

Perceptions and Use of Inclusive Language in Spanish

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by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my wonderful professors in the Spanish program at George Mason University, all of whom have contributed greatly to my academic successes; to my supportive partner, Andrew; and to those who have invested time and energy into helping me develop my research project. Thank you.

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ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS AND USE OF INCLUSIVE LANGUAGE IN SPANISH

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This thesis investigates the perceptions and use of gender-inclusive language in Spanish among Spanish speakers living in the United States. The term *inclusive language* encompasses a series of written and spoken strategies intended to provide more linguistic options apart from the traditional use of the generic masculine, with the ultimate goal of increasing the visibility and representation of people who identify as women and nonbinary within the Spanish language. These strategies include “doubling”, or using both the masculine and feminine form (e.g., *los profesores y las profesoras*, instead of *los profesores*); replacing the terminal -o with a graphical symbol such as @, *, or x; replacing the terminal -o with -e to neutralize gender; and/or the use of collective nouns (e.g., *el profesorado*) to replace the use of the generic masculine form. Extant literature about inclusive language in Spanish often analyzes the dynamics of the debate between language academics and activists, however the opinions and uses of day-to-day Spanish speakers are just beginning to be analyzed. Using survey and interview data, this thesis intends add to the growing body of literature about inclusive language, providing insight

into current perceptions and uses of inclusive language in Spanish by speakers of diverse backgrounds.

INTRODUCTION

Language is an important tool for constructing and understanding the world around us and it plays a key role in identity formation and affirmation. It allows us to identify, describe, express emotions and desires, convey messages, build relationships, and pass on knowledge and experiences. Through the social nature of language, we build and enact our multiple intersecting identities, including gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, global location, socioeconomic status, subcultural belonging, and more (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

A call to action based in feminist activism and LGBTQ+ movements in recent decades has emerged to reevaluate language use which has generally favored generic masculine “unmarked” forms when referring to situations in which gender is unspecified. In English, the use of masculine generics has been dubbed by feminists “he-man language” (Cameron, 2016) based on its reliance on the use of “he” and “man” to refer to mixed groups (“Man has always adapted to his environment”), or in situations where gender is unspecified or unknown (“He who laughs last laughs best”). However, activists have made the argument that the reliance on the use of masculine forms inhibits the visibility and representation of women and nonbinary individuals in society, thus perpetuating patriarchal power dynamics and further marginalizing groups that lack hegemonic power. A similar call has been particularly salient, and equally controversial,

in the case of Spanish, a grammatically gendered language which traditionally employs masculine forms as a means to include all, both in mixed-gender groups and in situations where gender is unknown.

As a response to claims of linguistic asymmetry and invisibility, a series of guides to promote nonsexist language have been published in various Spanish-speaking countries, as well as in transnational organizations such as the United Nations (2019). Such guides offer recommendations regarding how to increase the visibility of historically marginalized identities, particularly women, and to avoid sexist language, generally without deviating from pre-existing traditional grammatical norms. Some examples of such recommendations are the practice of doubling the masculine and feminine forms (e.g., *los profesores y las profesoras*), and the use of collective nouns (e.g., *el profesorado*) in written and spoken discourse.

Meanwhile, another response to linguistic asymmetry in terms of gender has been the invention and use of new linguistic forms, many of which do deviate from widely accepted prescriptive grammatical norms. This innovation can be seen as a type of linguistic variation which stems from the evolving social realities surrounding the language, particularly the increasing visibility of those who identify as women or nonbinary in various sectors of society. Among the innovations that have come to light are the uses of x, @, *, and -e as a replacement for terminal -a or -o at the end of certain nouns and their complements to signify gender inclusivity or neutrality.

These neologisms have generated impassioned debate among academics, activists, language academics, and Spanish speakers alike. The Royal Spanish Academy (*Real*

Academia Española, RAE), the de facto regulatory institution of the Spanish language, in particular has voiced its rejection of the use of inclusive language of all kinds, innovative or not, on several occasions. The RAE posits that the generic masculine alone functions as the inclusive term to refer to mixed groups, generic contexts, and situations where gender is unknown or insignificant. On the other hand, many activists and academics have countered the RAE's position, arguing that the masculine form is exclusive as it limits the representation of women and nonbinary people, in linguistics and perhaps even in society.

Previous literature has often focused on the debate among experts in linguistics, particularly between the RAE and activists and academics in favor of inclusive language, without considering the opinions of inclusive language by nonexpert speakers (i.e., those who do not specialize in the study of language). In light of this gap, this study aims to contribute information about perceptions and use of inclusive language by everyday speakers of Spanish living in the United States. Using survey and interview data, this thesis will provide qualitative and quantitative data about current knowledge of inclusive language, attitudes towards it, and uses among Spanish speakers of diverse backgrounds living in different areas of the United States. This study will investigate the relationship that different social actors have with inclusive language by measuring attitudes and use, thus adding to the growing body of research regarding inclusive language.

BACKGROUND LITERATURE

As a regulatory organization, the *Real Academia Española* has garnered much attention regarding its response to the emergence of inclusive language use among Spanish speakers. The RAE has voiced its disapproval of inclusive language on several occasions in different forms. In his report on linguistic sexism, RAE member and linguist Ignacio Bosque (2012) claimed that not only is the generic masculine form inclusive, but women actually do not feel excluded by it. Six years later, the RAE published the *Libro de estilo de la lengua española según la norma panhispánica* (2018), a style guide which discredits inclusive language as grammatically invalid in its first chapter. In recent years, the RAE has repeatedly reaffirmed its rejection of inclusive language of any kind that replaces the generic masculine form, primarily through social media accounts such as Twitter ([@RAEinforma](#)). In a turn of events, in 2020 the RAE added the gender-neutral pronoun *elle* to its *Observatory of Words*, a collection of words and phrases that are in use in the Spanish language, but do not appear in the official dictionary. However, the pronoun was subsequently removed from the *Observatory*, purportedly to avoid confusion among speakers (Navarro, Camarasa, and Wise, 2020).

In contrast to the claims made by the RAE, recent research has indicated that the use of masculine generics may not be perceived as all-embracing by interlocutors and may in fact have psychological implications. Stout and Dasgupta (2011), for example,

found that women who were presented with gender-exclusive language (i.e., generic masculine *he*) in the context of a mock interview experienced a lower sense of belonging, less motivation, and less identification with the job compared to others presented with gender-inclusive (i.e., paired pronouns *he or she*) or gender-neutral language. Scotto and Pérez (2020) outline a series of experiments which have empirically demonstrated that grammatical gender and certain cognitive phenomena are linked, such as attributing masculine or feminine qualities to certain objects, the attribution of masculine and feminine traits to a gender-unspecified protagonist of a story based on the level of inclusivity of the narration, or the activation of stereotypes and gender biases (Konishi, 1993; Flaherty, 2001; Sera et al., 1994; Boroditsky, Schmidt, and Phillips, 2003; McConnell & Fazio, 1996; Kaufmann & Böhner, 2014; Biegler & Leaper, 2015; Stout & Dasgupta, 2011). Moreover, Prewitt-Freilino et al. (2012) suggest that countries in which the predominant language is gendered demonstrate lower levels of gender equality than those that speak natural gender or genderless languages.

In the past decade, scholars have offered diverse responses to inclusive language in Spanish. Some insist that linguistics and identity politics should be separated, and that language in and of itself does not include or exclude, rather it is the people that use the language which include or exclude others (Bolívar, 2019). Others argue that inclusive language “pretende modificar las prácticas lingüísticas y, además, las concepciones y las acciones de las personas; de lo idiomático a lo sociocultural” [“*attempts to modify linguistic practices, as well as peoples’ actions and conceptions, from the idiomatic to*

the sociocultural”]¹ (Chávez, 2020, p. 4). Martínez (2019) posits that, given language’s function as a communicative tool, it is natural that new words and grammar are to be invented to reflect a changing reality, thus inclusive language is a normal evolution in the life of a language. Furthermore, Sánchez and Mayo (2019) contend that while the use of sexist language perpetuates the patriarchal system which perpetuates power dynamics that stratify society, inclusive language reveals the need for marginalized groups to be seen in the most basic, yet most powerful aspect of society: language (388).

In August of 2020, the Pew Research Center published an article about the results of a poll that claimed that while about a quarter of U.S. Hispanics have heard of the term *Latinx*, only 3% use the term (Noe-Bustamante, Mora, & Lopez, 2020). In December 2019, the research center polled 3,030 U.S. Hispanic adults about their awareness of the term, and the results suggest that young Hispanics between the ages of 18 and 29, those with college experience, and those who were born in the U.S. were more likely to have heard of the gender-neutral pan-ethnic label, but as the article points out, “awareness of the term *Latinx* does not necessarily translate into use”.

Academic research aside, the use of inclusive language has become a controversial topic among those who do not study or specialize in language. This is especially salient in an age where social media is the principal platform for popular debate. A Google search using the keyword *lenguaje inclusivo* yields more than four million results in less than one second. Likewise, a similar search on Twitter or Facebook produces a seemingly endless stream of conversations engaging in the debate on inclusive

¹ This translation and all subsequent translations are my own.

language in Spanish. Once thought to be a phenomenon relegated to academic and activist spaces, it is apparent that inclusive language has become a topic of widespread conversation among the general public as well.

Despite its increasing popularity, however, a great majority of existent literature, both popular and academic, frames the primary battleground as existing between two parties: language academies, particularly the RAE on the one hand, and feminist experts, including activists and linguists on the other. Licata and Papadopoulos (2021), for example, outline and refute the general claims that the RAE has made in its refusal to recognize gender-fair language of any type from a linguistic standpoint. Bolívar (2019) comments on the RAE's criticisms of recent language guides which promote inclusive language practices, which, in some cases, are published and distributed without the collaboration of experts in the fields of linguistics and discourse. García (2019) focuses on how language academies in Mexico and Spain have argued against inclusive language styles based on claims to preserve the standard variety. Pino (2019) argues that the debate surrounding the existence and treatment of linguistic sexism underscores a contentious dispute over linguistic supremacy between language academies and sociopolitical institutions. While these contributions to the study of inclusive language are valuable, they tend to focus on macro-level phenomena without mention of the consequences that such debates have on everyday speakers of Spanish.

In light of the aforementioned gap, a few studies have investigated nonexpert attitudes and opinions about various emergent linguistic innovations. These studies have been carried out in different geographical and cultural contexts and represent a small but

growing body of research. In a study about identification with the term *Latinx* in contrast to *Latino* or *Latina* in English, Salinas (2020) interviewed university students from diverse locations across the United States. The results of this study revealed that, while initially met with some degree of confusion, many participants used the term *Latinx* as a way to refer to the community, but not typically to refer to oneself. Rodríguez (2018) surveyed eighty Asturian secondary school students about their preferences regarding different forms of address, discovering that more than half of the older students preferred the “unmarked” masculine form, while the younger students identified with innovative forms that did not adhere to the rules of Spanish grammar. Sánchez and Mayo (2019) conducted focus groups with future educators in Santiago, Chile, reporting two distinct positions regarding inclusive language: first, a strong concern with how inclusive language could be used in the university where they studied and in the schools where they carried out their internships, and second, a more disinterested position that considered inclusive language as an imposition. Michnowicz et al. (2020) surveyed 236 Spanish speakers in North Carolina regarding attitudes and knowledge of inclusive language and found that half of the respondents were aware of what inclusive language was, along with differences in opinion and use by age, gender, generation, and education.

Although the previously mentioned studies consult nonexpert opinions about inclusive language, they have two key limitations. First, with the exception of the study by Michnowicz et al. (2020), the target populations were mainly comprised of students, thus underscoring the need for data from those not affiliated with education or educational settings. Second, while the debate surrounding inclusive language has been

largely centered around the (in)visibility of women, the opinions and attitudes of nonbinary or queer individuals are yet to be investigated. Although various scholars have commented on inclusive language related to nonbinary identification (e.g., Licata & Papadopoulos, 2011; Rodríguez, 2018; Salinas, 2020), few studies to date have been able to poll a significant sample of Spanish-speaking LGBTQI+ identifying individuals.

Inclusive Language Style Guides

In light of the debate surrounding inclusive language, in the past several years a plethora of style guides promoting the use of inclusive language in Spanish in different contexts have been published throughout Latin America and Spain. Although it is somewhat unlikely that the common speaker of Spanish would access a style guide as a reference, their existence is worth mentioning for the fact that not only do such manuals add a degree of credibility to the use of inclusive language, but they also reflect the increasing use of linguistically inclusive forms. According to Bolívar (2019), inclusive language style guides define such language in two distinct ways: the first being a more pragmatic approach with an aim to employ inclusive language in specific contexts (i.e., a pragmatic micro approach to inclusive language), and the second coming from a more radical perspective with the intention to achieve change in a broader context (i.e., an interventionist macro approach to inclusive language). These two approaches can at times be at odds with each other. The first approach is more concerned with a particular style of language in contexts that may already be deemed as artificial, such as in administrative directives, political discourse, or juridical documents, and not necessarily with spontaneous speech. On the other hand, the second approach often does concern itself

with commonplace discourse, suggesting that linguistic sexism is a byproduct of social sexism and stigmatization.

Many inclusive language style guides tend to be pragmatic. One style guide that embodies this approach is *Guía breve para el uso no sexista del lenguaje: cómo usar lenguaje no discriminatorio en textos varios, presentaciones e ilustraciones* (1992) by Dr. Laura Guzmán for the Center for Research in Women's Studies of the University of Costa Rica. The central purpose of the guide is to provide guidance on how to use inclusive language in certain contexts, such as in official documents, publications, and presentations; thus it does not address the everyday speech of Spanish speakers. The guide primarily focuses on alternatives to the generic masculine that fall within the grammatical norms of the language. For example, instead of *los niños y las niñas*, generalized substitutions such as *la criatura* or *la infancia* are suggested. Furthermore, the use of stereotypes, pejoratives, and other exclusive language is highly unrecommended. However, innovative inclusive language strategies such as graphical strategies @ and *, and the use of the -e morpheme are not discussed explicitly. This approach to inclusive language focuses primarily on grammatical resources which already exist in Spanish, thus diminishing the need to innovate and maintaining the linguistic status quo.

