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Article

Language attitudes and the subjective perception of language in San Andrés and Providencia (Colombia): An integrative approach

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Abstract

This paper investigates language attitudes among Raizales from San Andrés and Providencia islands, Colombia. The paper analyzes stereotypical associations to Creole, Spanish, and English and addresses the question of whether or not the perception of linguistic stimuli is a function of the input-language. The study combined a matched-guise (MG) technique and a qualitative approach using a free association task to disclose emic categories to perceive and judge the languages. The results show that the perception of language is very stereotypical and dependent on whether or not the speaker is perceived as a member of the Raizal ethnic group. The MG results showed that speech is perceived differently as a function of the input-language. Spanish stimuli received the lowest scores as compared to Creole and English, suggesting a negative attitude toward Spanish in San Andrés. The paper provides empirical evidence of the perception of language as a response of ethnicity.

KEYWORDS: language attitudes, matched guise technique, ethnicity, Raizales, Islander Creole, San Andrés and Providencia islands (Colombia)

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1 Introduction

Language attitudes are subjective evaluations that rely on stereotypes of a language and its speakers, based on their physical appearance, psychological traits, social behaviors, origin, status, and speech habits, among other traits (Dragojevic, 2018). These stereotypes may promote ethnic values that emphasize solidarity and social cohesion among the ethnic group members while strengthening ethnic boundaries and downplaying outsiders. If investigated using indirect strategies, these stereotypes can provide a deeper understanding of language attitudes. This paper investigates language attitudes among Raizales from San Andrés and Providencia islands.

Raizales or Raizal Islanders are an ethnic group whose history, traditions, and native language ground the islands of San Andrés and Providencia, Colombia. They are descendants of Europeans (most of them English, Irish and Scottish, Dittmann, 2012b:718) and African slaves (presumably from the Akan cluster) who were brought directly from Africa and from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands during the slave trade period in the 17th and 18th centuries (Dittmann, 2013:285).

There were several disputes between the British and the Spanish regimes for the possession of the islands (Albuquerque and Stinner, 1978:172) until the Spanish empire expelled the greatest part of English settlers in 1786. During this period, English was the dominant language on the islands (Washabaugh, 1982:157–158), while a local pidgin may have emerged with the contributions of English and African and Creole varieties. Given that only a few English-speaking families who surrendered to the Spanish empire were allowed to stay on the islands (Vollmer, 1997:51), the English language diminished, while a local Creole variety arose and stabilized as the native language of the islands.

Except for a few descendants of Spanish soldiers who were raised as Raizales (Dittmann, 2012b:722), the Spanish regime, the Colombian government and the Spanish language did not reach an effective presence on the islands until 1926 when the Spanish Capuchin Mission succeeded the English Hill Mission (Castellar, 1976:34) and especially until the declaration of San Andrés as a free port in 1953 (Edwards, 1970), which favored immigration of mainland Colombian Spanish speakers. Spanish is currently the dominant language on the islands: the language of public life, education, and mass media, although slightly less so in Providencia (Abouchaar, 2013:46). Creole is the language of daily life, informal interactions, and recreation among Raizales. English and the Anglo culture in general remain highly estimated among Raizales as representative of their earliest ancestors (Wilson, 1973) and indeed English still functions as a

lingua franca with foreigners and it is used by a few families, in Baptist churches and a few bilingual schools. Moreover, English and anglicized Creole varieties have a stronger presence on Providencia than on San Andrés.

Altogether, this description profiles a bilingual situation and, in some cases, trilingual. The earliest functional distribution of English and Creole suggests a diglossic situation given a relatively clear and stable separation of functions in the sense conveyed by Ferguson (1959:328–333), with English being a standard variety fulfilling all official functions (education, religion, literacy, work) in public domains such as school, church, and government, and Creole being an oral language used in the street and at home, which also favored stylistic variation between these varieties (Edwards, Rosberg and Pryme, 1975). However, with the most recent incursion of Spanish, this diglossic situation has been destabilized. Spanish has displaced English from most official domains and has also entered private domains formerly exclusive to Creole. Spanish is currently heard in the street and at home and is becoming popular among Raizales, especially among younger generations, yielding a pattern of language shift (Bartens, 2002). Hence, transfer, calquing, borrowing, and code-switching involving Spanish as well as the use of different languages in the same situation without being object of ridicule are blurring the earlier functional separation of languages. This situation patterns formerly diglossic speech communities pressured by foreign forces that modify their linguistic repertoire (Fishman, 1967:34–36).

Demographically, Raizales are an ethnic minority group. The last census surveyed 48,299 inhabitants in San Andrés and Providencia (DANE, 2018). Of them, 20,332 (42.09%) were Raizal people and most of them are presumably Creole L1 speakers; 14,261 (29.53%) were non-Raizal people who were born in the islands and do not speak Creole as L1; and 13,706 (28.37%) were recent immigrants who were born outside the islands and are primarily Spanish L1 speakers. Thus, at least 57.9% of the current population of the islands does not speak Creole as an L1.[1]

This paper addresses language attitudes on both islands using an integrative approach that combines qualitative methods with the matched-guise (MG) technique, a test to investigate attitudes toward linguistic varieties, which are presented to the participants as a string of linguistic stimuli (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960). The paper shows that speakers and speech are perceived differently depending on their perceived ethnicity and the input-language. In the MG technique, Spanish stimuli received the lowest scores as compared to Creole and English, which suggests a negative attitude toward Spanish. These results provide empirical evidence of the ideological perception of language as a response of ethnicity.

2 Language attitudes

Attitudes are defined as general evaluations or people's evaluative dispositions toward social objects (Dion, 2003; Garret, Coupland and Williams, 2003; Ajzen, 2005). Language attitudes include any sort of evaluative stance toward language varieties, speech styles, and linguistic features (Dragojevic, 2018). Because languages are social entities, language attitudes usually carry an evaluative stance also toward the speakers, the speaking groups, and their traits, actions, and institutions (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960). More precisely, Kristiansen (1997) and Garret, Coupland and Williams (2003) describe language attitudes as complex social-psychological entities that include a cognitive component, as they involve some knowledge or beliefs about languages or their speakers; an affective component, as they relate to feelings or emotional dispositions to the attitudes' object; and a behavioral component, as they influence people's reactions toward the object of the attitudes. Furthermore, attitudes are latent and subtle, so they are not directly accessible but inferred from people's comments, opinions, and other verbal and non-verbal behaviors (Ajzen, 2005).

