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Editorial

El 5 de noviembre pasado se celebró el décimo aniversario de un sueño hecho realidad: Bridging Cultures, la publicación electrónica académico-científica con revisión de pares e indexada en Latindex, en Dialnet, en el repositorio institucional UCA (y próximamente en varios otros espacios), del Departamento de Lenguas de la UCA.

Durante el evento, el Decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Dr. Javier González, y la Directora del Departamento de Lenguas, Dra. Marina Álvarez, se dirigieron amablemente al público para reconocer y agradecer el esfuerzo y la dedicación depositados en la creación y sostenimiento de la revista.

A continuación, la Directora de la revista, Dra. Graciela del Pilar Isaía y Ruiz, presentó un detallado recorrido por la historia de la revista, desde su creación hasta el último número publicado, en el que destacó su evolución y permanente crecimiento en términos de cantidad y calidad de publicaciones.

Luego, la Secretaria de redacción, Mg. Gabriela M. Llull, reflexionó sobre los desafíos actuales de la gestión editorial académica, refiriéndose a la importancia crucial del trabajo conjunto entre autores, revisores y autoridades de la revista y a la necesaria capacidad de adaptación ante la expansión del uso de la inteligencia artificial.

Para concluir, se entregaron certificados de reconocimiento a autores, autoras, revisores y revisoras, y se ofreció un ágape fraterno para las y los asistentes.

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Nuestro sentimiento es de total gratitud: a quienes pudieron sumarse y también a quienes no pudieron estar presentes en la celebración, pero que siempre agregan valor a esta gran publicación.

Entre otras autoridades, nos acompañaron en el evento:

- Facultad de Filosofía y Letras: Dr. Javier González (Decano), Dr. Gustavo Hasperué (Secretario Académico), Dra. Marina Álvarez (Directora del Departamento de Lenguas), Mg. Luz Callejo (Coordinadora del Departamento de Lenguas); Dr. Juan Manuel Torbidoni (Director del Departamento de Filosofía); y Dra. Lucía Puppo (Directora de la Maestría en Literaturas Comparadas).
- Dr. Ricardo Chiesa, reconocido experto nacional e internacional en traducción jurídica, profesor e investigador.
- Trad. Gabriela Escarrá, Administradora de la División de Español de la *American Translators Association*.
- Mg. Silvia Firmenich Montserrat, Directora de la Maestría en Traducción de la UBA.
- Trad. Luz Díaz Reynolds, Vicepresidenta del Colegio de Traductores Públicos e Intérpretes de la Prov. de Buenos Aires, Regional San Isidro.
- Trad. Rita Tineo, Directora del Departamento de Idiomas de la Facultad de Derecho de la UBA.
- Dr. Mariano Vitetta, Director del Área de Lengua y Derecho de la Universidad Austral.
- En remoto: Dra. María Celeste Irace, Secretaria de redacción de *Bridging Cultures*.

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Con la alegría de esta celebración, hemos preparado un número que busca reflejar la apertura a lo pasado y lo presente, a lo tradicional y lo novedoso. El primer artículo, *A Contrastive Study of Argentinean and Spanish People's Language Attitudes towards Different Varieties of English*, de María Milagros Castro, examina las actitudes lingüísticas de hablantes de la Argentina y de España hacia distintas variedades del inglés. El sexto artículo, *NNESTs' (Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers) Impact on the Realm of English as a Foreign Language*, de María Eugenia Cascarino, también referido a la dimensión actitudinal, explora el impacto de docentes no-nativos en la enseñanza del inglés como lengua extranjera y la idealización del hablante nativo. Por su parte, el segundo trabajo, *Copy, Paste, and Generate: Copyright Law and Fair Use in the Age of Artificial Intelligence*, de Andy Benzo, aborda el desafío jurídico de la aplicación de la doctrina del *fair use* en relación con el entrenamiento de sistemas de inteligencia artificial generativa, y plantea el interrogante de si el marco legal actual puede encontrar un equilibrio entre innovación y protección de los derechos de autor. El tercer artículo, *Training Adults for Effective Communication: AI Language Tools and Neuroscience in Learning and Using English as a Lingua Franca*, de María Luz Callejo, también referido al ámbito de la tecnología, analiza la integración de la IA en la enseñanza del inglés como lengua franca y destaca su potencial transformador, respaldado por los avances logrados en las neurociencias. Los dos artículos que siguen, «Los cuatro sentidos de *common law* y su traducción al español», de Mariano Vitetta, e «Influencia del concepto de esclavitud en la traducción de la Biblia de William Tyndale del siglo XVI y su incidencia en sucesivas traducciones al inglés: el caso de *doulos*», de María Elena Gaborov Jones, aportan perspectivas desde la traducción especializada, desde una óptica más tradicional: uno estudia la complejidad semántica y las posibles traducciones del término

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common law, mientras que el otro examina la traducción del término griego *doulos* a lo largo del tiempo y sus efectos en la vida espiritual de los cristianos.

Pasen y lean. ¡Que lo disfruten!

Dra. Graciela del Pilar Isaía y Ruiz. Directora

Mg. Gabriela Magdalena Llull y Dra. María Celeste Irace, Secretarias de redacción

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Índice

A Contrastive Study of Argentinean and Spanish People's Language Attitudes towards Different Varieties of English.....	10
<i>María Milagros Castro</i>	
Copy, Paste, and Generate: Copyright Law and Fair Use in the Age of Artificial Intelligence ...	90
<i>Andy Benzo</i>	
Training Adults for Effective Communication: AI Language Tools and Neuroscience in Learning and Using English as a Lingua Franca	120
<i>Luz Callejo</i>	
Los cuatro sentidos de <i>common law</i> y su traducción al español.....	134
<i>Mariano Vitetta</i>	
Influencia del concepto de esclavitud en la traducción de la Biblia de William Tyndale del siglo XVI y su incidencia en sucesivas traducciones al inglés: el caso de <i>doulos</i>	164
<i>María Elena Gaborov Jones</i>	
NNESTs' (Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers) Impact on the Realm of English as a Foreign Language	183
<i>María Eugenia Cascarino</i>	

**A Contrastive Study of Argentinean and Spanish People's Language Attitudes towards
Different Varieties of English**

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Abstract

This study examines and compares the language attitudes of Argentinean and Spanish individuals towards different varieties of English in terms of two evaluative dimensions: solidarity and status. In order to do so, 50 Argentineans and 50 Spaniards completed a survey which included a direct questionnaire and a verbal-guise study in which participants rated two native and three non-native English varieties from the following countries: UK, USA, Argentina, Bolivia and Spain. Results from the survey were analyzed and compared by means of one-way repeated measures ANOVAs taking into account the participants' nationality, their age and their gender as independent variables. Findings show that, across all groups, participants usually awarded more positive ratings to the native accents than the non-native accents in both dimensions, although the Bolivian speaker did receive quite high solidarity ratings in some groups. Unexpectedly, participants did not feel more solidarity towards the non-native speakers representing their own varieties. Males also generally gave more positive evaluations than females, as did younger participants in contrast to older ones. Finally, when comparing participants' indirect and direct attitudes, differences emerged across Argentineans and Spaniards and males and females.

Keywords: language attitudes, varieties of English, native accent, non-native accent, verbal-guise study

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Resumen

El presente trabajo examina y compara las actitudes lingüísticas de los argentinos y los españoles hacia distintas variedades del inglés en cuanto a dos dimensiones de evaluación: solidaridad y estatus. Para ello, 50 argentinos y 50 españoles completaron una encuesta que incluía un cuestionario directo y la técnica del *verbal-guise*, mediante la cual los participantes evaluaron dos variedades nativas y tres variedades no nativas del inglés, pertenecientes a los siguientes países: Reino Unido, Estados Unidos, Argentina, Bolivia y España. Los resultados de la encuesta se analizaron y compararon mediante un análisis de varianza unidireccional de medidas repetidas teniendo en cuenta la nacionalidad, el género y la edad de los participantes como variables independientes. Los resultados demuestran que, en todos los grupos, los participantes en general calificaron de forma más positiva a los hablantes nativos que a los no nativos en ambas dimensiones, aunque el hablante de Bolivia recibió una calificación de solidaridad bastante elevada en algunos grupos. Inesperadamente, los participantes no sintieron mayor solidaridad hacia los hablantes no nativos que representaban su propia variedad. Los hombres también otorgaron calificaciones más favorables que las mujeres, al igual que los participantes más jóvenes en comparación con los más mayores. Por último, al comparar las actitudes directas e indirectas de los participantes, surgieron diferencias entre los argentinos y los españoles y los hombres y las mujeres.

Palabras clave: actitudes lingüísticas, variedades del inglés, acento nativo, acento no nativo, técnica del *verbal-guise*

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Introduction

Research in the field of language attitudes has garnered significant attention and importance in recent years due to globalization and language contact. As individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds increasingly find themselves in constant interaction, the potential for language attitudes to develop grows exponentially, which may give rise to even more linguistic stereotypes and discrimination. Within this dynamic landscape, the focus on English as a lingua franca becomes especially relevant, as it serves as the primary means of communication for speakers from diverse backgrounds who lack a shared first language (Lasagabaster, 2005).

This study aims to explore and compare the language attitudes of Argentinean and Spanish individuals towards different varieties of English, which have not been analyzed contrastively in past studies. Apart from the fact that research of this kind with both Argentinean and Spanish participants is scarce, the motivation behind this project is to uncover the language attitudes of Argentinean and Spanish people associated with different varieties of English and to raise awareness about the stereotypes held by them towards certain accents.

In order to achieve said objectives, a group of Argentinean people (n = 50) and a group of Spanish people (n = 50) take part in a survey, whereby their attitudes are gauged first indirectly in terms of solidarity and status by means of a verbal-guise study comprising five audio recordings in English, two of them by native speakers (USA and UK), and the remaining three by non-native speakers from three different Spanish-speaking countries (Argentina, Bolivia and Spain), and then through a series of direct questions about their opinions on native and non-native accents.

In so doing, this study will answer the following research questions:

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(RQ1) How do Argentinean participants evaluate the different varieties of English included in this study in terms of solidarity and status?

(RQ2) How do Spanish participants evaluate the different varieties of English included in this study in terms of solidarity and status?

(RQ3) In which ways do Argentinean and Spanish participants' attitudes towards the different varieties of English included in this study differ?

(RQ4) How do gender and age affect participants' attitudes towards the different varieties of English included in this study?

The analysis of the data gathered in this study will aim to either confirm or refute the following hypotheses:

(H1) Participants will generally evaluate native accents more favorably than foreign accents in both evaluative dimensions. This hypothesis is supported by previous research carried out by Ryan et al. (1977), Fuertes et al. (2012), Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), Giles and Watson (2013), and Dragojevic et al. (2017).

(H2) Argentinean participants will rate the Argentinean speaker more favorably on solidarity traits, while Spanish participants will do so with respect to the Spanish speaker. This hypothesis is in accordance with previous studies in which participants rated their own — standard or non-standard — variety more positively in terms of solidarity than any out-group variety (Cargile & Giles, 1998; Giles & Marlow, 2011; Kircher & Zipp, 2022).

(H3) Argentinean participants will rate the US speaker more positively than the UK speaker, and vice versa in the case of the Spanish participants. This hypothesis is in agreement with the results obtained by Friedrich (2003), in whose study Argentinean participants exhibited preference for

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the American variety, and those obtained by Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), in whose study the participants exhibited preference for the native varieties they were more familiar with. This preference may be influenced by geographical proximity or the variety of English taught in each country. For this reason, in this study, Spanish people are expected to favor British English and Argentinean people are more likely to prefer American English.

(H4) Female participants will mostly assign speakers more favorable evaluations than male participants, especially on status traits, in line with the findings obtained in previous studies carried out by Giles (1970), Brown and Cichocki (1995), Coupland and Bishop (2007), McKenzie (2010), McKenzie et al. (2015), Chien (2018) and Martens (2020).

(H5) Younger participants will rate the US speaker more favorably than the speakers of other varieties given the strong influence that US audiovisual and media content consumed in its original version may have on them, and they will also award more positive evaluations than older participants to all speakers in general. This hypothesis is in accordance with the results obtained by Giles (1970), in whose study older participants were more restrained than younger participants when rating different varieties.

In Argentina and Spain, English has played an essential role in education and the job market for years (Friedrich, 2003; Carrie, 2017), and contrastive studies measuring the language attitudes of Argentinean and Spanish people towards different varieties of English have not been undertaken in the past, which is why examining them in this study is relevant. Besides, foreign speakers are frequently the target of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, since they are members of linguistic out-groups (Goatley-Soan & Baldwin, 2018).

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Much research has been carried out regarding language attitudes towards both English as a first language (L1) and English as a second language (L2), after Lambert et al.'s (1960) and Lambert's (1967) pioneering studies. As regards the attitudes of L1 speakers, standard accents typically receive higher ratings on status traits, whereas non-standard accents may be more positively evaluated on solidarity traits (Giles, 1971, 1972; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Garrett et al., 2003; Kircher & Zipp, 2022). However, foreign accents are sometimes rated lower in terms of both status and solidarity (Ryan et al., 1977; Fuertes et al., 2012; Giles & Watson, 2013; Dragojevic et al., 2017; Dragojevic & Goatley-Soan, 2020).

Regarding the attitudes of L2 speakers, when only standard native varieties of English are involved, the Received Pronunciation (RP) accent is associated with higher status, while the General American (GA) accent is awarded higher solidarity (see Carrie, 2017). Like L1 speakers, L2 speakers usually assign more status to standard native accents with respect to non-standard native accents as well (see Ladegaard, 1998). The same happens when L2 speakers are presented with native and non-native English varieties: native varieties are rated more positively on status traits (see Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001). Except for the participants in Friedrich (2003), L2 speakers mostly favor the RP accent as a pronunciation model (see Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Ladegaard, 1998; Mompeán González, 2004; Carrie, 2017).

This study is organized into six sections. After this introduction, section 2 includes relevant definitions about attitudes, language attitudes and stereotypes. Section 3 presents a summary of the research methods employed in the field and a literature review on previous research, including studies on the attitudes of L1 speakers and studies on the attitudes of L2 speakers.

Then, section 4 outlines the methodology implemented, which comprises the participants, the

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survey administered, the verbal-guise study and the procedure. Section 5 presents the analysis and discussion of results. Lastly, section 6 offers a conclusion, states the contributions of this project to the field, identifies its limitations, and provides suggestions for future research on language attitudes.

Defining Language Attitudes and Stereotypes

In an attempt to provide a sound background for the analysis that is carried out in this research project, this section includes relevant definitions of the terms *attitude* and *language attitudes*, as well as definitions and explanations of what stereotypes entail within language attitudes research, together with illustrative examples.

Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are elusive and difficult to define given that they are subjective in nature. In an often-quoted definition, Oppenheim (1982) defines an *attitude* as “an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through [...] stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions [...]” (p. 39). From this definition, it must be highlighted that attitudes are psychological constructs and are therefore not directly observable. This means that they have to be inferred from people’s actions and statements, which is how they manifest their inner thoughts and stereotypes.

Another commonly cited definition is that by Eagly and Chaiken (1993), who explain that an attitude is “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (p. 1). In their definition, Eagly and Chaiken emphasize that people’s attitudes are internal and that they are revealed by their agreement or disagreement

towards an object. Thus, a typical way of measuring people's favor or disfavor towards an entity — be it an object, a concept or a language variety — is by means of attitude rating scales.

Considering the above cited definitions of the term attitude, *language attitudes* can be broadly defined as “the attitudes which people have towards different languages, dialects, accents and their speakers” (Trudgill, 2003, p. 73). A more specific definition is that proposed by Carrie (2017), who details that language attitudes are “one's evaluation of and disposition towards a speech variety and its speakers, consisting of thoughts, feelings and behavioural tendencies” (p. 430). Taken together, such definitions imply that, as individuals interact with other individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds, they develop a wide array of attitudes, either directly or indirectly, towards different levels of language. These levels range from the broadest scope, which encompasses languages as a whole, to more specific foci, such as attitudes towards speakers of particular languages, regional varieties, dialects, or accents, and even towards grammatical features, spellings and specific words (Garrett, 2010, p. 2).

Furthermore, language attitudes are said to have three components: affective, cognitive and behavioral, which arise from the different ways in which people react towards or evaluate language (Ryan & Giles, 1982, p. 7). First, the affective component refers to how people *feel* about a language or certain aspects of it. Second, the cognitive component refers to what people *believe* about a language or certain aspects of it. Third and last, the behavioral component refers to how people *act* towards a language or certain aspects of it in accordance with their affective and cognitive judgements (Garrett, 2010, p. 23).

Language attitudes are a highly complex phenomenon, since they are composed by a wide variety of factors, and in fact, previous studies have proven that they are affected by certain

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demographic characteristics such as location, age, gender, educational level and contact with the relevant language (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 9). Thus, as argued by Edwards (1982, p. 21), they should be conceived as expressions of preference and social convention which reflect individuals' awareness of the prestige and status that are accorded to the users of said varieties. Nevertheless, it should be noted that language attitudes are not static, and they may change if the prestige or status of a language or its users changes over time (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 6). This occurred with the French-Canadian variety, which received more positive ratings in Quebec in the 1970s than in the 1960s, reflecting the increased prestige of this variety thanks to political and social changes (Holmes, 2013, p. 410).

Building on the abovementioned concept of status and prestige, in pioneering language attitudes studies, speakers' personalities were evaluated on three distinct categories: competence, personal integrity, and social attractiveness (see Lambert, 1967), which have evolved into the dimensions used in most of the research carried out today. Language attitudes nowadays are mostly deemed to have two evaluative dimensions: *solidarity* and *status*. According to Woolard (1989, p. 90), status is “the desire to get ahead in some way”, whereas solidarity is “the desire to be accepted by [a social] group”. Therefore, when a language variety receives a high-status rating, it is associated with power, success and ambition, as is generally the case of standard varieties. By contrast, when a language variety is positively evaluated in terms of solidarity, which happens more often with regional or non-standard varieties, it implies belonging, attachment and in-group loyalty. Some authors also include *dynamism* as a third dimension (Zahn & Hopper, 1985), which is defined by Fuertes et al. (2012, p. 121) as the level of liveliness and activity of a speaker.