In contrast to the pragmatic style guides, the interventionist style guides tend to focus on the broader context of general interpersonal communication. One such style guide is *(Re)Nombrar: guía para una comunicación con perspectiva de género* by the Argentinian Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity (2020). The guide discusses

both pre-existing and innovative inclusive language styles and their uses in any communicative scenario, recognizing that not all forms of inclusive language may be appropriate or desirable in all contexts: “...es importante tener en cuenta el tipo de comunicación que se está produciendo, sus destinatarixs [sic], niveles de formalidad o informalidad, temas que se abordan, entre otras cuestiones, que nos conducirán a usar uno u otro recurso según el caso” [...*it is important to keep in mind the type of communication that is being produced, its recipients (incl. lang.), levels of formality or informality, topics being addressed, among other matters, which will lead us to use one resource or another according to the case*] (26). Regarding innovative strategies -x and -e, the guide recognizes the potential advantages and limitations of such uses of inclusive language. According to the guide, the -x ending can be used in contexts where gender-neutral generic options are not available, or if one wishes to emphasize the plurality of gender identity. However, it is not easily accessible in oral communication. On the other hand, the -e ending is more easily pronounced in spoken contexts and can be used in a similar manner to the -x. However, both forms have been criticized for their lack of recognition of the feminine form, which purportedly reduces the visibility of those who identify with the feminine gender (18). The interventionist style guides are based largely on the concept of social change through language, therefore innovative linguistic strategies are accepted and promoted in certain contexts.

Regardless of approach, the publication of such style guides has become the center of controversy among critics of inclusive language, who often claim that they have been hastily published without the collaboration of linguists or other experts in the field

(Bolívar, 2019). Additionally, it should be mentioned that to date no language academy has contributed to any style guides related to inclusive language. This lack of participation may detract some amount of perceived credibility from the style guides, as many speakers of Spanish regard language academies (particularly the RAE) to be the maximum authority presiding over language use norms.

Inclusive Language in the News

Once considered a phenomenon pertaining only to academia and activist spaces, inclusive language has caught the attention of the general public and the media. A Google News search using the keyword *lenguaje inclusivo* yields approximately 170,000 results, an apparently increasing number as new news headlines appear nearly every day. The news cycle is a primary source of information for many people, contributing to the common knowledge of phenomena such as inclusive language.

The year 2021 has been particularly prolific for the coverage of inclusive language in the news. In late August of 2021, a video went viral in which, during a virtual class on the platform Zoom at the Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, a nonbinary student named Andra Escamilla cried out: “¡No soy tu compañera, soy tu compañere!” [“*I’m not your classmate (fem.), I’m your classmate (neut.)!*”]. According to *El País* (2021), the video was posted on Facebook, reaching 348,000 views in 24 hours, simultaneously becoming a trending topic on Twitter. The video became a subject of equal measures of ridicule and solidarity for the use of inclusive language among social media users. Later, in early October of the same year, upon winning a Platino Honorary Award, famed Mexican actor, director, and producer Diego Luna used innovative

inclusive language in his acceptance speech reflecting on the global coronavirus pandemic: “Nos toca a todos, a todas, a todes, contar nuestros cuentos. Nadie mejor que nosotres para hablar de nuestro contexto” [*It’s our (masc., fem., neut.) turn to tell our stories. There’s no one better than us (neut.) to speak about our context.*] (Huffington Post, 2021). In the same month, online news outlet *Nius* (2021) reported that the Generalitat of Valencia began to use an artificial intelligence-based software to detect potentially sexist language in text and offer more inclusive replacements.

However, not all have reported positive receptions of inclusive language. The RAE and its rejection of inclusive language, particularly of innovative forms, has often been the subject of journalistic reporting. Though reported time and again in recent years, in early October of 2021, the RAE renewed its disapproval of inclusive language of any kind through Twitter:

“Lo que comúnmente se ha dado en llamar ‘lenguaje inclusivo’ es un conjunto de estrategias que tienen por objeto evitar el uso del género del masculino gramatical, mecanismo firmemente asentado en la lengua y que no supone discriminación sexista alguna.” (La Razón Online, 2021). [*What is commonly called “inclusive language” is a set of strategies aimed at avoiding the generic use of the grammatical masculine form, a mechanism firmly rooted in the language that does not suppose sexist discrimination in any way.*]

Similarly, acclaimed Peruvian author Mario Vargas Llosa criticized the use of inclusive language in an interview with Univision’s Jorge Ramos, calling it a denaturalization of the language (Milenio, 2021).

The contemporary news cycle sets the scene for the seemingly never-ending debate about the validity of inclusive language in Spanish, each with their own posture toward its acceptance or rejection. However, journalistic politics aside, it is important to recognize that the news is a source of information that helps to form the opinions and perceptions of the general public. While inclusive language was once framed as an elitist style of language used largely by those affiliated with academia and activism, its presence in the news cycle proves that it has become a popular debate, not just an academic one. It is apparent that this linguistic shift towards the neutralization of gender – particularly that of the use of the -e morpheme to replace terminal -o and -a – is on the minds of speakers of Spanish, not just as a distant phenomenon, but as a potential sociocultural change enacted through language.

Inclusive Language on Social Media

Perhaps one of the most catalyzing factors in the development and spread of inclusive language in Spanish is its presence on social media and its use among social media users. Platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram have given rise to a meeting place for the general public to posit their thoughts about the use of inclusive language and to learn from others. The resulting debates have been quite polarizing with two distinct diametrically opposed groups forming: those completely in favor and those completely against.

Dating back to its inception, Twitter has long been a platform for public debate about any and every trending topic, particularly through the use of text posts. The debate surrounding inclusive language is one being generated every day among prominent and

obscure users alike. Figures 1 through 5 demonstrate some examples of posts on Twitter regarding inclusive language in Spanish:

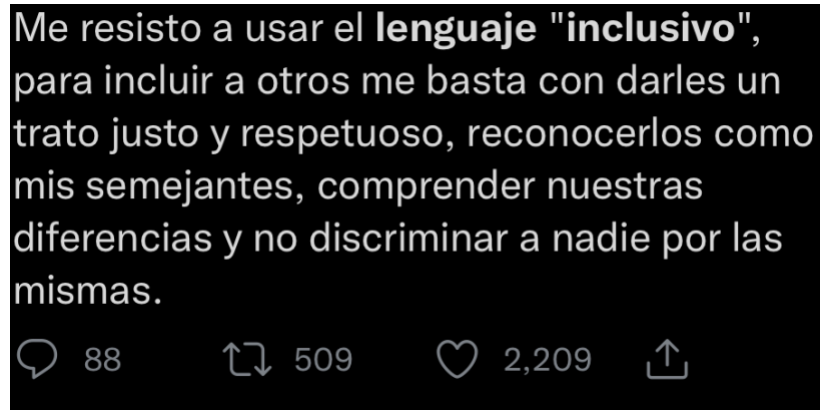


Figure 1 Tweet 1

[I oppose using “inclusive” language to include others. It’s enough to treat them with respect, recognize them as my equals, understand our differences, and not discriminate against anyone for the same reason.]

(Source: Twitter, October 3, 2021)



Figure 2 Tweet 2

[Inclusive language is a mortal threat to the language.]

(Source: Twitter, October 9, 2021)



Figure 3 Tweet 3

[The people that say “Inclusive language will end as nothing but a trend”...Hey, if the “trend” ends, do my pronouns disappear, or do I disappear?]

(Source: Twitter, October 9, 2021)

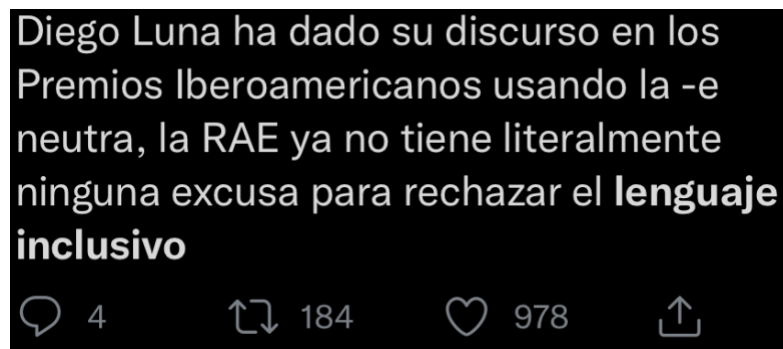


Figure 4 Tweet 4

[Diego Luna gave his speech in the Iberoamerican Awards using the neutral -e, now the RAE literally has no excuse to reject inclusive language.]

(Source: Twitter, October 6, 2021)

Hace tiempo empecé a usar el
“amics” con una persona no binaria,
se me hizo costumbre y la empecé a
usar con la mayoría, ahora mis amigos
lo usan. Así de fácil y cero complicado
fue crear una palabra incluyente y a la
RAE le vale que lo usemos.
#lenguajeinclusivo

Figure 5 Tweet 5

[A while ago I began to use “friends” (neut.) with a nonbinary person, it became a habit and I began to use it with everyone, now my friends use it. Creating an inclusive word was that easy and not complicated at all, and the RAE doesn’t give a damn that we use it.]

(Source: Twitter, October 8, 2021)

The above opinions shared on Twitter exemplify opposing ideologies regarding the use of inclusive language. On one hand, some believe that inclusive is not necessary, and perhaps even dangerous to the integrity of the language. Yet others contend that inclusive language is not only easy to implement, but it is an essential way to express oneself and to discuss others without misgendering them or inhibiting their representation in discourse.

Similarly to Twitter, Facebook is a platform for expressing personal opinions and generating debate. With billions of active users worldwide, many people receive

information from Facebook as a conduit to primary sources. Information about inclusive language is prolific on this social network. A search using the term *lenguaje inclusivo* yields a myriad of results, from news articles, to groups related to discussion about inclusive language, to widely shared commentary, or even jokes, about its use.

Instagram, an image sharing social media site, has become the stage for practical uses of inclusive language in Spanish. Through the posting and sharing of images and videos, many Instagram accounts have ostentatiously adopted various forms of inclusive language. Figures 6 through 8 demonstrate some examples of posts on Instagram using inclusive language in Spanish:



Figure 6 Instagram Post 1
(Source: Instagram, 2021)



Figure 7 Instagram Post 2
(Source: Instagram, 2021)



Figure 8 Instagram Post 3
(Source: Instagram, 2021)

While social media could easily be discarded as trivial, social media use in the past decade has yielded interesting and important results in terms of social movements. The viral factor of social media has the potential to make new information common knowledge in a matter of minutes. In addition, social media has become a common ground for ordinary people to organize in response to different causes, for example in the cases of the global Occupy movements, the Arab Spring, and Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016). This is also true of the diffusion of inclusive language awareness. The ubiquity of social media platforms in people's lives makes learning new information much more tangible than in the years prior to its invention and widespread adoption.

METHODS

The present study employs qualitative and quantitative data to measure perceptions and uses of inclusive language in Spanish using survey and interview data with a focus on everyday users of Spanish residing in the United States. The survey data were collected between late June and late October of 2021 and the interview data were obtained between mid-September and late October of 2021. Participants were mainly recruited through digital postings on social media networks, such as through Facebook groups, but also by way of networks previously known by the researcher (e.g., friends, prior workplaces, family members, colleagues, etc.). To a lesser degree, snowball sampling aided in the recruitment of participants in the study.

Survey Design

The survey was designed using the program Qualtrics in both English and Spanish, and was divided into seven main sections: informed consent form, demographics, prior knowledge of inclusive language, attitudes toward inclusive language, uses in writing, uses in speaking, and an end-of-survey section to indicate interest in a follow-up interview, as well as to optionally provide contact information to be entered into a raffle for a \$20 gift card (see Appendices I & II). The informed consent form (IRB #1751847-1) was a standard form which outlined the research procedures, risks, benefits, confidentiality information, voluntary participation, and the researcher's

contact information before asking for the consent of the participant to continue. If the participant gave their consent, the survey would continue. However, if the participant did not give their consent, the survey would not continue and would direct them to a page thanking them for their time.

Following the consent form, the demographics section of the survey asked participants to provide some basic information in order to get a base understanding of the population sample. First, participants indicated their age group, which was broken into ten-year subsections starting with “under 20” and ending at “70+”. Then, participants were asked to provide their gender (male, female, nonbinary/third gender, or other) and sexual orientation (heterosexual, gay, lesbian, bisexual, asexual, pansexual, other). Due to the sensitive nature of this information, both of these questions offered an opt-out option (“prefer not to say”). Next, participants were asked to provide the highest level of education completed, ranging from “some high school or less” to “master’s degree or above”. Following education, participants were prompted to write in the country in which they were born, as well as the country or countries in which their parents were born. Then, the survey asked for information about how many years the participant has been living in the United States, from less than a year to 11+ years. Additionally, “I don’t live in the United States” was offered as an option, in part to disqualify non-U.S. residents from data collection. After this, participants selected the U.S. state they reside in from a dropdown menu enumerating all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Then, participants selected their professions from a series of general categories, for example, education, public health, government, IT services, etc. A write-in “other” option was

provided, and participants were able to select as many as applied. The demographics section concluded with two questions about language: the first asking what their primary language is, the second asking how well the participant speaks Spanish on a four-point scale from “very well” to “not at all”.

The knowledge section of the survey was intended to measure whether the participant had previously heard of inclusive language. If the participant had not previously heard of inclusive language, the survey design would display three follow-up questions: the first asked whether they thought that changing language to make women and non-binary people more visible matters; the second presented a series of inclusive language options (*amigos/as*, *amigos y amigas*, *amig@s*, *amigxs*, *amigues*, *amig*s*, none of the above, other) and asked whether the participant would hypothetically use any of them in writing; and the third asked the same question as the previous one, but in the context of spoken language. On the other hand, if the participant had already heard of inclusive language prior to taking the survey, these three questions were not displayed.