In a sense, attitudes may also be understood as preferences, likes and dislikes, and social categories that are set up on people's lives early, express their core values, and involve an adaptive component to everyday life situations (Banaji and Heiphetz, 2010). These preferences and social categories filter speech perception and entail the assessment of language varieties, accents, and speech features (Ball and Giles, 1982), as more or less beautiful, sweet, rhythmical, enjoyable, rude, annoying, or awkward, which are mostly related to ideologically grounded aesthetics (Garret, Coupland and Williams, 2003).

Due to this ideological component, language attitudes play a role in daily communication and social organization. Namely, language attitudes help to set and express ethnic and linguistic bounds in intergroup relationships (Garret, Coupland and Williams, 2003). Given that language is usually one of the salient resources used for differentiation between groups (Ball and Giles, 1982), people maximize their distinctiveness from other ethnic or social groups through perceived linguistic differences in accent, style, or linguistic features (Rickford, 1985). In a word, language attitudes help people express their ethnic or social memberships and set expectancies about how people behave and speak according to their age, gender, social class, ethnicity, and other social groups to which they belong (Edwards, 1997).

These assumptions of how people behave and speak reveal that daily communication and language attitudes are shaped by stereotyping (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960; Hewstone and Giles, 1997; Dragojevic, 2018). Social stereotypes are defined as enduring beliefs about social entities, so

that typical evaluations of speakers and speech varieties tend to perpetuate as common sense (Garret, Coupland and Williams, 2003). Most commonly, the speech of powerful ethnic or social groups is perceived as high-prestige and their speakers are perceived favorably, while members of less powerful groups are perceived less favorably in this dimension and their speech is perceived as low-prestige (Ball and Giles, 1982). This explains why in intergroup relationships the speech of the dominant groups is usually equated with standard varieties, while that of the less powerful is equated with non-standard varieties.

Ultimately, language attitudes express our social stereotypes and work to maintain and create ideologies that frame intergroup relationships. Nevertheless, Bourhis (1997) warns that prestige varieties and dominant social groups have no inherent aesthetic and socioeconomic value over others and do not have to be accepted. Hence, the use of standard varieties in official domains and the stigmatization of non-standard varieties can be challenged. Indeed, the social movements involving minority languages and the display of strongly positive attitudes toward local varieties underscore loyalty and ethnic pride, which may have positive impact on language use and the perception of these varieties (Kristiansen, 1997).

3 Language attitudes in Creole contexts

There is a variety of previous studies in creole language contexts, such as Eades and Siegel (1999) who investigated attitudes toward Australian Creoles, and Romaine (1999), Grimes (1999), and Fiore, Gotay, Pagano, Roles and Craven (2000) who investigated attitudes toward Hawaiian Creole English (HCE). Linguistic attitudes in creole language contexts are particularly complex because the creoles are often seen as vernacular versions of their lexifiers and are tied to intricate historical processes that included hostility, segregation, and outrage (e.g. slavery). Although these historical events caused creoles to be perceived as low-status languages, there is often a combination of negative and positive attitudes (Eades and Siegel, 1999:266; Migge and Léglise, 2015:95), as creoles may display some covert prestige as the everyday language and be a symbol of identity and ethnic authenticity (Carlin, Léglise, Migge and Tjon, 2014:1, 4). For instance, Romaine (1999), Eades and Siegel (1999), and Migge and Léglise (2015:91) document changing attitudes toward HCE, Australian creoles, and Maroon creoles, respectively, arguing that the native speakers are displaying increasingly more positive attitudes.

A similar trend of contested attitudes has been identified in San Andrés and Providencia. In the mid-twentieth Century, Parsons (1956) witnessed the growing presence of Spanish, which was compulsory in schools, workplaces, and public

institutions and predicted that 'the coming generation will be bilingual' (Parsons, 1956:47), but Creole would continue to be the language of the streets. Later, in the seventies, Edwards (1970:89, 254) showed that Spanish had replaced English in education and in other official domains and had become the public language for islanders, while English continued being spoken only by a few people (Edwards, Rosberg, and Pryme, 1975:1); Creole was reserved for the private domain as the in-group language. Wilson (1973) reported a similar trend in Providencia, where Spanish was gaining growing acceptance, despite a negative attitude toward Colombian Spanish speakers. Edwards, on the other hand, observed an overall negative attitude toward Creole and the local culture, the rejection of blackness and any trace of Africanism, and an overestimation of English as a standard language and European and American cultural models (Edwards, 1970:255, 265–266, 275–277). However, Washabaugh (1974:151–154) pointed out that the use of the most 'genuine Creole' – without standardizing traits toward English – was also appreciated in the seventies, yielding a complex pattern of conflicting attitudes.

During the eighties and nineties, Dittmann's (1988, 1992) findings reflect the progression of urbanization, the increased number of immigrants, the intensification of the tourist industry, and the expansion of Spanish, which was becoming more common in the street and in daily life, especially among younger people. She pointed out a double effect of these facts: (1) the increase of defensive and aggressive attitudes toward Colombians, and (2) some sort of 'awakening', as Raizales mobilized for their claims of autonomy and self-determination. However, English was proposed as the language of education and public life given its higher esteem and prestige on the islands (Dittmann, 1992:30, 45–46). More recently, Dittmann (2002, 2012a) found that, although Creole was maintained as the language of daily communication among Raizales, the use of Spanish had grown in the mass media, schools, literacy, and music, while English had apparently diminished, even though it was still one of the languages of church. In San Andrés, these patterns showed a larger variation between the mainland Colombian-dominant neighborhoods in the North, where Spanish was dominant, and the Raizal-dominant areas, where both Creole and Spanish were used more evenly (Dittmann, 2012a). Importantly, she also found increasingly positive attitudes to the Creole language (Dittmann, 2012a:11, 21–22).