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Stereotypes

As indicated above, language attitudes have three components: affective, cognitive and behavioral. The cognitive component is the one that causes the attitudinal object to be subject to stereotyping (McKenzie, 2010, p. 22). The term *stereotype* was used in the modern psychological sense for the first time by Lippmann (1922), who stated that stereotypes are pictures in our head, simplified images of what groups do and look like.

More recently, Lakoff (1987) described social stereotypes in terms of metonymy, “where a subcategory has a socially recognized status as standing for the category as a whole” (p. 71). In other words, stereotyping occurs when people share certain beliefs and disbeliefs about specific categories of people, objects or events which are cognitively grouped together (Kristiansen, 2001, p. 138). Kristiansen (2001) further argues that even if stereotypes derive in part from cognitive processes, they are *contextually* and *socially* determined as well, since two mechanisms are at play when stereotypes are formed: accentuation of perceived similarities and differences, and out-group homogeneity effect, whereby members of out-groups are seen as more similar to one another than members of the in-group.

This categorizing process takes place in the minds of individuals because the social content is too complex for us, so that simplifying strategies, like making quick judgements about people, are employed as a way to make sense of the world around us and be able to function (Fiske, 2000, pp. 303-304). Moreover, even though stereotyping is typically viewed as negative, it serves some positive functions, such as making society more coherent, creating and maintaining group ideologies, and enhancing differentiations between the in-group and the out-group (Tajfel, 1981, pp. 147-162).

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Given that language and social identity are closely linked, people usually react to language as if it were an indication of the language user's personal and social characteristics (Cargile & Giles, 1997, p. 195). In fact, people often form an impression of a speaker's presumed attributes, personality and capabilities in only a few seconds, and even categorize them as a member of the in-group or the out-group, i.e., they stereotype them (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 7).

Stereotypes are useful to look into how certain language features can activate a set of associated traits that go beyond language itself (Garrett, 2010, p. 14). As demonstrated by previous research, when judging speakers with minimal contextual information, people generally rely on stereotypes, even if these stereotypes are latent (Cheyne, 1970, p. 77). These latent stereotypes, as Ladegaard (1998, pp. 269-270) explains, may be evoked by speech samples, whether or not people are able to consciously assign their stored information to a specific reference group.

According to Edwards (1999, p. 102), different speech forms may be evaluated following uniform patterns owing to the fact that language attitudes reflect social conventions and preferences, and listening to a speech variety triggers attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes about a particular speech community. In line with this argument and as mentioned above, evaluations of language varieties reflect the prestige and status associated with different speech communities in the form of stereotypes (Giles & Coupland, 1991).

For example, McKenzie (2010, p. 22) states that a listener's stereotypes may be triggered by an audio recording, leading to the speaker's categorization with respect to their perceived social group membership, which could resemble reality or not. Previous studies have proven that “nonlinguists differentiate amongst speech varieties within a single language and have stereotyped attitudes towards them” (McKenzie, 2010, p. 53). In this way, people are evaluated

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as having different levels of friendliness, intelligence, and other traits simply based on how they speak (Hudson, 1980, p. 193).

McKenzie (2010, p. 147) also suggests that media transmitted stereotypes may lead to negative responses towards the competence and status of non-native English speakers. This is because non-standard accents, i.e., foreign accents or accents used by a lower socioeconomic group or a minority (Fuertes et al., 2012, p. 121), are commonly perceived more negatively than standard ones, i.e., accents used by the majority of the population, spoken by higher socioeconomic groups, or associated with power and media usage (Giles & Billings, 2004, p. 192). Hence, the most desirable outcome ends up being for non-native speakers to try to accommodate to and resemble more prestigious or standard varieties.

However, as stated above, it must be kept in mind that stereotypes are not solely negative, but that they can be positive too. For instance, speakers with non-standard accents are mostly evaluated as more trustworthy, honest and friendlier than speakers with standard accents (Tucker & Lambert, 1969; Hewett, 1971). Additionally, speakers of non-standard regional varieties in general are stereotyped as having more social attractiveness and personal integrity than speakers of RP English, who tend to be viewed as more competent (Giles, 1972). Another common stereotype is that people who are perceived as having high competence are often perceived as having low warmth, and vice versa (Giles & Billings, 2004; Yang, 2014).

As claimed by Labov (1984), an important goal of language attitudes research is to create a “record of overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes” (p. 33), in order to provide valuable insights into the linguistic behavior of individuals. As people interact with language, they develop conscious or subconscious attitudes that influence their

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language use, preferences, and evaluations of different linguistic elements, thus uncovering their linguistic stereotypes, which in turn reveal the prevailing social biases, power structures, inequality, prejudices and discrimination that impact different language varieties and their speakers in many ways. Therefore, this does not only help to partially explain language variation and change, but also how we behave, position ourselves in society and relate to other groups and individuals (Garrett, 2010, p. 15).

Research on Language Attitudes

In this section, a summary of the main research methods used in the field is presented, as well as a literature review on previous research on language attitudes towards English, including studies on the attitudes of L1 speakers and studies on the attitudes of L2 speakers.

Research Methods

Language attitudes can be measured using different methodologies, including direct, indirect, or mixed methods. Direct methods are those which ask participants explicitly about their language attitudes (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 14). For this reason, participants are more likely to be influenced by the *social desirability bias*, i.e., to respond in accordance with what is socially desirable or acceptable (Baker, 1992), and the *acquiescence bias*, i.e., to agree with the interviewer's questions regardless of their content to portray a more positive self-image (Garrett et al., 2003).

Direct methods include questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, and perceptual dialectology studies. Questionnaires are one of the most common methods used in language attitudes research and they ask participants explicit questions which can be closed — to gather quantitative data — or open-ended — to gather qualitative data (Kircher, 2022, p. 129). Interviews are used by

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researchers to elicit information from participants in the form of a one-to-one conversation. Depending on how fixed the exchange is, interviews can be structured, semi-structured, or unstructured (Karatsareas, 2022, pp. 99-100). In the case of focus groups, researchers elicit information from several participants at a time. Focus groups are informal, semi-structured sessions in which multiple participants interact, guided by a moderator (Hornsby, 2022, p. 114). Lastly, perceptual dialectology is used to examine how non-linguists perceive dialects and dialect variation through different tasks, such as drawing a map, identifying dialects, and ranking regions according to degrees of difference or correct and pleasant speech, among others (Montgomery, 2022, pp. 160-161).

On the other hand, indirect methods are those which use experimental designs and aim at revealing people's more subconscious and private reactions, since participants are presented the attitude object — in this case, a language, a variety, a specific feature of a variety — indirectly, which triggers a subconscious evaluation of said object, disguised as an evaluation of the speaker instead of their linguistic production (Preston, 2009, p. 112). In this way, the real purpose of the research is not revealed to participants, who are in turn less likely to answer following what is socially desirable. The two most common indirect methods of language attitudes elicitation are the matched-guise technique and the verbal-guise technique.

While the matched-guise technique presents different language varieties recorded by the same speaker, the verbal-guise technique includes different language varieties recorded by different speakers (Garrett, 2010, p. 42). In both cases, speakers read aloud the same neutral text, maintaining voice quality, speech rate, pitch and hesitations as constant as possible, so that each recording differs from the others in only one aspect, for example, accent (McKenzie, 2006, p.

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59). After listening to each recording, participants are asked to answer some questions about each speaker, typically in the form of attitude rating scales, such as Likert scales, with response options expressed in words for respondents to state their agreement or disagreement, and semantic differential scales, which present polar adjectives at each end (Kircher, 2022, p. 133). Nowadays, other indirect methods are being used to elicit language attitudes. One of these is the theatre-audience method, whereby the audience in a movie theatre is asked to complete a questionnaire about the movie they just watched. Informants are addressed over the loudspeakers in different language varieties on consecutive nights and language attitudes are measured taking into account the number of completed questionnaires and the number of tickets sold (Kristiansen, 2022, p. 219). Another of these methods is the Implicit Association Test (IAT) Paradigm, which is a time-based categorization task used to find automatic associations made by participants between an attitude object and an evaluation (Rosseel, 2022, p. 250). Nevertheless, to gain a better understanding of language attitudes, Ryan et al. (1988) suggest adopting a mixed-methods approach, given that, as mentioned above, direct methods yield more conscious reactions and indirect methods yield more subconscious reactions. Because of this, these two methods generally lead to different and sometimes contradictory data, which serves to prove how complex language attitudes are (Kircher & Zipp, 2022).

Previous Research

Ever since the emergence of attitudinal research in linguistics, a large number of studies have been conducted with respect to several different languages. This section discusses a selection of those research projects carried out with respect to English and which are relevant to the present study given the research methods employed and the contexts in which they took place. Said

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projects are examined in two subsections: the attitudes of L1 speakers and the attitudes of L2 speakers, to both native and non-native varieties of English.

Attitudes of L1 Speakers

Regarding the attitudes of L1 speakers, research using the matched-guise and the verbal-guise technique has been conducted in various settings, such as Canada (see Lambert et al., 1960; Lambert, 1967), the UK (see Giles, 1971, 1972), and the USA (see Ryan et al., 1977; Dragojevic et al., 2017; Goatley-Soan and Baldwin, 2018; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2020).

In one of the first language attitudes studies to be carried out, Lambert et al. (1960) uncovered a minority group reaction among French-speaking Canadian students who downgraded their own group. The researchers used the matched-guise technique in Canada to investigate the attitudes of both English-speaking and French-speaking students towards English and French. All students evaluated the English guises more favorably, and unexpectedly, the French students were more negative than the English students towards the French guises. This study was extended by Lambert (1967) by using the same technique and the same guises with a new group of Canadian students, obtaining similar results. This time, traits were grouped into three categories: competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness, and the independent variable of gender was taken into consideration, uncovering differences between the ratings of male and female students on some of the traits. For instance, females were less positive than males when evaluating competence, but they were more positive when evaluating all French speakers. Since then, research in the field of language attitudes has demonstrated that, among native speakers, standard accents usually receive higher ratings in terms of status, while non-standard accents are sometimes evaluated more positively in terms of solidarity (Giles, 1971, 1972; Giles

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& Coupland, 1991; Garrett et al., 2003; Kircher & Zipp, 2022). For instance, Giles (1971, 1972) conducted language attitudes research using the matched-guise technique to investigate the patterns of evaluation of standard and non-standard British accents. In both cases, participants rated the personality of speakers with RP, South Welsh and Somerset accents on competence, social attractiveness and personal integrity traits. Results for both studies show that RP accents were evaluated more positively on competence traits and that the regional accents were favored on social attractiveness and personal integrity traits. More specifically, in the 1972 study, participants were divided into two groups: highly and lowly ethnocentric, depending on their degree of ethnocentrism. Highly ethnocentric individuals are those who view their own culture as central to reality, whereas lowly ethnocentric individuals are more accepting of other cultural perspectives (Bennett, 1993, pp. 2-3). The highly ethnocentric group rated the non-standard accents less favorably than the standard accent on competence traits. Conversely, the lowly ethnocentric group evaluated all accents more favorably on social attractiveness and personal integrity than the highly ethnocentric group.

In spite of that, it has been proven by previous works that people tend to evaluate the speakers whom they perceive as representing their own speech community more favorably on solidarity traits, such as good looks and humor, than speakers with other accents (Giles, 1971). Fuertes et al. (2012) carried out a meta-analysis of 20 extant studies on language attitudes that used the matched-guise technique and found that standard accents are evaluated more positively across three dimensions — status, solidarity and dynamism — than non-standard accents. The authors had expected non-standard accents to be favored in terms of solidarity, but this was not the case.

A possible explanation put forward by the authors is that the participants in these studies were

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standard-accented speakers who awarded higher solidarity to the standard-accented guises due to in-group loyalty.

Foreign-accented varieties, in contrast to native varieties, in general receive lower ratings on both status and solidarity traits (Ryan et al., 1977; Fuertes et al., 2012; Giles & Watson, 2013; Dragojevic et al., 2017; Dragojevic & Goatley-Soan, 2020). A study conducted by Ryan et al. (1977), for instance, demonstrated by means of a verbal-guise test that the solidarity and status attributed to speakers diminished as their accentedness increased, and that Spanish-accented English was negatively stereotyped among native speakers of English.

Similarly, Dragojevic et al. (2017) employed the matched-guise technique to conduct two experiments with American participants to test whether heavy foreign-accented speakers would be rated more negatively than mild foreign-accented speakers on status and solidarity traits. The speakers were Punjabi-accented in the first study and Mandarin-accented in the second study. In both cases, the heavy-accented speaker was awarded less status than the mild-accented speaker, was deemed to be more prototypical of the corresponding group, disrupted participants' processing fluency, and elicited more negative affective reactions.

In a similar vein, Goatley-Soan and Baldwin (2018) employed the verbal-guise technique to investigate the language attitudes of American university students towards four South African English accents across three personality dimensions: superiority, attractiveness and dynamism. Participants also assessed the similarity of the speakers' accents to their own to determine possible in-group and out-group perceptions. As expected, results indicate that the American accent was rated higher on superiority and dynamism. Surprisingly, no significant differences emerged among accents in terms of attractiveness. It should be pointed out that this study was

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carried out to test whether there was a relationship between accent and hireability or attractiveness. However, this was not the case, and some positive aspects were perceived in connection with the different accents.

More recently, in a study conducted by Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020) on the language attitudes of Americans towards Standard American English (SAE) and nine foreign accents using the verbal-guise technique, the SAE accent was rated higher in both status and solidarity traits in comparison with all foreign accents, although some foreign varieties were rated better than others. This gave rise to an evaluative hierarchy in which speakers who were taken to belong to non-stigmatized foreign groups received higher status and solidarity ratings than those believed to be part of stigmatized groups.

Attitudes of L2 Speakers

As regards the attitudes of L2 speakers, studies concerning the English language have been carried out using different methods in different countries, such as the direct method in Argentina (see Friedrich, 2003), Spain (see González Ardeo, 2003; Mompeán González, 2004; Lasagabaster, 2005), and the Nordic countries (see Kristiansen, 2005), the indirect method in Austria (see Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997), Denmark (see Ladegaard, 1998), Spain (see Carrie, 2017), and the mixed-method in Brazil (see El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001), and the Nordic countries (see Kristiansen, 2010), among others.

Previous research on attitudes towards the English language in general has been conducted through direct methods of language attitudes elicitation, such as questionnaires and interviews. To the best of my knowledge, only one study of this kind has been carried out in Argentina.

Friedrich (2003) used a direct questionnaire to investigate the attitudes of 100 Argentinean MBA Moreau de Justo 1300. Puerto Madero. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires.
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students at a major university in Buenos Aires. Most respondents favored American English, some were indifferent, and only a minority preferred British English, unlike in other previous studies carried out in Europe (cf. Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Ladegaard, 1998; Mompeán González, 2004; Carrie, 2017). The author explains this preference based on the students' desire to learn English for employment purposes, in which case American English is considered to be more useful and more marketable.

Within Spain, studies using direct methods to elicit language attitudes have had positive results towards the English language in general. González Ardeo (2003) investigated the attitudes towards English and ESP acquisition of monolingual and bilingual university students from the Basque Country and found overall positive attitudes. Lasagabaster (2005) delved into the attitudes of undergraduate students not only towards English, but also towards Basque and Spanish, and confirmed the superiority of English over other foreign languages in the educational system of the Basque Country.

In the Nordic countries, Kristiansen (2005, 2010) carried out first a study by means of a direct method and subsequently extended his research by adopting a mixed-methods approach. In both cases, the researcher aimed to examine the attitudes towards the influence of English in seven Nordic linguistic communities: Denmark, Faeroe Islands, Finnish Finland, Swedish Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, by determining which communities were more “English-positive” and which were more “English-negative”. Kristiansen's (2005) study employed a direct questionnaire over the telephone and found that the attitudes towards English of each community were a reflection of their traditional language policies. All of them were found to award high status to the English language, explained by the researcher as occurring due to US dominance in

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world politics and economics. Then, Kristiansen (2010) extended his previous study by comparing consciously offered attitudes, obtained from a direct telephone interview similar to the one used in the previous project, with subconsciously offered attitudes, obtained from a matched-guise study. Results show that the attitudes of the communities towards English changed drastically at different levels of consciousness, but no convincing explanation of this phenomenon was found by the author. Still, Kristiansen (2010) serves to prove that a mixed-methods approach is recommended to yield more comprehensive results and find differences between implicit and explicit attitudes (Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019, p. 6).

As for studies carried out through indirect methods, most of them employ the matched-guise or the verbal-guise technique. As regards the attitudes of L2 speakers towards standard native varieties of their L2, Carrie (2017) conducted a verbal-guise study with Spanish university students towards RP and GA English, and she found that the former was awarded higher status while the latter was associated with higher solidarity. These results match those obtained in Stewart et al.'s (1985) study, in which American university undergraduates awarded higher status to RP English than to their own variety, even though the opposite occurred in the solidarity dimension. Despite that, it is worth noting that, since both male and female guises were included in the experiment, the gender of the speakers may have affected the results. Unsurprisingly, as in other studies, participants expressed greater solidarity towards the individuals they felt spoke more similarly to them (see Giles, 1971; Kircher & Zipp, 2022).

Just as L1 English speakers commonly rate standard native accents higher on status traits than non-standard native accents, so do L2 English speakers (Ladegaard, 1998). In an attempt to uncover the stereotypes held by foreign speakers about different native English varieties,

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Ladegaard (1998) conducted a study in which Danish secondary school and university students evaluated five native English varieties in a verbal-guise experiment: RP, Scottish, Cockney, Australian and Standard American English. Results were similar to those of previous studies conducted with native participants in the UK and the USA, and indicated that students perceived the RP speaker to represent the most prestigious variety. Findings show that, even when participants could not identify some of the accents in the study, they were still able to allocate the prevailing social stereotypes to the speakers, which could mean that stereotypes towards social groups are present whether people are consciously aware or not of the social connotations attached to a certain speech variety (Ladegaard, 1998, p. 269).

Similar studies have been carried out to investigate the language attitudes of L2 speakers towards both native and non-native varieties of their L2, with comparable results regarding the higher status of standard native varieties with respect to non-native — and therefore — non-standard ones (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001). Previous research has also uncovered that individuals in general evaluate their own variety — be it standard or non-standard — more positively in terms of solidarity than any out-group variety (Cargile & Giles, 1998; Giles & Marlow, 2011; Kircher & Zipp, 2022).

Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) examined the language attitudes of EFL Austrian university students towards three native and two non-native varieties of English with the verbal-guise technique and noted that native accents were evaluated as having a higher status than non-native accents, since participants reported preference for the native varieties, especially the variety they were most familiar with. What is more, the authors found a connection between accent preference and geographical proximity, as participants indicated RP English as their preferred model of

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pronunciation. However, they did not exhibit positive attitudes towards their own non-native variety of English, which contradicts previous findings.

In another study, El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) adopted a mixed-methods approach to investigate the language attitudes of Brazilian people towards native and non-native English and Portuguese varieties. They first used an indirect method, i.e., a verbal-guise test, and then a direct method, i.e., a comparative subjective vitality questionnaire, whereby participants were asked about their beliefs towards Portuguese and English and their speakers for the purpose of assessing the perceived vitality of a native majority language with respect to a dominant foreign language. In this project, half of the participants evaluated the English guises as having higher status, but the other half rated these guises more favorably in the solidarity dimension, which contradicted expectations.

When asked about their accent of preference, L2 English speakers participating in different studies around the globe usually agree on RP being the one they aim for, as RP speakers are mostly taken to represent the most prestigious English variety and, in most of the language attitudes studies examined herein, RP English is typically the highest rated in terms of status (see Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Ladegaard, 1998; Mompeán González, 2004; Carrie, 2017). In fact, in the study carried out by Mompeán González (2004) with first-year English Philology university students in Murcia, most participants expressed their desire to learn a British accent because they deemed the English pronunciation from England to be the purest given that that is where English originated.

In addition to examining language attitudes towards different varieties of English within a given context, some studies have also looked into the independent variables of gender or age to find

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whether they had an effect on people's attitudes (see Giles, 1970; Brown & Cichocki, 1995; Coupland & Bishop, 2007; McKenzie, 2010; McKenzie et al., 2015; Chien, 2018; Martens, 2020).

As for gender, previous research has shown that it has an effect on language attitudes, although not to a large extent. In general, female participants tend to be more positive than male participants when rating speakers in language attitudes studies (Brown & Cichocki, 1995, p. 47). For instance, in their study carried out by means of the verbal-guise technique to evaluate Thai university students' attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English, including US, UK, Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Thai English, McKenzie et al. (2015) uncovered that females generally had more positive attitudes than males towards the speech varieties on both competence and warmth traits. These results are in line with those obtained in previous studies carried out with L1 speakers in which females mostly produced more favorable evaluations than males (Giles, 1970; Coupland & Bishop, 2007).

In other studies, differences between rater gender are only found on some traits, e.g. competence, or towards certain accents, e.g. native/non-native. McKenzie (2010) used the verbal-guise technique to investigate Japanese university students' attitudes towards standard and non-standard, native and non-native English varieties, including US, UK and Japanese accents. The researcher found that, in terms of competence, female participants were significantly more favorable than males towards native English varieties, whereas male participants were more favorable than females towards non-native varieties. These results support those of previous research in which females were found to be more sensitive to prestige than males (Chien, 2018; Martens, 2020).

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As regards age, as far as I am concerned, no comparable studies with L2 speakers have been carried out in the past. Nonetheless, previous studies with L1 speakers have shown that younger informants usually assign lower ratings to standard accents than older informants, even though the opposite is true in the case of non-standard accents (Coupland & Bishop, 2007), and that older participants are more restrained when evaluating different varieties (Giles, 1970). Yet, in Giles' (1970) study of the language attitudes of British high school students, younger participants were less favorable towards the French accent but more favorable towards the American accent than older participants. The researcher speculated that these results could have been caused by the fact that the American accent is strongly associated with power, scientific and technological advancements, and the movie industry, which could have a stronger influence on younger rather than older participants.

Methodology

This section puts forward the methodology implemented, and includes information about the participants, the survey administered, the verbal-guise study, the speech stimuli and the procedure followed in the analysis.

Participants

A total of 155 people from Argentina and Spain participated in this study by responding an open online survey. One subject was excluded from the analysis for not having provided their consent, another subject was excluded for being underage, and two subjects were excluded for not being Argentinean nor Spanish. The sample was further cleaned and participants who appeared not to have paid attention to the instructions and the questions included in the survey were discarded as well. Since there were more responses by Argentinean people a randomized selection of the

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Argentinean participants was carried out to form two balanced groups of subjects. The final sample in this research project is thus made up by a group of 50 Argentinean participants and a group of 50 Spanish participants.

The 50 Argentinean participants are from different Provinces in Argentina (82% from Buenos Aires, 6% from Tucumán, 4% from Chubut, 4% from Córdoba, 2% from Mendoza and 2% from Río Negro), they range in age from 19 to 64 years (mean age = 39.5), and 25 are female and 25 are male. They also reported their own level of English as basic (A1-A2) (14%), intermediate (B1-B2) (20%), advanced (C1-C2) (56%), and native (10%).

The 50 Spanish participants are from different Autonomous Communities in Spain (44% from Comunidad de Madrid, 12% from Andalucía, 8% from País Vasco, 6% from Comunidad Valenciana, 6% from Extremadura, 4% from Canarias, 4% from Cantabria, 4% from Castilla y León, 4% from Principado de Asturias, 2% from Aragón, 2% from Castilla-La Mancha, 2% from Cataluña and 2% from Galicia), they range in age from 19 to 63 years (mean age = 34.5), and 31 are female and 19 are male. They also reported their own level of English as basic (A1-A2) (14%), intermediate (B1-B2) (30%), advanced (C1-C2) (48%), and native (8%).

Apart from this basic personal data, participants provided information about their experiences living abroad, indicating the country and length of their stay. Finally, they provided further details about their contact with the English language.

Data-gathering Instrument

Survey

In order to gather the data for this research project, an online survey was used (see Appendix A for the complete survey). First and foremost, a consent form was included to inform potential

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participants about the study and ask for their agreement to participate. Then, the survey was divided into different parts.

The first part was designed to gather personal data about participants so as to collect the demographic information needed to analyze a number of sociolinguistic variables which include *nationality* (Argentinean and Spanish), *gender* (female and male) and *age* (generation 1 and generation 2).

The second part of the survey was devoted to the speaker evaluation study, i.e., the verbal-guise study. Participants were given clear instructions about what they were expected to do: they listened to five speakers reading the same elicitation paragraph (see Appendix B) and rated each one on the same ten 6-point Likert scale questions. Likert scales were used in this survey because they can be completed fast and therefore elicit participants' first impressions. It should also be highlighted that each scale had six points so that there was no 'neutral' mid-point and participants were made to lean either way. Participants were then asked to identify the country of origin of each speaker. Separate sections were used for the speech stimulus of each speaker together with its corresponding questions so that participants could focus on one speaker at a time and were not tempted to answer the questions about other speakers before listening to the corresponding stimulus.

After the verbal-guise study, the third part of the survey presented seven direct questions about language attitudes towards native and non-native accents, once again using 6-point Likert scales. This was done as a way to obtain more nuanced insights about participants' language attitudes, by combining an indirect method, i.e., an experimental design in the form of a verbal-guise study, with a direct method, i.e., questions which ask respondents explicitly about their language

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attitudes. For the purpose of the analysis, these seven direct questions were placed in the following two groups: positive attitudes towards foreign accents (questions 1, 3 and 6) and negative attitudes towards foreign accents (questions 2, 4, 5 and 7).

The final part of the survey comprised questions about the participants' level of English, including a direct question about what they believed to be their level pursuant to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), their time spent learning the language, their education at a bilingual school or not, and any English exams or certificates they sat for or held. Lastly, participants were given the option of writing a free comment about their contact with the English language.

Online surveys were selected to carry out this research project because they allow for rapid, easy and cost-effective collection of data from a large number of respondents whose participation is not bound to place nor time (Zipp, 2022, p. 146). This was of particular interest taking into account the fact that the study was conducted in Madrid with participants living in different parts of both Argentina and Spain. Furthermore, this type of anonymous data gathering instrument is useful to avoid the social desirability bias and the acquiescence bias. On the contrary, disadvantages of using online surveys include the lack of control over participants' honesty in their answers and the conditions under which each participant responds. It should also be noted that it was not possible to create a stratified sample for this study and that the project depended on the participants who willingly decided to take part in the survey.

Verbal-guise Technique

As indicated above, this research project employed the verbal-guise technique, an indirect method of language attitudes elicitation which includes different language varieties recorded by

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different speakers, as opposed to the matched-guise technique, in which different language varieties are recorded by the same speaker (Garrett, 2010, p. 42). In this specific study, it is essential to have recordings by different speakers to ensure that all accents are properly represented, since the main objective is to measure participants' attitudes towards both native and non-native English varieties. Although it is true that hearing different speakers may affect participants' attitudes towards the different varieties of English, the speakers selected share similar demographic characteristics, which are detailed in the following subsection. Moreover, speakers' speech rate and pauses were kept as constant as possible by selecting audio recordings of similar duration so that the only relevant difference among speakers is their accent.

For the purpose of this study, five audio recordings were selected from the *Speech Accent Archive* (<http://accent.gmu.edu/>), a webpage which stores the same neutral, written text recorded in English by people from all over the world. The audios chosen were recorded by speakers from the UK, Bolivia, Spain, the USA and Argentina, and were presented in that order in the survey as Speaker 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, respectively. Participants were not given any information about the speakers' nationalities either before or during the project. It should be stated that due to software restrictions, the order of the audios in the survey could not be randomized. Because of this, all participants heard the recordings in the same order, which could have had order and practice effects on them, thus impacting the results obtained in the survey.

The verbal-guise study comprised first a question which included 6-point Likert scales, in which participants had to rate each speaker according to ten adjectives appearing in random order and belonging to two evaluative dimensions: status (*intelligent, well educated, successful, hard-*

working, ambitious) and solidarity (*friendly, generous, likeable, polite, honest*). Then, participants were asked to identify the country of origin of each speaker.

Speech Stimuli

All five speakers were male, ranging in age from 18 to 31 (mean age = 23.8), and were chosen given that they were deemed to accurately represent their variety. The personal and linguistic characteristics of each speaker are detailed below.

Speaker 1 (UK)² was born in Littlehampton, UK. His native language is English, acquired through naturalistic methods, and he speaks no other languages. At the time of recording, he was 27 years old. This speaker was selected as one of the two native guises given the prestige and status awarded to the RP accent worldwide, and also to test whether the variety of English taught in each country and geographical proximity—between the UK and Spain, and between the USA and Argentina—had an effect on participants’ language attitudes. Being from the UK, this speaker represents RP English. One of the most salient characteristics of this speaker’s variety in contrast to GA is rhoticity. Rhoticity is the distinction between the accents which have pre-pausal and pre-consonantal [r], i.e., those which are rhotic, like GA, and the accents which do not, i.e., those which are non-rhotic, like RP (Cruttenden, 2014, p. 237). This means that in RP, since postvocalic [r] occurs mostly only before vowels, diphthongs and long vowels such as [ɜ:] and [ɔ:] are used instead of GA [ɜ] and [ɔr] in words like *bird* and *store*, respectively. Some examples of this in the recording can be appreciated in the words *her*, *store*, *for* and *brother*.

² Recording available at: https://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=97

Another typical long vowel in RP English is [ɑ:], as in *ask* (cf. GA [æsk]). Lastly, a clear feature of RP English is the use of the vowel [ɒ] in LOT words such as *Bob*, *small* and *frog*.

Speaker 2 (Bolivia)³ was born in Cochabamba, Bolivia. His native language is Spanish, he started learning English academically at age 26, and he also speaks Quechua. At the time of recording, he was 31 years old, and had lived in the USA for nine years. This speaker was selected as one of the non-native guises in order to include a third variety unrelated to the participants in the study and evaluate if this had an effect on their attitudes. With respect to his accent, in spite of his somewhat long stay in an English-speaking country, there are several features which make his English sound Spanish-accented. First, an epenthetic vowel [e] is added in initial position in the following words: *Stella*, *spoons*, *snow*, *snake*, *scoop* and *station*. Second, in final position, target [z] is realized as voiceless [s], as in *please*, *these*, *things*, *peas*, *slabs*, *cheese*, *kids* and *bags*, target voiced obstruents are pronounced as voiceless, as in *of*, and target voiced stops are deleted, as in *five*. Third, target [θ] becomes [t], as in *things*, and target [ð] becomes [d], as in *these*. Fourth, the voiceless plosives [p, t, k] are not aspirated, as in *please*, *call*, *to*, *peas*, *plastic* and *toy*. Fifth, some long vowels are shortened, as in *please*, *call*, *these*, *peas* and *cheese*. Sixth, the glottal fricative is changed for a velar fricative in the word *her*. Finally, a voiced alveolar tap is used in *her*, *store*, *for*, *brother*, *three* and *red*.

Speaker 3 (Spain)⁴ was born in Burgos, Spain. His native language is Spanish, he started learning English academically at age 6, and he also speaks French, German, Swedish and Esperanto. At

³ Recording available at: https://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=1575

⁴ Recording available at: https://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=341#

the time of recording, he was 18 years old, and he had never lived in an English-speaking country. This speaker was selected as one of the non-native guises to investigate whether the Spanish people who took part in the study would feel identified with him and if this could be reflected in their attitudes. Regarding his accent, the features that make his English sound Spanish-accented are the following. First, an epenthetic vowel [e] is added in initial position in the words *Stella*, *spoons*, *slabs* and *snake*. Second, in final position, target [z] is pronounced as voiceless [s], as in *these*, *things*, *peas*, *slabs*, *cheese* and *kids*. Third, the voiceless plosives [p, t, k] are not aspirated, as in *please*, *call*, *to*, *peas*, *plastic* and *toy*. Fourth, some long vowels are shortened, as in *call*, *these*, *peas*, *cheese* and *Bob*. Fifth, the glottal fricative is changed for a velar fricative in the word *her*. Finally, a voiced alveolar tap is used in *her*, *bring* and *store*. Speaker 4 (USA)⁵ was born in West Covina, California, USA. His native language is English, acquired through naturalistic methods, and he speaks no other languages. At the time of recording, he was 20 years old. This speaker represents GA English and he was selected as the second native guise bearing in mind the widespread use and pervasiveness of American English in the media and the audiovisual industry across the globe. As stated above, the GA accent is rhotic, which means that apart from occurring before vowels, [r] also occurs before consonants and pauses. Examples of rhoticity in this recording can be found in the words *her*, *store*, *for* and *brother*. Unlike RP, GA does not have the BATH-TRAP split and thus BATH words are realized with [æ], as in *ask*. Lastly, a clear feature of GA is the use of the unrounded vowel [ɑ] in LOT words such as *Bob*, *small* and *frog*.

⁵ Recording available at: https://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=134

Speaker 5 (Argentina)⁶ was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina. His native language is Spanish, he started learning English academically at age 4, and he also speaks French. At the time of recording, he was 23 years old, and he had never lived in an English-speaking country. Like the speaker from Spain, this speaker was selected as one of the non-native guises to investigate whether the Argentinean people who took part in the study would feel identified with him and if this could be reflected in their attitudes. Regarding his accent, the following features make his English sound Spanish-accented. First, in final position, target [z] becomes voiceless [s], as in *please, these, things, slabs, cheese, kids* and *bags*. Second, the voiceless plosives [p, k] are not aspirated, as in *please, call, peas* and *plastic*. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that, unlike the speakers from Bolivia and Spain, this speaker does aspirate the voiceless plosive [t]. Third, some long vowels are shortened, as in *please, call, these, cheese* and *Bob*. Fourth, a voiced alveolar tap is used in *three*. Finally, unlike the speakers from Bolivia and Spain, this speaker does not add an epenthetic vowel [e] in word-initial position.

Procedure

Participants were asked to complete an online survey administered via Google Forms from June 12, 2023 to July 14, 2023. Before being launched, the survey was first piloted with a group of applied linguists and modified accordingly. It was then piloted again with a sample of Argentinean people (n = 50) and further adjusted. After piloting, some of the audio recordings and traits were changed, and direct questions were added.

⁶ Recording available at: https://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=1400

Once all the data had been gathered, it was analyzed quantitatively. To do so, responses were cleaned and participants were appropriately filtered and discarded. The remaining participants were classified into different groups considering the following demographic characteristics: nationality, gender and age. Unfortunately, due to time and scope constraints of the project, the independent variables of level of studies, level of English and living abroad, which were collected in the survey and were initially going to be included in the analysis, had to be discarded.

To test the independent variable of nationality, participants were placed in two groups based on their country of origin: Argentinean and Spanish. Each of these groups was made up by 50 participants. It should be mentioned that the small number of participants did not allow for gender and age subgroups to be created within each nationality. Therefore, the groups created to study gender and age include both Argentineans and Spaniards. To test the independent variable of gender, participants were divided into two groups: female and male. The female group was made up by 56 participants, while the male group was made up by 44. To test the independent variable of age, it would have been ideal to create several groups according to the different generations, but this was once again not possible because of the small number of participants who responded the survey. For this reason, only two groups were created: one for participants up to 35 years old and another one for participants over 35 years old. The first of these groups was made up by 61 participants, ranging in age from 19 to 35 (mean age = 26.3). The second group was made up by 39 participants, ranging in age from 39 to 64 (mean age = 53.6).

Mean ratings and standard deviations were calculated, and with the use of Jamovi (version 2.3.26)⁷, one-way repeated measures ANOVAs of the solidarity and status awarded to each of the five speakers (dependent variable, DV) were conducted taking into account the following independent variables (IV): nationality, gender and age. Attitudes towards solidarity, on the one hand, and status, on the other hand, were calculated with the mean ratings obtained from the five adjectives included in each dimension, namely: *friendly*, *generous*, *likeable*, *polite* and *honest* (for solidarity) and *intelligent*, *well educated*, *successful*, *hard-working* and *ambitious* (for status).

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to compare the means of two or more distinct groups so as to find significant differences between them. Results provide first an overall statistic, known as the *F*-ratio (*F*), the *p*-value (significant at $p < .05$), and the effect size, given as eta squared (η^2_p), where 0.01 represents a small effect size, 0.06 represents a moderate effect size, and 0.14 represents a large effect size. Prior to the analysis, Mauchly's test of sphericity was conducted with the purpose of examining the equality of the variances between all combinations of related groups, and results indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated in all cases ($p < .05$). Thus, as $\epsilon > .75$ in each case, all degrees of freedom were adjusted by means of the Huynh-Feldt correction. Subsequently, post-hoc pairwise comparisons were carried out using the Bonferroni correction to find out which groups were the ones that presented significant differences. The results of this statistical analysis are presented in section 5 below.