The section dedicated to attitudes toward inclusive language first featured the question: “What do you think of the use of inclusive language?”. This question was intended to measure the participant’s general feelings toward the use of inclusive language, ranging on a five-point scale from “I like it a lot” to “I don’t like it at all”. Then, participants were prompted to rate their level of agreement with a series of statements representing opposing alignments with inclusive language use; some of the statements aligned with disagreement with the use of inclusive language, while others aligned with support of such language.

The two sections which measured potential uses were essentially identical, only differing in the context in which the participant would use the language, being in writing or in speaking. First, the participant was asked how likely they were to use inclusive language in either context on a five-point scale ranging from “extremely likely” to “extremely unlikely”. Then, the participant was asked to indicate which term or terms they may use from a selection of possibilities, including the masculine generic, the doubled form, and a series of innovative forms. Finally, the participant was asked to indicate the likelihood of using inclusive language in writing and in speaking in a series of contexts: on social media, at school, at work, among family, and among friends.

At the closing of the survey, if the participant had indicated that they previously knew about inclusive language at the beginning, they were asked about how they first learned about inclusive language: on social media, at school, at work, from friends, from family members, on the news, or “other” which prompted specification. Participants could choose as many as applied. Additionally, participants were asked if they would like to participate in a follow-up virtual interview. If the participant selected “yes”, an audio and video consent form would appear. However, if the participant selected “no”, they were then directed to the next step, which was the option of providing their email address to be entered into a raffle for one of five \$20 gift cards. The survey data were tabulated and analyzed using Qualtrics. The key data from the English version and the Spanish version were compiled using Microsoft Excel and were analyzed together.

Interview Process

The purpose of conducting the interviews was to obtain more detailed explanations about the participants' answers in the survey, thus expanding on the knowledge of participants' understanding, perceptions, and uses of inclusive language. Though the survey data provided important insights into Spanish-speakers' thoughts about inclusive language, the closed-answer nature of the survey underscored the need to delve more deeply into the reasons why participants answered in the ways they did.

The interviews were conducted on the digital meeting platform Zoom. The average length of the interviews was under thirty minutes. The interviewees were selected from those who identified themselves as interested in participating in the follow-up interviews and had provided their email address at the end of the survey. Each participant that had indicated interest in participating was sent an email requesting information about their preferred day of the week and time of day, as well as their time zone. Once the most convenient time and date was confirmed, each participant received a unique invitation with a link to join the Zoom meeting at their scheduled time and date. At the onset of the meeting, the researcher reviewed the audio and visual recording consent form, and once the participant verbally consented, the meeting was recorded.

The interviews were conducted in English and in Spanish, depending on the language in which the participant completed the survey. The interview questions were formulated by reviewing the individual survey answers in Qualtrics, therefore each interview differed slightly depending on the participant's answers in the survey. The intention of the interview questions was to have the participant explain and expand upon

their responses, thus giving more insight into their opinions about inclusive language and its potential uses.

The video recordings were then downloaded onto a password protected computer. The interviews that were conducted in English were transcribed using Zoom's transcription capability, and these transcriptions were downloaded directly from Zoom as a VTT file. The interviews that were conducted in Spanish were transcribed using Sonix, an automated transcription service. The text downloaded from the original transcription was transferred to a Microsoft Word document and was reviewed for accuracy by cross-referencing the video recording. The interview data were coded in NVivo (version 12) according to broader themes that resulted. The transcripts were reviewed and common subjects that the participants mentioned in the interviews were categorized into nodes in order to better analyze the themes that appeared. Attitudes were coded for positive, ambivalent, and negative outlooks on the use of inclusive language. Language use was coded for knowledge and use of innovative forms, or alternatively alignment with the generic masculine form. Other themes that emerged were coded into broader categories (e.g., mention of the RAE, the LGBTQ+ community, etc.) in order to better compare and contrast interview data.

RESULTS

Survey data

Demographics

At the closing of data collection, the English version of the survey had received 87 recorded responses, and the Spanish version had received 60 responses, yielding a total of 147 survey responses. Given the voluntary nature of the study, not every survey was fully completed. Participants were free to skip questions they did not feel comfortable answering, or to leave the survey at any time, therefore some incomplete data sets were accounted for. The data from both of the survey versions were compiled and analyzed together as a combined data set.

The survey data revealed key demographic information about the participants in the study. Table 1 depicts the full demographic breakdown of participants in the survey. The largest age group represented was of those between the ages of 30 and 39, followed closely by the younger group of those between the ages of 20 and 29. The least represented group was of those aged 70 and older, about 2% of the participants in the study. Female participants well outnumbered male and nonbinary participants, making up about 68% of the total population of survey respondents. Heterosexual respondents comprised more than half of the population with about 65% of the sample self-reporting as heterosexual, while about 34% self-identified as a member of the LGBTQI+

community. The majority of respondents held advanced university degrees (63%), and more than half reported working in the education industry.

Geographically, all of the major regions of the continental United States are represented. The northeastern region of the country was the most represented with about 36% of the respondents reporting living in a northeastern state, followed by those living in midwestern states (25%). Respondents from the southwestern and west coast regions represented 16% and 13% respectively. The southeastern region was the least represented, with about 10% of respondents reporting living in a southeastern state. Most of the participants were born in the United States or have been living in the United States for 11 or more years; however the majority of participants (51%) reported that their parents were born in a different country, while 39% who reported that their parents were born in the United States.

Table 1 Demographics

Demographic Category	Number	Percent
Age		
20-29	43	.29
30-39	49	.34
40-49	24	.16
50-59	21	.14
60-69	6	.04
70+	3	.02
	Total=146	
Gender		
Male	38	.26
Female	99	.68
Non-binary/Third gender	8	.5
Prefer not to say	1	.1
	Total=146	
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	96	.65

Gay	14	.09
Lesbian	6	.04
Bisexual	15	.1
Pansexual	7	.05
Asexual	1	.01
Other	8	.05
Prefer not to say	2	.01
	Total=149	
Primary Language		
English	60	.41
Spanish	35	.24
Both English & Spanish	48	.32
Other	4	.03
	Total=147	
U.S. Region of Residence		
Northeast	49	.36
Southeast	13	.1
Midwest	33	.25
Southwest	22	.16
West Coast	18	.13
	Total=135	
Length of Time Living in the U.S.		
Less than 1 year	3	.02
1-3 years	6	.04
4-6 years	5	.04
7-10 years	8	.06
11+ years	120	.84
	Total=142	
Birthplace		
U.S.	88	.6
Outside of the U.S.	58	.4
	Total =146	
Parents' Birthplace		
One parent in U.S., one parent outside of U.S.	13	.1
U.S.	52	.39
Outside of the U.S.	69	.51
	Total=134	
Highest Level of Education Attained		
High school graduate or equivalent	2	.01
Some trade/tech./voc. School	1	.01
Trade/tech./voc. School	1	.01
Some college	11	.07
Bachelor's degree	24	.16
Some graduate school	16	.11
Master's degree or above	92	.63
	Total=147	
Employment Sector		
Unemployed	11	.07
Self-employed	8	.05
Education	90	.54

Healthcare	6	.03
Nonprofit	10	.06
Other	41	.25
	Total=166	

Prior knowledge and attitudes

A large majority of participants in the study had previously heard of inclusive language before taking part in the study: about 97% of respondents had heard of inclusive language before. Social media was cited as a common source of knowledge about inclusive language, as were school, the workplace, and friends. Some respondents reported having learned about inclusive language from the news, while a relatively small number reported learning about it from family members (n=8).

Out of the 142 responses to the question, “Before this survey, have you heard of gender-inclusive language?”, only four participants reported having no prior knowledge of it. These four participants were asked three follow-up questions: “Do you think that changing language to make women and nonbinary people more visible matters?”, with possible answers of “yes”, “no”, and “I don’t have an opinion”; “Would you use any of the inclusive language strategies below in writing?”, and were provided a set of potential inclusive language terms, along with a write-in “other” option; and “Would you use any of the inclusive language strategies below in speaking?”, and were provided a set of potential inclusive language terms, along with a write-in “other” option. To the question about the importance of changing language to increase visibility of women and nonbinary people, two participants answered affirmatively, and one participant responded, “I don’t

have an opinion”. In writing, three participants favored the term “*amigos/as*” using the forward slash to separate the two traditional binary genders, and one participant selected the doubled pair “*amigos y amigas*”. In speaking, all three participants that answered the question selected “*amigos y amigas*” as a term they may use.

In addition to previous knowledge, general attitudes toward inclusive language were mostly favorable (see Figure 9). Approximately 63% of recorded responses demonstrated a positive attitude toward the use of inclusive language by answering that they like it or like it a lot. About 9% of all respondents reported a negative attitude toward the use of inclusive language, while about 27% reported some ambivalence toward its use. Among those who had not heard of inclusive language before, one participant answered that they like it a lot, while two participants reported not having an opinion. Therefore, in general inclusive language was generally seen as an agreeable phenomenon.

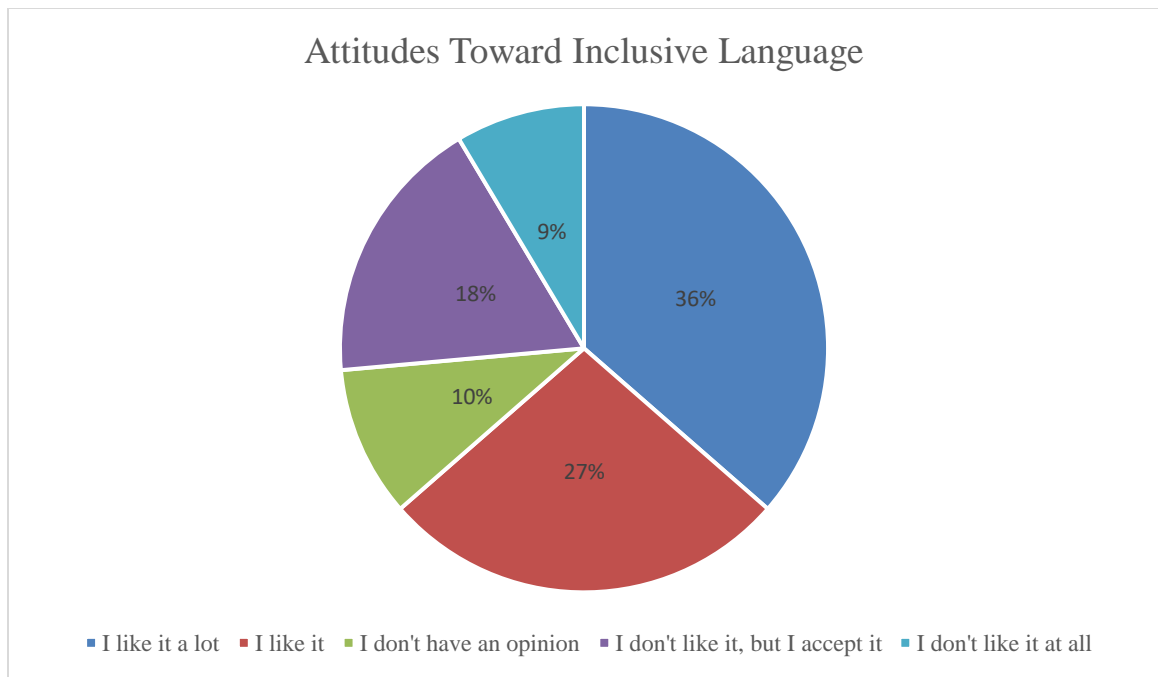


Figure 9 Attitudes Toward Inclusive Language

When age is considered (see Figure 10), the younger groups (ages 20-29 and ages 30-39) reported largely favorable attitudes toward inclusive language, with approximately 74% of those in the 20-29 age group answering that they like inclusive language, and 55% of the 30-39 group reporting the same. 42% of the 30-39 age group reporting ambivalent attitudes, having answered that they don't have an opinion, or that they dislike inclusive language but accept it. The middle age groups (40-49 and 50-59) also reported majority positive attitudes, with 66% of those in the 40-49 age category reporting that they like it, while 71% of those in the 50-59 age category reporting the same. The 70+ age group was the least represented group in the population. 25% of

respondents in this group reported liking inclusive language, while 50% reported some ambivalence and 25% reported disliking inclusive language. This finding shows that inclusive language use is an agreeable notion across age groups, but particularly among the two youngest groups. The attitudes of the oldest and least represented group (age 70+) were spread out across the spectrum of perceptions.

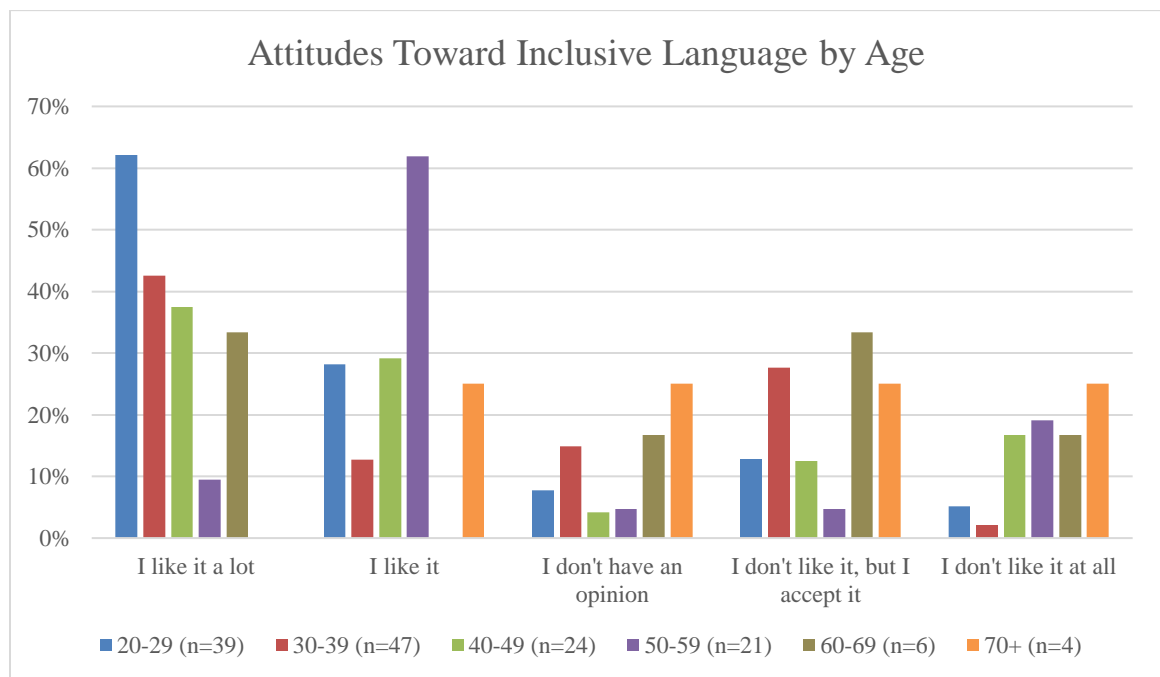


Figure 10 Attitudes Toward Inclusive Language by Age

Regarding education, favorable attitudes outweighed ambivalence and negative attitudes across the spectrum of educational attainment. 70% of those that had completed some college or are current students and 53% of those who have completed some

graduate studies reported liking inclusive language, while 60% of those holding a bachelor's degree and 64% of those holding a master's degree also demonstrated favorable attitudes. None of those who have completed some college studies reported negative attitudes toward inclusive language, while 13% of those with bachelor's degrees, 15% of those who have completed some graduate studies, and 6% of those who have completed advanced degrees reported disliking inclusive language. This finding indicates that regardless of educational attainment, most participants found inclusive language to be agreeable.