Flórez (2006) carried out a language attitudes study on the islands using a direct-method approach. She investigated attitudes to English, Spanish, and Creole of both Raizales and immigrants (males and females) from two different age groups (14–34 and ≥ 35 years of age), who rated their agreement to

previously set statements about these languages in a 54 closed-ended item questionnaire. She found positive attitudes toward the three languages, although some differences were found across the participants' subsets. The average attitudes toward all languages were slightly more favorable in Providencia than in San Andrés, and older adults showed more positive attitudes toward English and Creole than the younger groups. Although positive attitudes toward all languages is an expected response in multilingual settings given the different functions each language supplies, these responses may be shaped by acquiescence and social-desirability biases (Garret, Coupland and Williams, 2003:28–29), so that the participants look for the researcher's approval, tend to agree with perceived positive items, and avoid providing perceived negative answers. As a consequence, some conflicting negative attitudes toward the languages or their speakers may not be revealed. Therefore, new studies using indirect method approaches that address contested language attitudes are needed.

In all, the previous studies show different layers of conflicting attitudes toward the three languages. During the early times of intense contact with Spanish since 1953, African heritage tended to be rejected and the Creole language tended to be overlooked and neglected, while Spanish started its expansion and English weakened. On the other hand, the studies from the eighties and nineties show new awareness of the importance of Creole, the intensification of the interethnic conflict and negative attitudes toward Spanish, and the mobilization around some local values, even though English was still pursued as a target language. The most recent studies show that the Creole language has got some gains both ideologically as a language to be proud of and specifically through different actions for its maintenance (Ross, 2000; Dittmann, 2002, 2012a). Rather than sharp tendencies, language attitudes appear to be intricately intertwined. Consequently, it is expected that there would not be a straightforward set of coherent attitudes but one that is multifaceted, complex, and varied. Therefore, we need a systematic study specifically addressing attitudes toward the languages of the linguistic repertoire of native Raizales using indirect methods that overcome the biases of direct methods as it is proposed here. The research questions this paper aims to answer are as follows:

a. What are the stereotypical associations of Creole, Spanish, and English and their speakers in San Andrés and Providencia?
b. Does the language of the stimuli in a matched-guise experiment affect how Creole, Spanish, and English speakers are perceived?

4 Methods

I carried out fieldwork for 20 weeks on both San Andrés and Providencia during two different time periods in 2015 and 2016. The first 9-week stay (in 2015) was a pilot study conducted in both islands with the purpose of screening the population, recruiting participants, and testing research instruments. The second 11-week stay (in 2016) was also conducted in both islands with the purpose of expanding the investigation as part of the main study.

4.1 Pilot study

The pilot study involved using a Matched Guise (MG) experiment. For the construction of the stimuli, all participants from San Andrés (14 Raizals) and Providencia (28 Raizals) completed an oral production task. They told in Creole, Spanish, and English the story represented in a wordless cartoon (see Pagelow, 2013). The story represents a male rabbit giving a female rabbit some flowers that he cuts from the grass, while the flowers that remain on the grass mourn the loss of their mates. As a moral, the cartoon teaches an ecology lesson that nature needs care and should not be destroyed. The semantic domain of gift-exchanges between males and females and the ecology lesson are universal topics, suited for people of different ages, cultural backgrounds, and literacy levels. The same procedure was applied with American English L1 speakers in Pittsburgh, US and mainland Colombian Spanish speakers in Bogotá, who served as control speakers.

These elicited short narratives (50 to 88 seconds) were used as stimuli in a pilot MG-study. For the completion of the task, each participant listened to some of these narratives and completed a Likert scale questionnaire for each narrative. However, the pilot study had some issues that made it difficult to reach any conclusions. First of all, the adjectives included in the Likert scales were chosen by the researcher based on previous MG studies and did not reflect the native categories used by the participants to perceive and judge the local languages and their speakers. Secondly, each subset of listeners listened to a different experimental speaker: the young adult males listened to a different speaker from the older adult males, and these were different from the experimental speakers listened to by the young and the older adult females. This increased speaker variability and made the data less comparable across the listener subsets, given the different narrative styles of the speakers and other differences between them.

4.2 Main study

In the main study, the MG experiment was redone in order to improve upon the limitations of the pilot study and gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of language attitudes in the islands. Rather than having the adjectives

biased by the researcher's choices in the Likert scale, a new procedure was implemented to capture the participants' emic viewpoint, while a new questionnaire was created using emergent native categories from the participants (Gaies and Beebe, 1991:167; Campbell-Kibler, 2006:72). Two main tasks were implemented for this purpose: a free association task and a refined MG experiment.

4.2.1 Free association task

Several 1-to-2-hour discussion sessions in groups were developed to deepen understanding of the participants' perspectives and to elicit their free associations to a given speaker and his/her speech. The stimuli pool contained 32 narratives from 16 narrators selected from the pilot study, including mainland Colombian Spanish speakers (4 Spanish narratives), American English speakers (4 English narratives), and Creole L1 speakers (8 Creole, 8 Spanish, and 8 English narratives). In the discussion groups, each group listened to two or three different speakers who were narrating a story in Creole, Spanish, or English. Upon listening to each narrative, the participants were provided with an open-ended questionnaire that prompted the participants to describe the speaker, his/her narrative, and his/her speech (e.g. *In your own words, how would you describe this person?*). Given that all questions were open and the participants were encouraged to share their perspectives and use their own words, they had the opportunity to discuss and negotiate their answers in group, which is not possible with individual interviews. The participants' responses were grouped in different categories according to their semantic similarity; for example, the terms *analytic*, *observer*, *reflexive*, *detailed*, *thinker* were grouped in one category. Then, I counted raw frequencies and submitted only the most frequent term per category (with ten or more tokens) to the matched-guise questionnaire (see section 4.2.4). The categories were varied and included descriptive terms of personality (e.g. *sociable*), physical appearance (e.g. *kinky hair*), and speech (e.g. *fluent*).

There was a total of 31 discussion sessions (this is the number of meetings), 65 discussion groups (including subgroups from sessions with large numbers of participants), and a total of 228 people who participated in the free-association task. Given that these were preexisting groups (classmates, workpairs, churchgoers), there were both Raizal and non-Raizal participants, especially in San Andrés. Based on the participants' preference, the discussions were conducted in Spanish or in English, sometimes with some small talk in Creole, but most of the discussions were trilingual going back and forth between these languages. Rather than being a limitation, these factors enriched the intersubjective nature of the activity, encouraged the negotiation of different perspectives, and illuminated different emic categories used by islanders.