⁷ Computer program used to perform data analysis and statistical tests, especially ANOVA (analysis of variance).

Analysis and Discussion of Results

The results obtained in the statistical analysis conducted in this research project are organized in accordance with the independent variables under study and explained below in the corresponding three subsections: nationality, gender and age. Additionally, there is one last section in which the results of the direct questions are presented and contrasted with those obtained in the verbal-guise study.

Language Attitudes by Nationality

Table 1 presents the mean ratings (and standard deviations) of the solidarity and status dimensions of the five speakers according to the nationality of the participants.

Table 1. Mean ratings (and standard deviations) by nationality

	Accent									
	Argentinean					Spanish				
	USA	UK	Arg.	Bolivia	Spain	USA	UK	Arg.	Bolivia	Spain
Solidarity	4.05	4.30	3.88	4.21	3.81	4.15	4.00	3.84	3.81	3.58
	(1.27)	(1.34)	(1.14)	(1.14)	(1.18)	(1.15)	(1.32)	(1.13)	(1.26)	(1.13)
Status	4.35	4.00	3.50	3.55	3.41	4.22	3.94	3.34	3.43	3.18
	(1.21)	(1.43)	(1.08)	(1.19)	(1.15)	(1.16)	(1.33)	(1.08)	(1.19)	(1.05)

As regards solidarity, among Argentinean participants, the speaker from the UK received the highest rating ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.34$), followed by the speaker from Bolivia ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.14$), then the USA ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.27$), Argentina ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.14$), and Spain ($M =$

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3.81, $SD = 1.18$). Among Spanish participants, the highest rated was the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.15$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.32$), then Argentina ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.13$), Bolivia ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.26$), and Spain ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 1.13$). See Figure 1 for estimated marginal means.

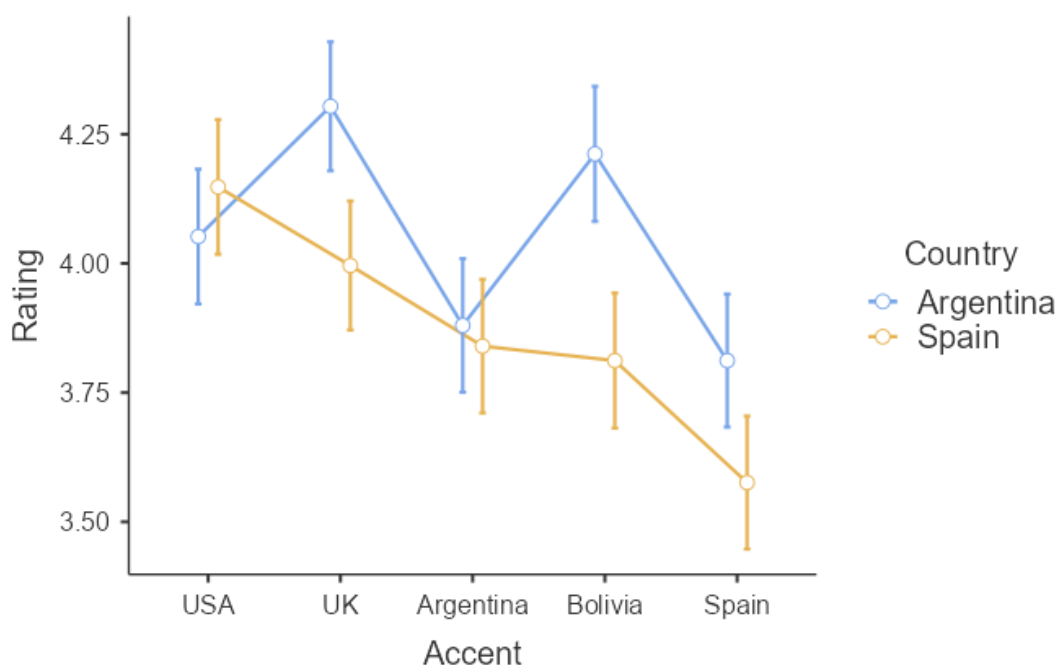


Figure 1. Estimated marginal means of the solidarity dimension by nationality A one-

way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean ratings of the solidarity dimension of each speaker (DV) according to the nationality of the participants (IV). Results of Mauchly's test indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $W = 0.828$, $p = 0.033$, $HFe = 0.948$. At first sight, results of the ANOVA show that the variation across speakers according to participants' nationality is not statistically significant, $F(3.79, 371.58) = 2.08$, $p = 0.087$, $\eta^2_p = 0.021$. Upon closer inspection, however, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction reveal that there are, in fact, statistically significant differences between

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the ratings awarded by Spanish participants to the speaker from the USA and the speaker from Spain ($t = 4.114, p = 0.004$), the ratings awarded by Argentinean participants to the speaker from the UK and those awarded by Spanish participants to the speaker from Spain ($t = 4.062, p = 0.004$), and the ratings awarded by Argentinean participants to the speaker from Bolivia and those awarded by Spanish participants to the speaker from Spain ($t = 3.468, p = 0.035$). No other significant differences were found.

On the other hand, regarding status, Argentinean participants rated more positively the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.35, SD = 1.21$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.00, SD = 1.43$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.55, SD = 1.19$), Argentina ($M = 3.50, SD = 1.08$), and Spain ($M = 3.41, SD = 1.15$). Among Spanish participants, the same hierarchy emerged, where the most positively rated was the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.22, SD = 1.16$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 3.94, SD = 1.33$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.43, SD = 1.19$), Argentina ($M = 3.34, SD = 1.08$), and Spain ($M = 3.18, SD = 1.05$). See Figure 2 for estimated marginal means.

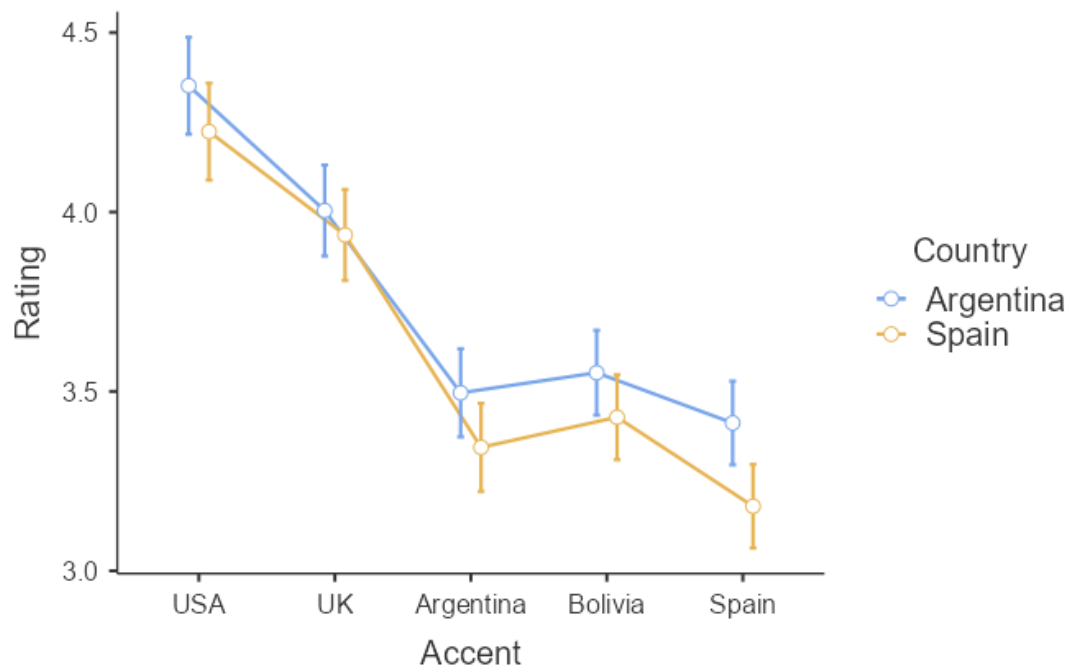


Figure 2. Estimated marginal means of the status dimension by nationality

A one-

way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean ratings of the status dimension of each speaker (DV) according to the nationality of the participants (IV). Results of Mauchly's test indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $W = 0.591$, $p < .001$, $HFe = 0.792$. At first sight, results of the ANOVA show that the variation across speakers according to participants' nationality is not statistically significant, $F(3.17, 310.57) = 0.195$, $p = 0.908$, $\eta^2_p = 0.002$. Upon closer inspection, once again, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction reveal that there are several statistically significant differences across groups. As for the ratings given by the Argentineans to the speaker from the USA, there are statistically significant differences with respect to those given by both groups to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 5.6457$, $p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 5.1986$, $p < .001$) and Spain ($t = 6.4608$, $p < .001$), as rated by the Argentineans, and Argentina ($t = 5.5213$, $p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 5.1460$, $p < .001$)

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and Spain ($t = 6.5687, p < .001$), as rated by the Spaniards. The same occurs between the ratings given by the Spaniards to the speaker from the USA with respect to those given by both groups to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 3.9876, p = 0.006$), Bolivia ($t = 3.7425, p = 0.014$) and Spain ($t = 4.5510, p < .001$), as rated by the Argentineans, and Argentina ($t = 5.8040, p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 5.1726, p < .001$) and Spain ($t = 7.1756, p < .001$), as rated by the Spaniards. Regarding the ratings given by the Argentineans to the speaker from the UK, there are statistically significant differences with respect to those awarded to the speaker from Argentina by the Spaniards ($t = 3.7392, p = 0.014$), and the speaker from Spain by the Argentineans ($t = 4.3931, p = 0.001$) and the Spaniards ($t = 4.7847, p < .001$). Similarly, the ratings given by the Spaniards to the speaker from the UK differ significantly from those given by the same group to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 3.7590, p = 0.013$), Bolivia ($t = 3.5113, p = 0.030$) and Spain ($t = 5.6101, p < .001$). No other significant differences were found.

When asked to state where they thought the speakers were from in the survey, 36 out of the 50 (72%) Argentinean participants and 44 out of the 50 (88%) Spanish participants correctly identified the country of origin of the speaker from the UK, with 46 (92%) Argentineans and 49 (98%) Spaniards recognizing him as native, even if they were not able to provide the correct country. Answers were similar for the speaker from the USA, correctly identified as American by 35 (70%) Argentineans and 28 (56%) Spaniards, and recognized as native by 47 (94%) Argentineans and Spaniards. As regards the non-native guises, all three were recognized as such by almost all participants: the speaker from Argentina by 49 (98%) Argentineans and 45 (90%) Spaniards, the speaker from Bolivia by 48 (96%) Argentineans and 47 (94%) Spaniards, and the speaker from Spain by 49 (98%) Argentineans and 48 (96%) Spaniards. This time, participants

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had more difficulty identifying the countries of origin. Half of the Argentinean participants identified the Argentinean speaker as such, whereas only 6 (12%) Spaniards did so. No participants correctly identified the country of origin of the speaker from Bolivia, but he was largely believed to be Latin American. Lastly, 27 (54%) Argentineans and 44 (88%) Spaniards were able to identify the country of origin of the speaker from Spain.

In sum, both groups of participants had relatively little difficulty in recognizing the native from the non-native guises, with an efficacy of 90% or more in all cases. Participants did have more trouble identifying the countries of the speakers, especially in the case of the non-native guises, even though the origin of the native guises was correctly stated by over half of the participants in each group. It seems that the nationality of the participants did have an effect on speaker identification, as both groups of participants were able to identify the speaker of their in-group, i.e. the Argentinean and the Spaniard, respectively, to a higher degree than the other group.

On average, Argentinean participants gave higher ratings than Spanish participants to all speakers in both dimensions, except for the speaker from the USA on solidarity traits. Native guises received the most positive solidarity ratings, while non-native guises received the most negative solidarity ratings, except for the speaker from Bolivia, who was evaluated as positively as the two native guises on solidarity traits among Argentinean participants. Regarding status, in both groups of participants, both native guises received notably higher ratings than the three non-native guises, with the speaker from the USA being the most positively rated and the speaker from Spain being the most negatively rated in this dimension.

The findings of the statistical analysis confirm H1 since both native accents are among the highest rated in both dimensions. In terms of solidarity, Argentineans gave the most positive

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evaluation to the speaker from the UK and Spaniards awarded the highest rating to the speaker from the USA. Previous studies in which native English guises received high solidarity ratings include those conducted by El-Dash and Busnardo (2001), Carrie (2017) and Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020). As for status, among both groups of participants, the speaker from the USA was rated in the first place, followed by the speaker from the UK. In this dimension, as expected, all three non-native accents are the lowest rated among both groups, the speaker from Spain with the most negative rating, followed by the speaker from Argentina and then Bolivia. These findings are consistent with those obtained by Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) and Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020), in whose studies non-native accents also received more negative solidarity and status evaluations than native accents.

Unexpectedly, results reject H2 and contradict those obtained by Cargile and Giles (1998), Giles and Marlow (2011), and Kircher and Zipp (2022), as participants did not rate their own variety more positively in the dimension of solidarity than the out-group varieties. As indicated above, the speaker from Argentina was the second lowest rated among the Argentineans and the speaker from Spain was the lowest rated among the Spaniards. Nonetheless, these findings are in agreement with those obtained by Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), whose participants did not exhibit positive attitudes towards their own non-native variety of English. Besides, in this dimension, all three non-native accents were the lowest rated among the Spaniards, although this was the case only with respect to the speakers from Argentina and Spain among the Argentineans.

Surprisingly, the Argentineans awarded the second highest solidarity rating to the speaker from Bolivia, who surpassed the speaker from the USA in said group. A possible explanation for this could be that his evaluation was influenced by the preceding guise, i.e., the one from the UK,

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since he was the second guise and the first non-native guise to appear in the study. However, this does not account for the lower ratings given to him by the Spanish participants. Speaker identification also does not account for this difference across groups in the solidarity ratings of the speaker from Bolivia, given that the vast majority of the participants deemed him to be Latin American and a non-native speaker, like the speakers from Argentina and Spain. These findings could be due to the small number of people who took part in the survey, which means that results are unfortunately not generalizable and further research should be carried out to find whether L2 speakers do feel more solidarity towards other L2 speakers or not.

Finally, H3 is partially confirmed by the results obtained in the analysis. As regards solidarity, H3 is rejected, because Argentinean participants exhibited preference for the speaker from the UK, and Spanish participants did so with respect to the speaker from the USA. These findings contradict Friedrich (2003) and Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), according to whose studies results should have shown more solidarity by Argentinean participants towards the speaker from the USA and more solidarity by Spanish participants towards the speaker from the UK, taking into consideration geographical proximity. It could be that these specific Argentinean participants had more contact with British than American English and vice versa in the case of the Spanish participants. Despite that, these results match those obtained by Carrie (2017) in her study, in which Spanish university students awarded higher solidarity to the speaker from the USA when evaluating RP and GA English guises. Regarding status, H3 is partially confirmed by the results, as both groups of participants exhibited preference for the speaker from the USA, followed by the speaker from the UK. While these results were expected for Argentinean participants, Spanish participants were expected to favor RP English. In this case, findings contradict those

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obtained by Carrie (2017), in whose study RP English was preferred over GA English by Spanish university students in the status dimension. This change in preference could be a consequence of the widespread use of online platforms over the last years and the consumption of audiovisual content in its original version, mostly dominated by GA English. In spite of that, as both native guises represent standard accents in contrast to the non-native guises, results are in line with Fuertes et al. (2012), pursuant to whom standard accents usually receive overall higher ratings than non-standard accents.

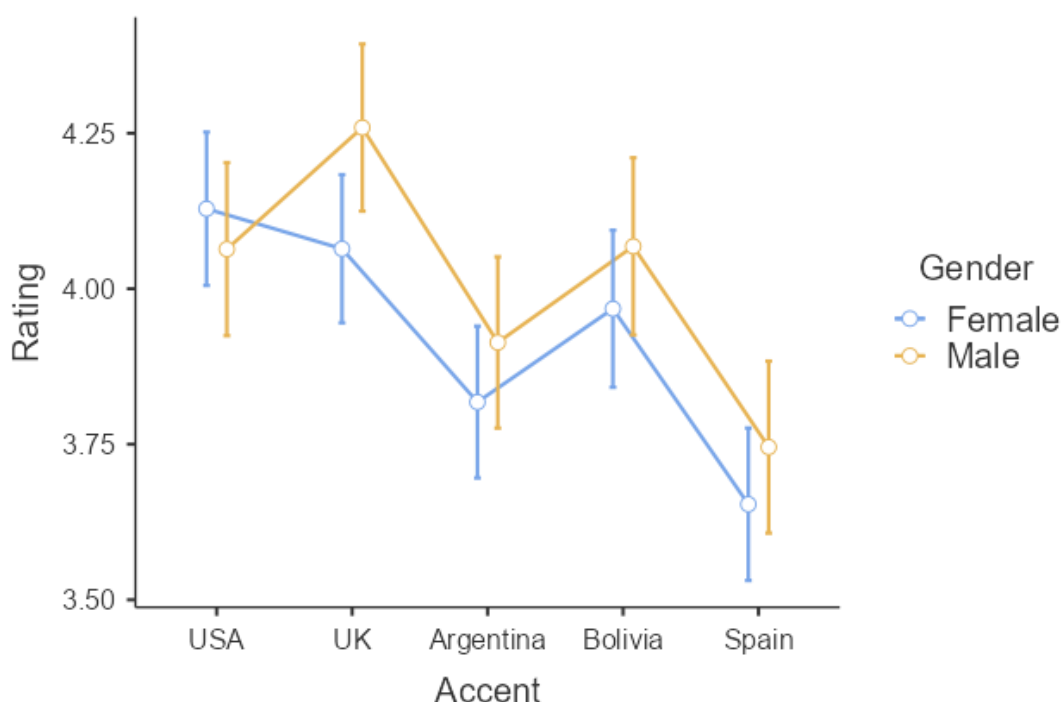
Language Attitudes by Gender

Table 2 presents the mean ratings (and standard deviations) of the solidarity and status dimensions of the five speakers according to the gender of the participants. Once again, it should be clarified that the female and male groups are made up by both Argentinean and Spanish participants.