In terms of primary language, 66% of those who reported primarily speaking English reported positive attitudes toward inclusive language, while about 22% reported ambivalence, and 11% reported negative attitudes. Similarly, 69% of those who primarily speak Spanish reported positive attitudes, 18% reported ambivalence, and 12% reported negative attitudes. Among those who reported speaking both English and Spanish equally, 51% reported liking inclusive language, 42% reported ambivalence, and 6% reported disliking inclusive language. Therefore, regardless of primary language, the majority of participants reported liking inclusive language, though a significant percentage of bilingual participants reported either not having an opinion or disliking but accepting inclusive language use.

In terms of sexual orientation, the data for LGBTQ+ individuals (i.e., those who identified themselves in the survey as gay, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, asexual, or another sexual orientation) were grouped and analyzed as a combined dataset. The results show that among the 45 individuals that self-identified as part of the LGBTQ+

community, 83% reported that they liked inclusive language, while 2% reported not having an opinion, 4% answered that they did not like it but accepted its use, and 8% reported disliking inclusive language use. In comparison, among the 92 individuals who self-identified as heterosexual, 56% indicated that they liked inclusive language, 14% stated that they did not have an opinion, and 8% reported that they disliked the use of inclusive language (see Figure 11). This finding indicates that attitudes towards inclusive language tend to be more favorable among LGBTQ+ individuals than among heterosexual individuals.

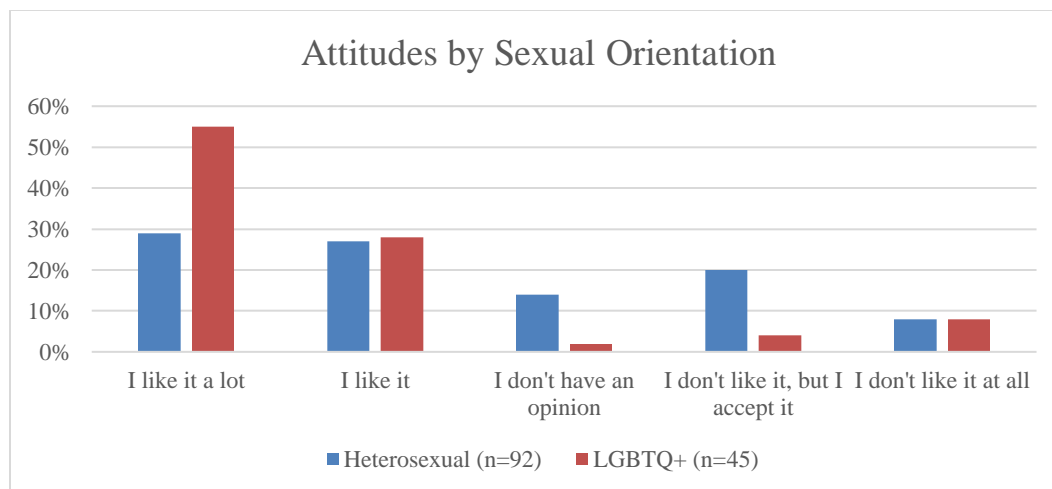


Figure 11 Attitudes by Sexual Orientation

Regarding gender (see Figure 12), among the 37 male respondents, 46% demonstrated positive attitudes toward inclusive language use, while 19% reported not having an opinion, another 19% reported disliking but accepting its use, and 16%

answered that they did not like the use of inclusive language. In contrast, among 94 female participants, 67% said that they liked inclusive language use, 7% reported not having an opinion, 19% disliked but accepted its use, and 6% reported disliking inclusive language. All eight of the nonbinary participants reported liking inclusive language to some degree. Thus, a greater percentage of women favored inclusive language than men, however all nonbinary participants reported a positive attitude towards inclusive language use.

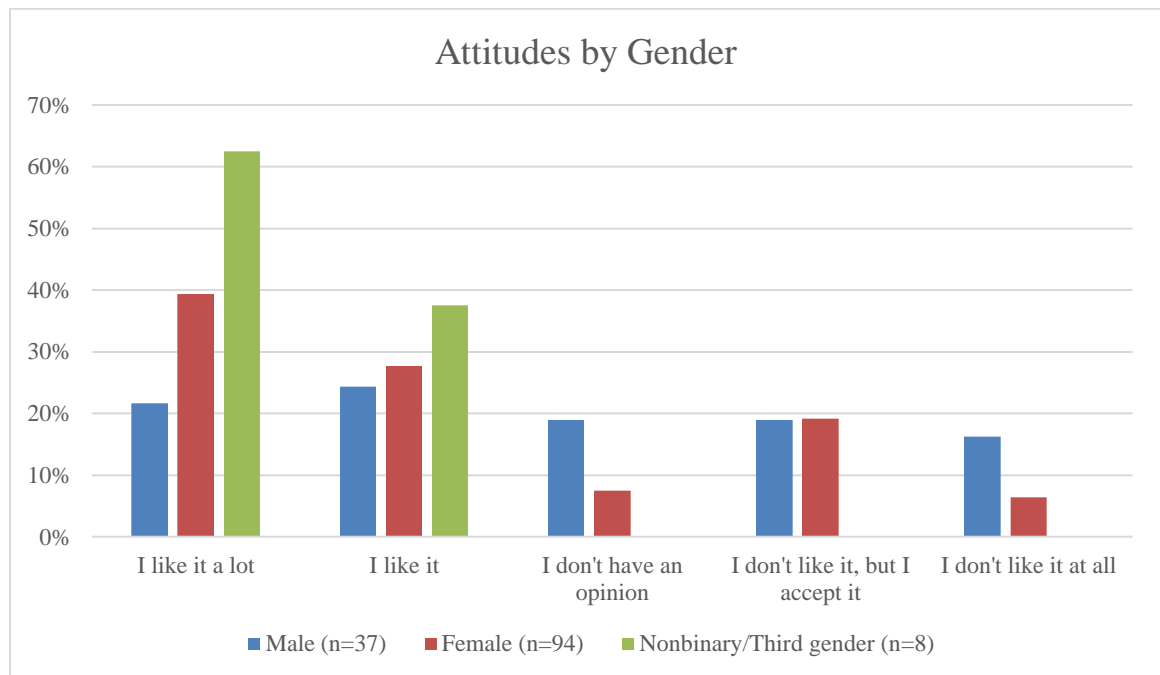


Figure 12 Attitudes by Gender

Likelihood of Use of Inclusive Language

The data collected from the section of the survey dedicated to potential uses of inclusive language revealed that situational context matters when it comes to using inclusive language in writing. In general, 42% of survey respondents reported that they were extremely likely to use inclusive language in writing, 26% reported that it was somewhat likely, 5% reported neither likely nor unlikely, 11% said that it was somewhat unlikely, and about 15% reported that they were extremely unlikely to use inclusive language in writing (see Figure 11). Social media was cited as the context in which the most participants were likely to use inclusive language in writing (54% extremely likely, 33% somewhat likely). Meanwhile, written uses among family comprised the least probable context, with 34% of participants responding that it was either somewhat or extremely unlikely that they would use written forms of inclusive language with their family members. This suggests that context matters when it comes to the likelihood of using inclusive language in writing.

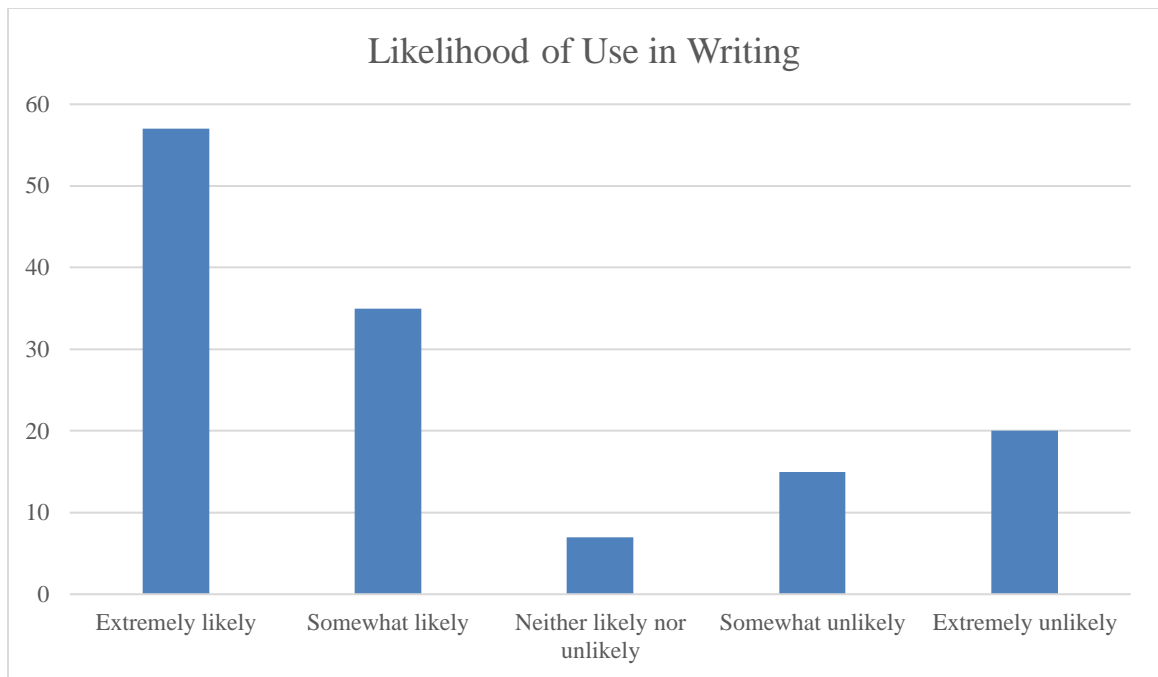


Figure 13 Likelihood of Use in Writing

In the contexts of school, work, and among friends, the majority of respondents reported that they were likely to use inclusive language in writing. Across contexts, few participants reported that it was extremely unlikely that they would use inclusive language.

In terms of spoken uses of inclusive language, the data show that more participants indicated that they were somewhat likely to use inclusive language (see Figure 12). Social media is the context with the highest likelihood of use. About 41% answered that it was extremely likely, and 31% said that they were somewhat likely to use spoken forms of inclusive language on social media. However, the data vary from context to context. In general, participants were somewhat less likely to use inclusive

language at work but more inclined to use it at school. Similarly to written uses, the data show that participants were much less likely to use spoken inclusive language forms among family: 20% reported that it was somewhat unlikely, and 19% reported that it was extremely unlikely that they would use inclusive language in speaking among family members. This finding indicates that while participants saw themselves as likely to use inclusive language in speaking, the probability of use in spoken contexts is somewhat less than the probability of use in writing.

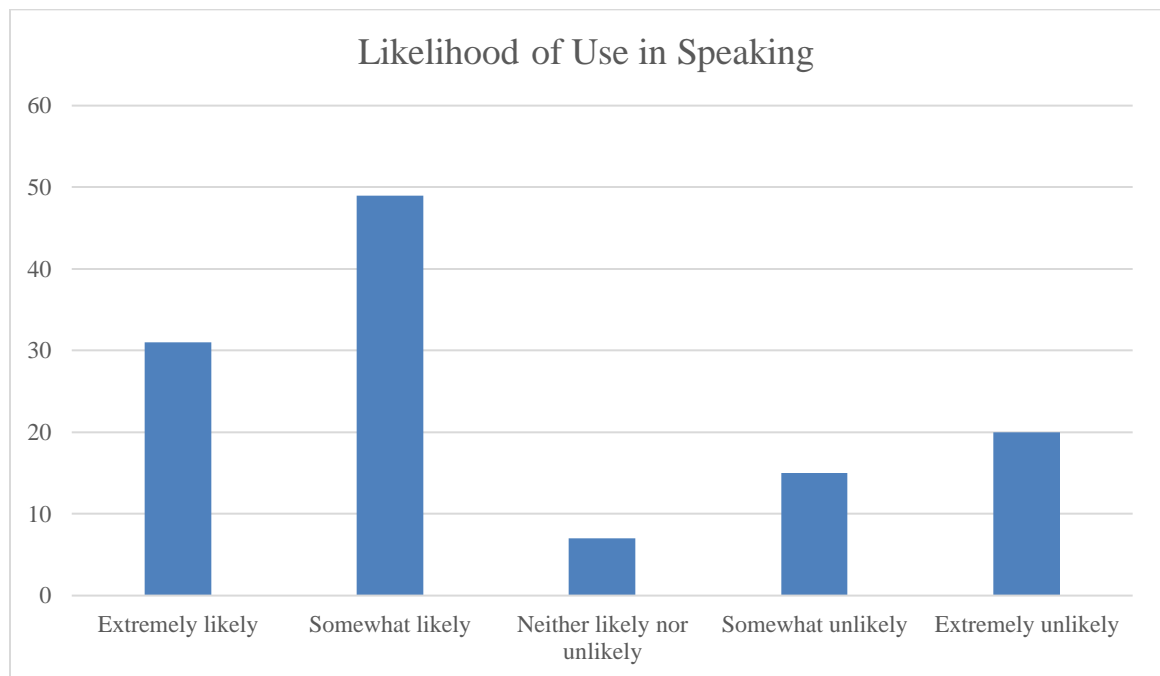


Figure 14 Likelihood of Use in Speaking

Furthermore, the data show that not all inclusive language terms are created equal. When asked how one would refer to a group of people of Latin American heritage in writing, many opted for the generic masculine *Latinos*, closely followed by *Latinx*. Subsequently, following these two terms were the doubled pair *Latinos y Latinas*, the innovative gender-neutral term *Latines*, and graphical strategy *Latin@s*. The results were similar when asked the same question for spoken contexts, however the unpronounceable strategies were omitted. The generic masculine was the most favored strategy, followed by doubling the masculine and feminine forms, then *Latines*, and finally *Latinxs*.