4.2.2 A refined matched guise experiment

Figure 1 shows the structure of the refined MG experiment. From the pool of speakers from the pilot study, only two Creole L1 speakers were included in the experimental condition: Erin (from San Andrés) and Belkis (from Providencia), and only two speakers in the control condition: Julieth (American English speaker) and Kiara (mainland Colombian Spanish speaker).

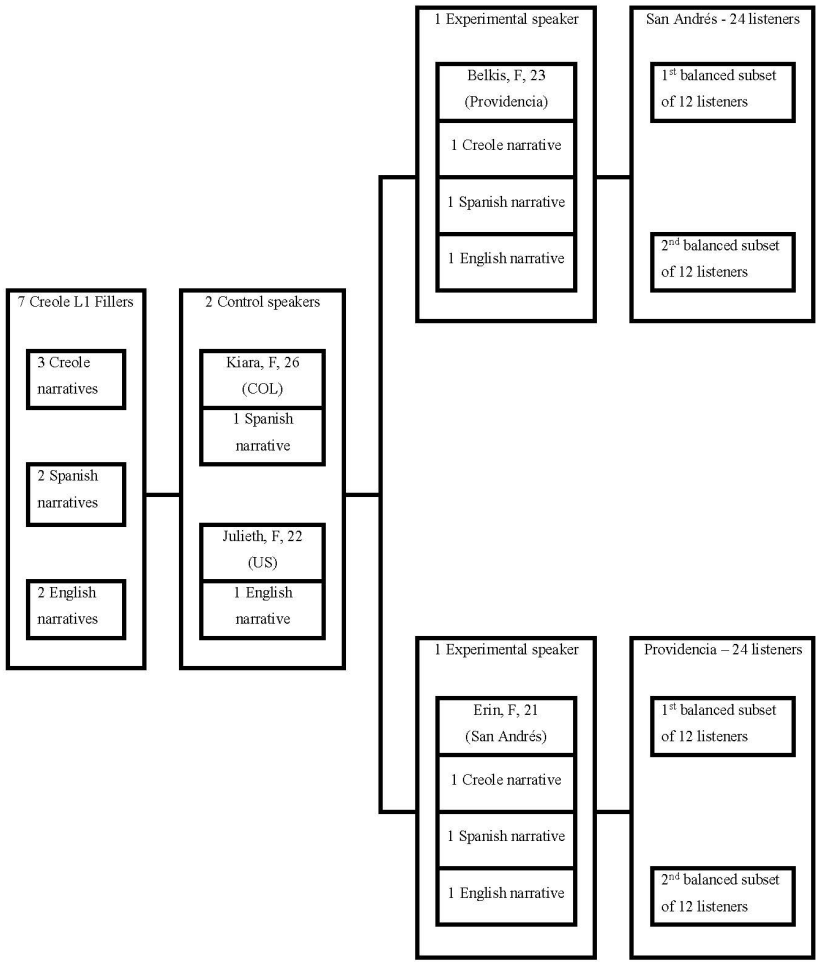

Figure 1. Experiment structure in refined matched guise experiment.

All of them were young females with equally fluent narratives and similar narrative style, narrative length, and expressive language, which are mutually comparable across the three guises: Creole, Spanish, and English. These changes

increased the power of the experiment and helped reduce speakers' variability, which was a problem in the pilot study and had been a concern for MG studies (Campbell-Kibler, 2006:64). The remaining Creole L1 speakers were used as filler voices (voices that alternate with the three guises), while narratives from other non-Raizal narrators were discarded as no more control speakers were needed.

The stimuli pool included 12 narratives: 3 experimental, 2 control, and 7 fillers. There were more female (8) than male voices (4), but the number of narratives in each language was exactly the same: 4 Creole, 4 Spanish, and 4 English. The inclusion of filler narratives allowed a larger interval of three narratives between experimental narratives. Finally, the listener and the experimental speaker belonged to a different island enclave, so that the listeners from San Andrés listened to Belkis (from Providencia), while the listeners from Providencia listened to Erin (from San Andrés). This helped avoid the speaker being identified by the listener, given that the pilot study showed that some female speakers appeared to be well-known in some geographical areas of their respective island.

4.2.3 Participants

Forty-eight participants were selected for the MG-study using the following criteria: (1) the participant gave consent to be enrolled in the study, (2) the participant was born on one of the islands, was living on his/her island of birth at the time of the study and had lived on any of the islands for a major part of his/her life (at least 60% of his/her age) and for no less than the last 5 years (2010 to 2015), (3) the participant identified him/herself as Raizal or as a native Creole speaker, and (4) he/she declared being a frequent user of this language. Table 1 summarizes the demographic information from these participants.

Table 1. MG participants (main study).

Groups	San Andrés		Providencia	
	Young adults	Older adults	Young adults	Older adults
Gender	6F, 6M	6F, 6M	6F, 6M	6F, 6M
Age	Mean = 24; Range: 19–31	Mean = 54; Range: 38–68	Mean = 24; Range: 18–30	Mean = 54; Range: 41–72
Languages spoken	Creole (L1), Spanish and English: 12	Creole (L1), Spanish, and English: 12	- Creole (L1), Spanish, and English: 10 - Creole (L1) and Spanish: 2	Creole (L1), Spanish, and English: 12

Table 2. Listener positions and stimuli sequence for a subset of listeners from San Andrés

Listener*	Stimuli-sequence**											
Alice F, 27	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C
Becky F, 23	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S
Georgianna F, 48	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**
Haley F, 38	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C
Wilson M, 67	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*
Oliver M, 19	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E
Philip M, 25	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**
Loraine F, 56	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S
Felisha F, 19	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*
Sheldon M, 20	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C
Anthony M, 64	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**
Vincent M, 57	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth (E)*	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara (S)*	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E

*All participants' names are pseudonyms

** C = Creole, S = Spanish, E = English, **Bold** = Experimental stimuli, *Italic* = Control stimuli, Regular = Fillers.

The participants were organized into two age groups of the same size: 24 young adults who were born in 1985 or later and 24 older adults who were born before 1985. The threshold of 1985 was motivated by the recent reorientation of the linguistic and educational policies since the eighties (Dittmann, 1992:46–50). On a first-come, first-served basis, each participant was assigned a listening position until forming two balanced subsets with the same number of males and females, and young and older adults in each island. The experimental, control, and filler stimuli were presented in a different order to each listener, using a Latin Square design (Keppel and Wickens, 2004). As an example, Table 2 shows the first balanced subset of 12 listeners from San Andrés. As there were two of these balanced subsets in each island, there were two listeners in each listening position per island. These modifications increased the power of the experiment, allowing multiple comparisons and control of carryover effects (training and fatigue).

