam grew up between his parents' two separate houses. His father's home

was described as very middle-class where his mother was described as living below the poverty

line. Janie, however, provided a different explanation for class, which she related to financial

success, that she would associate with different age groups cutting across different racial groups.

Although Sophie provided a similar answer to Sam and Janie, her reaction to this

question was quite different from the rest of the participants. Where the other participants

responded quite readily, whether they felt it was possible to associate white people with a certain

class/lifestyle or not, Sophie appears to have interpreted this question differently.

20) **Sophie**

T: So do you think you could describe white people from either like a class or lifestyle

perspective or is that another impossible task

S: I feel like you're trying to make me sound to be racist [Laughter] Let me generalize

this entire body of people

Where other participants associated whiteness with privilege and the middle class, Sophie's

response, although in a joking tone, suggests that making such a generalization would be to

sound racist. As will be discussed further below, Sophie sometimes appears to prefer to discuss

other topics, like culture, rather than race. Interestingly, she later does make generalizations

about large groups of people when describing different views of race between Latin America and

the US, "that's where culture kind of comes into play [T: Yeah] Um Americans are typically

like- when you think of an American you're like Oh they're so loud and football and oh They go

crazy". The excerpt above compared with this quote may suggest that discussing the topic of race

made her feel uncomfortable. It may also be possible that identifying as Hispanic, she does not

feel comfortable or believes it would be racist to generalize about white people, especially when

being interviewed by someone who is most often perceived as white.

Becca and Anh described socioeconomic status or class related to whiteness as existing

across different levels. For example,

21) **Anh**

Mm . I don't think so [T: Okay] Well, I don't know, cause I work in the hospital too, so I

see they all got a different class and [T: Yeah] I just actually don't really I can't yeah

While these two participants likewise do not describe a direct relationship between class and whiteness, it is described in somewhat different terms from the views expressed by Sam, Janie, and Sophie. While Sam simply stated that there was not a relationship, Becca and Anh's comments described white people as existing within different classes or SES groups within the US and pointing to variation within whiteness. Where Sam, Janie, and Sophie do not draw any connections between whiteness and class, Becca and Anh's responses may suggest that they have different associations of white people according to different classes.

Responding in ways that were different, but not inconsistent with what Anh said, Claudia and Christopher decided to "flip" or "switch" the question of whether whiteness was related to class and provided very similar answers:

22) **Claudia**

if I were to flip that question I would say that I wouldn't necessarily know of a lot of Black people being rich [T: hmm] Does that make sense [TEXT REMOVED] Like not all white people are rich [T: Mhm] .. You know [T: Mhm] not all Black people are poor [T: Mhm] Have I seen a lot of rich Black people, No

23) **Christopher**

I mean maybe if I maybe if I switch that question around [T: mhm] I think maybe sometimes minorities are much more associated with certain like socio-economic classes

Here, we see that Claudia spends some time thinking through her response as she answers, asking "does that make sense" midway through her response. Her comment again points to the variability within whiteness. The suggestion that other races may be associated with specific classes where white people are not relates to the idea that whiteness is often perceived to be

unmarked in the US while it is other groups that stand out against this unmarked norm (Hill, 2009).

Finally, two participants did describe feeling that connections existed between being white and belonging to a specific class or socioeconomic status. Breanna and Adrián, who both identify as races other than white, said that being white provides institutional advantage and increased opportunities.

24) Adrián

Well, if you white and you in the US, you get more opportunities [TEXT REMOVED]

Like, you get the first choice [T: Yeah] with everything

25) Breanna

I've always found that there was definitely some institutional advantages that me and my

other peers of color whether they were Latino or Asian or wherever that we didn't have

[TEXT REMOVED] Places in [this large West Coast city] are

very very very very very segregated [T: Yeah] [TEXT REMOVED] The medium [sic]

income [T: Mhm] how it's like maybe fifty thousand dollars difference [T: Yeah] [TEXT

REMOVED] there's definitely a lot of privilege

These were the only two participants who straightforwardly identified connections between socioeconomic status and whiteness, and for these participants it was largely related to institutional advantages and privileges. This was not the only occurrence of Adrián mentioning privilege as being an important factor related to whiteness. He also mentioned this as being an important factor related to prototypical or stereotypical whiteness, along with Claudia who also identifies as a race other than white; however, Claudia's comment was made separate from class.

6.2.1.2.1   Poor whites and race

A second interview question addressed class. Although this question was asked later in the interview (after the question on language and whiteness, section 6.2.2), it will be discussed here because it relates so closely to the topic of whiteness and class. Scholars have suggested that poor whites who are sometimes described as "rednecks" or "hillbillies" possess a "fragile hold on whiteness" and may be described as "fail[ing] at whiteness" (Roth-Gordon, 2011, p. 213; Wray, 2006). Therefore, one question asked whether poor whites, sometimes described as rednecks or hillbillies, are different in terms of race than other white people such as middle-class whites. Nearly all participants described feeling that poor whites were not different racially than other whites with one participant, Janie, saying that being poor "does not affect their race in any way".

Becca and Breanna, who both self-identify as races other than white, said that poor whites were not different from middle class whites and that they still had access to advantages that other racial groups do not possess. For example,

26) **Breanna**

They're white in the exact same way as other white people [TEXT REMOVED] because we have so much research and data that shows us that a white person with a pretty poor credit score [T: Hm] could go into then- that auto dealership or that bank and get the same loan that a person of color with a far better credit score doesn't get [T: OK] [TEXT REMOVED] That privilege is really really really based on something like skin color

Here, again we see much in common with comments made by Breanna and Adrián in the previous section, as well as Claudia and Becca in section 6.2.2.1. These comments all draw

connections between whiteness and privileges, regardless of class status, that people of other ethnoracial backgrounds do not have.

Sam, Sophie, Claudia, Anh, and Adrián, who come from a wide variety of backgrounds, described feeling that there were differences which are largely reflective of access to education, resources, or differences in lifestyle, but that these are not racial differences. For example,

27) Claudia

Not in terms of race [T: Okay] nah just in terms of the lack of lacking of resources [T: Okay Got ya] you know, not in terms of race

Finally, Christopher who does self-identify as white was the only participant who expressed the idea that there were differences between poor whites and middle-class whites.

28) Christopher

I guess my my first thought is yes, but maybe they didn't have some of the .. you know, educational opportunities or you know, it's kind of a generational thing where they, you know, they can't break that cycle of of, you know in the you know in a poorer family or poorer area

Although Christopher did describe feeling there were marked differences between poor whites and those of the middle class, these differences are similar to those described by participants who said that there are differences between poor whites and middle-class whites, yet that these differences do not impact their race. Although Christopher initially said that his first thought was "yes", this was followed with a "but" and then he went on to describe these similar differences. Therefore, it is not completely clear whether at the end of his response he continued to view these differences as being related to race.

The overwhelming majority of participants did not express views that would situate poor whites as being different racially than middle class whites. These findings are contrary to those scholars who have suggested that poor whites can "fail" at whiteness (Roth-Gordon, 2011; Wray, 2006). It is possible that instead these differences are associated with other social constructs such as class, for example. It is also possible that these differences are not operating at the level of conscious awareness so that the participants would describe them in terms of race.

6.2.1.3   *Variation within whiteness*

Although many participants were able to draw on stereotypes or prototypes of whiteness, and some described feeling that whiteness could be associated with institutional or economic privilege, all participants recognized that there does exist variation within whiteness. Additionally, the vast majority of participants responded very readily and quickly when asked if variation exists within whiteness with responses such as "Mhm yeah definitely" (Claudia), "Um, yes, for sure" (Breanna), and "Oh, yeah" (Adrián), suggesting that this question was less threatening for participants to answer. Descriptions of variations within whiteness fell into several broad categories. These primarily had to do with different regions, levels of education and learning, socioeconomic status, and other social factors. Several participants referred to multiple factors in their responses. These tended to include socioeconomic status, education, or upbringing.

29) **Claudia**

I think it does depend on demographic, upbringing, where you're from, the type of relationship that you interact with, you know or have you know what I'm saying [T: Yeah] Yeah, there's a lot of ways to be white you know [Laughter]

30) Breanna

I mean there's there's variations in class and I also would say there's variation in between

generation to generation in white people because I do think tha:t the parents grandparents

great-grandparents of my like white counterparts definitely . held *very* strong views about

like *This* is our neighborhood This is where white people live This is what you should do

Maybe you shouldn't worry- marry a person that's not white [T: yeah] that I think my

peers don't So I think there's variations in generation and *definitely* there's variation in

white people depending on the part of the country

31) Christopher

C: Variations within whiteness

T: Yeah, so kind of different ways to sorta be white or is it sort of like one kind of big

homogeneous group I guess

C: No, I guess there's I guess there's some differences um Maybe it's hard for me to

describe what they are [T: OK] Um It's kind of like that thing You know it when you see

it [T: Okay, gotcha] Maybe that's as much like related to education or behavior [T: mhm]

as as socioeconomic status

As can be seen from these excerpts, participants often described multiple ideas related to

variation within whiteness. The earlier comments related to variation in socioeconomic status

and whiteness are echoed in these excerpts. Education and learning were also described as

important to variation by Janie and Becca in addition to the comments in these excerpts. In

addition to Christopher and Breanna's comments related to class above, Adrián also referenced

class differences as being important to variation within whiteness. Interestingly, Breanna was the

only participant to mention generational differences and changing attitudes in terms of race and

whiteness. Her comments suggest a decrease in racist or segregationist attitudes across generations.