When asked to indicate expressions that participants use and do not use to refer to a mixed group of people in writing, the generic masculine form *todos* emerged as the most used term, followed by the doubled pair *todos y todas*. The terms *todes*, *todxs*, and *tod@s* were less popular among participants, however the least popular term was *tod*s*. Similarly, when asked the same question for spoken contexts, the generic masculine was once again the most favored term, while the doubled pair was the second most favored term. The -e morpheme was somewhat less popular among participants, followed by the triple set *todos*, *todas y todes*, and finally the -x morpheme. Thus, the innovative inclusive language forms were found to be less popular among participants in both writing and speaking. This suggests that while speakers of Spanish may like the idea of inclusive language and are aware of a variety of terms, in practice the masculine form is the most used term.

Interview data

Seventeen people of a variety of ages and genders were interviewed at the conclusion of data collection. The interview data revealed eight key themes: attitudes toward inclusive language, the potential effects of inclusive language, familiarity with innovative forms, first impressions of inclusive language use, the LGBTQ+ community, personal relevance, the RAE, and speculations about the future of inclusive language.

All interview participants were familiar with inclusive language, particularly with innovative forms. Various interviewees mentioned the use of the -e morpheme, for example Belén² mentioned that she recently learned about the term *Latine* as a panethnic term: “At one point, very recently this summer I heard *Latine*, I saw it, but I’m like hold on, how do you pronounce it? And I believe it’s *Latiné*.” Margaret also learned about the use of the -e ending relatively recently: “Primero me enteré de la -x y luego en las redes sociales haciendo preguntas, consultas con amigos que quizás viven en Argentina, es donde había visto este uso de la -e. Pero no estaba muy claro si se adaptaba a los contextos académicos únicamente o realmente en la práctica social. Me fui dando cuenta acerca del uso de la -e.” [*First, I learned about the -x and later asking questions on social media, talking to friends that live in Argentina, that’s where I had seen the use of the -e. But it wasn’t very clear if it was adapted to academic contexts only, or really in practice socially. I started to realize more about the use of the -e.*] Other participants preferred different innovative inclusive language forms. Sandra made mention of the “at-sign” (@) as a way to include both binary genders in one: “Uso la arroba porque incluye la -a y la -

² All interview participant names have been replaced with pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality.

o, parece que es una ‘a’ y ‘o’... es inclusivo.” [*I use the “at-sign” because it includes the -a and the -o, it looks like an “a” and an “o” ...it’s inclusive.*] Alonso also preferred this graphical strategy: “Uso la arroba para incluir ‘ellas y ellos’. Que me parece estupenda esa idea.” [*I use the “at-sign” to include them (fem.) and them (masc.), I think that idea is great.*] Yet others preferred an approach to inclusive language rooted in pre-existing grammatical norms, such as doubling the masculine and feminine forms. Charlotte explained: “Mi tendencia normalmente es el desdoblamiento. Mi tendencia es en la forma más larga, entonces decir ‘chicos y chicas’, ‘compañeros y compañeras’, aunque ya sé que eso no es súper eficiente a veces.” [*My tendency normally is doubling. I tend to use the longer form, so saying “boys and girls”, “colleagues (masc.) and colleagues (fem.)”, although I know that isn’t super efficient sometimes.*]

Most of the participants interviewed expressed positive attitudes toward inclusive language. Interview participant Nick explained what he likes about inclusive language:

“Lo que me gusta es que básicamente permite que todas las personas se consideren incluidas o representadas en el discurso de las demás personas y crea un ambiente más inclusivo, más amable, más feliz, más abierto para que todas las personas se sientan incluidas dentro de él, de la conversación o del discurso, etcétera.” [*What I like is that it basically allows for all people to feel included or represented in discourse, and it creates a more inclusive environment, friendlier, happier, more open so that all people feel included within it, within the conversation or the discourse, etcetera.*]

Similarly, Lee expressed:

“Me gusta la flexibilidad que presenta para incluir a un sector nuevo de la sociedad que, o sea, no es nuevo, pero que se genere ese espacio lingüístico para poder identificarse y expresarse...hablar sobre su identidad y reflexionar sobre su identidad en ese espacio con ese lenguaje. Me parece que ese es el gran valor que tiene.” *[I like the flexibility that it presents to include a new sector of society that, well, is not new, but it creates this linguistic space to be able to identify and express oneself...to be able to talk about and reflect on one's identity in this in this space with this language. I think that is the great value that it has.]*

However, not all participants demonstrated positive opinions about inclusive language. Ken spoke about his ambivalent feelings about inclusive language, making reference to the difficulty of using it: “It’s bulky, that’s why I don’t like it very much. I mean, I’ll use it, but it just makes things more complicated....I don’t have anything strongly against it, it’s just, like, the bulkiness of it”. Likewise, Amanda felt that she fell into the ambivalent category, though her ambivalence reflected resistance to change rooted in identity:

“I’m fine with it, but specifically, for me, it’s kind of... [it] takes away the classic part of the Spanish that I learned, so it kind of...it’s like taking something away from what I had since my childhood basically. But yeah, I’m okay with it.”

On the other end of the spectrum, some interview participants expressed their dislike for inclusive language and saw it as unnecessary. Andrés explained: “Just to give you my opinion, I think it is totally unnecessary. In Spanish, cuando uno dice ‘todos’, uno está incluyendo a toda la gente. Decimos ‘todos’, o sea, se puede decir ‘todos’, se puede decir ‘todas’.” *[When someone says ‘everyone’ (masc.), they are including all people, or*

rather, you can say ‘everyone’ (masc.) or you can say ‘everyone’ (fem.)] Raquel’s opinion intersected with that of Andrés: “Me parece muchas veces bastante superfluo, como ‘todos y todas’. Cuando escucho eso, oigo ‘todo el mundo y además las mujeres’. Es un poco raro para mí.” [*It seems pretty superfluous to me, like everyone (masc.) and everyone (fem.). When I hear that, I hear ‘everyone and also women’. To me it’s a bit odd.*]

Another salient topic of discussion among the participants was the potential effect that inclusive language use may have in society. Some participants perceived a direct connection between inclusive language and gender equality. Sandra, for example, linked inclusive language to equality of opportunity:

“Vivimos en una sociedad patriarcal. Siempre ha estado influido el género masculino, como en lugares de liderazgo, siempre. Y necesitamos un lenguaje que incluya también a los individuos que se identifican como mujeres o femeninos o transgénero o sin género, para dar esa imagen de igualdad que todo el mundo puede ser líder, todo el mundo puede dirigir...cualquier persona puede tener cualquier rol importante en nuestra sociedad.” [*We live in a patriarchal society. It’s always been influenced by the masculine gender, like in leadership positions, always. And we need language that also includes individuals who identify as women, or feminine, or transgender, or genderless, to give this image of equality that every person can be a leader, every person can lead...any person can have any important role in our society.*]

Alejandra related inclusive language with the psychological processes that form worldview through language:

“I think that there’s a really strong connection between how we think and what languages we speak, and having a framework that is not binary...is a way for us to conceptualize a different reality than language right now in Spanish and gendered languages have created for us. So, by expanding the grammar officially, I think it changes our way of thinking and of writing and including people in a way that the generic masculine does not, in Spanish I mean.”

However, some participants, even ones that liked inclusive language, were not as optimistic about the potential equalizing effects of inclusive language in society. Nick explained that inclusive language is just one step in a long journey toward gender equality: “No creo que añadir un nuevo pronombre o añadir cosas lingüísticas realmente vayan a ser una solución para la igualdad o la equidad de género, sino que un *step* más para llegar a eso. Pero un montón de cambios políticos son necesarios, incluidos los cambios lingüísticos.” [*I don’t believe that adding a new pronoun or adding linguistic things are really going to be a solution for gender equality or equity, but it is another step to arrive to that. But a lot of political changes are necessary, including linguistic changes.*] Likewise, Margaret expressed her doubts about the connection between inclusive language and social change: “Me parece que esa conexión entre el uso del lenguaje inclusivo y lo que se da en la sociedad no está bien desarrollado ni tampoco me convence mucho.” [*I think that the connection between the use of inclusive language and what it means in society isn’t well developed and it doesn’t convince me much.*]

When asked about their first impressions of inclusive language, the participants offered a wide range of answers. Many spoke about being curious about this kind of language. Liliana reflected: “I was intrigued, I did not know that you could step outside of the binary, so it was very interesting to learn about and I found it fun to learn about other people’s identities and whatnot.” Others recalled reacting positively when they first saw inclusive language. Alma explained: “La reacción fue que ya era hora de que existiera algo... Inclusive, recuerdo que lo veía mucho y lo utilizaba mucho aquí en Estados Unidos y hace recientemente lo estoy viendo más en conversaciones o en interacciones que tengo con mis redes en Colombia.” *[My reaction was that it’s about time that something like this existed...I even remember that I saw it and used it a lot here in the United States, and recently I’m seeing it more in conversations or interactions that I have with my networks in Colombia.]* However, some participants had somewhat negative first reactions to inclusive language. Andrés, an opponent of inclusive language, reflected: “Well, I thought, I was like you know, I didn’t agree with it, I didn’t agree with it. I mean it’s just something that the language has been like that for, I don’t know, hundreds of years. Obviously, this inclusion type thing is something new. You might need to make adjustments, eventually, but in my personal opinion when I first heard of that I’m saying well this doesn’t make any sense.”

During the interviews, the LGBTQ+ community appeared as a recurring theme related to inclusive language. Sandra mentioned the need to include people who don’t identify within the binary: “Necesitamos incluir a las personas que no se identifiquen con ninguno de los dos géneros, femenino o masculino. Debe de haber un mínimo uno

neutro.” [*We need to include people that don’t identify with either gender, feminine or masculine. There should at least be a neutral gender.*] Rick commented: “If someone is part of the LGBT community, I would be more careful with the pronouns or the things that they would want, because I just want to be sensitive, I just don’t want to, I guess, offend people. I want to see people as how they see themselves.” Alonso also saw the connection between inclusive language forms and the LGBTQ+ community: “Lo que yo veo es que, por ejemplo, se está tratando de incluir a la comunidad LGTB también, que no había sido nunca considerada, no? Sobre todo en la lengua española.” [*What I see is that, for example, we are trying to include the LGTB community also, which has never been considered before, right? Especially in the Spanish language.*]

In terms of personal relevance, many participants connected inclusive language with their profession. Belén, for example, mentioned her workplace as a source of more knowledge about inclusive language: “I am a psychotherapist working toward licensure, so I’m fortunate enough to work in private practice where I’m becoming more knowledgeable about inclusive language.” Margaret also related inclusive language as a topic of personal relevance in terms of her profession: “Es un tema relevante porque enseño idiomas, enseño el español. Entonces, cada vez que entro al aula, por ejemplo, tengo muy presente de que existe un cambio que está quizás a su inicio, pero que aún no ha llegado a los libros de texto.” [*It is a relevant topic because I teach languages, I teach Spanish. So, every time I enter the classroom, for example, I am very conscious that a change is happening that may be in its beginning stage, but it hasn’t appeared in textbooks yet.*] For Lee, inclusive language was a topic of personal relevance related to

their own gender identification: “Pues yo me identifico como no binarie. Entonces es un lenguaje que yo ocupo para referirme a mí mismo.” [*Well, I identify as nonbinary (neut.). So, it is language that I use to refer to myself (neut.).*]

The RAE was a subject of discussion as well among interviewees. Several participants demonstrated knowledge of and disagreement with the RAE’s position against all forms of inclusive language. For instance, Michele believed that the RAE’s inflexibility on the matter was a significant shortcoming of the organization:

“Me parece una falla de las organizaciones que no reconocen la evolución del lenguaje, simplemente porque hay un precedente. Es que hay precedentes con la Constitución de los Estados Unidos y se han hecho cambios a la Constitución entera. Una organización que regula el lenguaje debería estar dispuesta por lo menos a analizar los cambios que se pueden hacer.” [*I think it’s a failure of the organizations that don’t recognize the evolution of language, simply because there is a standard. It’s just that there are standards with the Constitution of the United States and changes have been made to the entire Constitution. An organization that regulates the language should be at least open to analyze the changes that can be made.*]

Regarding the RAE’s position on the generic masculine form being the only grammatically correct inclusive form, Alma opined: “Creo que es una manera demasiado simple de ignorar la complejidad de una situación. Entonces, como para mí no funciona decir, “Bueno, es que estamos incluidos. Así es el género gramatical en español según la historia del español y punto”. O sea, creo que no es suficiente.” [*I think that it’s too*

simple of a way to ignore the complexity of a situation. So, for me it's not good enough to say, "Well, we're all included. This is how grammatical gender in Spanish is according to the history of Spanish, period." I just don't think it's enough.] However, not all participants disagreed completely with the Royal Academy. Andrés tended to align with the RAE regarding its authority over the language: "If you don't have the backing of the Spanish Royal Academy, you don't have the backing of the maximum authority. In the Spanish language I think it's, you know, improper or incorrect, without getting into the issue of inclusion and all that stuff. I'm talking strictly from the grammar standpoint."