4.2.4 The MG questionnaire

For each of the twelve narratives, each listener filled a MG questionnaire, which was designed using emic categories that emerged from the free association task. This locally oriented questionnaire had three sections: (1) a 6-point Likert scale with a set of gradual categories (e.g. *kinky hair-straight hair*), (2) a list of optional categorical terms that the listener could tick based on his/her free associations to the speaker (e.g. *islander accent*), and (3) a set of three questions about the possible origin of the speaker, the language spoken in the excerpt, and whether or not the listener recognized the speaker's voice. This last question allowed control of a possible effect of the listener having rated a voice that sounded familiar to him/her. In order to avoid some possible ordering effects, the items from the first and second sections were randomized twelve times, so each participant from each subset completed a survey with a different order of items (see Appendix for a non-randomized sample of the MG questionnaire).

5 Results

5.1 Stereotypical perceptions of speech and speakers

A variety of free associations to the speakers and their speech were found in the free association task. These associations are highly stereotypical as they foster essentialist views of languages and their speakers as having a preset array of psychological traits (e.g. *sociable*), physical appearance (e.g. *black*), and distinctive linguistic features (e.g. *good vocabulary*). These free associations were analyzed into two types: those related to speakers perceived as insiders (in-group members) (e.g. *native or authentic speech*) and those related to speakers perceived as outsiders (e.g. *continental accent*). In-group members were usually

perceived as insiders and out-of-the-group people were easily perceived as outsiders. There were, however, a few cases of out-group people perceived as insiders and in-group members perceived as outsiders.

5.1.1 Perceived insiders

The participants' free associations to speakers perceived as insiders were profuse given that there were more narratives from Raizales (24/32) and their narratives triggered a larger number of free associations than those from non-Raizal people. The most common descriptors of their ethnicity were Raizal and Islander, sometimes modified with adjectives emphasizing ethnic authenticity, such as the terms real, truly, complete, authentic, and proud Raizal. What the participants linked to 'Real Raizal' is complex, but some associations are physical descriptions such as being black, tall, and hefty, with muscular bodies and thick voices. For occupations, the perceived insiders were associated with traditional and clerical activities such as fisher, farmer, seller, and taxi driver. These occupations were paired with psychological traits such as being radical, correct, serious, and expressive, and displaying excitement for oral stories.

For speech, the participants' free-associations of perceived insiders were different for each language. Creole narratives triggered associations of strength, vitality, authenticity, fluency, and expressiveness. Spanish narratives were described as unnatural or forced, with perceived vocabulary issues and a perceived lack of fluency. It appears that the participants' associations to Spanish narratives were based on linguistic performance and lacked the emotional traits of Creole narratives. Finally, in English narratives there was a general perception of Creole-English mixture and ungrammaticality, apparently based on pronunciation and morphosyntactic features. The perceived mixed language was labeled using different terms, such as Creolized English and Caribbean English. Some narratives perceived as fluent were believed to be from Providencia and linked to an alleged British heritage, which may have led to the perception of an American English L1 speaker as an insider.

5.1.2 Perceived outsiders

Perceived outsiders were narrators perceived as non-Raizal people speaking either Spanish or English. Most of them were indeed mainland Colombian Spanish L1 speakers or American English L1 speakers, even though there were a few cases of in-group members who were perceived as outsiders. The perceived outsiders speaking English were usually associated with general categories such as foreigner, along with stereotypical descriptions of physical appearance of Anglos such as tall, white, and straight hair. They were described as English teachers,

with good education and intellectual abilities. Their speech was usually given positive descriptors, such as speaking well, using excellent vocabulary, and absence of code-switching. This suggests that the negative associations with English narratives may hold for perceived insiders but not if the English speaker is perceived as an outsider. There were, however, some cases in which these narrators' speech was defined as lacking the 'Creole blood', as opposed to Creole and English narratives told by perceived insiders.

Perceived outsiders speaking Spanish also triggered stereotypical associations of physical appearance such as being white or *mestizo* and having straight hair and brown eyes. Moreover, there were also persistently negative associations such as being unsure and boring, having low self-esteem, lacking energy, and being depressed. Some participants perceived an accent from Barranquilla and Cartagena, which are the most popular geographical origins of Continental Colombians living in San Andrés. The use of the derogatory term *paña* (<España) to describe these speakers confirms the negative associations of their speech. Although the pool of narrators had no Spanish speakers from these regions and no mainland Colombians living in the islands, the participants' choices reflect some negative attitudes toward Spanish and its speakers.

5.2 The perception of speech as a function of the input-language

The qualitative analysis from the previous section suggests that a series of free associations to speakers and their speech could be different for each language (Creole, Spanish, or English) and depend on whether the narrator is perceived as an insider or as an outsider. In this section, I will analyze if these differences are statistically significant in a more controlled experimental setting. For this, the participants took part in a refined MG experiment as described in Section 4. Once each participant listened to each narrative, he/she filled out a paper-pen MG questionnaire, which was designed with the emic categories that emerged from the free association task. This locally designed questionnaire aimed at the participants' perspectives using their own categories (Gaies and Beebe, 1991:167; Campbell-Kibler, 2006:72).

5.2.1 The MG questionnaire results

An individual item analysis of the gradual categories from the Likert scales (e.g. Young_Old) showed that for Creole narratives, most of the scales were tailing to the terms on the left of the scale. In order to have all the scales tailed in the same direction and use only one statistical model, I reversed three scales that were tailing to the terms on the right of the scales: (1) Thin_Hefty body was reversed as Hefty_Thin, (2) Dark eyes_Clear eyes was reversed as Clear eyes_Dark eyes, (3)

Introverted_Extroverted was reversed as Extroverted_Introverted. As a result, Hefty body, Clear eyes, and Extroverted aligned with other gradual categories that the listeners related to Creole narratives. Once these adjustments were made, I computed the great means for each language narrative (Creole, Spanish, English) including all gradual terms.