As was seen in Claudia's comment above, region was an important variational marker for several participants, also including Sophie and Sam. For example,

32) Sam

Where say if you're um born in New York City [T: Mhm] in the 80s maybe you do identify more with uh Black culture [T: Mhm] uh because you're really into fuckin hip hop and break dancing, [T: right] and that's that's what you grew up around [T: Uh huh], Um or maybe grew up in the Southwest and you're just, you know, you're you're- grew up on a cattle ranch

33) Sophie

I would say you have a group of Americans that are white, but my husband's family is from like [the Upper Midwest] kind of that area [T: Mhm OK] There are Colombians that are also still white There are Spanish people that I think are still white um So I think it's yes I think it's all across the board

We can see from these excerpts that Sam and Sophie both described associating variation within whiteness with different regions. However, for Sam, this regional variation is also connected with variation in lifestyle. Sophie, on the other hand, described variation in terms of regions not only within the US, but also national origin, including countries from Latin America and Europe, thus broadening the discussion to a global level. As was discussed above, it should be noted that Sophie uses the term 'Spanish' as a synonym for Hispanic or Latino; therefore, it may be possible that her use of the term 'Spanish' is in reference to Hispanics more generally rather than people from Spain.

As can be seen from the comments in this subsection, as well as comments from the previous subsections, these participants described the existence of different types of variation within whiteness. The participants were able to describe a wide variety of variation and did so quite readily. These differences exist across regions and countries, socioeconomic classes, education levels, behavior, subcultures, and generations. Yet, many of these participants were also able to draw on stereotypes of whiteness, stereotypes which some of them did not actually describe as being true. This perhaps points to the power of ideologies, sets of beliefs that many people may consciously recognize as not corresponding to reality, but which continue to exist and influence peoples' and societies ideas related to certain topics. Furthermore, Prinz (2014) describes stereotypes generally being based on the most salient members of a group, and that this salience is often reflective of media representations. These stereotypes then impact judgements of all members of the group. Often, minority groups are portrayed in more singular, and often negative, ways (p. 66). Therefore, it may be that the preppier image that was drawn on when considering stereotypical or prototypical whiteness may be reflective of a more salient representation of whiteness; however, representations of whiteness, being the majority group in the US, are likely more plural which may be reflected in the variation seen here. Despite the variation that these participants see across whiteness, the US government recognizes a single group called white as an official race in its census. Therefore, in section 6.2.3 we will turn to the participants' impressions of what factors are most important in determining if someone is white. However, first we will turn to the topic of language and whiteness.

6.2.2   Language and Whiteness

One interview question specifically asked the participants what it means for someone to "sound white" or if someone can "sound white". The participants were somewhat divided in how

readily they responded to what it means for someone to sound white. Just over half of the

participants needed to take a moment to consider the question with immediate responses such as,

"Umm …. I would say . a white sound" (Sophie), and "In terms of language um … maybe less

gosh in terms of language for a white person um …" (Christopher). While the group of

participants who took a moment to consider their answer came from a variety of backgrounds

and included all the participants who identify as white, those that had more ready responses all

identify as races other than white (Anh, Adrián, Becca, Breanna). This may speak to the nature

of markedness in the US. What is often considered unmarked at the national level or for the

majority may be more saliently marked for individuals who do not identify as members of the

majority. Although there were differences in the content of participant responses to this question,

the majority of participants described aspects of language that can be associated with the

Standard Language Ideology.

6.2.2.1 *The Standard Language Ideology and whiteness*

Sam, Christopher, Becca, Adrián, and Claudia responded to the question of what it means

to sound white with answers that related to aspects associated with the Standard Language

Ideology (Lippi-Green, 2012; J. Milroy, 2001).

Becca and Christopher both described the language of whiteness using metalanguage

related to linguistic features.

34) **Becca**

Language for white people is um they're able to they're able to announce our [sic] like

pronounce every letter in all of the words [TEXT REMOVED] Every other type of

ethnicity and race I feel like speaks in some type of slang and it's just because like

everyone else got shi- there's stuff to be done [Laughter]

35) Christopher

> Language for a white person um ... Maybe it's kind of a stereotype that I have but maybe
>
> like a clearer pronunciation [T: Okay] Less less clipped or less you know sort of slang [T:
>
> mhm] um or something like that [TEXT REMOVED] even with a Southern accent you
>
> know, I still feel like it's you know Things aren't really clipped or you know, like not
>
> pronounced in some way

Here, we see both Becca and Christopher describing specific pronunciation patterns and

vocabulary that they related to the language of typical white speakers. In terms of pronunciation,

they described white speakers as having "clearer pronunciation", pronouncing "every letter" of a

word, or speaking in a "less clipped" way. These participants are likely referring to a lack of

perceived "restriction on the occurrences of consonant clusters" (Green, 2004, p. 76) which is

typical of varieties like AAE and Latino Englishes (Fought, 2006). Although such features are

commonly found in ethnolects, it should be noted that such features are also found in

nonstandard varieties which we have seen being associated with whiteness, such as some

Southern English varieties, as well as standard varieties across the US and UK (Shockey, 2003).

Additionally, these two participants described the vocabulary of a typical white speaker as being

marked by a lack of slang. Slang, again, is something that is commonly associated with

nonstandard varieties in the US (Green 2004; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). These two

participants described the language of a typical white speaker as language marked by a lack of

nonstandard features which is a typical way of defining what is ideologized as Standard English

and also of defining the language of whiteness (Fought, 2006).

Sam and Adrián also described linguistic and social factors that are commonly associated

with Standard English when asked about the language of whiteness.

36) Sam

I guess when when people refer to somebody sounding white I guess that that would

mean that they sound um .. um middle-class [T: Mhm] not influenced by um not

necessarily influence by the region where they're from [T: Mhm] [TEXT REMOVED] I

don't want to say that they sound like they're educated [T: Uh huh] But, I guess I would

say that they I guess the stereotype is that they they do have a fair education [T: Mhm]

[TEXT REMOVED] and they don't um I guess they . they speak quote unquote the most

proper English that we speak in America

37) Adrián

Yeah, they sound more educated, more polite

In Excerpt 36, Sam described multiple factors that are associated with the Standard Language

Ideology. In terms of social factors, Sam's description painted white speakers as sounding

middle class, educated, and not regional. Adrián echoed the idea of white speakers sounding

educated. As stated previously, it is well documented that what is ideologized as the standard is

associated with both the middle class and being more educated (Lippi-Green, 2012).

Additionally, Sam used a more holistic description than Becca and Christopher when he

described the stereotype of white language as "the most proper English". This may also be what

Adrián was referring to when he described white language users as sounding "polite", or it is

possible that he was referring to pragmatic politeness strategies. Both comments speak to notions

of formality and "correctness" that are often associated with what is ideologized as Standard

English (Lippi-Green, 2012). Interestingly, Sam said that factors such as education may be

associated with white speakers but also distanced himself from this belief by referring to it as a

stereotype. This may be another example where Sam simultaneously draws on ideologies but

also provides a conflicting answer or distances himself from the response, which has been seen in previous sections. However, these two participants' comments support the notion that there is a connection between what is thought of as the language of a typical white person and what is ideologized as Standard English.

When asked what it means to sound white, Claudia described her experiences moving from a major city in the Northeastern US to the US South.

38) Claudia

So when we came here when we came to [the South] uh people accused me of sounding white Now I've been accused of sounding white all my life [T: Mhm] But [Laugh], even in [the Northeast], but it wasn't even close to as bad as when I came to [the South] [T: Right] you know [T: Got you] When I came to [the South] I- There were black people didn't like me because I sounded the way I sound [T: Hm] They were like They called me the white girl That's what they called me

Claudia, who identifies racially as Black and Haitian/Dominican, described experiences of being ostracized because of her language use, highlighting the importance of specific linguistic varieties and how strikingly they can be associated with specific (ethnic) identities (Rickford & Rickford, 2000). These comments also illustrate the difference in perspective in what can appear marked. White language is often considered ideologically unmarked by members of the majority as will be seen with Janie's comments below (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Hill, 2009). However, for Claudia, whose language did not fit the norms of the community she lived in, her language was perceived as being marked, standing out against the norms of AAE and impacting how others perceived her racially. Her comments also reveal the potential downsides of assimilationist language policies in terms of identity and group membership.

Claudia went on to describe her language use and how it relates to linguistic and social factors:

39) Claudia

So um to sound White um [T: Mhm] What it meant for me growing up meant sounding educated, [T: Mhm] meant sounding speaking properly with you know enunciating your words [T: uh huh] [Laugh] [TEXT REMOVED] [T: Yeah] I know now and I even knew then as I was growing, you know in high school I was just like y'all are ignorant if you think that I have to sound like this, you know to be Black [T: Yeah yeah] [TEXT REMOVED] like I said that that is you know, not white [of me] [T: Yeah] to sound that way but, uh, does the general population think that ehh you know, like [TEXT REMOVED] there's very much so a a idea that to sound white is to speak properly [T: Mhm] and to enunciate your words, [T: Mhm] and there's just an accent There's just an accent to sound white

In Claudia's excerpt above, we see that she does recognize that there is a general perception of what it means to sound white. This includes several aspects which relate to the Standard Language Ideology, such as sounding educated, speaking "properly" and specific pronunciation patterns. However, she appears to reject this as a white variety. Instead, it seems that she considers this variety to be educated. Where her speaking variety was considered marked and 'white' by her neighbors in the South, for her, coming from the Northeast, her variety was less marked and "more proper than the Southern accent". Thus, in her response we see support for notions of what is ideologized as the standard being associated with whiteness based on her experiences with others, and also her personal rejection of this association.