Table 2. Mean ratings (and standard deviations) by gender

Accent										
	Female					Male				
	USA	UK	Arg.	Bolivia	Spain	USA	UK	Arg.	Bolivia	Spain
Solidarity	4.13	4.06	3.82	3.97	3.65	4.06	4.26	3.91	4.07	3.75
	(1.25)	(1.39)	(1.16)	(1.27)	(1.21)	(1.16)	(1.27)	(1.09)	(1.15)	(1.09)
Status	4.40	3.91	3.30	3.38	3.16	4.15	4.05	3.57	3.63	3.47
	(1.26)	(1.43)	(1.16)	(1.24)	(1.17)	(1.07)	(1.32)	(0.97)	(1.11)	(0.99)

In terms of solidarity, female participants awarded the highest rating to the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.25$), then the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.39$), Bolivia ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.27$), Argentina ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.16$), and Spain ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.21$). Male participants gave the highest rating to the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 1.27$), then the speaker from Bolivia ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.15$), the USA ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.16$), Argentina ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.09$), and Spain ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.09$). See Figure 3 for estimated marginal means.



A one- *Figure 3. Estimated marginal means of the solidarity dimension by gender*
 way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean ratings of the solidarity dimension of each speaker (DV) according to the gender of the participants (IV). Results of Mauchly's test indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $W = 0.827$, $p = 0.031$, $HFe = 0.948$. At first sight, results of the ANOVA show that the variation across speakers according to participants' gender is not statistically significant, $F(3.79, 371.60) = 0.430$, $p =$

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0.777, $\eta^2_p = 0.004$. Nevertheless, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction reveal that there is a statistically significant difference between the ratings awarded by the female participants to the speaker from the USA and the speaker from Spain ($t = 3.57524$, $p = 0.025$). No other significant differences were found.

As regards status, among female participants, the speaker from the USA was the most positively rated ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.26$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.43$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.24$), Argentina ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.16$) and Spain ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.17$). Among male participants, the same hierarchy emerged, in which the most positive status rating was given to the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.07$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.32$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.11$), Argentina ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 0.97$) and Spain ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 0.99$). See Figure 4 for estimated marginal means.

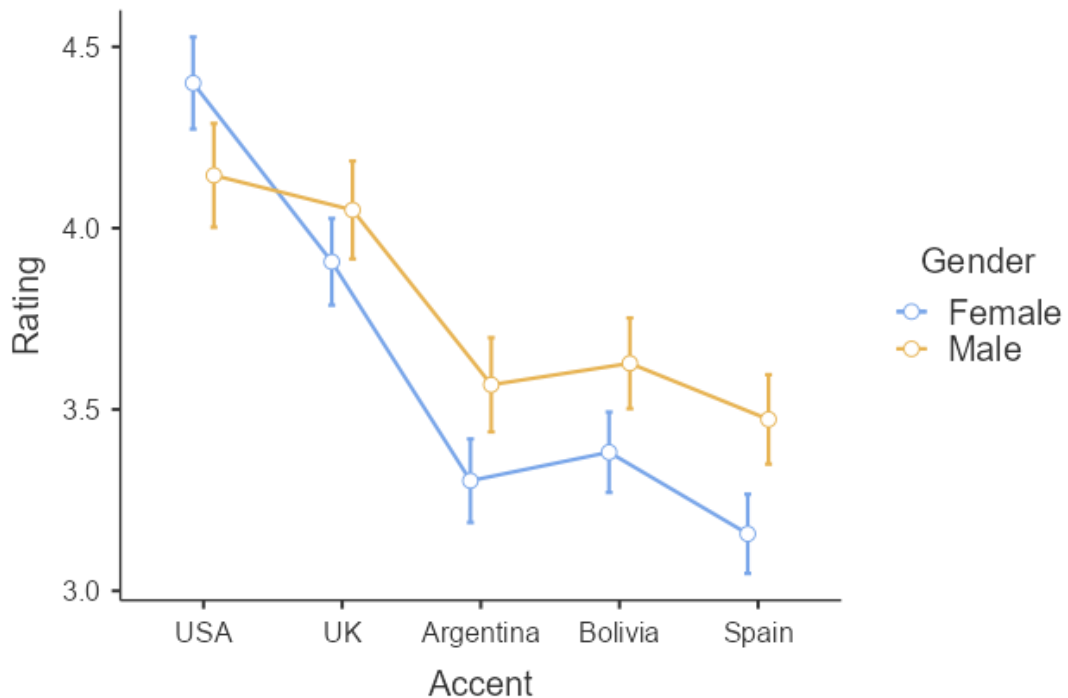


Figure 4. Estimated marginal means of the status dimension by gender

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A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean ratings of the status dimension of each speaker (DV) according to the gender of the participants (IV). Results of Mauchly's test indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $W = 0.604$, $p < .001$, $HFe = 0.799$. Results of the ANOVA show that the variation across speakers according to participants' gender is statistically significant, $F(3.20, 313.30) = 2.97$, $p = 0.029$, $\eta^2_p = 0.029$. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction reveal that there are many statistically significant differences across groups. As for the ratings given by the female participants to the speaker from the USA, there are statistically significant differences with respect to those given by the same group to the speaker from the UK ($t = 4.571$, $p < .001$) and those given by both groups to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 7.889$, $p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 7.193$, $p < .001$) and Spain ($t = 9.398$, $p < .001$), as rated by the female participants, and Argentina ($t = 4.583$, $p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 4.339$, $p = 0.002$) and Spain ($t = 5.245$, $p < .001$), as rated by the male participants. Something similar occurs between the ratings given by the male participants to the speaker from the USA with respect to those given by both groups to the three non-native guises, except for Bolivia in the case of the male participants: Argentina ($t = 4.585$, $p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 4.217$, $p = 0.002$) and Spain ($t = 5.491$, $p < .001$), as rated by the female participants, and Argentina ($t = 3.682$, $p = 0.017$) and Spain ($t = 4.509$, $p < .001$), as rated by the male participants. As for the ratings given by the female participants to the speaker from the UK, there are statistically significant differences with respect to those awarded by the same group to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 4.059$, $p = 0.004$), Bolivia ($t = 3.844$, $p = 0.010$) and Spain ($t = 5.892$, $p < .001$). Similarly, the ratings given by the male participants to the speaker from the UK differ significantly from those given by the female participants to the three

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non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 4.210$, $p = 0.003$), Bolivia ($t = 3.826$, $p = 0.010$) and Spain ($t = 5.146$, $p < .001$), as well as those awarded by the male participants to the speaker from Spain ($t = 4.020$, $p = 0.005$). No other significant differences were found.

As regards speaker identification, 46 out of the 56 (82.14%) female participants and 34 out of the 44 (77.27%) male participants were able to identify the country of origin of the speaker from the UK, and 55 (98.21%) females and 40 (90.91%) males recognized him as native. The rate of correct identification of the speaker from the USA was a bit lower, with 33 (58.93%) female participants and 30 (68.18%) male participants indicating the correct country, and 52 (92.86%) females and 42 (95.45%) males recognizing him as native. Regarding the non-native guises, once again, all of them were recognized as such by the vast majority of participants: the speaker from Argentina by 52 (92.86%) females and 42 (95.45%) males, the speaker from Bolivia by 54 (96.43%) females and 41 (93.18%) males, and the speaker from Spain by 54 (96.43%) females and 43 (97.73%) males. Participants had more difficulty identifying the countries of origin, except in the case of the speaker from Spain. The country of origin of the speaker from Argentina was correctly identified by 19 (33.93%) females and 12 (27.27%) males. As mentioned in the nationality subsection, none of the participants was able to identify the country of origin of the speaker from Bolivia, but he was mostly deemed to be Latin American. Lastly, 42 (75%) females and 29 (65.91%) males identified the speaker from Spain as such.

All in all, both females and males had little difficulty in identifying the native from the non-native guises, with an efficacy of 90% or more in all cases. While it is true that participants did have more trouble recognizing the countries of origin of the speakers, well over 50% was able to correctly state the origin of the speakers from the UK, the USA and Spain. However, efficacy

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with respect to the speaker from Argentina was quite low, at around 30%, whereas Bolivia was not reported by any participants as the origin of speaker 2.

Male participants on average awarded higher ratings than female participants to all speakers in both dimensions, except for the speaker from the USA. Both native guises received the most positive solidarity ratings among both groups of participants, together with the speaker from Bolivia, who was the second highest rated among the male participants, surpassing the speaker from the USA. The remaining non-native guises, i.e. Argentina and Spain, received more negative ratings. Once again and as expected, on status traits, both native guises received more positive evaluations than the three non-native guises among both groups of participants.

Findings confirm H1 given that both native accents were among the most positively rated in both dimensions, in line with Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), El-Dash and Busnardo (2001), Carrie (2017) and Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020). As for solidarity, the speaker from the USA was preferred among females and the speaker from the UK was preferred among males. In terms of status, both groups of participants favored the US speaker, followed by the UK speaker.

Interestingly, the speaker from Bolivia received more positive ratings than the other two non-native guises, and was even the second highest rated on solidarity traits among males. This also happened among Argentinean participants, and the same explanation offered in the above subsection could be applied in this case. Nonetheless, on status traits, both native guises were rated notably higher than the three non-native guises.

Conversely, H4 is almost completely rejected by the results, since male participants were more positive than female participants in their evaluations of all speakers in both dimensions, except for the speaker from the USA, which once again could be due to the small number of participants

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in the study. Thus, these findings contradict those obtained by Giles (1970), Brown and Cichocki (1995), Coupland and Bishop (2007) and McKenzie et al. (2015). As regards status, it is interesting that female participants awarded such high ratings to the speaker from the USA that significant differences emerged not only with respect to the three non-native guises, but with respect to the speaker from the UK as well. If female participants had given the speaker from the UK a more positive evaluation, these results would have been entirely in accordance with those obtained by McKenzie (2010), Chien (2018) and Martens (2020), pursuant to whom females are more favorable towards native varieties whereas males are more favorable towards non-native varieties. It should be noted that, even if the gender of the participants did not create much variation across speakers in terms of solidarity, it did cause statistically significant results in the status ANOVA, leading to many differences across speakers.

Language Attitudes by Age

Below, Table 3 presents the mean ratings (and standard deviations) of the solidarity and status dimensions of the five speakers according to the age of the participants. Once again, it should be clarified that the Gen1 and Gen2 groups are made up by both Argentinean and Spanish participants.

Table 3. Mean ratings (and standard deviations) by age

	Accent									
	Generation 1					Generation 2				
	USA	UK	Arg.	Bolivia	Spain	USA	UK	Arg.	Bolivia	Spain
Solidarity	4.13	4.17	3.85	4.07	3.67	4.05	4.11	3.87	3.93	3.74

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	(1.17)	(1.30)	(1.13)	(1.12)	(1.13)	(1.26)	(1.40)	(1.14)	(1.35)	(1.20)
Status	4.39	3.93	3.51	3.59	3.43	4.13	4.04	3.28	3.34	3.09
	(1.05)	(1.31)	(1.05)	(1.12)	(1.10)	(1.36)	(1.48)	(1.12)	(1.28)	(1.09)

Regarding solidarity traits, among Gen1 participants, the most positive evaluation was given to the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.30$), closely followed by the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.17$), Bolivia ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.12$), then Argentina ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.13$), and Spain ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.13$). Among Gen2 participants, the same hierarchy emerged, in which the most positive solidarity rating was given to the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.40$), closely followed by the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.26$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.35$), Argentina ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.14$), and Spain ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.20$). See Figure 5 for estimated marginal means.

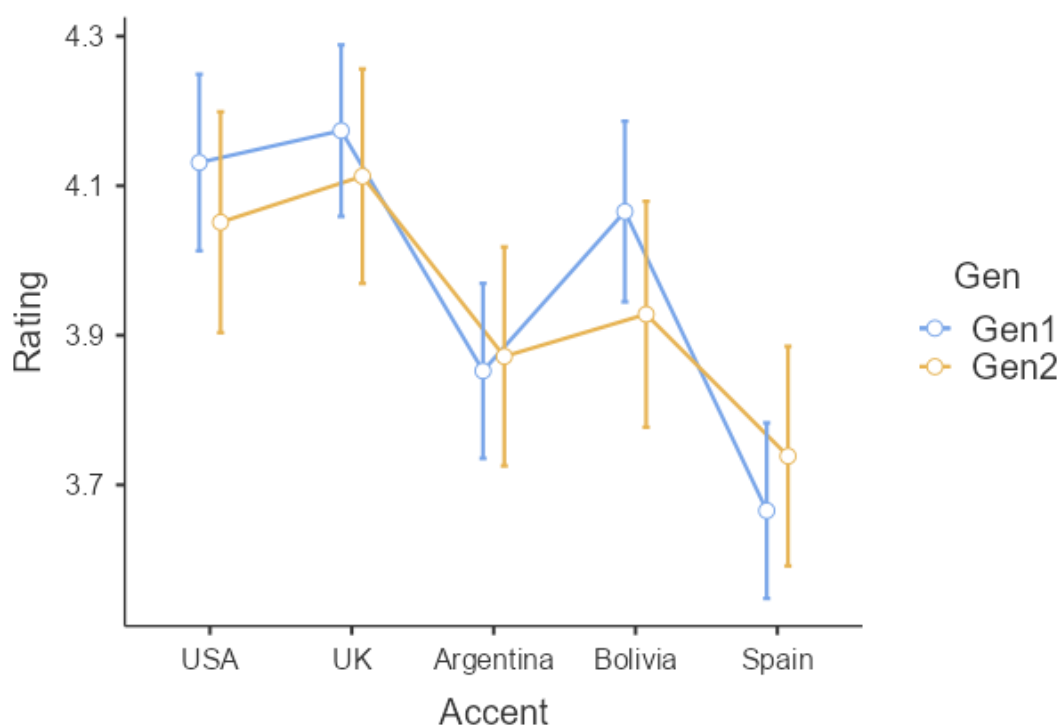


Figure 5. Estimated marginal means of the solidarity dimension by age

A one-way

repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean ratings of the solidarity dimension of each speaker (DV) according to the age of the participants (IV). Results of Mauchly's test indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $W = 0.830$, $p = 0.035$, $HFe = 0.949$. At first sight, results of the ANOVA show that the variation across speakers according to participants' age is not statistically significant, $F(3.80, 372.10) = 0.329$, $p = 0.849$, $\eta^2_p = 0.003$. However, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction reveal that there are statistically significant differences between the ratings awarded by Gen1 participants to the speaker from the USA and the speaker from Spain ($t = 3.6564$, $p = 0.019$) and the ratings awarded by Gen1 participants to the speaker from the UK and the speaker from Spain ($t = 3.7954$, $p = 0.011$). No other significant differences were found.

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As for status traits, Gen1 participants awarded the highest rating to the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.05$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.31$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.12$), Argentina ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.05$) and Spain ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.10$). Among Gen2 participants, the same hierarchy emerged, in which the highest solidarity rating was awarded to the speaker from the USA ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.36$), followed by the speaker from the UK ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.48$), then Bolivia ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.28$), Argentina ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.12$) and Spain ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.09$). See Figure 6 for estimated marginal means.

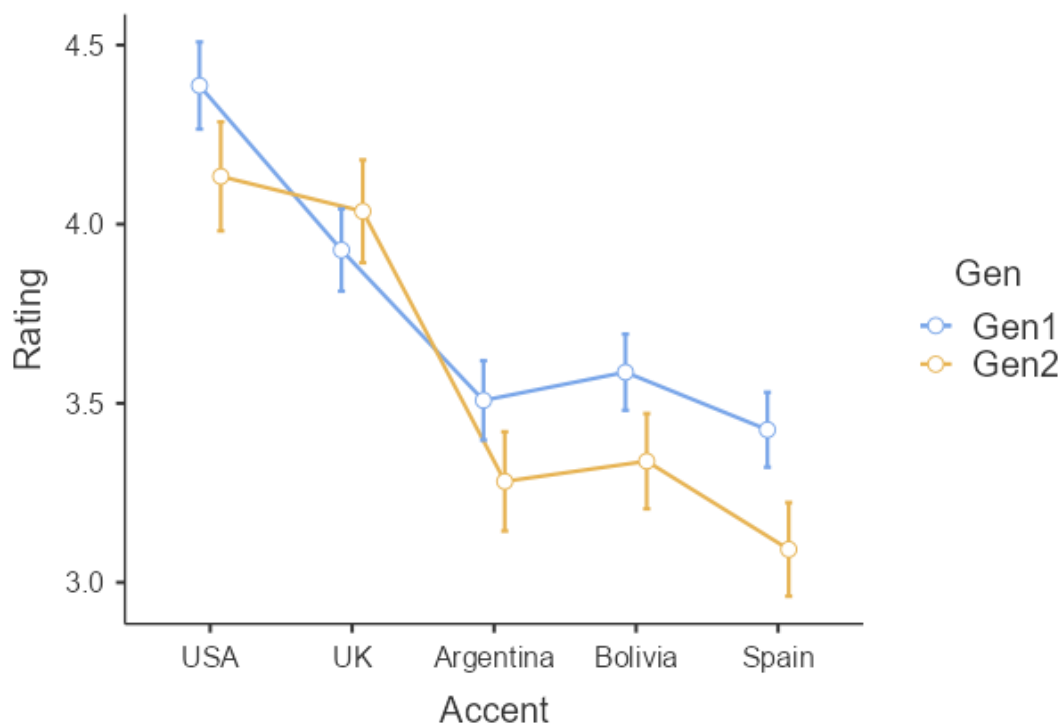


Figure 6. Estimated marginal means of the status dimension by age

A one-way

repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean ratings of the status dimension of each speaker (DV) according to the age of the participants (IV). Results of Mauchly's test indicate that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $W = 0.582$, $p < .001$, $HFe = 0.788$. At

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first sight, results of the ANOVA show that the variation across speakers according to participants' age is not statistically significant, $F(3.15, 308.78) = 1.57, p = 0.194, \eta^2_p = 0.016$. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction reveal that there are many statistically significant differences across groups. As regards the ratings given by Gen1 participants to the speaker from the USA, there are statistically significant differences with respect to those given by the same group to the speaker from the UK ($t = 4.416, p = 0.001$) and those given by both groups to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 6.401, p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 5.742, p < .001$) and Spain ($t = 7.289, p < .001$), as rated by Gen1 participants, and Argentina ($t = 5.998, p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 5.823, p < .001$) and Spain ($t = 7.255, p < .001$), as rated by Gen2 participants. Something similar occurs between the ratings given by the Gen2 participants to the speaker from the USA with respect to those given by the same group to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 4.959, p < .001$), Bolivia ($t = 4.562, p < .001$) and Spain ($t = 6.316, p < .001$), and those given by Gen1 participants to the speaker from Spain ($t = 3.833, p = 0.010$). Regarding the ratings given by Gen1 participants to the speaker from the UK, there are statistically significant differences with respect to those awarded by the same group to the speaker from Spain ($t = 4.207, p = 0.003$) and those given by Gen2 participants to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 3.593, p = 0.023$), Bolivia ($t = 3.358, p = 0.050$) and Spain ($t = 4.807, p < .001$). Similarly, the ratings given by Gen2 participants to the speaker from the UK differ significantly from those given by the same group to the three non-native guises: Argentina ($t = 4.271, p = 0.002$), Bolivia ($t = 4.320, p = 0.002$) and Spain ($t = 6.327, p < .001$), as well as those awarded by Gen1 participants to the speaker from Spain ($t = 3.436, p = 0.039$). No other significant differences were found.