These data were submitted to a mixed ANOVA for each island, given that the participants from each island listened to different narrators (Belkis in San Andrés; Erin in Providencia). In both cases, the input-language (the language of the narrative) was set as the repeated factor with three levels: (1) Creole_great mean, (2) Spanish_great mean, and (3) English_great mean. Age and survey-language (the survey-language that the participant chose) were included as independent factors. Age had two levels: (1) Young adults (born in or after 1985), and (2) Older adults (born before 1985). Survey-language also had two levels: (1) English (the participant answered an English survey), and (2) Spanish (the participant answered a Spanish survey).

Table 3. Estimated means and standard errors for input-language by island.

	San Andres (Belkis's voice)					Providencia (Erin's voice)				
	N	Creole	Spanish	English	Sig**	N	Creole	Spanish	English	Sig
Great mean	24	4.66	4.44	4.68 <	**.001***	24	4.39	4.33	4.31	.734
SE		.055	.088	.056			.113	.077	.114	
Age					.797					.912
Young adults	12	4.72	4.43	4.67		12	4.43	4.28	4.29	
SE		.076	.122	.078			.159	.108	.160	
Older adults	12	4.59	4.45	4.69		12	4.34	4.38	4.33	
SE		.079	.128	.082			.161	.110	.163	
Survey language					.429					.655
English	15	4.54	4.41	4.68		13	4.37	4.40	4.37	
SE		.067	.108	.069			.153	.104	.155	
Spanish	9	4.77	4.46	4.69		11	4.40	4.26	4.24	
SE		.087	.140	.089			.167	.113	.168	

**Significant values are flagged in boldface and with an asterisk (*).

Table 3 displays the estimated means and standard errors for the three languages in each island both overall (great means) and across the independent factors. The assumptions of normality, sphericity, and homogeneity of covariance were met for both tests. In the repeated factor, there were significant differences between the input-languages in San Andrés, $F_{.05}\ (2, 40) = 10.322, p < .001, \boldsymbol{\eta}^2 = .34$ but not in Providencia, $F_{.05}\ (2, 40) = .311, p = .734, \boldsymbol{\eta}^2 = .015$. In San Andrés, Spanish had the lowest estimated mean (M = 4.44, SE = .088), as compared to Creole (M = 4.66, SE = .055) and English (M = 4.68, SE = .056), while in

Providencia the three languages had the same mean (around 4.3). Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni correction showed that, in San Andrés, Spanish was different from both English ($p = .003$) and Creole ($p = .009$), as shown in Table 4. On the other hand, Age (San Andrés, $p = .797$; Providencia, $p = .912$) and Survey-language (San Andrés, $p = .429$; Providencia, $p = .655$) were not significant in any of the islands.

Table 4. Pairwise comparisons for input-language in San Andrés**.

Groups		Mean difference	Sig***	Confidence Intervals	
				Lower bound	Upper bound
Creole	Spanish	.216	**.009***	.049	.383
	English	-.029	1.00	-.156	.098
Spanish	Creole	-.216	**.009***	-.383	-.049
	English	-.245	**.003***	-.409	-.081
English	Creole	.029	1.00	-.098	.156
	Spanish	.245	**.003***	.081	.409

**Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

***Significant at the < .05 level.

As plotted in Figure 2, these results mean that the listeners from San Andrés tended to relate Belkis to the gradual terms on the right when she was speaking Spanish, but to the terms on the left when she was speaking English or Creole. Thus, the listeners perceived the speaker differently depending on the language she was speaking, which suggests an ideological perception of the languages and their speakers. Depending on the terms, these patterns indicate a negative attitude toward Spanish speakers (e.g. bad mood, sad, not educated) and a positive attitude toward English and Creole speakers (e.g. good mood, happy, sure). There was only a small and not significant difference between English and Creole, with English receiving slightly higher scores than Creole.

A further analysis of the Latin square design (Keppel and Wickens, 2004) indicated that carryover effects were not significant in any of the islands (San Andrés, $p = .494$, Providencia, $p = .362$) and, therefore, the results hold regardless of the position of the stimuli in the stimuli string. When compared to control speakers, there was a significant difference ($p < .001$) between Belkis and control speakers in San Andrés, while the differences between the English and Spanish stimuli hold, perhaps due to a higher esteem for English and the Anglo culture on the islands. As shown in Figure 3, Belkis (solid line) had higher means in English (M = 4.67) and Spanish (M = 4.44) and was closer to the gradual terms on the left, as compared to the control speakers (dashed line), who had comparatively lower means both in English (M = 4.44) and in Spanish (M =

4.02). These results suggest that Raizales speaking Spanish and English were more stereotypically related to the terms on the left than their non-Raizal counterparts. Among all, Kiara (a mainland Colombian Spanish speaker) had the lowest mean and was more stereotypically related to the terms on the right.

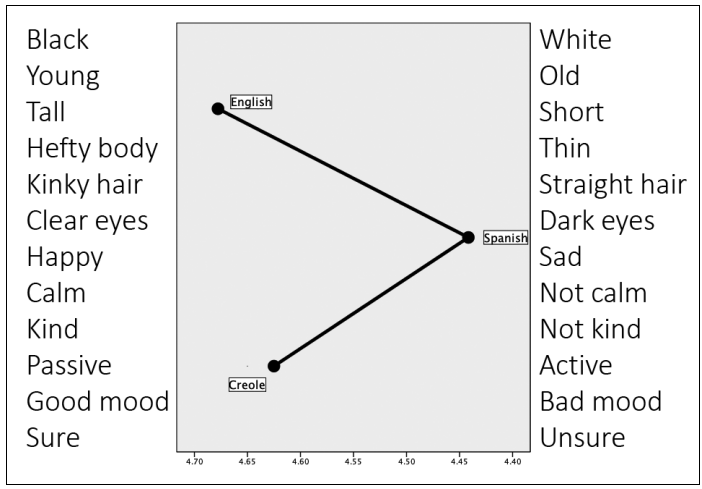

Figure 2. Language means for gradual terms in San Andrés.