When asked what it means for someone to sound white, Breanna responded in a way that shared much in common with Claudia's response above. She shared her personal relationship with this question along with her ideas about what this means:

40) Breanna

T: Um Okay So what do you think it would mean um if someone says that someone sounds white

B: I mean I heard this a lot growing up And so, I'm assuming that it would mean that you don't look white So, this is- they they- in their head that- they wanted you to sound how you look whether in their head you were supposed to be speaking um Spanish or whatever Like, if someone says you sound white it's because you don't look like the person that they see in their head

Based on her response, it appears that this question has a somewhat different meaning for Breanna than it does for other participants. Whereas other participants seemed to interpret this question in a more neutral way meaning 'what do typical white people sound like?', for Breanna this question appears to be less neutral, and may potentially relate to criticisms of how some Black people speak. As Breanna said in section 6.1.2 above when asked about connections between language and race, ever since being a kid she has been told "you don't sound like you look" and here she associated, based on her experiences, one being told they sound white with not looking white. This shares much in common with Claudia's comment above that when she was a child she was called "the white girl" by her neighbors because of her linguistic variety. This again speaks to the nature of markedness and the expectation that Breanna says that people have had that she should speak a variety that would be more marked at the national level. Therefore, by "sounding white", it is suggested that her variety is less marked at the national

level. Therefore, this response may also be drawing connections, in a less direct way, between whiteness and what is ideologized as the standard.

6.2.2.1.1   Unmarked whiteness

Janie's response to this question also relates to the notion of whiteness, language, and markedness in the US. She said that "nobody sounds white", but that "I think they can sound other races though" (Janie, interview). She went on to explain:

41) Janie

So, I would say, I judge more like if I hear somebody with a Black African American accent [T: Mhm], or Asian accent, or [T: Mhm] ya know, Spanish accent, or Polish accent [T: Yeah] Those definitely, but not [T: They stand out, yeah] They stand out to me

Janie's comments reflect the unmarked nature that is often ideologically associated with whiteness and the standard (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Hill, 2009). Janie, who identifies racially as white and other (Jewish and Italian) may be describing the common folk linguistic notion that some individuals do not have accents (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003) or, in other words, that their variety is thought of as unmarked. Additionally, her identifying as white and other (Jewish and Italian), as well as considering "a Polish accent" as more marked may be reflective of her age (60 at the time of the interview). This may indicate that she remembers a time or was raised by and around people who remembered a time when groups such as Jews, Italians, and Poles were considered not fully white (Roediger, 2006). In fact, as was stated in the introduction, antisemitic and anti-Catholic sentiments have historically been and are still found among white-supremacist groups in the United States. For Janie, the language of whiteness may appear to be unmarked given she considers herself to be white and is considering the language use of her own self-identified racial group. Considering the variety ideologized as standard in the US is often

considered unmarked, her response likely draws a connection between whiteness and the standard.

6.2.2.2   Southern English

Anh and Christopher expressed the view that whiteness can be associated with Southern English varieties. However, Christopher's comments, which were discussed above, were more closely related to the Standard Language Ideology where he added that even white Southern English speakers have a less "clipped" pronunciation pattern.

When asked if it is possible for someone to sound white, Anh responded that it is related "definitely to accents for sure where they come from" (Anh, interview). When asked which accents she associated with whiteness, she replied:

42) Anh

So, I think .. if I have to like make like a joke about being white it's probably from people from Alabama with [T: OK] the accent like that, but [T: Yeah] people speak normal here {in a different Southern state} so I'm not sure [T: right] [A and T laugh] [T: okay] It's hard, yeah

Here, we see that Anh's comments appeared to associate linguistic whiteness with Southern varieties such as those that can be found in Alabama. However, this thought is then complicated by the fact that people "speak normal here". Her comments appear to demonstrate that she is aware that the stereotype she is drawing on does not hold for the people she generally interacts with. This excerpt also lends support to the connections that were found between whiteness and nonstandard Southern varieties in the perception survey and think-aloud findings. It is also important to note that she said she considers Southern English as representative of whiteness when in the context of making a joke. While making a joke, humor is the main goal rather than

representing sociolinguistic reality. In comic performances, stereotypes are often performed (Bell & Gibson, 2011). Therefore, for Anh, it may be that the more salient members of the group called white which inform her stereotypes are Southern speakers. However, her comment that people speak "normal" where she lives may again point to connections between whiteness and the standard. It could also be by couching her comment in the context of a joke that she is distancing herself from anything that could potentially be offensive. This excerpt again may reflect a type of plurality related to whiteness.

6.2.2.3   Regional differences, not race

One participant, Sophie, who was shown to potentially have a more fluid relationship with race based on the findings from her survey reflection, said that it was not possible to identify someone's race by their voice alone, which runs counter to common conceptions and research which has shown that individuals do racially profile based on people's voices (Baugh, 2005).

43) Sophie

Just hearing them talk on the phone Um No, I don't think you could really tell at all However, she did feel that peoples' voices can be associated with different regions within the United States.

44) Sophie

Just your traditional kind of like American accents obviously depending on regional differences Um I do a lot of calling in like different parts of the US so I get to hear a lot of different accents which is fun [T: Right] So I know it can range from your like a-[Southern] people can tell I'm from [the South] versus New York when I call up in New York

It is also possible that this may be another example of Sophie choosing to discuss topics other than race. Above, when asked if there is a relationship between whiteness and class, she responded that she could not generalize an entire group of people, yet she was able to generalize about Americans as a whole later in the interview. Here, we see she does recognize that regional group membership may be indexed through different linguistic varieties but does not recognize the role language plays in indexing ethnoracial group membership (Rickford & Rickford, 2000).

6.2.2.4 *Language and whiteness summary*

When considering the language of whiteness, the majority of participants described the expectation that white people would sound educated, speak "properly", especially in terms of their pronunciation, and not use slang. In other words, these are aspects that are associated with the standard language ideology. Other participants described the language of whiteness in ways that construed it as unmarked in some way or "normal".

These findings support much of the literature, as well as findings from the quantitative and think-aloud phases of this study which associated whiteness with what is ideologized as the standard. This is further associated with aspects such as being "middle class" and having access to resources and education. The findings also point to some participants associating nonstandard varieties, such as Southern US varieties, with whiteness. Therefore, there is some level of plurality in relation to the language of whiteness in these findings. This may be related to the fact that the racial group described as white is made up of a wide variety of cultural and ethnic groups. Therefore, different people's interactions with different cultural groups may provide them with different stereotypes and notions of the language of whiteness. This also speaks to the idea that what is perceived as marked differs depending on people's backgrounds and perspectives. Therefore, what is perceived as unmarked is likely different across participants.

However, as was seen in these findings, a strong ideological connection was found between whiteness and the Standard Language Ideology.

6.2.3   Factors determining whiteness in the USA

Two questions aimed at understanding the most important factors in determining if a person is white. These asked participants what the most important factor is in determining if someone is white, and if a person can be white in the United States without having European ancestry.

When asked what the most important factor is in determining if someone is white, most participants said that either skin color or the way one looks is the most important factor in determining if someone is white, with Adrián describing language as being the most important (specifically, "speaking, their grammar" and "the way they talk or the way they type"). Whereas the US Census defines whiteness based on origins from specific regions, Sophie and Breanna were the only participants who mentioned ancestry or heritage when describing the most important factor when determining if someone is white.

All participants responded quite readily to this question. This suggests that these participants did not have to take time to think through their answers and that they had ready responses. Claudia, for example, also laughed after answering and used rising intonation in a way that suggested her answer should seem obvious, "the color of their skin [laughter]". Only Christopher took a moment to answer and that was to clarify that his initial response was addressing the question, "T: You wanted to say what sorry C: I wanted to say skin color".

Most of the participants, Janie, Sam, Becca, Claudia, Christopher, and Anh, said that skin color or the way one looks is the most important factor in determining if a person is white. Becca and Anh both described this simply as "the way they look". For example,

45) Anh

I think most importantly I think it's the way they look for sure, like definitely [T: OK] I I was look at someone first and say they're white before they speak to me yeah

Janie, Sam, Claudia, and Christopher explicitly mentioned skin color as being the most important factor in determining if someone is white. For example,

46) Claudia

The color of their skin [laughter] [T: OK] I mean like, and honestly and I want to be very clear because there are some black people that are so light skinned [T: Mhm] that if you didn't know you'd be like are they white [T: Mhm] Um .. But I do think that the most important factor of being able to determine if someone is white [T: It's the way they look] The way they look yeah cause no one's gonna look at me and say I'm white

In addition to skin color, Becca and Christopher also mentioned language as a secondary trait of importance.

47) Christopher

I guess aside from skin color maybe I think language a lot of time There's kind of like a .. you know majority language, you know the way that you know most people speak so you kind of expect most people to speak that way

In Christopher's comment we see a similar perceptual hierarchy that was seen in the think-aloud findings which situates physical traits as the most important in racial classification, followed by linguistic features. We also see Christopher again supporting the notion that the majority language (i.e., the standard) is what is expected; therefore other, unexpected varieties may come across as marked in some way.

While Sophie and Breanna described heritage and ancestry as being the most important factor, Sophie's response equates heritage with culture and geographical origin rather than any genetic link.