When asked about what they thought about the future of inclusive language, the interview participants offered interesting insights. Belén predicted: "I just think it's going to keep evolving, as uncomfortable as it may be." Michele foresaw inclusive language becoming increasingly normalized over time: "Me parece que se va a volver la norma, no la norma, pero lo normal, poco a poco. No creo que vaya a ser un cambio inmediato, ni a corto plazo, pero me parece que el lenguaje es evolutivo por naturaleza. O sea, el lenguaje se usa como la gente lo habla." [*I think that it's going to become the norm, well not the norm, but more normal, little by little. I don't think that it will be an immediate change, not short term, but I think that language is evolutionary by nature. Language is used how the people speak it.*] Likewise, Liliana opined: "I think that it could stick around and if we're talking specifically about the Spanish language, I feel like there is room for it to grow, because I didn't know there was a neutral term in Hispanic culture until maybe last year. So, there's more people starting using it, I feel like it could stick

around and grow in the language.” Amanda, on the other hand, foresaw it to be a largely cosmopolitan phenomenon:

“I think we’re getting used to it now. It’s becoming more popular, but I’m seeing it more in bigger cities. So, for example, especially in the United States, I’m seeing that they’re using it a lot more. I don’t know about Spanish speaking countries, though. I think there’s still a little separation between what’s happening, how we’re evolving, and how we are seeing more people identified differently, and the choice of using this kind of language for people, for how they identify.”

Raquel’s opinion diverged from most of the optimistic opinions expressed about the potential future of inclusive language:

“No, yo no creo que vaya a ser muy común. Tampoco supongo que vaya a desaparecer completamente. Siempre habrán grupos que creen en su importancia, pero, como es el mundo ahora, como es la gente hispanohablante ahora, como es la RAE, que no creen en el uso del lenguaje inclusivo, creo que no va a llegar a ser muy popular, nunca.” *[I don’t think that it will be very common. I also don’t think that it will completely disappear. There will always be groups that believe in its importance, but, with how the world is now, how Spanish-speaking people are now, how the RAE is, since they don’t believe in the use of inclusive language, I believe that it won’t ever become very popular.]*

DISCUSSION

The data of the present study show that a larger group of Spanish speakers are aware of a range of inclusive language terms than indicated by previous research. Only four participants in the study had not heard of inclusive language prior to participation, and were either open or ambivalent to the intention behind its use. Among those who had heard of inclusive language previously, the largest number of participants reported having first learned about inclusive language on social media. This finding suggests that the Internet plays an important role as a primary source of information for many and may be aiding in a gradual language shift toward gender neutrality. This does not come as a surprise in an age where the importance of Internet use is growing exponentially, especially as a wider range of information is instantly available to anyone with Internet access.

In addition, word-of-mouth and personal relationships are also key sources of knowledge about inclusive language, as in the contexts of the workplace, education, and friendships. Moreover, several interview participants mentioned the desire to respect people's identities, especially those outside of the gender binary. This may be due in part to a more widespread understanding of gender identities as feminist and LGBTQ+ movements have gained significant traction in the past few decades. Large-scale and highly visible cultural events, such as Pride Month celebrated in the United States in the

month of June, may be a contributing factor to a greater understanding and acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community, which has historically been marginalized by society at large.

In addition to knowledge about inclusive language, a majority of respondents reported positive attitudes toward its use. The general consensus of liking inclusive language may aid in its practical applications as users of the Spanish language gradually shift to accept such language use in day-to-day contexts. This is especially true among LGBTQ+ participants as a large majority of LGBTQ+ community members reported liking inclusive language, compared to slightly over half of heterosexual participants. This finding may be attributed to the increasing visibility and acceptance of LGBTQ+ individuals, particularly nonbinary individuals, who in recent years have gained increasing acceptance in society. In addition, LGBTQ+ individuals may feel a personal connection with inclusive language, perhaps as a practical and empowering manner of identifying oneself, or via a feeling of solidarity with those who do not identify as male or female.

Furthermore, many participants reported themselves to be generally very likely to use inclusive language. In general, the participants in the study were more likely to use inclusive language in writing than in speaking. This is likely attributed to the fact that one can take their time and carefully choose their words in written correspondence, compared to the spontaneous character of most spoken interactions. In addition, when asked about different contexts in which the use of inclusive language could be possible (i.e., at school, at work, among friends, on social media, among family), with the exception of familial contexts, many participants indicated that it was either extremely likely or somewhat

likely that they would use inclusive language, both in writing and in speaking. This is a divergence from the notion that inclusive language is largely relegated to academic or activist spaces. Though context does tend to matter when it comes to use of inclusive language, it appears that it is becoming more viable in a broader range of contexts.

However, despite many participants expressing liking inclusive language and reported themselves as likely to use it in writing and speaking, it may be in actuality more difficult to put it into practice. When asked to choose a term from a list to describe a mixed group of people, the generic masculine form resulted as the most popular option among participants. About a quarter of participants selected the generic masculine form as their preferred written term, while surprisingly, the more inclusive forms, including the -e ending, were not as favorable. This finding suggests that though there appears to be a gradual ideological shift toward a gender-neutral term being viable in the Spanish language, the masculine form remains a powerful practical tool for identifying people. This may be due in part to the fact that a more easily integrated inclusive term did not appear in mainstream culture until relatively recently in the form of the -e ending. In addition, inclusive language has not yet arrived to mainstream language learning materials, which makes it difficult to expose learners to the innovative possibilities of inclusive language. Finally, this finding also indicates a discrepancy in what people say and what they do. Though many reported liking inclusive language and agreeing with the intention behind its use, it is evidently more difficult to put into practice than anticipated. Inclusive language use, especially the use of newer innovative forms, requires a careful shift of thought process on the part of the speaker, which makes spontaneous

communication more difficult. Since the generic masculine form is quite entrenched in the traditional grammar of Spanish, it may be difficult to consciously substitute a new form in its place.

CONCLUSION

This study has aimed to contribute to the growing body of research about inclusive language in Spanish by providing data about knowledge, attitudes, and use of inclusive language among Spanish speakers living in the United States. By providing information about how speakers of Spanish feel about and use inclusive language, this study has intended to shed light on the phenomenon of linguistic innovation to adapt to social realities, namely representation of gender in language. The findings from this research indicate that inclusive language use among speakers of Spanish in the United States may expand beyond the initial expectations of prior research. It can be determined that not only is inclusive language becoming more visible across contexts, but also that many speakers of Spanish in the United States are adopting it as a topic of personal relevance. Whereas perhaps a decade ago, the topic of gender as it relates to language may have been relegated to academia or activism, it has become a topic of popular debate among Spanish speakers. The idea of a more inclusive society enacted through language is clearly an agreeable notion for many, and many would like to participate in a more inclusive discourse.

However, actual implementation of inclusive language in daily interactions, particularly that of innovative forms, is not yet widespread. The data of this study indicate that while the idea of inclusive language may be agreeable, using it in practical

applications may present some challenges. The generic masculine form remains a popular option for referring to people in general in both written and spoken contexts. In contrast, the more recent neutral -e ending remains somewhat less popular among Spanish speakers in the United States, compared to doubling the masculine and feminine forms, or employing an inclusive graphical strategy in writing that may not be able to be pronounced in spoken language.

Though the future is uncertain, it seems that inclusive language in Spanish will likely become more normalized throughout Spanish-speaking communities. Once considered an elitist phenomenon pertaining only to specific contexts, it is evidently becoming increasingly popular. Internet use, especially that of social media, is aiding in the spread of knowledge about inclusive language. As the Internet becomes increasingly accessible to global communities, it appears that inclusive language use may become an everyday occurrence in day-to-day Spanish speakers' lives.

One key limitation of this research is that the sample skewed highly educated, female, and fairly young. Future research should attempt to focus on including the perspectives of speakers of Spanish from lower socioeconomic strata, particularly those with a lower level of educational attainment. In addition, future research should attempt to poll a more representative sample in terms of gender and age, as well as expand its geographical limits into a worldwide context. Future research may also consider the perceptions of inclusive language among Spanish teachers at different levels of education, especially since education as an institution is a key primary source of information for many, and inclusive language has yet to arrive to educational materials.

APPENDIX I: SURVEY IN SPANISH

Start of Block: Demografía

Lenguaje Inclusivo en Español - FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO

INFORMADO PROCEDIMIENTOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Esta investigación se realiza para investigar las opiniones sobre el lenguaje inclusivo de género en español por parte de hispanohablantes. Si usted acepta participar, se le pedirá que complete una encuesta breve. La encuesta durará aproximadamente 10-12 minutos y le hará una serie de preguntas demográficas, preguntas sobre actitudes hacia el lenguaje inclusivo y preguntas sobre los usos del lenguaje inclusivo. Después de completar la encuesta, se le ofrecerá la opción de dar consentimiento para una entrevista de seguimiento de 30 minutos grabada por medio de la plataforma Zoom más adelante. Las grabaciones se archivarán en una carpeta protegida por una contraseña indefinidamente. Si tiene interés, se le pedirá que provea su método de contacto preferido por lo cual el equipo de investigación puede ponerse en contacto con usted. **RIESGOS**

No hay ningún riesgo previsible por participar en esta investigación. **BENEFICIOS**

No hay ningún beneficio a usted como participante con excepción de promover investigación en la sociolingüística. **CONFIDENCIALIDAD** Los datos en este estudio serán confidenciales. Su nombre no aparecerá en la encuesta en ningún momento. Se le

pedirá que provea su correo electrónico para entrar en una rifa de 1 de 5 tarjetas de regalo de \$20. Esta información será conectada a los datos de la encuesta, sin embargo sus respuestas no afectarán su entrada en la rifa. Si usted da consentimiento para una entrevista virtual, no se usará su nombre, en su lugar se usará un seudónimo en la escritura. No se mostrarán las grabaciones públicamente y solamente serán revisadas y accedidas por el equipo de investigación. Se puede ver la página web de Zoom para información sobre su declaración de privacidad: zoom.us/es-es/privacy.html. Los datos no identificables se podría usar en las investigaciones futuras sin consentimiento adicional de participantes. El Comité de Revisión Institucional ("Institutional Review Board", IRB en inglés) que supervisa las investigaciones con sujetos humanos podría inspeccionar los archivos de la investigación durante los procedimientos de auditoría interna y se le obliga que mantenga la confidencialidad de toda información. Mientras se entiende que ninguna transmisión por computadora puede ser completamente segura, se harán esfuerzos razonables para proteger la confidencialidad de su transmisión.

PARTICIPACIÓN

Su participación es voluntaria, y usted puede retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento y por cualquier motivo. Si decide no participar o si se retira del estudio, no hay ninguna penalización o pérdida de beneficios que se le autoriza a usted. No hay ningún costo para usted o cualquier otra parte. Todas las personas que participan en la encuesta que proveen sus correos electrónicos serán entradas a una rifa de 1 de 5 tarjetas de regalo de \$20 (~0.99% probabilidad de selección). Las primeras 15 personas que participan en la entrevista de seguimiento automáticamente serán elegibles para recibir una tarjeta de

regalo de \$20. Bajo las leyes federales de impuestos, usted podría tener la responsabilidad de reportar el valor en dólares del incentivo recibido durante este estudio. Además, para ciertos estudios, el equipo de investigación recogerá un formulario informativo de impuestos y reportará los ingresos al Servicio de Impuestos Internos ("Internal Revenue Service", IRS en inglés) o en el formulario 1099-MISC o el 1042-S. Se incluirán en el estudio las personas mayores de 18 años que hablen bien el español y que vivan en Estados Unidos. **CONTACTO**

Esta investigación es realizada por Emily Scheinberg del Departamento de Lenguas Modernas y Clásicas en la Universidad de George Mason. Puede ponerse en contacto con ella a escheinb@gmu.edu con preguntas o para denunciar un problema relacionado con la investigación. También puede ponerse en contacto con Jennifer Leeman, la directora de la tesis, por teléfono al 703-993-1220, o por correo electrónico a jleeman@gmu.edu. Puede ponerse en contacto con la oficina del Comité de Revisión Institucional (Institutional Review Board) de la Universidad de George Mason al 703-993-4121 o IRB@gmu.edu si tiene preguntas o comentarios relacionados con sus derechos como participante en la investigación.

Esta investigación ha sido revisada según los procedimientos que determinan su participación en esta investigación. **CONSENTIMIENTO**

Leí este formulario, todas mis preguntas han sido respondidas y acepto participar en este estudio.

☐ Sí (1)

☐ No (2)

*Skip To: End of Survey If Lenguaje Inclusivo en Español - FORMULARIO DE
CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO PROCEDIMIENTOS DE INVESTIG... = No*

Por favor seleccione su grupo de edad.

☐ Menor de 20 años (1)

☐ 20 - 29 años (2)

☐ 30 - 39 años (3)

☐ 40 - 49 años (4)

☐ 50 - 59 años (5)

☐ 60 - 69 años (6)

☐ 70+ años (7)

Por favor seleccione su género.

☐ Masculino (1)

- ☐ Femenino (2)
- ☐ No binario / tercer género (3)
- ☐ Prefiero no contestar (4)
- ☐ Otro (5) _____

Por favor seleccione su orientación sexual.

- ☐ Heterosexual (1)
- ☐ Gay (2)
- ☐ Lesbiana (3)
- ☐ Bisexual (4)
- ☐ Asexual (5)
- ☐ Pansexual (6)
- ☐ Prefiero no contestar (7)

☐

Otra (8)

¿Cuál es el nivel escolar más alto que Ud. completó?