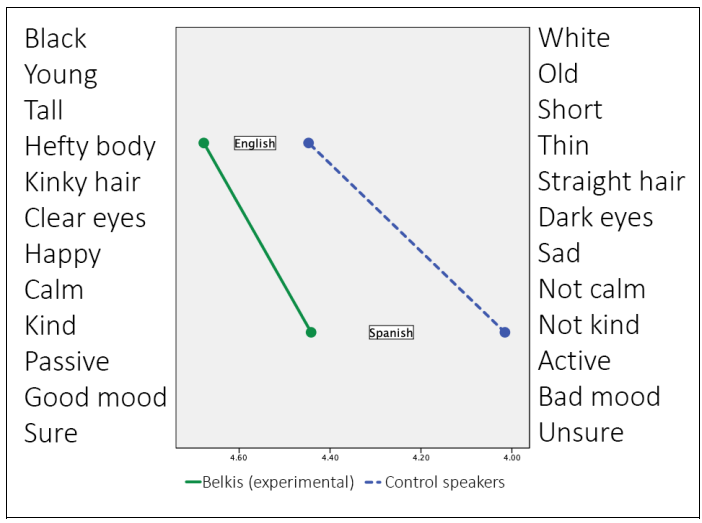

Figure 3. Language means for experimental and control speakers in San Andrés.

In Providencia, the differences between Erin (experimental) and the control speakers were not significant (*p = .207*) and the differences between languages remain insignificant. However, Figure 4 shows a significant interaction (*p = .024*) between language and the speaker condition given that control speakers (dashed line) had different means per language (English, M = 4.31; Spanish, M = 4.09) whereas Erin (solid line) had about the same mean across both English (M = 4.31) and Spanish (M = 4.33). This result means that in Providencia all the stimuli were given about the same rates except for Kiara's, who was more stereotypically related to terms on the right. Depending on the content of the terms, this suggests a negative attitude toward Spanish speakers, which appears to be less strong in Providencia than in San Andrés.

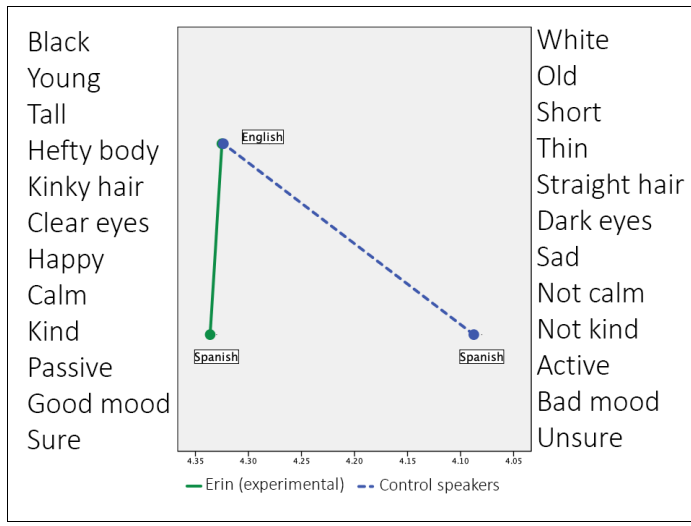

Figure 4. Significant interaction between language and speaker condition in Providencia.

5.2.2 The language of survey and the perceived language

Although the survey-language was not a significant factor, there was a significant three-way interaction (*p = .024*) between the input-language, age, and the survey-language in San Andrés. As shown in Figure 5, this was because the older adults who answered an English survey (dashed line) rated Belkis' English narrative significantly higher than her Creole narrative, which received the lowest means, whereas those who answered a Spanish survey (solid line) followed the general pattern of this island: Spanish input receiving the lowest mean, as compared to Creole and English. The young adults, on the other hand, showed similar trends

regardless of the survey-language, so that Spanish input received the lowest mean, as compared to Creole and English.

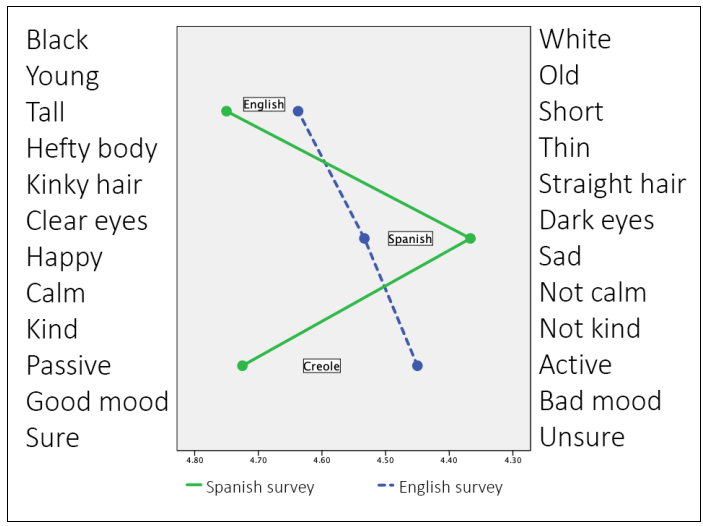

Figure 5. The language of survey among older adult listeners from San Andrés.

Overall, this result suggests that the choice of the language of survey might have been ideologically driven. Therefore, the adults who chose English as their survey language appeared to be more oriented to English as a target language and therefore they assigned Belkis's English narrative the highest scores, while assigning the lowest scores to her Creole narrative. However, given that the islands are a multilingual setting and most of the listeners declared to be Creole, Spanish, and English trilinguals, we would need to examine what they perceived as Creole, English, or Spanish. While all listeners perceived Erin and Belkis' Spanish narratives as Spanish, nearly 50% perceived their English narratives as Creole in both islands. Nearly all listeners (96%) from San Andrés estimated Belkis's Creole narrative as Creole, while an important 17% of the listeners from Providencia perceived Erin's Creole narrative as English. There were no striking linguistic differences between Erin and Belkis' Creole narratives as their grammar, lexical choices, and pronunciation are equally conservative of Creole features, so the participants' choice of perceived language may be also ideologically driven. Namely, the perceived language may had been a response to ethnicity rather than a purely linguistic trait and thus English narratives were perceived as Creole varieties at times.