48) Sophie

Umm . Their culture like their heritage like where's their family from

49) Breanna

The most important characteristic in determining if someone is white is to um like know their ancestry [TEXT REMOVED] You get into a weird gray area when you want to look at someone and you want to say that they're white right [T: Mhm] because there are a lot of white passing Latino people [T: Right] There are white passing Black people So it's it's really hard for you to try to look at someone and just say like they're white

Breanna's response may be influenced by her family history (See section 5.2.2) where her grandfather, who had one white parent and one Black parent, was separated from his siblings "who could pass for white [and] went to live with the white side of the family" while he was sent to live with the Black side of the family. This family history perhaps gives her a unique perspective that the other participants do not share. Additionally, Sophie, who identifies as Hispanic, also has a complex personal relationship with race (as was discussed in the previous chapter). She described being perceived racially in different ways, being recently asked (at the time of the interview) if she was Japanese, for example. These participants' experiences may have given them a different perspective on the connections between physical traits and racial categories.

The way someone looks, skin color, or complexion was seen to be the most frequently mentioned factor when determining if someone is white. Interestingly, the US Census definition of whiteness makes no mention of skin color being an important factor of whiteness, but rather ancestry, which was only mentioned by two of the nine participants. Additionally, lighter complexions are not only associated with the peoples of Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. "Races" that are not considered white also have lighter complexions such as some peoples from Asia and some of American Indian or Alaska Native ancestry. Furthermore, there is wide variation in skin tone in the indigenous peoples from North Africa to the Middle East to Northern Europe, which is related to environmental adaptions such as protecting sweat glands in more equatorial environments and allowing for the absorption of nutrients like Vitamin D in more Arctic environments (Jablonski & Chaplin, 2000; Jablonski & Chaplin, 2010). Therefore, the question is raised as to whether these participants are not considering these other groups of people, or the variation within Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, when they consider skin color. Nonetheless, the majority of these nine participants said that physical traits, whether specifically skin tone or a wider variety of traits, is the most important factor when considering if someone is white.

When asked if a person can be white without having European ancestry all participants had to take time to think about, discuss and clarify their answers. Although two participants felt they were not sure how to answer this question, the majority felt that a person could not be white without having European ancestry. One participant (Janie) answered that yes someone can be white without having European ancestry but provided examples that fell within the European diaspora such as Latin America and South Africa.

Claudia and Anh both reacted in ways that suggested the question was difficult to answer and described not being sure of their answers.

50) **Claudia**

Woof /wuf/ Can someone be white who has ancest- who don't have ancestors from Europe [T: Mhm] .. I don't know Taylor, No

51) **Anh**

I don't know like . as long as they don't look extremely Asian or Black or some kind of, you know, mix that stands out [T: Mhm] I think they consider white [T: OK] if they have light skin like [T: okay] I I don't know It has to be like you don't look like Asian or you don't look like something else

Claudia's 'woof' /wuf/ suggested that she found the question challenging or difficult. She then gave two answers, first saying she did not know and then saying 'no'. Anh also used 'I don't know' twice in her response. These comments and the overall lack of a quick response indicate that this is something many participants have not spent time considering. Given the quick responses to the previous question which were mostly related to skin tone or physical appearance, it may be that participants do not spend as much time considering ancestry in relation to race and rather associate race with physical features. Again, Anh's comments speak to the theme of markedness that is found throughout these findings which situates whiteness as unmarked in the US. This is evidenced by her response that as long as one does not "stand out" in some way then they could be considered white. This supports the idea that ideologically it is against the unmarked white backdrop that other 'races' "stand out" against (Hill, 2009).

The majority of participants said that one could not be white within the US without having European ancestry. For example,

52) **Sam**

> I guess if I were to think of all the white people in the world that I know I would assume
>
> that they'd all say that their ancestors are from Europe

Although seven of the participants said that one did have to have ancestry from Europe to be

white, three of these participants hedged their comments with phrases like "technically",

"probably", and "maybe". For example,

53) **Breanna**

> I'm kind of thinking and I would say probably the answer is no at least if they're not of
>
> European descent from like very very very far back in their ancestry because I'm just
>
> trying to think of like all the places where white people are now Who was there before
>
> and it wasn't white people unless they were in Europe

Breanna's comments illustrate the point that although white people can come from many parts of

the world, the white diaspora is largely a result of European colonization and migration and the

only place with indigenous white people is Europe.

These responses are, of course, in agreement with common notions that white people are

those with European ancestry. This is also reflected in the US Census definition which classifies

the racial category 'white' partly as people with European ancestry. Interestingly, when asked if

a person could be white and not have European ancestry, no participants responded that one can

be descended from the peoples of the Middle East or North Africa, which are also included in the

US Census definition of whiteness. This perhaps partially explains the more diverse racial

classifications and perceptions associated with the Emirian model in the quantitative/survey

phase and the think-aloud section.

6.2.4   Whiteness in the USA summary

When considering different aspects related to whiteness in the USA, half of participants' first reactions when asked about stereotypes related to whiteness were to consider physical features commonly associated with Northern Europe. Many of these stereotypes also considered whiteness to be associated with preppy dress. These stereotypes point to a WASPish, upper-middle class view of whiteness. Although these were the most frequent, they were not the only stereotypes. However, a small number of participants felt there was too much variation to possibly stereotype or describe a prototypical whiteness. Most participants were able to describe a large amount of variation related to class, regions, and lifestyle related to whiteness. Yet, white people are considered one group within the racial system and according to the US Census and are "easy to stereotype" (Sam). Almost all participants described feeling that one could not be white in the US (or often in the world) without having European ancestry, yet this question more than any other required the most time for participants to think over. This likely suggests that participants have not given this topic as much previous thought, or do not have as strong of associations, compared to when considering physical traits such as skin color in relation to whiteness. Additionally, although this criterion (of European ancestry) seemed to be important for the participants and is also included in the US Census definition of whiteness, it was not the most important factor for most participants when considering whiteness. This is perhaps related to the immediacy involved in racial perception and categorization and the information people have available to them. A person's ancestry is often not information that one would have immediate access to. Instead, the most important factor was the way one looks or their skin color, with only two participants mentioning language as a secondary factor of importance, one mentioning language as the most important factor (although this participant straightforwardly

treated 'race' as the way one looks in the think-aloud reflection), and two having views more in line with the census, mentioning ancestry or heritage.

6.3 The Construct of Race

6.3.1 Race in the US and globally

Two interview questions asked participants about ideas related to race in order to get a sense of broader racial ideologies within the US. The first of these questions asked participants, if they felt they had the experience/knowledge to answer, whether they believed racial categories and whiteness in the United States overlapped or differed from racial categories in other parts of the world. Nearly all participants answered this question quite readily with only very few, such as Sam, taking time to talk through their answer. The majority of participants said there were marked differences between the racial system in the US and abroad. Others said that although there might be differences in the details, it is still the same overall system functioning across the globe.

Of the participants who said there exist differences between racial categories and race in the US and other parts of the world, Sam, Anh, and Janie said that race is more emphasized in the US. However, these three participants had very different opinions on what drives this emphasis and the resulting outcomes. After giving the question some consideration and thinking through his answer, Sam said,

54) Sam

Our history in the US um is uh you know has so much to do with racism, so [T: Yeah] I

don't know Maybe race is a bigger deal I'd say race is a bigger deal in the US

Where Sam said that the racial history in the US has created increased emphasis on the idea of race, Anh said that, despite her feelings that group differentiation is also an important factor in

her home country of Vietnam, there is increased emphasis on race in the US which is reflected and reproduced through the media.

55) Anh

> In the US, I feel like cause uh TV, everything just making you feel like you have to be something, you know, even on Netflix It's like Black Strong Roles Movies, I'm like what [T: Right yeah, yeah for sure] you know It just made you think about what you are

For Anh, the emphasis of race on TV and media platforms such as Netflix creates increased self-reflection on race and racial identity. Janie, however, said she thinks the American emphasis on race has negative outcomes that she said can be seen in society.

56) Janie

> I think it's it's American attitude, ya know [T: Yeah, okay okay] Ya know, and I don't think it's just the whites, it's every race [T: right] it's terrible and the the political thing is just terrible [T: Right Yeah Yeah] terrible It's like, can't you just accept the way it is for now [T: Right, yeah] and maybe it'll change later instead of having a temper tantrum cause you're not winning today [T: Right] You know what I mean, everybody not everybody wins every day [T: Yeah], not everybody wins all the time [T: Uh huh]

Here, Janie, who is the most conservative participant, referred to the Black Lives Matter protests which were occurring at the time of the interview in the summer of 2020. Janie expressed a view that the emphasis on race results in strife and that claims of injustice should not result in civil unrest. As she says, "all you can do is vote".

Christopher, Sophie, and Adrián also said there were differences between race, whiteness, and racial categories in the US compared to other countries, but in their responses to this question they did not necessarily say that these differences are more pronounced in the US.