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When asked to identify the country of origin of the speakers, 52 out of the 61 (85.25%) Gen1 participants and 28 out of the 39 (71.79%) Gen2 participants provided the correct country of the speaker from the UK, with all Gen1 participants and 34 (87.18%) Gen2 participants recognizing him as native. The speaker from the USA was also recognized as native by almost all participants: 58 (95.08%) Gen1 participants and 36 (92.31%) Gen2 participants, even though they had more trouble identifying the correct country of origin, with 41 (67.21%) Gen1 participants and 22 (56.41%) Gen2 participants stating that he was American. The non-native guises, once again, were recognized as such by the majority of the participants: the speaker from Argentina by 57 (93.44%) Gen1 participants and 37 (94.87%) Gen2 participants, the speaker from Bolivia by 59 (96.72%) Gen1 participants and 36 (92.31%) Gen2 participants, and the speaker from Spain by 59 (96.72%) Gen1 participants and 38 (97.45%) Gen2 participants. The speaker from Argentina was only identified as such by 21 (34.43%) Gen1 participants and 10 (25.64%) Gen2 participants. As mentioned in the nationality subsection, no participants correctly identified the country of origin of the speaker from Bolivia, but he was largely believed to be Latin American. Finally, out of the three non-native guises, participants had the least difficulty identifying the country of origin of the speaker from Spain, recognized by 47 (77.05%) Gen1 participants and 24 (61.54%) Gen2 participants.

To sum up, participants could easily identify the native and the non-native guises with an efficacy of over 90%, except for the speaker from the UK, whom Gen2 participants had a little more trouble identifying as native. As regards the identification of the countries of origin, the rate of efficacy of Gen1 participants was notably higher than that of Gen2 participants, except in

the case of the speaker from Bolivia, whose origin was not correctly identified by any participants.

On average, Gen1 participants awarded higher ratings than Gen2 participants to the speakers in both dimensions, except for the speakers from Spain and Argentina on solidarity traits, and the speaker from the UK on status traits. In both dimensions, the same evaluative hierarchy emerged across both groups of participants, with the speaker from the UK receiving the most positive solidarity rating, the speaker from the USA receiving the most positive status rating, and the speaker from Spain receiving the most negative solidarity and status ratings.

H1 is confirmed by the results given that, in both age groups, both native accents received more positive solidarity and status evaluations than the three non-native accents. Across both age groups, the speaker from the UK was preferred in terms of solidarity, while the speaker from the USA was preferred in terms of status, and the non-native speakers received less positive evaluations in the following order, from highest to lowest: Bolivia, Argentina and Spain. Once again, these findings support previous research conducted by El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) and Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020). In spite of this, the fact that participants favored the UK accent on solidarity traits and the US accent on status traits contradicts the findings obtained by Carrie (2017). These results could be related to the level of English proficiency of the participants, who had no problem distinguishing native from non-native accents, but did have more difficulty identifying the correct country of origin of the speakers.

Findings confirm H5 since, as stated above, younger participants were on average more favorable in their evaluations of all speakers except for those from Argentina and Spain in terms of solidarity and the speaker from the UK in terms of status. Despite this, the differences in the

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ratings of these speakers were not significant across both age groups. As in Giles' (1970) study, older participants were more restrained in their evaluations of the speakers. In addition, although native accents were preferred by both age groups with respect to non-native ones, younger participants were generally more positive than older participants towards not only native accents, but non-native accents as well, which partially supports the results obtained by Coupland and Bishop (2007). As expected, Gen1 participants awarded much higher status ratings to the speaker from the USA than to those of other varieties, which gave rise to significant differences with respect to the ratings awarded by Gen1 participants to the speaker from the UK and the ratings awarded to all non-native guises by both Gen1 and Gen2 participants. These findings are in agreement with those obtained by Giles (1970), who suggested that younger participants are influenced to a greater extent than older participants by the power, scientific advancements and audiovisual content strongly associated with the American accent.

Direct Questions about Language Attitudes

In order to examine whether participants' indirect — and therefore subconscious — attitudes matched their direct — conscious — ones, they were asked a series of direct questions about their attitudes towards native and non-native accents. As indicated in the survey subsection, the seven direct questions appearing in the survey were classified into two groups: positive attitudes towards foreign accents (questions 1, 3 and 6) and negative attitudes towards foreign accents (questions 2, 4, 5 and 7). Table 4 below presents the mean ratings (and standard deviations) of the language attitudes of all participants according to the independent variables under study.

Table 4. Mean ratings (and standard deviations) of participants' direct language attitudes

Groups						
	Argentinean	Spaniard	Female	Male	Gen 1	Gen 2
Positive	4.18	4.67	4.60	4.20	4.55	4.23
attitudes	(1.59)	(1.42)	(1.45)	(1.58)	(1.51)	(1.52)
Negative	3.89	3.89	3.79	4.01	3.78	4.05
attitudes	(1.50)	(1.71)	(1.65)	(1.55)	(1.70)	(1.44)

Regarding nationality, Spanish participants demonstrated more positive attitudes towards foreign accents than Argentinean participants when answering direct questions, in contrast to the more positive ratings awarded to almost all speakers in both dimensions by the Argentinean participants during the verbal-guise test. As it can be seen in Table 4 above, the mean rating of the positive attitudes of the Argentinean participants is the lowest across all groups ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 1.59$). However, their indirect evaluations of the non-native speakers are quite high in comparison to those of other groups, especially with respect to the solidarity of the speaker from Bolivia. What is interesting is that the mean rating of the positive attitudes of the Spanish participants is the highest across all groups ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.42$), whereas their indirect evaluations of the non-native guises are among the lowest in both dimensions. In fact, as indicated in the nationality subsection, more statistically significant differences were found between the ratings awarded by the Spaniards to the native and the non-native guises in both dimensions than those awarded by the Argentineans. Additionally, one of the non-native guises

— the speaker from Bolivia — actually received the second highest solidarity rating among Argentineans, which caused statistically significant differences with respect to the rating awarded to the speaker from Spain by the Spaniards. These findings from the direct questionnaire could be interpreted as demonstrating that Spanish participants were influenced by the social desirability bias, i.e. that they responded according to what they consider to be socially acceptable.

As for gender, it is surprising that males were more positive in the verbal-guise test but they were more negative when asked directly about their language attitudes ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.58$). These results are especially unexpected since one of the non-native guises—the speaker from Bolivia—was among the highest rated in terms of solidarity among males, and even if the remaining non-native guises received lower ratings, they were still awarded more solidarity and status by males than females. A possible explanation for this could be that males were not affected by or simply not concerned about the social desirability bias. On the other hand, in line with previous studies and unlike in the verbal-guise test, females exhibited higher positive attitudes in the direct questionnaire when compared with their male counterparts ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.45$).

When it comes to age, not much variance emerged between the indirect and direct attitudes of the two groups. Gen1 participants awarded on average more positive ratings to the speakers in the verbal-guise study than Gen2 participants, except in some specific cases. In the direct questionnaire, younger participants' positive attitudes ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.51$) were also higher than those of older participants ($M = 4.23$, $SD = 1.52$). It is worth mentioning that the negative attitudes of Gen2 participants towards foreign accents are the highest across all groups ($M =$

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4.05, $SD = 1.44$), which matches the more restrained evaluations they made of the speakers in the verbal-guise study and the results obtained in other studies, such as the one by Giles (1970).

All in all, it should be pointed out that, even though some differences emerged between the direct language attitudes of participants across groups, this variation is small and not precisely significant. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how, in some groups, positive and negative attitudes were inverted when comparing the results of the indirect method with those of the direct method, which serves to prove that a mixed-method approach leads to more comprehensive results and helps to bypass the social desirability bias that participants may be subject to when participating in direct studies. In fact, this inversion between positive and negative attitudes in some groups could be the result of the social desirability bias, since some participants could have uncovered the true purpose of the survey by the time they reached the direct questions after having completed the entire verbal-guise study.

The results of both the verbal-guise study and the direct questionnaire have proven that non-native accents are still the target of negative attitudes and linguistic stereotypes, not only in terms of status, but also when it comes to solidarity traits. These findings are even more surprising considering that all the participants in this study were L2 speakers who mostly did not feel identified with the non-native varieties presented to them in the survey. Such results are in line with Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), in whose study Austrian participants did not evaluate their own non-native variety positively, but contradict Cargile and Giles (1998), Giles and Marlow (2011), and Kircher and Zipp (2022). Nevertheless, these findings are in accordance with those obtained in similar studies conducted with L1 speakers, such as those by Ryan et al. (1977), Giles and

Watson (2013), Dragojevic et al. (2017) and Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020), since non-native varieties received lower solidarity and status ratings than native varieties.

Conclusion

This study has examined and compared the language attitudes of 100 Argentinean and Spanish participants towards different varieties of English taking into account their nationality, gender and age to uncover and raise awareness about the stereotypes held by L2 speakers towards both native and non-native varieties of their L2. The motivation behind this project was that foreign-accented speakers are commonly stereotyped, prejudiced and sometimes even discriminated against solely based on the way they speak because they belong to linguistic out-groups (Goatley-Soan & Baldwin, 2018).

To conduct this research, a mixed-method approach was selected to analyze the responses of 50 Argentineans and 50 Spaniards of a survey which included both an indirect method, i.e., a verbal-guise study, and a direct method of language attitudes elicitation, i.e. direct questions. The verbal-guise study was designed to elicit more private and subconscious attitudes and comprised five audio recordings in English, two of them by native speakers, one from the USA and one from the UK, and the remaining three by non-native speakers from three different Spanish-speaking countries: Argentina, Bolivia and Spain. The direct questions were meant to obtain more conscious or even ‘socially-desirable’ attitudes.

Throughout the analysis of the data gathered in this project, the four research questions posed in the introduction were answered and the results confirmed some of the hypotheses, while others were refuted. H1 was completely confirmed by the findings of the statistical analysis across all groups, since in all cases, participants exhibited more positive attitudes towards the native

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accents than the non-native accents, in line with El-Dash and Busnardo (2001), Carrie (2017) and Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan (2020). In both dimensions, either the speaker from the USA or the speaker from the UK received the highest rating across all groups. Interestingly, in terms of solidarity, the speaker from Bolivia was evaluated as positively as the two native guises among Gen1 participants, Argentineans and males, surpassing the speaker from the USA in the latter two cases.

The most unexpected results were the ones that rejected H2, given that participants were meant to feel more solidarity towards the non-native speakers, who represented their in-group. It could be that these specific participants did not feel that the non-native speakers represented their own variety of English, even if they did recognize them as non-native and were mostly able to identify the origin of the speakers from Argentina and Spain. In all cases, the speaker from Spain received the lowest rating. These findings contradict those of Cargile and Giles (1998), Giles and Marlow (2011), and Kircher and Zipp (2022), but support those of Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997).

H3 was refuted in the solidarity dimension but partially confirmed in the status dimension.

Unexpectedly, Argentineans awarded higher solidarity to the speaker from the UK, whereas Spaniards did so with respect to the speaker from the USA, contradicting Friedrich (2003) and Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), but supporting Carrie (2017) in the case of the Spaniards. These specific Argentinean participants could have had more contact with British English, while the Spanish participants could have had more contact with American English, which could account for the results obtained in the solidarity dimension. As for status, both groups preferred the speaker from the USA, which was not expected for the Spanish participants. In this case, results

contradict those obtained by Carrie (2017), but support Fuertes et al. (2012), as the standard accents were preferred over the non-standard ones.

H4 was almost completely rejected, since female participants were not more positive than male participants in their evaluations of the speakers, except for the speaker from the USA. These findings contradict those of Giles (1970), Brown and Cichocki (1995), Coupland and Bishop (2007) and McKenzie et al. (2015). Notwithstanding this, females did award very high-status ratings to the speaker from the USA, which somewhat confirms that they are more sensitive towards prestige and that they favor native varieties, in accordance with McKenzie (2010), Chien (2018) and Martens (2020).

Lastly, H5 was confirmed by the results. As explained by Giles (1970), older people tend to be more restrained when evaluating speakers. Hence, Gen1 participants in general exhibiting more positive attitudes than Gen2 participants towards the speakers, including the non-native ones, is not surprising and supports the results obtained by Coupland and Bishop (2007). Gen1 participants also gave a much more positive status evaluation to the speaker from the USA, in agreement with Giles (1970), indicating their influence by US audiovisual and media content.

In light of the above, this study has contributed to the field of language attitudes by shedding light on Argentinean and Spanish people's attitudes towards different varieties of English. Besides, participants' attitudes were compared taking into consideration not only their nationality, but also their gender and age, variables which usually remain unaddressed in such studies. The analysis carried out in this project delved deeper into the attitudes of L2 speakers towards their L2 and helped to reaffirm some previously studied hypotheses, such as the fact that native varieties are evaluated more positively than non-native varieties and that younger

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participants award higher ratings than older participants, while refuting others, such as the fact that L2 speakers feel more solidarity towards non-native speakers and that female participants give more positive evaluations than male participants. Furthermore, results demonstrate that linguistic stereotypes and negative attitudes towards non-native accents, especially in terms of status, are still active nowadays, even among L2 speakers. Thus, more work still needs to be done in the field in order to confront these stereotypes and help to prevent prejudice and discrimination against non-standard accents.

Like all research projects, this one is not free of limitations. The main limitation of this study was the size of the sample. Since data was gathered only from 50 Argentineans and 50 Spaniards, the results cannot be said to represent the entire population and can therefore not be generalized. Moreover, the small number of participants did not allow for subgroups to be created within each nationality, so that the other two independent variables studied herein, i.e. gender and age, were created from the general pool of participants and include both Argentineans and Spaniards. Due to constraints of time and scope, other independent variables gathered in the survey, such as level of studies, level of English and living abroad, had to be discarded. Finally, it is worth stating that software restrictions did not allow for the recordings to be randomized during the administration of the survey via Google Forms. For this reason, all participants heard the audios in the same order, which could have had an effect on the results obtained.

Bearing in mind the abovementioned limitations, it is clear that more projects of this kind need to be conducted in the field. Although some demographic variables were considered in this study, larger projects with more participants from diverse backgrounds would enable more variables to

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be studied, leading to a more comprehensive analysis. For instance, future studies could focus not only on participants' L1, but also on their gender and age, and even on their level of studies and level of English proficiency. Besides, larger studies would allow for subgroups to be created across the different independent variables, which would yield more specific results and would help researchers better understand participants' language attitudes.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey

CONSENT FORM

I understand that participation in this project is entirely voluntary and I may withdraw at any time. If I do so, all information provided by me will be deleted.

I understand that the information provided by me may be used in future reports, academic articles, dissertations, publications or presentations undertaken by the researcher, but my personal information will not be included and all reasonable measures will be taken in order to protect the anonymity of the participants involved in this project.

I understand that all my answers will be kept entirely confidential and that only academic researchers will have access to the information collected during the study and they too will keep all the information confidential.

I understand that results obtained from this survey will be used only for scientific purposes and that my responses will not be traced back to me.

I confirm that I have read the consent form included above. This consent is granted pursuant to Regulation (EU) 2016/679 General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and to Spanish Law No. 3/2018 on Personal Data Protection.

I agree to take part in this study.

a) Yes b) No

PERSONAL DATA

1) What is your gender?

a) Male b) Female c) Prefer not to say

2) State your age **in numbers** (e.g. 25).

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3) Where were you born?

- a) Argentina b) Spain

4) Which province are you from?

5) Have you ever lived abroad?

- a) Yes b) No

6) If you have lived abroad, please write the name of the **country** and indicate the length of your **stay** (e.g. United States, 2 years).

7) What is your level of studies?

- a) I'm still in school b) I have a high school diploma c) I'm a university student
d) I have a university degree e) I'm a master's student f) I have a master's degree
g) I'm a PhD student h) I have a PhD

SPEAKER EVALUATION

Please read the following instructions carefully.

In this part of the survey, you will hear 5 very short recordings in English. After listening to each recording, answer the questions included below. Please respond with honesty and without thinking too much about your answers. You don't need to understand the recordings, just mark your impressions.

The text and the questions are THE SAME for all the speakers. This is NOT a test.

You may need to ROTATE YOUR PHONE to see all options.

SPEAKER 1

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Listen to speaker 1 and then answer the questions below.

1) On a scale from 1 (strongly **disagree**) to 6 (strongly **agree**), I think speaker 1 is:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Friendly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Well educated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Generous	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Successful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Likeable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hard-working	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Honest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ambitious	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2) Which country do you think speaker 1 is from?

[The questions in this section were repeated for speakers 2, 3, 4 and 5]

On a scale from 1 (strongly **disagree**) to 6 (strongly **agree**), to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

1) I feel more comfortable speaking English with non-native speakers than with native ones.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

2) I believe that foreign speakers who speak English with a native-like accent are more respected than those who speak with a foreign accent.

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Bridging Cultures– Nro. 10 – Año 2025 – Departamento de Lenguas, Facultad de
Filosofía y Letras. Universidad Católica Argentina.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

3) I think non-native speakers of English should be proud of their foreign accents.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

4) I believe speaking English with a non-native accent can make someone feel less comfortable in a professional setting.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

5) I think non-native speakers of English should try to sound more like native speakers.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

6) I think the English level of foreign speakers should not be judged by their non-native accent.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

7) I find it difficult to understand someone who speaks English with a foreign accent.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Strongly agree

LEVEL OF ENGLISH

1) What is your level of English?