- ☐ Algo de escuela secundaria o menos (1)
- ☐ Escuela secundaria o equivalente (2)
- ☐ Algo de escuela vocacional/técnica/de oficios (3)
- ☐ Escuela vocacional/técnica/de oficios (4)
- ☐ Algo de estudios universitarios (5)
- ☐ Estudios universitarios a nivel de licenciatura/bachelor's (6)
- ☐ Algo de estudios de posgrado (7)
- ☐ Maestría o más (8)

¿En qué país nació Ud.?

¿En qué país(es) nacieron sus progenitores?

¿Hace cuánto tiempo que Ud. vive en EE.UU.?

- ☐ No vivo en EE.UU. (1)
- ☐ Menos de un año (2)
- ☐ 1 - 3 años (3)
- ☐ 4 - 6 años (4)
- ☐ 7 - 10 años (5)
- ☐ 11+ años (6)

¿En qué estado de EE.UU. vive Ud.?

▼ No vivo en EE.UU. (1) ... Wyoming (52)

¿En qué trabaja? (Marque todas las que apliquen)

- ☐ Sin empleo (1)
- ☐ Trabajo autónomo (2)
- ☐ Profesional de salud (3)
- ☐ Orden público (4)
- ☐ Educación (5)
- ☐ Salud pública (6)
- ☐ Producción agrícola/alimentaria (7)
- ☐ Informática (8)
- ☐ Fabricación (9)

- ☐ Construcción (10)
 - ☐ Transportación (11)
 - ☐ Administración de empresas (12)
 - ☐ Servicios financieros (13)
 - ☐ Gobierno (14)
 - ☐ Fuerzas armadas (15)
 - ☐ Amo/ama de casa (16)
 - ☐ Sector sin fines de lucro (17)
 - ☐ Otro (18)
-

¿Cuál es su idioma principal?

- ☐ Inglés (1)
- ☐ Español (2)

☐ Ambos inglés y español (3)

☐ Otro (4) _____

¿Qué tan bien habla Ud. español?

☐ Muy bien (1)

☐ Bien (4)

☐ No muy bien (2)

☐ No hablo español (3)

End of Block: Demografía

Start of Block: Conocimiento

Esta encuesta trata del **lenguaje inclusivo de género en español**.

La gramática tradicional dice que el uso de la forma masculina genérica ("Los abogados van al tribunal") es la manera correcta e inclusiva para referirse a los grupos de personas mixtos. Sin embargo, algunas personas piensan que la forma masculina invisibiliza a las mujeres y las personas no binarias en el lenguaje.

El "lenguaje inclusivo de género" se refiere a las estrategias que se usan para promover la inclusión de las mujeres y las personas no binarias en la lengua hablada y escrita. Eso incluye: el desdoblamiento ("Los/las abogados/as van al tribunal"), el uso de la barra ("Los/las abogados/as van al tribunal"), el uso de -x ("Lxs abogadx van al tribunal"), además de otras estrategias.

Antes de participar en esta encuesta, ¿usted ha escuchado del lenguaje inclusivo de género?

☐ Sí (1)

☐ No (2)

Display This Question:

If La gramática tradicional dice que el uso de la forma masculina genérica ("Los abogados van al tri... = No

¿Ud. cree que es importante cambiar el lenguaje para que las mujeres y las personas no binarias sean más visibles?

- ☐ Sí (1)
- ☐ No (2)
- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)

Display This Question:

If La gramática tradicional dice que el uso de la forma masculina genérica ("Los abogados van al tri... = No

¿Usaría cualquier de las siguientes estrategias de lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? (Marque todas las que apliquen)

- ☐ Amigos/as (1)
- ☐ Amigos y amigas (2)
- ☐ Amig@s (3)

- ☐ Amigxs (4)
 - ☐ Amigues (5)
 - ☐ Amig*s (6)
 - ☐ Ninguna de las anteriores (8)
 - ☐ Otra (7)
-

Display This Question:

If La gramática tradicional dice que el uso de la forma masculina genérica ("Los abogados van al tri... = No

¿Usaría cualquier de las siguientes estrategias de lenguaje inclusivo en la lengua hablada? (Marque todas las que apliquen)

- ☐ Amigos y amigas (1)
- ☐ Amigues (2)
- ☐ Amigxs (3)

☐ Ninguna de las anteriores (6)

☐ Otra (4)

End of Block: Conocimiento

Start of Block: Actitudes

¿Qué opina Ud. del uso de lenguaje inclusivo?

- ☐ Me gusta mucho (1)
- ☐ Me gusta (2)
- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)
- ☐ No me gusta, pero lo acepto (4)
- ☐ No me gusta en absoluto (5)

Indique su nivel de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones.

El lenguaje inclusivo es un tema de relevancia personal para mí.

- ☐ Estoy totalmente de acuerdo (1)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente de acuerdo (2)
- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente en desacuerdo (4)
- ☐ Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo (5)

El lenguaje inclusivo puede ayudar a lograr la igualdad de género.

- ☐ Estoy totalmente de acuerdo (1)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente de acuerdo (2)
- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente en desacuerdo (4)
- ☐ Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo (5)

Las expresiones genéricas como "los abogados", "los estudiantes", etc. para referirse a los grupos mixtos incluyen a todas personas.

- ☐ Estoy totalmente de acuerdo (1)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente de acuerdo (2)
- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente en desacuerdo (4)
- ☐ Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo (5)

El lenguaje inclusivo promueve la visibilidad de las mujeres y las personas no binarias en la sociedad.

- ☐ Estoy totalmente de acuerdo (1)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente de acuerdo (2)

- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente en desacuerdo (4)
- ☐ Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo (5)

El lenguaje inclusivo (por ejemplo el desdoblamiento, el uso de o/a, -x, etc.) no sigue las normas gramaticales y por eso no se debe usarlo.

- ☐ Estoy totalmente de acuerdo (1)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente de acuerdo (2)
- ☐ No tengo opinión (3)
- ☐ Estoy parcialmente en desacuerdo (4)
- ☐ Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo (5)

Comentarios adicionales (opcional)

End of Block: Actitudes

Start of Block: Usos escritos

Esta sección trata del lenguaje inclusivo **en la lengua escrita**.

En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en **la escritura**?

- ☐ Muy probable (1)
- ☐ Un poco probable (2)
- ☐ Ni probable ni improbable (3)
- ☐ Un poco improbable (4)
- ☐ Muy improbable (5)

¿Cómo se referiría a un grupo de personas de herencia latinoamericana en **la escritura**?

(Marque todas las que apliquen)

- ☐ Latinos (1)
 - ☐ Latinos y latinas (2)
 - ☐ Latinxs (3)
 - ☐ Latines (4)
 - ☐ Latin@s (5)
 - ☐ Latin*s (6)
 - ☐ Otro (7)
-

Indique las expresiones que usa y no usa en **la escritura** para referirse a un grupo mixto de personas. Arrastre y suelte las expresiones a la izquierda a las cajas a la derecha.

Las expresiones que uso

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Todes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

_____ Tod*s (6)

_____ Tod@s (7)

_____ Todos/as (8)

Las expresiones que no uso

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Todes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

_____ Tod*s (6)

_____ Tod@s (7)

_____ Todos/as (8)

Elija la expresión que Ud. cree más apropiada para referirse a un grupo mixto en **la escritura**.

☐ Amigos (1)

☐ Amigos/as (2)

- ☐ Amig@s (3)
- ☐ Amigxs (4)
- ☐ Amigues (5)
- ☐ Amig*s (6)
- ☐ Otra (7) _____

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? != Muy improbable

Indique la probabilidad que existe de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo **en la escritura** en las siguientes situaciones:

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? != Muy improbable

En las redes sociales (p. ej. en las publicaciones en Twitter, Facebook, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? != Muy improbable

En la escuela (p. ej. en las tareas, en los correos electrónicos a sus profesores o colegas, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? != Muy improbable

En el trabajo (p. ej. en los correos electrónicos a sus colegas, en los reportes escritos, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? != Muy improbable

Con su familia (p. ej. en los mensajes de texto, en los correos electrónicos, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... Muy improbable (5)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en la escritura? != Muy improbable

Con sus amistades (p. ej. en los mensajes de texto, en los correos electrónicos, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... Muy improbable (5)

Comentarios adicionales (opcional)

End of Block: Usos escritos

Start of Block: Usos hablados

Esta sección trata del lenguaje inclusivo **en la lengua hablada**.

En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en **el habla**?

- ☐ Muy probable (1)
- ☐ Un poco probable (2)
- ☐ Ni probable ni improbable (3)
- ☐ Un poco improbable (4)

☐ Muy improbable (5)

¿Cómo se referiría a un grupo de personas de herencia latinoamericana en **el habla**?

(Marque todas las que apliquen)

- ☐ Latinos (1)
 - ☐ Latinos y latinas (2)
 - ☐ Latinxs (3)
 - ☐ Latines (4)
 - ☐ Otro (7)
-

Indique las expresiones que usa y no usa en **el habla** para referirse a un grupo mixto de personas. Arrastre y suelte las expresiones a la izquierda a las cajas a la derecha.

Las expresiones que uso

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Totes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

Las expresiones que no uso

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Totes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

Elija la expresión que Ud. cree más apropiada para referirse a un grupo mixto en
el habla:

☐ Amigos (1)

☐ Amigos y amigas (2)

☐ Amigxs (4)

☐ Amigues (5)

☐ Otra (7) _____

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en el habla? != Muy improbable

Indique la probabilidad de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo **en el habla** en las siguientes situaciones:

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en el habla? != Muy improbable

En las redes sociales (p. ej. en las publicaciones de video, en las publicaciones en vivo, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en el habla? != Muy improbable

En la escuela (p. ej. en las presentaciones orales, en conversaciones con sus docentes o colegas, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en el habla? != Muy improbable

En el trabajo (p. ej. al hablar en las reuniones, en conversaciones con sus colegas, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en el habla? != Muy improbable

Con su familia (p. ej. al hablar en persona o por teléfono, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... Muy improbable (5)

Display This Question:

If En general, ¿qué probabilidad hay de que Ud. use el lenguaje inclusivo en el habla? != Muy improbable

Con sus amistades (p. ej. al hablar en persona o por teléfono, etc.)

▼ Muy probable (1) ... Muy improbable (5)

Comentarios adicionales (opcional)

End of Block: Usos hablados

Start of Block: Fin de la encuesta

Display This Question:

If La gramática tradicional dice que el uso de la forma masculina genérica ("Los abogados van al tri... = Sí

¿Cómo se enteró del lenguaje inclusivo? (Marque todas las que apliquen)

☐

En las redes sociales (p. ej. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tiktok,

etc,) (1)

☐

En la escuela (2)

☐

En el trabajo (3)

☐

De mis amistades (4)

☐

De mis parientes (5)

☐

En las noticias (6)

☐

Otra respuesta (favor de especificar) (7)

¿Le gustaría participar en una entrevista virtual de seguimiento?

☐ Sí (1)

☐ No (2)

Display This Question:

If ¿Le gustaría participar en una entrevista virtual de seguimiento? = Sí

La entrevista virtual tendrá lugar en la plataforma Zoom y el audio y video serán grabados. Las grabaciones serán revisadas por el equipo de investigación para obtener más información sobre las percepciones y los usos del lenguaje inclusivo en español. Solamente el equipo de investigación accederá a las grabaciones y se mantendrán indefinidamente. Su identidad se mantendrá confidencial y su información personal no se incluirá en el análisis de los datos. Se espera que la entrevista dure aproximadamente 30 minutos.

☐ Doy mi consentimiento para grabar (1)

☐ No doy mi consentimiento para grabar (2)

Display This Question:

If La entrevista virtual tendrá lugar en la plataforma Zoom y el audio y video serán grabados. Las g... = Doy mi consentimiento para grabar

¿Cuál es su método de contacto preferido?

☐

Llamada telefónica (favor de escribir su número abajo) (1)

☐

Correo electrónico (favor de escribir su correo electrónico abajo)

(2)

Favor de proveer su correo electrónico para entrar a la rifa de recibir una tarjeta de regalo de \$20.

Comentarios adicionales (opcional)

End of Block: Fin de la encuesta

APPENDIX II: SURVEY IN ENGLISH

Start of Block: Demographics

Inclusive Language in Spanish - INFORMED CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This research is being conducted to investigate opinions of Spanish speakers about gender-inclusive language. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a brief survey. The survey should take approximately 10-12 minutes to complete and will ask a series of demographic questions, questions about attitudes toward inclusive language, and questions about inclusive language use. After completing the survey, you will have the option to consent to a 30-minute follow-up interview through the Internet meeting platform Zoom at a later time. The interview will be recorded and stored in a password protected folder indefinitely. If you are interested in participating, you will be asked to provide you preferred method of contact so that the researchers can contact you. **RISKS**

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research. **BENEFITS**

There are no benefits to you as a participant other than to further research in sociolinguistics. **CONFIDENTIALITY**

The data in this study will be confidential. Your name will not appear on the survey at

any time. You will be asked to provide your email address to be entered into a raffle to receive 1 of 5 \$20 gift cards. This information will be linked to the survey data, however your responses will not affect your entry into the raffle. If you consent to a virtual interview, your name will not be used, rather a pseudonym will be used in writing. The recordings will not be shown publicly and will only be reviewed and accessed by the researchers. Participants may review Zoom's website for information about their privacy statement: zoom.us/privacy. The de-identified data could be used for future research without additional consent from participants. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) committee that monitors research on human subjects may inspect study records during internal auditing procedures and are required to keep all information confidential. While it is understood that no computer transmission can be perfectly secure, reasonable efforts will be made to protect the confidentiality of your transmission.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party. All survey participants who have provided their email addresses will be entered into a raffle to receive 1 of 5 \$20 gift cards (~0.99% chance of selection) The first 15 interview participants will automatically qualify to receive a \$20 gift card. Under the U.S. federal tax law you may have individual responsibilities for disclosing the dollar value of the incentive received on this study. Additionally, for certain studies, the research team will be collecting an informational tax form and reporting the income to

the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) either on 1099-MISC, or on 1042-S tax form.