Adrián, who said he judged race by skin color in the survey reflection, also said the most

important factor in determining if someone is white in the US is their "speaking, their grammar";

however, in Mexico "a white person is just by the color [T: just color] of their skin". It could be

that his survey reflection comment is more reflective of how he would judge race in Mexico, and

that his response related to language is more reflective of his beliefs about views toward race in

the US. Additionally, his response related to language may be related to my role as an applied

linguist and interviewer. When asked if a white person in Mexico would also be considered

white in the US, he responded,

    57) Adrián

        I mean there's people in Mexico that are white [T: Mhm], but that doesn't really take like

        a fact in their- but when they moved to this country, I feel like even though they could

        pass by{for} white they will never be white into the American people

Adrián's response perhaps further reveals why he said language is the most important factor in

determining if someone is white in the US. His answer to this question relates to points made by

Breanna and Sophie in the previous section who believed that physical traits could be deceiving

when categorizing someone racially. Although he said that he focused mainly on physical traits

while completing the survey, Adrian also said that language was the most important factor in

determining if someone is white. Therefore, his comments taken together could suggest that

speaking a nonnative variety would mark one as not white despite their physical features. This

would be in agreement with the perception survey findings where the Belgian model was rated as

less white under the nonnative guise. Christopher, who has spent the most time of his adult life

outside of the United States of the nine participants (12 years across Italy, Korea, Japan, and

China), responded in a way that was similar to Adrián. He said that there were marked

differences in the way that race and whiteness are viewed between the United States and Asia.

58) Christopher

In Asia at least there's a much kind of more maybe generous definition of of white [T: OK] and it's very much based on appearance [T: Hmm] So even someone maybe from you know, like a central Asia [T: Okay] Um like a, you know, Uzbekistan or maybe you know something Kazakhstan who maybe for us wouldn't seem you know, quote unquote white [T: Yeah], you know, especially with you know with the strong accent or something like that

Interestingly, Christopher primarily placed importance on appearance in what he described as the

broader Asian perspective on whiteness, and he placed importance on linguistic nativeness from

what he described as the US perspective when considering whiteness across these two contexts.

When considering what the most important factor is in determining if someone is white,

Christopher responded that it was skin color with a secondary emphasis on language. Therefore,

it appears that in this response he is placing even more emphasis on physical appearance when

considering the (East) Asian perspective on race and whiteness with no role for language.

Based on her response to the previous question (on whiteness and European ancestry)

where she discussed the relative whiteness of lighter skin Hispanics (excerpt not included),

Sophie was asked if she felt there were differences between racial categories and whiteness

between the US and Latin America.

59) Sophie

S: Um Like how they {Latin Americans} would perceive somebody who's white in Latin America versus how they perceive someone who's white in the United States

T: Yeah Like is it the same kind of thing

S: Um I think they would perceive them differently just because it's- [T: OK] I mean that's where kind of culture comes into play [T: Yeah] Um Americans are typically like when you think of an American you're like Oh they're so loud and football and oh they go crazy versus um you know different cultures might be quieter or louder [T: Mhm] that way

Sophie's response places emphasis on cultural differences in terms of how a white person might be perceived by Latin Americans in Latin America versus the United States. This is a common pattern found across her answers, in which she sometimes deflected questions that asked her to spell out topics related to race in favor of discussing culture or cultural differences.

Finally, Claudia, Breanna, and Becca said that although there may be some differences in the details related to ideas surrounding race and whiteness in different parts of the world (particularly Claudia), they said that they are all based on the same overall system.

60) Becca

Um there's definitely similarities [T: Mhm] um I mean like a big one especially right now with like Black Lives Matters . is that like you know everywhere it doesn't matter if it's just America and the UK um You know in Spanish countries and stuff people with darker complexion are treated differently um There's nothing that's you know inherently American about it

61) Breanna

I think everywhere in the world where you've had black people [they've?] always been kind of relegated to lower parts of society because of their skin color This could be true

even if it was Brazil, even if it was India [T: Mhm] Um this is still very very true in many

parts of Europe which I was really surprised to find out when I traveled there myself

62) Claudia

They may be different in as far as how they function but I think it's the same kind of a

system, you know [TEXT REMOVED] There's this very colorism kind of thing going on

in life and just in Latin like culture anyway, that like [T: Yeah] if you're white it's better

for you to be white, you know what I mean

All three of these participants, who are the only three participants who identified as Black or

African American in some way, expressed the view that the racial system is largely a global

system and the US is similar to other places in how this system functions. As Breanna said, this

is something that she has experienced firsthand through traveling internationally.

The question of whether race, whiteness, and racial categories are different in the US

compared to other parts of the world elicited answers that fell within three categories: those that

see more of an emphasis on race in the US, those that see differences across racial systems, and

those that believe the racial system functions similarly at the global level. Within these first two

groups there were pronounced contrasts in how these differences were seen, which may be

reflective of different life experiences and ways of thinking. Janie, for example, who is older and

the most conservative participant, who identifies as white and other (Jewish and Italian), and

identifies mostly with family, took a more evaluative approach to answering the question,

relating the emphasis on race in the US to the current state of society and politics. Sam, who also

believed race to be more emphasized in the US, is one of the more politically moderate

participants and identifies with the more progressive subcultures of skateboarding and music and

did not relate the question to the current state of politics, but instead considered the question in

light of the history of race relations within the United States. Additionally, international experience likely had a large impact on how participants answered this question. Participants who had more experience travelling or living abroad (Christopher, Breanna, Claudia, Adrián, Anh) were able to draw on their own experiences being in different regions to give their impressions, where other participants had to rely more on reasoning skills or international interactions or experiences they have had within the United States. However, these experiences did not give those participants a unified perspective on race internationally compared to race in the US. Yet, their own backgrounds and personal experiences appeared to have played an important role in their responses to this question.

6.3.2   Is race real?

The final interview question asked participants if they believed the term 'race' describes something real or if it is an idea. This question was written in the hopes of understanding how participants' ideas relate to the notion that race is a social construct. The participants were divided in how readily they responded to the question with just more than half responding quite readily, although their answers differed, and just less than half either needing the question to be rephrased or taking a moment to answer. Two of these participants who took a moment to answer also sighed before responding (Breanna and Janie) indicating it was a difficult question and one said that "oh that's a hard question um …" (Sophie). Participants' responses fell into three general categories: those who said that race is real in terms of ancestry or common origins, those who said it is an idea that may have real correlates such as genetics or skin color, and those who said that it is only real because society has made it real.

Sophie, Becca, and Christopher all said that there are real aspects associated with race.

63) **Sophie**

I think of race- we talked about ancestry I think that's a real thing Like I know where my

parents are from [T: Yeah] and their parents are from so I would say that's like a tangible

I can track that So [T: Yeah] in that sense I would say yeah it's a real thing

64) **Christopher**

I think it can be useful, you know, if you're describing maybe like their like heritage, you

know, their you know, I don't I don't know how useful it is to describe me as white, you

know, just me specifically but like, oh my my family background would be you know,

you know from European descent and so we use, you know, white versus versus Asian or

[T: Right] But but I think it starts to blur a little bit, [T: mhm] um you know, especially

maybe in a country like America where there's so many different groups not even groups,

so many different individuals

65) **Becca**

I think it's something real [TEXT REMOVED] Yeah, I mean, I think it has to do with

like where kind of you like originate from

Although Sophie, Christopher, and Becca all described aspects of race that they said were real,

these are all aspects that Fishman (2009) would associate with ethnicity. However, they all draw

on ancestry as being a real aspect of race. Sophie was the only participant of these three who

identified heritage as being an important factor when asked what determines if someone is white,

as seen above. So, it could be that being previously asked about the importance of European

ancestry in determining if someone is white may have influenced Christopher and Becca's

responses to this question. Although Fishman would consider aspects like ancestry more

connected to ethnicity, other researchers, such as Wade (2008), have noted the difficulty in

distinguishing between these two notions. Additionally, at least one participant (Christopher) connected ancestry to a broader region which he associated with the white racial group, Europe. Therefore, these participants may be accepting common origins or ancestry as relevant to race rather than, or in addition to ethnicity.

Janie explicitly mentioned ethnicity in her response to this question; however, her response differed somewhat from those just described because she described race as something that should not be real.

66) Janie

Let's put it this way . It shouldn't I mean race is a is a is a ethnicity [T: Mhm] as far as I'm concerned I I think Americans specifically make too much out of race [TEXT REMOVED] ninety I'd say maybe even more But, I'll just be conservative cause I am [T laughs] Ninety percent of the people I know [T: Uh huh] are not racist at all [T: Yeah] not even a little bit

As can be seen, Janie's response to whether race is real was to equate it with ethnicity. However, her deemphasis of the importance of race or racism in the US could indicate that she is taking the color-blind approach to considering race and racism which tends to treat race as a relic of the past. However, this approach has been shown to not be an effective tool against racism (Kendi, 2019).

Adrián, Sam, and Anh all said that race is an idea that has been created by society.

67) Adrián

A: I feel like it just like a concept that we had created

T: Yeah Yeah, so you don't think it like has any real, true

A: I mean to me it doesn't not really

68) Anh

I think it's an idea for sure But I think it's also come from like probably original genetic [T: Yeah], but if you've emphasized [it's] Yeah, it is an idea that being emphasized, it's not realistic

69) Sam

An idea [TEXT REMOVED] you know race is obviously a very real thing [T: Mhm] to a certain extent because I mean either you're white or you're black or, you know, as far as skin color goes [T: Yeah] It's a very objective thing [T: Mhm] for the most part I think [T: Yeah, mhm] Um It's becoming not like that [T: right], um you know, the more um the more people um that are in mixed

There is a difference between Adrián's views and Anh and Sam's. Where Adrián described race as not being real, Anh and Sam both described race as an idea, but one with perceived connections to observable reality: for Anh these are genetic, which she said have been overemphasized to the point of being unrealistic. Although Sam said race is an idea, it seems that he does consider differences in skin tone to be a real aspect of race. This is in agreement with his response related to the most important factor in determining if someone is white which he said was the "color of their skin".