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a) Basic (A1-A2) b) Intermediate (B1-B2) c) Advanced (C1-C2) d) Native

2) How long have you been learning or studying English for? (e.g. 5 years)

3) Did you go to a bilingual school?

a) Yes b) No

4) If you ever sat for any English exams or you have any English certificates, please include them below.

5) Please leave a comment below if there is anything else you would like to say about your level of English or your contact with the language.

Appendix B: Elicitation paragraph

Please call Stella. Ask her to bring these things with her from the store: Six spoons of fresh snow peas, five thick slabs of blue cheese, and maybe a snack for her brother Bob. We also need a small plastic snake and a big toy frog for the kids. She can scoop these things into three red bags, and we will go meet her Wednesday at the train station.

**Copy, Paste, and Generate: Copyright Law and Fair Use in the Age of Artificial
Intelligence**

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Abstract

This article examines whether the U.S. doctrine of fair use can adequately address the legal and ethical challenges posed by the training of generative artificial intelligence (GenAI) systems. The key research question driving this analysis is: *Can fair use, as currently interpreted, provide a coherent and equitable framework for addressing the massive, automated ingestion of copyrighted works for the AI model development?* This research is guided by two hypotheses. First, the transformative-use doctrine, while important in modern fair use analysis, remains insufficiently defined and inconsistent to address the functional and non-expressive nature of AI training. Second, that the current litigation landscape, as seen in *The New York Times v. Microsoft Corporation and OpenAI, et al.* (case no. 1:23-cv-11195 Southern District of New York) "*OpenAI case*" and *Dow Jones & Company, Inc. et al v. Perplexity AI, Inc.* (case no. 1:24-cv-07984 Southern District of New York) "*Perplexity case*", indicates an urgent need for legislative clarification to harmonize innovation incentives with copyright protection in the age of machine learning. The article uses a doctrinal legal analysis, examining case law, statutes, and policies, to show how fair use law has changed and how it applies to new AI technology. This methodological approach contextualizes the dispute within its historical origins and current policy ramifications, offering a cohesive legal and ethical framework for evaluating the limits of fair use in the age of generative AI.

Keywords: generative AI, copyright, authorship, fair use, AI training, transformative use, market substitution, AI litigation.

Resumen

Este artículo examina si la doctrina estadounidense del uso justo puede abordar adecuadamente los desafíos legales y éticos que plantea el entrenamiento de sistemas de inteligencia artificial generativa (GenAI). La pregunta clave de la investigación que impulsa este análisis es: *¿Puede el uso justo, tal como se interpreta actualmente, proporcionar un marco coherente y equitativo para abordar la ingesta masiva y automatizada de obras protegidas por derechos de autor para el desarrollo del modelo de IA?* Esta investigación se guía por dos hipótesis. En primer lugar, la doctrina del uso transformativo, aunque es importante en el análisis moderno del uso justo, sigue siendo insuficientemente definida e inconsistente para abordar la naturaleza funcional y no expresiva del entrenamiento de IA. En segundo lugar, que el panorama actual de los litigios, como se ve en *The New York Times v. Microsoft Corporation* y *OpenAI, et al.* (caso no. 1:23-cv-11195 Distrito Sur de Nueva York) "*Caso OpenAI*" y *Dow Jones & Company, Inc. et al v. Perplexity AI, Inc.* (caso No. 1:24-cv-07984 Distrito Sur de Nueva York) "*Caso Perplexity*", indica una necesidad urgente de aclaración legislativa para armonizar los incentivos a la innovación con la protección de los derechos de autor en la era del aprendizaje automático. El artículo utiliza un análisis legal doctrinal, examinando la jurisprudencia, los estatutos y las políticas, para mostrar cómo ha cambiado la ley de uso justo y cómo se aplica a la nueva tecnología de IA. Este enfoque metodológico contextualiza la disputa dentro de sus orígenes históricos y ramificaciones políticas actuales, ofreciendo un marco legal y ético cohesivo para evaluar los límites

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del uso justo en la era de la IA generativa.⁹

Palabras clave: IA generativa, derechos de autor, autoría, *fair use*,
entrenamiento de IA, uso transformativo, sustitución de mercado, litigios relacionados
con IA.

⁹ En muchos países de habla hispana, el concepto de uso justo no existe per se en la ley de derechos de autor. En cambio, se reconocen "límites y excepciones al derecho de autor" (Ley de Propiedad Intelectual de España o Ley 11.723 de Argentina). Por lo tanto, al traducir o interpretar el uso legítimo en contextos legales, es importante aclarar que se refiere específicamente a la doctrina de los EE. UU. bajo 17 U.S.C. § 107.

Introduction

By examining the consistency and shortcomings of applying fair use precedents to contemporary Generative AI litigation, this research argues that the legislative action is needed to establish clear boundaries for machine learning models.

This research uses doctrinal legal analysis as its primary methodological framework. Doctrinal research, grounded in the interpretation of statutes and judicial decisions, remains an essential component of legal scholarship. It is especially useful for exploring how the fair use doctrine is changing in relation to generative artificial intelligence. (GenAI). This approach analyzes the connection between statutory language, judicial precedent, and the policy objectives embedded in copyright law, aiming to identify both the consistencies and shortcomings that emerge when traditional legal principles are applied to modern technology contexts.

The methodological procedure consists of three steps. A thorough analysis of key judicial decisions reveals the foundation for current AI-related lawsuits: *Sony Corp. of America v. Universal City Studios, Inc. (1984)* established fair use for personal home recording and a safe harbor for technology with legal uses; *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc. (1994)* recognized commercial parodies as fair use if transformative; *Authors Guild, Inc. v. Google, Inc. (2015)* found Google's book-scanning project to be transformative fair use; and *Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc. v. Goldsmith (2023)* limited fair use when a work's commercial purpose outweighs its new meaning.

Second, the analysis incorporates comparative case evaluation, examining ongoing litigation such as *The New York Times v. Microsoft Corporation and OpenAI,*

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as well as *Dow Jones & Company, Inc. v. Perplexity AI*. These cases serve as modern assessments of the applicability of fair use in relation to mass data ingestion and algorithmic transformation.

Finally, the study considers the broader impact of judicial reasoning on creative industries, journalism, and innovation policy. This multidisciplinary approach links law, technology, and ethics, fostering a nuanced understanding of how fair use operates at the intersection of human authorship and machine learning.

This tripartite framework, doctrinal, comparative, and policy-oriented, aims to clarify the doctrinal limits of fair use while providing a well-informed basis for legal and regulatory reform in the United States.

The Fair Use Doctrine

The fair use doctrine, currently caught in a "doctrinal crossroads" between the broad functional transformation principles established in cases like *Authors Guild v. Google* and the restrictive market-substitution focus of *Andy Warhol Foundation v. Goldsmith*, is structurally inadequate to govern the systemic and automated reproduction inherent in Generative AI, necessitating judicial reform that explicitly differentiates between non-expressive computational training and expressive, market-competitive content generation.

The fair use doctrine is very important in U.S. copyright law because it balances the exclusive rights of authors with the public's interest in the dissemination of information and the growth of creativity. Fair use is a broad limit on copyright exclusivity that is spelled out in Section 107 of the Copyright Act of 1976. It lets anyone use protected works without permission if it is in the public interest. Its open-

ended wording shows that Congress wanted to keep things flexible as technologies change. This has benefits, but it also makes things harder to understand when applied to new situations like generative artificial intelligence (GenAI).

The concept of fair use originates from equitable common-law principles delineated in early nineteenth-century jurisprudence, particularly in *Folsom v. Marsh* (1841), where Justice Story initiated the fundamental examination of "the nature and objects of the selections made." This adaptable, case-specific methodology subsequently transformed into a formalized, four-factor balancing test under 17 U.S.C. § 107.

The law requires courts to consider several factors when determining fair use: the intent and nature of the utilization, the type of work that is protected by copyright, the size and importance of the part used, and the impact of the utilization on the prospective market. This multifactor analysis is neither automated nor exhaustive; it permits judicial interpretation in context, enabling courts to adapt the doctrine to accommodate emerging technologies and media. This adaptability has resulted in "doctrinal indeterminacy," where courts disagree on factors like transformative purpose and market impact.

Throughout the 20th century, numerous instances arose where copyright law conflicted with emerging technologies. Every instance of photocopying, home recording, digital sampling, or web searching was evaluated for its compliance with fair use. In the landmark case ***Sony Corp. of America v. Universal City Studios, Inc.*** (1984), it was ruled that recording TV shows for later viewing ("time-shifting") was a fair use. This case also introduced the idea of technological neutrality: if a device has a lot of non-infringing uses, its distribution should not be considered infringing.

In *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc.* (1994), ten years later, the first principle was changed to include the idea of transformative use, which is a use that adds new meaning, expression, or message to the original work. The Court rejected the idea that commercial use always negates fair use, instead highlighting the importance of creative transformation. This line of thinking made large-scale copying legal when it was done for analytical or functional purposes. AI engineers currently use this idea to explain why they need to consume data for AI training.

The case of *Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc. v. Goldsmith* (2023) demonstrated that the law was getting stricter. The Supreme Court clarified the transformative test by emphasizing the commercial purpose of the secondary use and its similarity to the original in the market. The Court stated that granting a magazine authorization to utilize a Warhol print was equivalent to permitting the use of a Goldsmith photograph, which contravened fair use principles. This shift toward market substitution makes it harder to defend GenAI training that only relies on functional transformation.

The Modern Crossroads

The combination of *Authors Guild* and *Warhol* produces a doctrinal crossroads. The first group supports innovation by saying that functional transformation is fair, whereas the second group preserves authors' markets by limiting how broadly transformation can be read. GenAI systems converge at this point: they analyze language functionally but produce expressive content that can compete with original works.

This tension illustrates the adaptability of fair use doctrine. The concept,

designed for isolated instances of copying, struggles to govern systemic, automated reproduction. The case-by-case framework lacks explicit guidance for evaluating both analytical and generative usage. The article argues that, while historically adaptable, the fair use doctrine is doctrinally insufficient to address the epistemic and economic disruptions caused by GenAI.

Acknowledging these limitations calls for a reevaluation of fair use from both practical and ethical perspectives. Courts must differentiate between non-expressive computational uses, such as data analysis and pattern recognition, and expressive market applications, such as content generation. In a normative sense, they must reaffirm the constitutional goal of copyright, "to promote the progress of science and useful arts", by ensuring that technological innovation doesn't weaken the incentives for people to be creative.

The following sections explain this idea by examining how ongoing lawsuits between major media companies and AI developers challenge the fairness of fair use, highlighting the urgent need for legal and judicial reform.

Analysis

The high-stakes lawsuits initiated by *The New York Times* and *Dow Jones* demonstrate that Generative AI's dual challenge of unauthorized data ingestion and market-competitive expressive output requires the U.S. judiciary to reform the fair use doctrine by establishing a clear, context-sensitive distinction between protected analytical transformation and unprotected commercial substitution.

The conflict between traditional media companies and tech innovators has tested the fair use doctrine like never before. *The New York Times Company v.*

Microsoft Corporation and OpenAI, and Dow Jones & Company, Inc. v. Perplexity AI, Inc., are the first major cases to examine the legality of using large amounts of data to train AI under U.S. copyright law. These cases illuminate the broader legal and ethical question of whether GenAI's use of copyrighted material is transformative or constitutes a systemic infringement.

The New York Times vs Microsoft Corporation and OpenAI

The *New York Times* (NYT) lawsuit, filed in the Southern District of New York on December 27, 2023, was a turning point in copyright cases involving generative AI. The complaint says that OpenAI and Microsoft "copied and used millions of The Times's copyrighted works without permission" to train big language models like the GPT series. The NYT states that this use is deliberate rather than accidental, noting that its journalism was "given particular emphasis" in the training datasets, which indicates that it recognized and relied on its expressive value.

The lawsuit states that the defendant has violated the law in two ways. First, at the input stage, it says that duplicating full articles to train a model is a direct infringement. Second, at the output stage, it states that AI models "memorize" and recreate expressive information, often word-for-word, which produces derivative works that compete directly with the NYT's own works. The complaint document presents instances in which ChatGPT and Microsoft's Copilot reproduce *New York Times* articles with near-identical content, indicating that users may not require access to the original pieces.

The defendants' response cites *Authors Guild v. Google*, asserting that AI training constitutes a transformative analytical use equivalent to creating a search index.

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The objective is said to be functional, to understand the mechanics of language and the interconnectedness of words, rather than expressive. This viewpoint stresses that AI training does not convey or mimic human-generated expression but enables computational understanding of language.

Judge Sidney H. Stein's initial rulings in early 2025 did not dismiss the primary copyright allegations. This indicated that the court was cautious regarding an expansive interpretation of transformative usage. The case has been consolidated with analogous claims from other publishers into a multidistrict litigation titled: *In re: OpenAI Copyright Infringement Litigation* (1:25-md-03134, S.D.N.Y.). The discovery phase has proven notably contentious, particularly over the retention of chat logs and the admissibility of evidence pertaining to retained material.

The New York Times case illustrates the contentious aspects of contemporary fair use analysis. The defendants argue that technology is necessary and changes how things work; the plaintiffs argue that it merely copies how things are expressed and takes over the market. The outcome will depend on how the court interprets the relevant "use." If "use" is limited to the analytical training process, the defense could prevail under *Authors Guild* rationale; on the other hand, if it encompasses both training and expressive outputs, the market-centric reasoning of *Warhol v. Goldsmith* will apply, favoring the plaintiffs.

Dow Jones & Company, Inc. v. Perplexity AI, Inc.

In June 2024, Dow Jones, the parent company of *The Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Post*, initiated legal action against Perplexity AI in the same jurisdiction. The complaint alleged that Perplexity's "answer engine," a retrieval-augmented

generation (RAG) technology, routinely retrieved and reproduced copyrighted articles without authorization. RAG systems differ from conventional LLMs in that they acquire and integrate real-time external data to generate summaries and snippets that often include verbatim content from news sources.

Dow Jones's claim centers on direct market substitution. Perplexity's marketing slogan, "Skip the Links," encourages users to utilize AI-generated responses rather than visiting the source publisher websites. This diverts traffic from those websites and the associated advertising revenue. The case additionally asserts that Perplexity damaged Dow Jones's reputation by occasionally fabricating "hallucinated" or erroneous assertions attributed to Dow Jones publications. This undermined the brand's credibility.

The case is currently before Judge Katherine Polk Failla. The plaintiffs want statutory damages, an injunction, and, most critically, the removal of Perplexity's RAG databases containing pirated materials. The defendants, in their motion to dismiss, reference *Authors Guild*, asserting that their use of news items for "summarization and contextual retrieval" serves a transformative informational purpose.

However, this defense is weakened by the explicit evidence of market substitution. Courts have long treated the fourth factor, the effect on the potential market, as "the single most important element of fair use." Here, Perplexity's business model appears to replace rather than complement the original market. Furthermore, its practice of showing large passages goes beyond the limited, non-substitutive use that judges allowed in *Authors Guild*.

This study argues that the *Perplexity* case highlights an important doctrinal difference. While training a model may be seen as a transformative analytical act, using

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that model in a way that competes with copyrighted expression blurs the line between making tools and replacing content. The defendants' reliance on technological transformation cannot overcome the clear commercial equivalence between their outputs and the plaintiffs' works.

These two lawsuits illustrate the dual aspects of GenAI's legal challenges: the input issue (the permissibility of copying for training purposes) and the output issue (the impact of generated content as a replacement). They illustrate how courts must navigate two contradictory precedents —*Authors Guild* and *Warhol* —that pull in opposite directions.

From a policy perspective, these instances represent a pivotal moment in achieving the right balance between safeguarding and innovation. If courts favor AI developers, they could hurt the economic foundations of journalism and creative fields. If they only support rights holders, they might slow technological innovation and make it harder for people to access data.

This author believes that the answer is not to be strict about doctrine, but to have a new, context-sensitive definition of fair use that makes a clear distinction between analytical transformation and expressive substitution.

Discussion

The application of the four statutory fair use factors (U.S.C.) to Generative AI (GenAI) creates an unworkable conceptual tension, as the allowance for functional innovation (Factors 1 and 3) is directly antagonized by the protection of expressive rights and market integrity (Factors 2 and 4), rendering the analog-era doctrine structurally insufficient to govern systemic, automated reproduction.

The conceptual tension in fair use jurisprudence is particularly pronounced when the four statutory elements of 17 U.S.C. §107 are applied to the context of training and operation of generative artificial intelligence (GenAI) systems. The factors—purpose and character of the usage, nature of the copyrighted work, amount and substantiality of the portion used, and impact on the potential market—were intended for distinct, human-centric acts of reproduction. This presents profound analytical and philosophical challenges about their potential application in algorithmic, large-scale data input and synthetic output generation.

This section examines each factor from two perspectives: doctrinal interpretation and technological reality. It shows how recent court decisions have both clarified and narrowed the potential scope of fair use in AI training and deployment.

The first factor is the "purpose and character" of the use, and it has historically developed as the most contentious and conceptually dynamic. The Supreme Court's definition of transformative use in *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc.* (1994) shifted the emphasis from mechanical substitution to creative reinterpretation. According to this standard, a secondary use is transformative if it changes the original work "with new expression, meaning, or message."

AI engineers frequently reference this precedent to assert that training a model constitutes a transformative process. They contend that the utilization of huge textual datasets serves a functional purpose rather than an expressive one: the model does not reproduce meaning but statistically extracts patterns of syntax, semantics, and style to enable the synthesis of novel material. This perspective suggests that instructing an AI parallels Google's creation of a searchable corpus in *Authors Guild v. Google* (2015).

This was termed "highly transformative" as it created an informational tool rather than a market substitute.

This approach, however, faces significant challenges as compared to *Warhol Foundation v. Goldsmith* (2023). The Court in *Warhol* limited the transformative analysis by asserting that even if a secondary work has a new message or look, it fails the first criterion if it serves a "substantially similar commercial purpose" to the original. This new way of looking at things shifts the focus from the vague idea of "new meaning" to the commercial function of use.

Applying this approach to GenAI, training may appear to be a significant alteration; nonetheless, the outputs generally replicate the functions of the original works on which the models were trained, such as composing essays, articles, or artistic creations. From this perspective, the distinction between transformative tool creation and competitive replication disintegrates. The main issue now relies more on commercial substitution than technological innovation, making AI developers' reliance on *Authors Guild* less stable after *Warhol*.