6 Discussion

This paper analyzed stereotypical perceptions of speech and speakers and the perception of speech as a function of the input-language in the matched-guise experiment. First, the analysis revealed highly stereotypical perceptions of both the speaker and his/her speech, depending on whether the speaker is perceived as an insider or as an outsider. Narrators perceived as insiders triggered a series of positive free associations if speaking Creole, but less positive if speaking another language and especially negative if speaking Spanish. Among narrators perceived as outsiders, Spanish speakers received the most negative associations as compared to English speakers and perceived insiders. Second, a quantitative analysis indicated that, in San Andrés, the speech was perceived differently as a function of the input-language. For both control and experimental narrators, Spanish stimuli received the lowest rates as compared to Creole and English. This differential perception suggests a negative attitude toward Spanish and Spanish speakers and is allegedly grounded on language ideologies.

The most recent and sudden advent of Spanish has created a power differential in which the local community has become segregated, favoring Spanish speakers, especially since the declaration of San Andrés as a free port in 1953 (Edwards, 1970). The Free Port triggered the development of commerce, tourism, and urbanization and favored immigration from mainland Colombia and the expansion of Spanish into more domains. In San Andrés, these changes have triggered territorial conflicts and a general feeling of mistrust (Albuquerque and Stinner, 1978:179). Consequently, this has ironically both increased the use of Spanish but also fostered negative attitudes toward the Spanish language and Spanish speakers. The lack of significant differences in Providencia is likely the result of more favorable demographic and sociohistorical conditions, such as being a smaller and more isolated island and not covered by the Free Port status of San Andrés, which is consistent with previous findings (Flórez, 2006).

These results demonstrate that a primary function of language is group differentiation (Ball and Giles, 1982) as social categorization and stereotyping are basic processes of language attitudes (Dragojevic, 2018). Indeed, the perceived ethnic memberships expressed stereotypical behaviors (Edwards, 1997), so that Raizales were expected to speak Creole and were perceived as vital, strong, expressive, and authentic when speaking this language, while speaking another language decreased their perceived ethnicity. This suggests that the stigmatization of minority languages can be challenged via social activism using ethnic loyalty as a value (Kristiansen, 1997), as appears to be the case among Raizales from San Andres and Providencia, who are using language, Raizal culture, and education as core themes of their quest for self-determination (Ross, 2000).

Given that the evidence was built on the participants' perspectives, using their own categories, and giving them voice, the results are meaningful and contextually relevant. In general, this also highlights the importance of the emic viewpoint and the use of local categories in language attitudes studies (Campbell-Kibler, 2006). This is an important contribution that shows that qualitative approaches such as discussion groups were productive to get emic categories of the Raizal ethnic group if they are appropriately combined with indirect methods (Ajzen, 2005), such as the MG technique. Namely, it is this combination that surpasses the acquiescence and social-desirability biases of direct methods (Garret, Coupland and Williams, 2003), while getting a holistic and integrative view of language attitudes. Therefore, the study found significant differences of language attitudes that might not have been revealed in previous studies using direct approaches (Flórez, 2006), for example some negative attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers in the islands. The contribution is important given that this negative attitude is consistent with the perceived negative effects of the growing presence of Spanish in the islands.

7 Conclusion

In all, this research study provides a renewed view of language attitudes in San Andrés and Providencia. It expands our knowledge of how languages and speakers are ideologically perceived in contested bilingual settings and how these perceptions interact with ethnicity depending on whether or not the speaker is perceived as an in-group member or as an outsider. These findings contribute to the burgeoning body of sociolinguistic studies on Creole language contexts (Carlin, Léglise, Migge and Tjon, 2014; Migge and Léglise, 2015).

Nevertheless, there are still a number of limitations of MG studies that must be acknowledged. Firstly, it is not easy to conclude what exactly triggers the rates that the listeners assigned to the speakers (Campbell-Kibler, 2006:82). Secondly, the control of content (i.e. using the same story for each guise) brings the risk of inadequacy to some of the guises (Ihemere, 2006:196). Finally, the experimental nature of the MG technique is tied to the problem of artificiality (Ihemere, 2006:196). These are important limitations, which are in part intrinsic to the MG technique. However, I tried to keep a balance between the naturalness of discourse and the artificiality of experimental designs. Furthermore, the triangulation of this technique with the free association task counterbalanced its limitations, contributed to the general soundness of the investigation, and provided a grounded view on language attitudes in the islands.

Notes

1 These data must be seen with caution, as DANE estimates a census elusion of 21.2% (12,981 people), which may yield some inaccuracies, especially regarding recent immigrants in urban areas of the islands

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Appendix. Non-randomized sample of the MG-questionnaire

Date: _____ / _____ / _____ Excerpt # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____

Name: _____ #_____

1) The person who is speaking is or has:

Mark only one point in each row

Black	O	O	O	O	O	O	White
Young							Old
Tall	O	O	O	O	O	O	Short
Thin							Hefty body
Kinky hair	O	O	O	O	O	O	Straight hair
Dark hair							Clear hair
Dark eyes	O	O	O	O	O	O	Clear eyes
Happy							Sad
Calm	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not calm
Kind							Not kind
Passive	O	O	O	O	O	O	Active
Good mood							Bad mood
Sure	O	O	O	O	O	O	Unsure
Loving							Not loving
Educated	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not educated
Serious							Not serious
Introverted	O	O	O	O	O	O	Extroverted
Modest							Not modest
Sociable	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not sociable
Analytic							Not analytic
Collaborative	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not collaborative
A lot of energy							Little energy
Fluent	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not fluent
Clear							Not clear
Rushing	O	O	O	O	O	O	Unhurried
Understandable							Not understandable
Expressive	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not expressive
Good vocabulary							Bad vocabulary
Standard	O	O	O	O	O	O	Not standard
Speaks well							Does not speak well

2) The person who is speaking is or has: [**Choose all that apply**]

- ☐ Islander accent
- ☐ Continental accent
- ☐ Foreign accent or influence
- ☐ Native or authentic speech
- ☐ Mixes some Creole words
- ☐ Deep or tick voice
- ☐ Islander Raizal
- ☐ Paña
- ☐ Foreigner
- ☐ Fisher
- ☐ Farmer
- ☐ Teacher
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Braid hairstyle
- ☐ Beard and/or mustache
- ☐ Gray-haired
- ☐ Bald

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