Finally, Breanna and Claudia both described a view similar to that proposed by sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists where race has very real consequences despite it being a social construct (Hill, 2009).

70) Claudia

... I think it's a real thing [T: Mhm] Um I do think it's a real thing because we made it a real thing and and whether or not [T: Hm OK] and when you say we've made it about that

when *I* say we've made it a real thing, I think *mankind* has [T: Soc- Society, right] it's lots

of things You know [T: Yeah yeah], we've created lots of things and because we create a

lot of things it is a thing [T: Yeah], ya know

71) Breanna

[Sigh] It's hard because of course, of course, I have learned that race is socially

constructed and it doesn't exist biologically [T: Mhm] However, I think it's real because

it's real in our society [T: Right] So, I think it is real because it's something that we

believe in it's something we give voice to it's something that we have to check a category

[T: right] So [even though?] scientifically it may not exist I think it is real in that aspect

That it's a very living breathing part of everything we do every day

These excerpts get at a very important aspect of social constructs. Social constructs are created

by society; however, that does not mean they do not exert real influence over people's lives. An

analogy could be drawn with money. Money is a social construct, and a one-hundred-dollar bill

has no more inherent value than a one-dollar bill. However, because society has agreed that the

identical piece of paper with different numbers printed on it has more value, it does have more

real-world purchasing power. In much the same way, although society created the modern notion

of race out of whole cloth beginning with the Spanish colonization of the Americas (Wade,

2008), it still has very real-world impacts on peoples' lives and is very real to many people.

The nine participants who responded to the question of whether race was real or an idea

had quite different responses. The majority of participants did not express the view that race is

real in a biological sense, although two participants who thought of race as an idea did believe

there to be biological correlates. Three participants described race as being real in a sense that

some researchers would likely associate more closely with ethnicity (Fishman, 2009) although

they described it in terms of race, and two participants recognized race only as a social construct. None of these participants expressed strong feelings that race is real in any empirical way.

6.4   Discussion and Ideologies of Race and Whiteness

Ideologically, there is not one coherent view of whiteness described by these nine participants. However, the beliefs expressed in these interviews provide evidence for the ideological association of whiteness with a "preppier", upper-middle class which speaks primarily what is ideologized as Standard English. Other participants associated stereotypical or prototypical whiteness with conservatism and the Midwest, in the case of one participant, or different lifestyle or regional stereotypes. Additionally, two participants expressed associations between whiteness and nonstandard Southern English varieties. However, although the majority of participants were freely able to draw on these ideologies and stereotypes, all participants recognized a high degree of variability within whiteness. Thus, many participants expressed conflicting views on this topic when answering different questions.

For many participants, the construct of race was described as being unique within the United States and for some it is even more emphasized in the US compared to the rest of the world. Others recognized race in the US as potentially having its own characteristics but still existing within a global system which disadvantages people of color. Although many participants recognized race as having some aspects that are real or perhaps more related to ethnicity, the majority described it as being a societal creation. However, some participants recognized that this creation has real and adverse effects.

Although common definitions of whiteness, such as those utilized by the US Census, are primarily centered on ancestry or heritage, which proves to be an important aspect of whiteness for these participants after some thought, this was not their first response for determining if

someone is white. For the majority of these participants, the most important factor would be physical traits and skin color in particular, with only secondary importance given to language and only two participants responding that ancestry was the most important factor. Additionally, the participants were aware that they were being played speech files by an applied linguist which may have encouraged them to consider language.

Although the social and physical sciences have recognized the constructed nature of race and the lack of biological evidence to support it as a useful construct (Prinz, 2014), and the majority of these participants do not recognize race as being real in any empirical sense, the most important factors for determining race appear to have changed very little since the time of biological racism, according to these findings. Just as the era of biological racism put primary importance on physical traits for distinguishing between different races (Smedley & Smedley, 2005), this diverse group of participants primarily placed importance on physical traits as well, with white people being those that have physical traits associated with Northern Europe for six of the nine participants. The unmarked nature of whiteness was expressed in various ways by many different participants from various ethnoracial backgrounds. Although it is not always treated as unmarked, particularly by minorities or people of color, it does speak to the often unmarked treatment of whiteness at the national level in the United States. It was related to expectations in terms of education, access to resources, not standing out as being a part of a racial group not considered white, and speaking the "majority language", or "proper" English. This is perhaps unsurprising considering the group constructed as white is the largest racial group within the United States. However, what is surprising, is that the majority of these nine participants did not express views that would construct this group in any coherent way aside

from physical traits. Therefore, in reality, what is considered the "majority" is recognized as a

highly varied group that is only homogeneous in an ideological sense.

7   CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to develop a better understanding of language, race, and whiteness in the United States. Many linguistic varieties have been explicitly connected to specific ethnoracial identities in the US, such as AAE and Chicano English (Fought, 2006; Green, 2004; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). Although sociolinguists have drawn more implicit connections between what is called standard English and whiteness, this variety is often still treated as "neutral" at the national level. This study set out to further investigate the connections between language and whiteness by investigating racial and linguistic perceptions, categorizations, and ideologies related to language, race, and whiteness in the US. This chapter will begin by discussing the findings related to the three research questions which guided this study. Following this discussion, limitations, implications, and suggestions for future research will be described, followed by conclusions.

7.1   Revisiting the research questions

In trying to develop a better understanding of the relationship between language, race, and whiteness in the United States, this dissertation set out to answer several questions. The first asked, what is the effect of standard, non-standard, and non-native accented English on the perceived whiteness and racial categorization of five models whose backgrounds correspond to the major US Census race categories? It was found that not only the standard varieties, but also some Southern and Urban Northeastern regional varieties were associated with increased whiteness. This was often in contrast to nonnative varieties, including for the Belgian model. Therefore, it appears that there is a relationship between whiteness and certain types of nativeness in the US. This finding is also supported by previous research that has found that it was largely through linguistic and cultural assimilation that certain European groups who were

once not considered fully white, such as Southern and Eastern Europeans, were eventually largely recognized as white in the US (Roediger, 2006).

Additionally, for most models, although certain varieties did increase their whiteness ratings, this increase tended not to be associated with a change in racial categorization compared to their photo alone. This was particularly true for those models who may fit more easily into the Black/white racial binary, such as the Belgian model and the Nigerian model. In some instances, the Emirian model and the Alaskan model were categorized differently racially when matched with the native varieties compared to their photos. Therefore, perhaps in more ambiguous cases in terms of the Black/white racial binary, certain varieties associated with whiteness can lead to a change in racial categorization. However, more than anything else, the results demonstrated the connections between certain linguistic varieties and whiteness.

The second research question asked what thought processes are related to language and racial categorization, particularly as it concerns whiteness. In terms of thought processes and judgements during a racial perception and categorization task, the majority of participants drew on both language and physical traits when rating models. However, some participants chose to pay more attention to either language or physical appearance. In some cases, this attention is likely due to individual differences and tendencies to focus more on certain factors, such as physical traits during such a task. These tendencies may also be related to the perceived lack of congruence between some models' photos and voice guises that was reported by two participants. This finding suggests that many participants had expectations of what a person should sound like based on how they look. Several participants described making decisions based on past experiences and interactions with others, which may suggest that they were drawing on racial exemplars when considering models racially. When the model/voice pairing

does not fit their expectations, it is possible that they may choose between either the voice or the physical traits in rating, as was described by one participant. Some participants also described first paying attention to physical traits and then considering linguistic features while rating. Therefore, there seems to exist a hierarchy in these findings on racial perception and categorization which does consider language, but places primary importance on physical traits.

The final research question asked what (language) ideologies can be uncovered which serve to socially construct the racial category 'white' in the United States. Many of the participants' responses supported much of the literature and common notions related to language and whiteness. This ideological construction of whiteness was primarily described as preppy, upper middle-class, standard English-speaking, and having physical features associated with northern Europe; however, this image was not described by all participants. Although an ideological relationship was found that connected whiteness with the Standard Language Ideology, some participants also described some Southern English varieties as indexing whiteness.

Additionally, participants described a high degree of variation related to whiteness. Therefore, a level of plurality was found in the stereotypes, ideologies, and descriptions of whiteness. This is likely related to the category called white being the majority. Stereotypes are generally associated with the most salient members of groups. This salience often corresponds with media representation such as news coverage (Prinz, 2014). Therefore, the plurality of whiteness may be associated with the more varied media representations of the majority group in the US. This also demonstrates that this category is highly varied and is likely only unified in an ideological sense, perhaps in much the same way that nationalistic ideologies unify highly varied cultures and groups of people into one imagined community (Anderson, 1991).

Taken together, these results and findings paint a picture of racial perception and categorization related to whiteness which places primary importance on physical traits such as skin tone. When asked to describe a stereotypical white person, many participants' first reaction was to describe physical features commonly associated with northern Europe. When asked what the most important factor is in determining if someone is white the majority of participants' comments related to either skin tone or the way one looks. Additionally, during the think-aloud protocol, a hierarchy appeared to exist for most participants in terms of what factors they paid the most attention to while rating that positioned physical traits as more important than linguistic or cultural traits. However, this is not to say that language is not an important factor related to whiteness. As stated above, much evidence was found which draws strong ideological connections between what is ideologized as standard English in the US and whiteness.