Individuals over the age of 18 who speak Spanish well and live in the United States will be included in the study. **CONTACT**

This research is being conducted by Emily Scheinberg in the Department of Modern and Classical Languages at George Mason University. She may be reached at escheinb@gmu.edu for questions or to report a research-related problem. Jennifer Leeman, thesis director, may also be reached by phone at 703-993-1220 or by email at jleeman@gmu.edu. You may contact the George Mason University Institutional Review Board office at 703-993-4121 or IRB@gmu.edu if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation in this research. **CONSENT**

I have read this form, all of my questions have been answered by the research staff, and I agree to participate in this study.

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

Skip To: End of Survey If Inclusive Language in Spanish - INFORMED

CONSENT FORM RESEARCH PROCEDURES This research is being... = No

Please select your age group.

☐ Under 20 (1)

☐ 20 - 29 (2)

☐ 30 - 39 (3)

☐ 40 - 49 (4)

☐ 50 - 59 (5)

☐ 60 - 69 (6)

☐ 70+ (7)

Please select your gender.

☐ Male (1)

☐ Female (2)

☐ Non-binary / third gender (3)

☐ Prefer not to say (4)

☐ Other (5) _____

Please select your sexual orientation.

- ☐ Heterosexual (1)
 - ☐ Gay (2)
 - ☐ Lesbian (3)
 - ☐ Bisexual (4)
 - ☐ Asexual (5)
 - ☐ Pansexual (6)
 - ☐ Prefer not to say (7)
 - ☐ Other (8)
-

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ☐ Some high school or less (1)
- ☐ High school graduate or equivalent (2)
- ☐ Some trade/technical/vocational school (3)
- ☐ Trade/technical/vocational school (4)
- ☐ Some college/current college student (5)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (6)
- ☐ Some graduate school (7)
- ☐ Master's degree or above (8)

In which country were you born?

In which country/countries were your parents born?

How many years have you been living in the United States?

- ☐ I don't live in the United States (1)
- ☐ Less than a year (2)
- ☐ 1 - 3 years (3)
- ☐ 4 - 6 years (4)
- ☐ 7 - 10 years (5)
- ☐ 11+ years (6)

Which U.S. state do you live in?

▼ I don't live in the United States (1) ... Wyoming (52)

What is your profession? (Check as many as apply)

- ☐ Unemployed (1)
- ☐ Self-employed (2)
- ☐ Healthcare provider (3)
- ☐ Law enforcement (4)
- ☐ Education (5)
- ☐ Public health (6)
- ☐ Food/agriculture production (7)
- ☐ IT Services (8)
- ☐ Manufacturing (9)
- ☐ Construction (10)
- ☐ Transportation (11)
- ☐ Business administration (12)

- ☐ Financial services (13)
 - ☐ Government (14)
 - ☐ Military (15)
 - ☐ Homemaker (16)
 - ☐ Nonprofit sector (17)
 - ☐ Other (18)
-

What is your primary language?

- ☐ English (1)
- ☐ Spanish (2)
- ☐ Both English and Spanish (3)
- ☐ Other (4) _____

How well do you speak Spanish?

☐ Very well (1)

☐ Well (5)

☐ Not well (2)

☐ Not at all (3)

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Knowledge

This survey is about **gender-inclusive language in Spanish**.

Traditional grammar says that the use of the generic masculine form ("Los abogados van al tribunal") is the correct and inclusive way to refer to mixed groups of people.

However, some people think that the masculine form invisibilizes women and non-binary people in language.

"Gender-inclusive language" refers to different strategies used to promote the inclusion of women and non-binary people in spoken and written language. This includes: doubling ("Los abogados y las abogadas van al tribunal"), use of the forward slash ("Los/las abogados/as van al tribunal"), use of -x ("Lxs abogadx van al tribunal"), as well as other strategies.

Before this survey, have you heard of gender-inclusive language?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Traditional grammar says that the use of the generic masculine form ("Los abogados van al tribuna... = No

Do you think that changing language to make women and nonbinary people more visible matters?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

☐ I don't have an opinion (3)

Display This Question:

If Traditional grammar says that the use of the generic masculine form ("Los abogados van al tribuna... = No

Would you ever use any of the inclusive language strategies below in writing?

(Check as many as apply)

- ☐ Amigos/as (1)
- ☐ Amigos y amigas (8)
- ☐ Amig@s (2)
- ☐ Amigxs (4)
- ☐ Amigues (5)
- ☐ Amig*s (6)
- ☐ None of the above (9)

☐

Other (7)

Display This Question:

If Traditional grammar says that the use of the generic masculine form ("Los abogados van al tribuna... = No

Would you ever use any of the inclusive language strategies below in speaking?

(Check as many as apply)

☐

Amigos y amigas (1)

☐

Amigues (2)

☐

Amigxs (4)

☐

None of the above (6)

☐

Other (5)

End of Block: Knowledge

Start of Block: Attitudes

What do you think of the use of inclusive language?

- ☐ I like it a lot (1)
- ☐ I like it (2)
- ☐ I don't have an opinion (3)
- ☐ I don't like it, but I accept it (4)
- ☐ I don't like it at all (5)

Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

Inclusive language is a topic of personal relevance to me.

- ☐ Completely agree (1)
- ☐ Somewhat agree (2)
- ☐ No opinion (3)

- ☐ Somewhat disagree (4)
- ☐ Completely disagree (5)

Inclusive language can help achieve gender equality.

- ☐ Completely agree (1)
- ☐ Somewhat agree (2)
- ☐ No opinion (3)
- ☐ Somewhat disagree (4)
- ☐ Completely disagree (5)

Generic expressions like "los abogados", "los estudiantes", etc. to refer to mixed groups include all people.

- ☐ Completely agree (1)
- ☐ Somewhat agree (2)

- ☐ No opinion (3)
- ☐ Somewhat disagree (4)
- ☐ Completely disagree (5)

Inclusive language increases the visibility of women and non-binary people in society.

- ☐ Completely agree (1)
- ☐ Somewhat agree (2)
- ☐ No opinion (3)
- ☐ Somewhat disagree (4)
- ☐ Completely disagree (5)

Inclusive language (such as doubling, using o/a, -x, etc.) is not grammatical and therefore should not be used.

- ☐ Completely agree (1)

- ☐ Somewhat agree (2)
- ☐ No opinion (3)
- ☐ Somewhat disagree (4)
- ☐ Completely disagree (5)

Additional comments (optional)

End of Block: Attitudes

Start of Block: Uses writing

This section is about inclusive language in **writing**.

In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language **in writing**?

- ☐ Extremely likely (1)
- ☐ Somewhat likely (2)
- ☐ Neither likely nor unlikely (3)
- ☐ Somewhat unlikely (4)
- ☐ Extremely unlikely (5)

How would you refer to a group of people of Latin American heritage **in writing**?

(Check as many as apply)

- ☐ Latinos (1)
- ☐ Latinos y latinas (2)
- ☐ Latinxs (3)
- ☐ Latines (4)
- ☐ Latin@s (5)
- ☐ Latin*s (6)

☐

Other (7)

Indicate the expressions you use and don't use **in writing** to refer to a mixed group of people. Drag and drop the expressions on the left to the boxes on the right

Expressions I use

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Todes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

_____ Tod*s (6)

_____ Tod@s (7)

_____ Todos/as (8)

Expressions I don't use

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Todes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

_____ Tod*s (6)

_____ Tod@s (7)

_____ Todos/as (8)

Choose the expression that you feel is most appropriate for referring to a mixed group **in writing**:

☐ Amigos (1)

☐ Amigos/as (2)

☐ Amig@s (3)

☐ Amigxs (4)

☐ Amigues (5)

☐ Amig*s (6)

☐ Other (7) _____

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in writing? !=

Extremely unlikely

Indicate your likelihood of using inclusive language **in writing** in the following situations:

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in writing? !=

Extremely unlikely

On social media (e.g., tweets, Facebook posts, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in writing? !=

Extremely unlikely

At school (e.g., on assignments, in emails to your professors or peers, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in writing? !=

Extremely unlikely

At work (e.g., in emails to your colleagues, in written reports, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in writing? !=

Extremely unlikely

Among family (e.g., in text messages, emails, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... Extremely unlikely (5)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in writing? !=

Extremely unlikely

Among friends (e.g., in text messages, emails, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... Extremely unlikely (5)

Additional comments (optional)

End of Block: Uses writing

Start of Block: Uses speaking

This section is about inclusive language in **speaking**.

In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language **in speaking**?

- ☐ Extremely likely (1)
- ☐ Somewhat likely (2)
- ☐ Neither likely nor unlikely (3)
- ☐ Somewhat unlikely (4)
- ☐ Extremely unlikely (5)

How would you refer to a group of people of Latin American heritage **in speaking**? (Check as many as apply)

- ☐ Latinos (1)
- ☐ Latinos y latinas (2)
- ☐ Latinxs (3)
- ☐ Latines (4)

☐

Other (7)

Indicate the expressions you use and don't use **in speaking** to refer to a mixed group of people. Drag and drop the expressions on the left to the boxes on the right

Expressions I use

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Todes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

Expressions I don't use

_____ Todos y todas (1)

_____ Todos (2)

_____ Todes (3)

_____ Todos, todas y todes (4)

_____ Todxs (5)

Choose the expression that you feel is most appropriate for referring to a mixed group **in speaking**:

☐ Amigos (1)

☐ Amigos y amigas (2)

☐ Amigxs (4)

☐ Amigues (5)

☐ Other (7) _____

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in speaking? !=

Extremely unlikely

Indicate your likelihood of using inclusive language **in speaking** in the following situations:

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in speaking? !=

Extremely unlikely

On social media (e.g., live streams, video posts, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in speaking? !=

Extremely unlikely

At school (e.g., in spoken presentations, speaking to peers or professors, etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in speaking? !=

Extremely unlikely

At work (e.g., speaking in meetings, in conversations with your colleagues etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... N/A (6)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in speaking? !=

Extremely unlikely

Among family (e.g., speaking in person or over the phone)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... Extremely unlikely (5)

Display This Question:

If In general, how likely are you to use inclusive language in speaking? !=

Extremely unlikely

Among friends (e.g., speaking in person, over the phone etc.)

▼ Extremely likely (1) ... Extremely unlikely (5)

Additional comments (optional)

End of Block: Uses speaking

Start of Block: End of survey

Display This Question:

If Traditional grammar says that the use of the generic masculine form ("Los abogados van al tribuna... != No

How did you learn about inclusive language?

☐

On social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tiktok, etc.)

(1)

☐

At school (2)

☐

At work (3)

☐

From friends (4)

☐

From family members (5)

☐

On the news (6)

☐

Other (please specify) (7)

Would you like to participate in a follow-up virtual interview?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Would you like to participate in a follow-up virtual interview? = Yes

The virtual interview will take place on the online platform Zoom and will be audio and video recorded. The recordings will be reviewed by the researchers to get more information about perceptions and uses of inclusive language in Spanish. These recordings will only be accessed by the researchers and will be kept indefinitely. Your identity will be kept confidential and your personal identifying information will not be included in the analysis of the data. The interview is expected to last approximately 30 minutes.

☐ I agree to audio and video taping (1)

☐ I do not agree to audio and video taping (2)

Display This Question:

If The virtual interview will take place on the online platform Zoom and will be audio and video rec... = I agree to audio and video taping

What is your preferred method of contact?

☐

Phone call (please write phone number below) (1)

☐

Email (please write email address below) (2)

Please provide your email address below to enter the raffle to receive a \$20 gift card.

Additional comments (optional)

End of Block: End of survey

APPENDIX III: SAMPLE INTERVIEW FORMAT

1. **Q: ¿Qué opina del uso de LI? A: Me gusta mucho.** ¿Qué es lo que le gusta del lenguaje inclusivo?
2. **Q: El LI es un tema de relevancia personal para mí. A: Estoy totalmente de acuerdo.** ¿En qué medida es el lenguaje inclusivo un tema relevante para usted?
3. **Q: El LI puede ayudar a lograr la igualdad de género. A: Estoy parcialmente de acuerdo.** ¿Puede explicar un poco más? ¿Cómo es que el lenguaje inclusivo puede tener este efecto? ¿En qué medida está en desacuerdo con esa afirmación?
4. **Q: Las expresiones genéricas como “los abogados” incluyen a todas personas. A: Estoy parcialmente en desacuerdo.** ¿En qué medida está parcialmente en desacuerdo? ¿Está de acuerdo en cierta medida?
5. **Q: El LI no sigue las normas gramaticales y por eso no se debe usarlo. A: Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo.** ¿Qué piensa de la posición tomada por las academias de la lengua de que el uso de lenguaje inclusivo es incorrecto, que la forma masculina es la única forma incluyente válida?
6. **Es muy probable que use el LI en la escritura, un poco probable en el habla.** ¿Piensa que hay algunas situaciones en las que el lenguaje inclusivo es más apropiado que otras situaciones? ¿Cómo elige la forma inclusiva que quiere usar, de todas las formas posibles?
7. **Se enteró del lenguaje inclusivo en las redes sociales, en la escuela, en el trabajo.** ¿Qué fue su primera impresión del lenguaje inclusivo?
8. **¿Qué piensa del futuro del lenguaje inclusivo?**

1. **Q: What do you think of the use of inclusive language? A: I like it a lot.** What do you like about inclusive language?
2. **Q: Inclusive language is a topic of personal relevance to me. A: Completely agree.** In what ways do you find inclusive language personally relevant?
3. **Q: Inclusive language can help achieve gender equality. A: Somewhat agree.** In what ways do you agree? In what ways do you disagree?
4. **Q: Generic expressions like “los abogados” include all. A: Somewhat agree.** In what ways do you agree? In what ways do you disagree?
5. **Q: Inclusive language is not grammatical and therefore should not be used. A: Completely disagree.** What do you think about the position of language academies that say that the masculine form is the only grammatically correct inclusive form in the Spanish language?

6. **Extremely likely to use IL in writing, somewhat likely in speaking.** Do you think there are situations where inclusive language is more or less appropriate? How do you decide which inclusive form to use?
7. **First learned about IL on social media and at work.** What was your first impression of inclusive language?
8. **What do you think about the future of inclusive language?**

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