Relatedly, whiteness was often described as unmarked in some way. Although this was more often found with participants who self-identify as white, this tendency to describe whiteness as unmarked was found with participants from various backgrounds. This may be related to the idea that "assimilationists can position any racial group as the superior standard that another racial group should be measuring themselves against, the benchmark they should be trying to reach. Assimilationists typically position White people as the superior standard" (Kendi, 2019, p. 29). The unmarked way in which white people were discussed would likely provide evidence to support this notion. However, considering the associations between whiteness and nonstandard regional varieties that were seen in this study which were sometimes described as sounding less educated or indicative of a lower class, it is perhaps a specific type of whiteness that researchers may be pointing to when they generalize about whiteness being related to a standard. This more middle- to upper-class version of whiteness, which was

described by many participants in this study, a whiteness that is often associated with what is called standard English, may be indicative of a certain type of cultural whiteness, or may be more of an ideological construct. Given the considerable variation described by these participants, and the fact that the standard is more of a construct than a natural variety (Lippi-Green, 2012), it may point to this version of whiteness being ideological in nature. Likely, in the same way that common descriptions of the "typical" American ignore many US Americans, it is likely that descriptions of "(stereo)typical" whiteness ignore many people who are ascribed a white racial identity.

However, this is not to discount the privileges that are associated with being ascribed a white identity in the US. These privileges were described by several participants in this study, primarily those participants who do not identify as white, as well as some who do. However, it should perhaps encourage us to be hesitant in describing any group in too holistic a way. When asked if a person can be white and not have European ancestry, no participants mentioned individuals with origins in the Middle East or North Africa as is defined in the US Census. Historically, there have been many people whose race has been defined as white, such as Southern and Eastern Europeans, Jews (Roediger, 2006), and Hispanics (Rumbaut, 2015), and there are currently people who are defined by the Census as white who are not always thought of in that way, as was seen in the think-aloud findings of the Emirian model. These groups have historically been, and many continue to be, targets of white supremacy (Kreis, 2017; Lebovic, 2021; McVeigh, 2009). Therefore, there does not appear to be agreement between the responses of these participants and the US Census in how whiteness is defined.

This discrepancy in understanding perhaps relates to the contradictions which were often found in how the same participants would respond to different questions. For example, white

people were described by some participants as sounding middle-class. These same participants then said there was no relationship between whiteness and class. Therefore, for these participants there appears to be an association between being middle-class and how white people sound, but at the same time, they did not describe a connection between white people and a particular class. Likewise, many participants easily stereotyped white people and then later recognized a high degree of cultural variation across white people. This likely speaks to the ideological nature of whiteness. It appears that most participants freely drew on stereotypes and ideologies of whiteness, and at other times perhaps reflected more on their own experiences which may not have been consistent with these ideologies.

Participants also had very different reactions to different questions which may suggest that some topics are easier or less face-threatening to discuss, such as culture and language, and some are more difficult or face-threatening, such as race, racism, and things that might be construed as racist. This was evident across a wide variety of responses. For example, when asked whether variation exists within whiteness, all participants had very quick and ready responses describing the variation in whiteness. In contrast, when asked if there exists a relationship between whiteness and class, one participant responded that generalizing about white people would be to sound racist. A distinction can be seen between these two questions. The question on variation asks participants to discuss (cultural) variation where the question on class does ask participants if it is possible to generalize about a racial group. Therefore, it can be seen that some questions allow for easier discussion of topics like culture and variation which could be less associated with racism, where other questions ask participants if generalizations can be made, which may be perceived as being more similar to stereotyping, a key aspect of racism. Additionally, when asked about race, some participants pivoted slightly in their

responses to discuss topics more related to culture or other social factors like education which may seem less face-threatening to discuss than race.

7.2   Implications

Although the negative outcomes of the racial system are very real for many people, as was described by several participants in this study, the social and physical sciences do not recognize race as a meaningful way to distinguish between people (Prinz, 2014). However, several participants in this study either recognized race as a real system or recognized real aspects that they associated with race, such as genetics or skin color. Only one participant explicitly recognized race as a social construct. That participant has herself received advanced training in the social sciences and holds a master's degree in Applied Linguistics. Physical features were also given the most attention in many aspects of this study. The most significant factors which serve to distinguish between races do not appear to have changed significantly since the time of scientific racism. Thus, it seems that the message that race is not a meaningful way to differentiate people and that it is a societal invention does not appear to be getting across to many people. This is most evident in the rise in white supremacist activity in recent years (Morrison, 2021). Therefore, it seems very important that social scientists, including sociolinguists, should make efforts to get the message across that race is a societal invention not only to their students, but to the general population. This could be achieved through increased public outreach, such as writings aimed at the general public and appearing as guests on radio, podcasts and other forms of media.

Considering the role that physical traits played in this study, we as sociolinguists should likely be cautious about the importance we place on language in constructions of race. Although language has been shown to play an important role in how people are categorized racially (Alim,

2016b), has been shown to be strongly linked to ethnoracial identities (Fought, 2006; Rickford & Rickford, 2000), and proved to be important in ethnoracial perception in this study, participants tended to give much more weight to physical traits when making racial categorizations and describing whiteness.

Similarly, standard English has been described as the language of whiteness (Fought, 2006). Although what is called standard English was shown to be perceptually and ideologically linked with whiteness in this study, it was not the only variety. Regional varieties such as valley girl English and New York City English have been noted as being connected to whiteness, and Southern English varieties have been noted by some scholars as being associated with "failing at whiteness" (Hartigan, 1999; Roth-Gordon, 2011; Wray, 2006); however, in this study, such nonstandard varieties were also shown to be connected to whiteness, both perceptually and ideologically. Part of this distinction could be related to participant backgrounds. Hartigan's (1999) study, for example, was conducted in Detroit. Similarly, Roth-Gordon (2011) described an interaction related to failing at whiteness between Conan O'Brien and Martha Stewart, both Northeasterners. In contrast, the majority of the participants in this study have spent much of their lives in the US South, or at least some time in the South. One participant, Christopher, who is from the Midwest and has spent the least time in the South directly made comments about his biases toward Southern varieties. Therefore, it could be that the majority of participants in this study have different associations related to Southern varieties than participants or subjects in previous research.

Despite these associations and considering the strong ideological connections between what is ideologized as standard English and whiteness, it is important to consider how we as linguists describe the standard. It is important to simultaneously recognize that standard English

is strongly associated with whiteness and is not a neutral code, and at the same time resist designating it as the language of whiteness, which could risk erasing those who do not fit the idea of the "white standard English" speaker, particularly when those speakers are people who may not be viewed as white. What is called standard English continues to be ideologically associated with linguistic neutrality or educatedness both in and outside (applied) linguistics (Lippi-Green, 2012, J. Milroy, 2001). Therefore, linguists should take extra efforts to consider how they are describing or presenting the "correctness" of standard English, especially as it relates to language teaching (see Jenkins, 2006).

Additionally, a contrast was found between whiteness ratings and the way participants discussed models' whiteness, and how the models were ultimately categorized racially. This was particularly apparent with the Belgian and Nigerian models who more easily fit into the Black/white racial binary (Rumbaut, 2015). In certain instances, participants described models as being very white or sounding very white and then ultimately categorized them racially as a race other than white. This demonstrates that certain varieties are associated with whiteness and may lead a person to be perceived as in some way whiter, but it will likely not change their perceived race, except in some ambiguous cases, as was seen in some instances with the Alaskan and Emirian models. For people of color, speaking varieties associated with whiteness can also lead to a loss of solidarity with other people of color while still potentially leaving the speaker open to being discriminated against for their perceived race.

Finally, although it is a societal invention that leads to detrimental real-world outcomes, the US racial system will likely not go away any time soon. The US government collects racial data based on definitions that were not reflective of these participants' understandings of whiteness. There are groups of people, particularly religious minorities, who are defined as white

and who continue to be targeted by white supremacist organizations (Lebovic, 2021). Therefore, it would likely be beneficial for the US government's OMB and Census to consider how and why they are defining whiteness.

7.3   Limitations and future research

Participants' backgrounds appeared to play an important role in how they talked about race and racial perception and categorization. This was most true across ethnoracial background, but possibly also political affiliations, with the most conservative participant often standing apart in her responses from many of the other participants. Other factors such as experience abroad may also have played an important role. It is apparent that people's personal histories and experiences are important in how they approach tasks related to racial perception and categorization as well as discussing race. In this study, the goal was maximum variation sampling with a priority placed on recruiting participants from diverse ethnoracial backgrounds. Although this was achieved, less variation was found across participants in terms of linguistic varieties, especially considering ethnolects. In particular, two of the three participants who identified as Black or African American in some way also discussed experiences of being told they "sound white" or that they "don't sound like they look". Therefore, future research into language and whiteness should consider incorporating ethnolect speakers, such as self-identified speakers of AAE and various Latino Englishes.

The think-aloud findings and survey reflections suggested that physical traits played the most important role in racial perception and categorizations across the participants in this study. They also suggested a secondary role for language in this type of perception and categorization. However, it is important to note that all participants knew that I am an applied linguist, and that they were taking place in an applied linguistics study. Therefore, it is possible that this awareness

may have impacted the role that language and linguistic features played in these findings. If this is true, it would suggest that the role of physical traits is even more important in racial perception and categorization than was found in this study.

The think-aloud and interviews for this study were collected during the summer of 2020, at the height of the Covid-19 global pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement. The timing of this data collection likely impacted the data in several ways. The Covid-19 pandemic necessitated that all data be collected via Zoom telecommunications software. Ideally, a sensitive topic such as race would be discussed in a more personal and face-to-face environment, which was not possible due to the pandemic. Also, several participants described certain questions as being hard to answer or may have shown some level of discomfort at discussing topics that may be construed as racist, as was seen with some participants during the interview who pivoted away from the topic of race in their responses. Although it is difficult to draw a direct connection to the heightened focus on issues of race in the country and participants' reactions, several participants did explicitly or indirectly reference the Black Lives Matter movement. Therefore, some participants may have been more sensitive or guarded in their responses than they may have been before the heightened focus on issues of race and racial justice that came about after the murder of George Floyd.

An important point in this study was related to the idea of congruence between the way one looks and sounds. Participants appeared to have expectations of what a person should sound like based on how they look. However, based on the study design, it is difficult to say for certain whether this was a result of the linguistic varieties that were matched with certain photos or from the particular audio samples seeming as if they did not match the photo of a given individual. Future research would benefit from testing a large number of speech samples matched with a

given photo to determine if it is linguistic varieties that cause this perceived lack of congruence or if it is a result of particular audio samples.

Finally, all audio samples in this study used the same script as they were collected from the Speech Accent Archive. This was done because the Speech Accent Archive has a large number of audio files from speakers all around the world. Partially due to the difficulty of collecting speech samples during the Covid-19 quarantine and pandemic, and partly due to the difficulty of collecting a wide variety of samples, including less common varieties such as Yupik, the Speech Accent Archive proved to be a more feasible option. Additionally, the same script being used across different varieties allowed for a certain amount of control. This was important considering other studies had not attempted to examine the influence of different varieties on perceptions of race in as direct a way as this study. Therefore, using more grammatically diverse scripts would have raised additional questions that were controlled for in this study, such as whether the voice guises' pronunciation or grammatical features were having more of an impact on the participants' ratings. Additionally, the samples that were chosen were recognized as either standard, nonstandard, or nonnative by expert raters as well as many of the participants during the think-aloud. Perhaps, the fact that the samples were being read from the same script may have indicated to the participants that the voice samples were being read by speakers of different varieties. However, it may also be beneficial in the future to consider including audio samples which are more naturalistic and contain nonstandard and nonnative grammatical features and lexicon which are not found in the Speech Accent Archive script.

7.4   Conclusion

Race was created. It is not a naturally distinctive category. Children do not perceive phenotypic ethnoracial differences as salient until they learn to do so through socialization

(Kinzler & Spelke, 2011). Instead, whiteness is a social invention. It was created to ensure specific advantages for Europeans during the colonization of the Americas and to justify slavery (Baird, 2021; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Wade, 2008). However, socially, race has proven to be a very real way that people divide themselves which can lead to very negative outcomes. These include obvious atrocities such as hate crimes, as well as disparities like higher rates of cardiovascular disease and diabetes and even higher mortality rates among people who are not considered white, such as African Americans and Hispanics in the US (Prinz, 2014: Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Hierarchies based on race were socially constructed and have existed for hundreds of years in the Americas. Although these are not simple issues and there are many positive benefits to having many distinctive cultures and groups that should be celebrated, such as different approaches to and perspectives on art, food, music, social structure, beauty, and virtually everything humans value, the concept of race has been shown to be a pernicious force time and time again (Fishman, 2009; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

When asked to describe a stereotypical white person, many of the participants of color immediately described privileges they associated with whiteness. Recent events at the time of writing related to healthcare and criminal justice have once again brought to the forefront the injustice that is often present in the lives of people who are not considered white. Although ideologies of race and whiteness are very powerful within the US and they may seem as if they were inherent to American culture, they likely do not need to be so. In mainstream discourse race is often discussed as if it were real and immutable. To many it may seem that race as a real organizing structure for society in the US cannot be changed in any significant way, and that it is lofty and unrealistic to think of changing views toward this concept. Along with this, it may be thought that the view of what is called standard English (the linguistic variety that was shown to

be most strongly associated with whiteness) as correct and proper, and non-standard and non-native languages as incorrect, may be impossible to change.

However, one only needs to look back in history to see views that were once held as "real" that are no longer largely accepted. One example is magical thinking. For much of human history (and currently in most cultures) it was not uncommon, in all societies, to hold superstitious and magical views. Such views have led to negative outcomes like the tragedy of the European and American witch trials of past centuries. Just as many of these ideas are viewed as antiquated within the US today and no longer "real", it could be possible that one day the ideas of race, a uniform "correct" standard language, and the connections between these views are no longer seen as "real". This would have far-reaching implications. If processes of legitimization such as academic legitimacy and historicization of nonstandard varieties which have begun (J. Milroy, 2001) were to continue, it could in time "feed into popular attitudes to non-prestige varieties, and greater tolerance of language variation may just possibly come about" (J. Milroy, 2001, p. 552). Such a change in attitudes could open up new avenues for individuals who have been held back from pursuing or succeeding in mainstream educational contexts, holding professional positions that require standard language skills, and even receiving equal medical treatment (Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Levine, Foster, Fullilove, Fullilove, Briggs, Hull, ... & Hennekens, 2016). Although this dissertation does not attempt to deconstruct the racial system, it should encourage us to consider why we continue to operate within an invented ideological system which continues to provide advantages for certain people, and disadvantages others, based mostly on their physical traits.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Instrument Example of one model across four surveys

Survey 1 – Photo only	Survey 2 – "Standard"	Survey 3 – "Non-standard"	Survey 4 – "Non-native"
Instructions	Instructions	Instructions	Instructions
No audio	english121_Minnesota_St_21_Nigeria.mp3	english149_Lawrenceville GA_NonSt AAE_18_Nigeria.mp3	yoruba6_Nigeria_29.mp3

Whiteness perception Questions

1. How White does this person seem? *Not at all ..... Very*
2. How European does this person seem?
3. How American does this person seem?
4. How assimilated to American culture does this person seem?
5. How middle-class does this person seem?
6. How culturally mainstream does this person seem?

Racial Classification Question

How would you classify this person racially?

American Indian or Alaska Native_____   Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander_____
Asian_____ Black or African American_____   White_____   Some other race _____ (fill in blank)

Country Guess

Where do you think this person is from? _____

Comments _____

Now we will ask you to answer a few questions about yourself.

Demographic information

1. How old are you? _____
2. What is your gender?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Other
3. How do you identify racially? (Check all that apply)
   a. White
   b. Black or African American
   c. Asian
   d. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
   e. American Indian or Alaska Native
   f. Hispanic/Latino
   g. Other _____
4. How do you identify politically?
   a. Liberal --------------------------- Conservative (Sliding scale)
   b. Comment_____
5. Which aspect of your identity is most important to you?
   a. Race/ethnicity
   b. Gender
   c. Political affiliation
   d. Subcultural affiliation (music, sports, hobbies, etc.) (please specify)
      _____
   e. Religion
   f. Family
   g. Profession
   h. Other _____
6. What is your highest level of education?
   a. Less than high school. What grade?_____
   b. High school graduate
   c. High school and technical training
   d. Some college: Major _____
   e. 2-year degree: Major _____
   f. 4-year degree: Major _____
   g. Graduate degree: Major _____
   h. Doctorate: Major _____

7. How long have you lived in the US in years? (if less than a year, use 0.5 for six months for example) _____

8. What other countries have you lived in and how old were you when you lived there? _____

9. What language(s) did you speak growing up? Choose one:
    a. English only
    b. English and at least one more language
    c. Language(s) other than English

10. If you grew up speaking language(s) other than English, please list them here: _____

11. What other languages do you speak?

12. Other comments: _____

13. Do you have any additional comments you would like to make about the survey?

Appendix B – Interview Questions

Question A: Can you describe how you made choices while taking the survey (experiment)?

1. Can you tell me about your family background and ancestry?

    a. What kind of work did your parents do? Did you identify with a certain socioeconomic/social class more than others?

2. Do you self-identify by race or ethnicity? If so, how do you do so?

3. Do you feel that race or your race or ethnicity has played an important role in your life?

    a. Are there other aspects of your identity that you consider to be more important to you than race or ethnicity (political, religious, subcultural)?

4. Do you think there's a connection between language and ethnicity/race/ethno-racial identity? If so, how would you describe that connection?

5. Can you describe what you think of when you think of a white person? Is there a prototypical or stereotypical "white person"?

6. How would you describe white people from a class, subculture, or lifestyle perspective? Do you see a connection between socioeconomic status and whiteness?

    a. Do you think there is any variation within whiteness (class, lifestyle)? If so, can you describe it? (Considering culture, how would you describe different types of white people?)

7. What do you think it means to "sound white"?

8. How would you describe poor whites in terms of race or culture? (How would you describe people that are sometimes called rednecks, white trash or hillbillies, from a racial perspective? Are they the same as other white people?)

9. What's the most important factor in determining if someone is white?

10. Can a person be white that is not of European descent?

11. How would you describe the overlap between racial categories in the U.S. and in other parts of the world?

12. Do you think that the term 'race' is describing something real or just an idea?

Appendix C – Transcription Conventions

[word] – not clearly audible

[word?] – not audible; deciphered from context

[?] – unintelligible utterance

[descriptor] – paralinguistic element such as laughter

[name change] – name has been changed to maintain anonymity

Word – emphasis or stress

. – one second pause

.. – two second pause

: - lengthening sound

Appendix D – Deductive Code Examples

Think-aloud

Code	Description
Language/voice/accent/variety-yellow	Comments that directly reference the models' language use.

Physical traits-turquoise Fashion/culture/lifestyle - orange Other-pink	Comments that directly reference the models' phenotypical traits. Comments that reference models' hair and fashion choices. Other comments that reference the survey, instructions or other aspects that are not directly related to rating the models.