The second factor examines the nature of the work being replicated. Judicial systems afford greater protection to highly creative and expressive works than to those consisting just of facts or information. This distinction is problematic in the context of AI training, as most datasets consist of hybrid materials—journalistic articles, academic essays, and creative works that combine factual reporting with interpretative expression.

Developers assert that AI models primarily identify linguistic patterns, which are unprotectable elements such as thoughts or facts. Rights holders contend that the arrangement of words and their phonetic qualities are essential components of artistic

expression. In its May 2025 report, the Copyright Office rejected the argument that training AI models is simply a statistical process. The office stated that language models learn "the essence of linguistic expression," including how words are selected and arranged, rather than just processing words. Consequently, this factor is more likely to safeguard works that are expressive, such as literature, commentary, and artistic journalism.

The third factor, "the amount and substantiality of the portion used," considers both the amount and the quality of the portion used. In the past, courts have tolerated limited copying when necessary for a transformative purpose. However, as stated in *Authors Guild*, complete reproduction may qualify as fair use if it serves a transformative purpose.

AI developers use this example to argue that processing entire corpora is essential for effective AI training and understanding linguistic context. This defense is doctrinally plausible, but it raises additional questions about scale and need. GenAI models can replicate and alter expressive material on a large scale, unlike Google's digitization effort, which only displayed small "snippets." The outcome is not just incidental exposure but also the potential internalization of creative expression within the model's parameters.

This author observes that the third factor now exposes a structural conflict between the qualitative norm of "heart of the work" and the quantitative reality of full replication inherent in machine learning. Courts must ascertain whether such comprehensive intake, however functionally essential, disrupts the equilibrium that fair use aims to uphold.

The fourth factor examines whether the secondary use reduces or dilutes the original's potential market. The current GenAI litigation has elevated this issue significantly across the legal and business sectors.

The plaintiffs in *The New York Times* and *Perplexity* claims assert that they have incurred financial losses and that the market structure is deteriorating due to AI platforms diverting audience attention, advertising revenues, and subscription value from news websites without compensation. This market impact goes beyond mere substitution; it also includes the elimination of opportunities for licensing AI training, a sector that is already expanding through partnerships between publishers and technology firms.

AI enterprises assert that allegations regarding diminished licensing markets are circular: if the usage is equitable, a license is unnecessary. However, courts are beginning to question this perspective. In *Kadrey v. Meta (2025)*, Judge Vince Chhabria suggested that the substantial capacity of generative AI (GenAI) to saturate the market with paraphrased or derivative content could constitute "market dilution," a new form of injury under the fourth fair use factor.

This suggests that the market-effect element strongly argues against fair use in how AI is trained today. The combination of direct substitute, lost licensing revenue, and damage to reputation creates an overall economic impact that contradicts the fair use principle of fairness.

The four factors collectively demonstrate the fragility of the fair use concept in the era of artificial intelligence. Factors 1 and 3 facilitate functional innovation, whereas Factors 2 and 4 safeguard expression and market integrity. The resultant balance

increasingly favors restraint over expansion.

This author believes that the fair use doctrine, initially formulated for analog contexts, fails to meet the interpretive requirements imposed by systemic, automated, and probabilistic reproduction. In the absence of legal modifications, courts will continue to render illogical rulings, oscillating between technical exceptionalism and market conservatism.

Implications

The legal battle over the fair use doctrine in Generative AI (GenAI) goes beyond simple legal interpretation, embodying a key ethical and societal challenge that, by enabling the widespread economic displacement of human creators and threatening the trustworthiness of democratic institutions like journalism, requires a proactive legal and ethical approach to ensure that technological progress respects human creativity. The ongoing conflict between copyright law and generative artificial intelligence (GenAI) extends beyond mere legal interpretation. It addresses the core concept of intellectual property: how society delineates authorship, creativity, and equity in an era where robots can replicate and generate novel creations. The legal discourse around fair use has substantial ethical, economic, and democratic implications.

The primary objective of copyright law is to achieve a balance between fostering creativity and ensuring the accessibility of knowledge to all individuals. GenAI disrupts this equilibrium by rendering the size and value extraction imbalanced. The media and publishing industries invest substantial time, resources, and personnel in creating original content, but AI businesses generate revenue by utilizing those works without authorization to produce their own products.

This conflict is not merely a concept; it manifests in actual economic displacement. The lawsuits filed by *The New York Times* and *Dow Jones* underscore a structural market distortion: AI tools that summarize or replicate journalistic content diminish website traffic, impair advertising revenue, and undermine the subscription-based model that sustains quality journalism.

Ultimately, this disparity may engender a detrimental feedback loop: diminished funding results in fewer distinctive creations, hence degrading the quality of the data upon which AI systems depend. The issue extends beyond financial loss; it also pertains to ensuring that human innovation remains a public asset.

The ethical dimension of the fair use controversy revolves around authorship, intent, and accountability. In 2023, the U.S. Copyright Office reaffirmed that copyright protection is limited to works of human authorship. This principle establishes a clear distinction between human creativity, defined by intent, context, and moral ownership, and machine-generated output, which lacks these characteristics.

However, GenAI technologies obscure this distinction. The distinction between inspiration and appropriation becomes ambiguous when outputs closely resemble individual expressions to the extent that they may serve as substitutes. AI-generated texts may appear original; yet, they are really compilations of human-authored content that have been statistically amalgamated without context or consent. This technique raises issues with moral responsibility: if robots learn from human input, what obligations do their creators bear?

From an ethical standpoint, the concept of fair use—an equitable principle of rationale—was never designed to permit broad copying of human expression on a grand

scale. The ethical foundation suggests reciprocity and proportionality, both of which are undermined when the "user" is a non-human entity representing a corporation. This suggests that the transformation of fair use from a tool for equity to a protection for corporate automation undermines public trust in the fundamental fairness of copyright law.

GenAI influences society in ways that extend beyond mere politics and public discourse. Journalism, sometimes referred to as the "fourth estate," must maintain financial independence and public trust to fulfill its role as an effective watchdog. AI systems that assimilate and reformat news articles can simultaneously cause harm to both entities involved.

Unauthorized reproduction of news articles reduces revenue and makes it harder to identify the original source, thereby undermining openness. In an era characterized by pervasive misinformation, it is crucial to ascertain the origins of information. AI systems that paraphrase or fabricate news articles risk obscuring the distinction between authentic journalism and fictitious narratives. This problem, seen in the Perplexity AI instance, suggests that unchecked generative outputs could jeopardize the epistemic structure of democratic societies.

The ethical inquiry pertains not only to ownership but also to the integrity of the information. The fair use doctrine that permits extensive decontextualization of journalism inadvertently undermines its constitutional role in promoting an informed public.

AI developers emphasize that restricting access to training data would hinder research and impede the dissemination of technology to everybody. They reference the

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case of *Sony v. Universal City Studios* (1984) to argue that copyright should not impede technological progress. From this viewpoint, GenAI represents a logical advancement in humanity's persistent endeavor to automate knowledge.

This argument does have some merit. Historically, open access to data has facilitated scientific advancement and innovative synthesis. GenAI has the power to improve things by advancing research, education, and accessibility. But innovation without responsibility can lead to exploitation. The challenge, then, is to tell the difference between innovation that adds to our shared knowledge and appropriation that devalues our culture.

To achieve long-term balance, the interests of creators, consumers, and innovators must align. Copyright law has to shift from a reactive to a proactive system that can keep up with technological changes. This means that both the law and the way businesses operate should incorporate ethical values such as consent, openness, and proportionality.

As the evidence indicates, the current AI litigation teaches us something more important: copyright is not meant to stop technology, but to make it more human. Legal and ethical reform should not seek to impede AI progress but rather to guarantee that innovation respects the creative and moral integrity of human authorship.

Conclusion

The convergence of generative artificial intelligence (GenAI) with copyright law illustrates the flexibility and vulnerability of the fair use theory. This essay aimed to address a fundamental research inquiry: Is the law of fair use sufficiently equipped to address the issues presented by generative AI training?

An analysis of doctrinal, technological, and policy dimensions leads to a complex conclusion: the current fair use framework insufficiently accommodates the systemic realities of AI training and deployment. Although it remains a crucial safeguard for creativity and innovation, its principles, particularly the transformative-use criterion, inadequately address automated, large-scale copying motivated by commercial interests.

This study was guided by two central hypotheses: first, that the transformative-use theory does not offer sufficient clarity to effectively address the complexities of AI training; and second, that the current landscape of litigation demonstrates a clear need for greater legal precision and guidance in this area.

Both possibilities have been confirmed. The ruling in *Authors Guild v. Google* (2015) provided a functionalist rationale for fair use, validating extensive digitalization for non-expressive objectives. However, *Warhol Foundation v. Goldsmith* (2023) shifted the case's emphasis to market replacement, illustrating the economic fragility of the creative industries. The instances of *The New York Times v. Microsoft and OpenAI* and *Dow Jones v. Perplexity AI* demonstrate that the discord between these two concepts has reached an irreconcilable stage.

The primary strength of the fair use doctrine lies in its flexibility; nonetheless, the same characteristic has emerged as its most significant weakness in the era of machine learning. When using instruments designed for human, case-specific disputes, courts must navigate unfamiliar territory. If the laws remain unamended, the outcomes will persist in dysfunction, resulting in ambiguity for both creators and innovators.

This author asserts that the path ahead involves redefining fair use as a balanced

mechanism for holding technology accountable, one that honors human ingenuity while promoting responsible innovation. The subsequent recommendations delineate certain measures to enhance the U.S. legal and policy framework in this context.

Recommendations

Congress should consider **updating Section 107 of the Copyright Act** to explicitly address the use of copyrighted materials in machine learning and generative AI training. The statute's current open-ended language invites inconsistent judicial interpretation, particularly regarding the distinction between analytical and expressive uses.

Specific reforms might include defining "computational use" as a distinct category of fair use, which would be limited to analytical or non-expressive purposes and established with clear boundaries on data retention and derivative outputs. Additionally, these reforms could codify disclosure requirements, obligating AI developers to document the sources of their datasets and, where appropriate, obtain licenses for datasets that contain expressive works. To further enhance the framework, it is important to clarify the analysis of market harm by formally recognizing licensing markets for AI training as legitimate and protectable under Factor 4 of Section 107. These amendments would provide clarity and reduce the doctrinal uncertainty that currently burdens both courts and stakeholders.

Although updating legislation is essential, judicial interpretation continues to play a vital role in determining how fair use is applied in practice. Courts should employ a more systematic approach when evaluating cases related to AI, which involves clearly differentiating between the analysis of data used for AI training (input) and the uses of AI-generated content (output). This structured framework would also incorporate

contextual proportionality in assessing the third fair use factor, ensuring that the amount of copied material is truly necessary for the intended purpose and that adequate measures are in place to prevent unauthorized reproduction of expressive works. Additionally, the transformative-use analysis should be broadened to include not just the new purpose served by the AI, but also the extent of transparency and control exercised by the developer or user, further safeguarding creative integrity in the evolving digital landscape. Such guidelines would enable courts to balance innovation incentives with market protection, maintaining consistency across jurisdictions. Transparency is the cornerstone of ethical AI development, yet the opacity of AI training processes—often referred to as the "black box" problem—undermines both legal enforcement and public trust. To address these concerns, policymakers should mandate the disclosure of training sources, work categories, and provenance metadata to ensure dataset transparency. Additionally, implementing audit mechanisms for independent verification of compliance with copyright and privacy standards, as well as establishing traceability systems that enable users and rights holders to determine whether specific content was derived from protected materials, are essential steps. These measures would not only facilitate fair use analysis but also strengthen AI governance by aligning it with broader principles of accountability and due process. Legal reform must be accompanied by cultural and ethical change. Universities, corporations, and professional associations should incorporate AI ethics and copyright literacy into their education and training programs, ensuring that translators, writers, and journalists have the knowledge to understand how their works are used in AI contexts and are empowered to advocate for equitable treatment. Ethically, AI

developers should adopt the principle of "technological stewardship," taking responsibility to ensure that innovation serves the collective good. This involves proactive collaboration with creative communities and respect for the inherent value of human expression. As this author contends, the future of copyright is not solely a legal matter but also a moral one, raising the question of whether society values the act of creation as a fundamentally human endeavor or reduces it to a mere data point within an algorithmic system.

Reflection

The doctrine of fair use has always been an engine of progress, but its continued vitality depends on its capacity to evolve. Generative AI challenges the doctrine not because it is a new technology, but because it exposes the limits of legal concepts rooted in human intention. The law must therefore rise to meet the ethical scale of the technological revolution it confronts.

In supporting the hypotheses of this study, this article affirms that fair use, in its current doctrinal form, is not obsolete but insufficiently adapted. Legislative clarification, judicial discipline, and ethical foresight are essential to restore equilibrium between human creativity and machine innovation. Only by redefining fair use as a framework of responsible transformation can the United States continue to promote progress in the age of artificial intelligence.

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**Training Adults for Effective Communication: AI Language Tools and
Neuroscience in Learning and Using English as a *Lingua Franca***

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Resumen

Este artículo explora la integración de la inteligencia artificial (IA) en la enseñanza del inglés como una Lengua Franca (ILF) con adultos en contextos empresariales y profesionales, haciendo hincapié en su impacto transformador en el aprendizaje. Las herramientas impulsadas por IA aprovechan principios respaldados por la neurociencia para crear experiencias de aprendizaje personalizadas y emocionalmente atractivas que activan áreas del cerebro asociadas con la retención y la participación de la memoria. Al analizar el progreso individual y adaptar el contenido para abordar necesidades específicas, la IA mejora los resultados del aprendizaje. El artículo destaca el valor de la retroalimentación en tiempo real, donde las aplicaciones de IA brindan devoluciones instantáneas, rastrean el desarrollo de los estudiantes y aumentan la confianza a través de rutas de aprendizaje adaptativas y simulaciones de comunicación auténticas. También se analizan consideraciones éticas, incluida la privacidad de los datos y los sesgos algorítmicos, para garantizar entornos de aprendizaje inclusivos y efectivos. El artículo concluye que la IA, cuando se implementa de manera ética y eficaz, mejora la adquisición del lenguaje, empodera a los profesionales y reformula el papel de los educadores para priorizar el pensamiento crítico, la competencia cultural y las habilidades de comunicación.

Palabras clave: adquisición del lenguaje, capacitación en inglés como lengua franca, herramientas impulsadas por IA, consideraciones éticas, neurociencias.

Abstract

This article explores the integration of artificial intelligence (AI) in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) training for adults in business and professional contexts, emphasizing its transformative impact on learning. AI-driven tools leverage neuroscience-backed principles to create personalized, emotionally engaging learning experiences that activate brain areas associated with memory retention and engagement. AI enhances learning outcomes by analyzing individual progress and tailoring content to address specific needs. The article highlights the value of real-time feedback, where AI applications provide instant corrections, track learners' development, and boost confidence through adaptive learning paths and authentic communication simulations. Ethical considerations, including data privacy and algorithmic biases, are also discussed to ensure inclusive and effective learning environments. The article concludes that AI, when ethically and effectively implemented, enhances language acquisition, empowers professionals, and reshapes the role of educators to prioritize critical thinking, cultural competence, and nuanced communication skills.

Keywords: Language Acquisition, English as a Lingua Franca Training, AI-driven Tools, Ethical Considerations, Neuroscience.

Introduction¹¹

The integration of artificial intelligence (AI) into language learning has revolutionized how adults acquire English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) for business and professional purposes. By leveraging neuroscience-backed principles, AI-driven tools create personalized, emotionally engaging learning experiences that activate brain areas associated with memory retention and engagement, such as the hippocampus and prefrontal cortex. This article explores how these tools enhance English training for professionals by tailoring learning experiences, providing real-time feedback, and simulating authentic communication scenarios. Additionally, it examines the impact of AI on trainers, empowering them to focus on higher-order pedagogical tasks while AI streamlines repetitive and administrative aspects of language instruction.

Emotional Relevance and Personalized Learning

Neuroscience research reveals that personalized learning activates brain regions associated with memory retention and engagement, such as the prefrontal cortex and hippocampus. Eichenbaum (2004) demonstrated the hippocampus's critical role in encoding and retrieving memories, particularly when new information is emotionally

¹¹ *Disclaimer:* The specific applications, webpages, and resources mentioned throughout this text (including Duolingo, Busuu, Lingvist, Mondly, HelloTalk, ELSA Speak, Rosetta Stone's TruAccent, Grammarly, ChatGPT-based systems, Google AI's language tools, and Speak.ai) are listed strictly as illustrative examples drawn from the author's professional experience and recent assessment of the platforms. None of these resources are officially recommended, sponsored, or endorsed by the author or the institutions mentioned in this article. Readers are strongly advised to independently try, test, and evaluate any resource they consider for their training, making their own informed decisions as to which tools to use (if any), how, when, and, most importantly, for what specific learning goals.

engaging or contextually relevant. Similarly, Immordino-Yang and Damasio (2007) highlighted the importance of emotions and social context in enhancing attention and memory during learning.

AI-powered platforms leverage these insights to design personalized and emotionally resonant learning experiences. By incorporating individual preferences, interests, and cultural nuances, these systems activate emotional pathways, making learning more meaningful and boosting retention. Personalized learning also tailors content to the learner's cognitive level, enabling the hippocampus to process and store information more effectively.

Through real-time analysis of strengths and weaknesses, AI systems create customized learning paths that adapt as learners progress, fostering an engaging and efficient learning journey. For instance, professionals can practice industry-specific vocabulary or refine pronunciation to align with international business standards, recognizing English as a lingua franca. This means that English serves as a common communication tool between speakers of different native languages, facilitating mutual understanding and collaboration in global business contexts, regardless of regional accents or linguistic backgrounds.

Building on Jennifer Jenkins' theory of ELF, it is important to recognize that successful communication does not require adherence to native-speaker norms. Instead, intelligibility and mutual accommodation among speakers are prioritized over perfect replication of native accents or idiomatic expressions. Jenkins emphasizes that English users around the world naturally adapt the language to fit their communicative needs, leading to the emergence of new, dynamic forms of English that are contextually

appropriate and effective. In this sense, teaching and learning strategies should focus on fostering intelligibility, flexibility, and intercultural awareness, rather than enforcing a single, standardized variety of English.

Furthermore, AI technologies play a crucial role in fostering seamless communication by providing real-time translation tools, accent modification software, and personalized language-learning platforms that cater to diverse professional environments. Many of these platforms incorporate elements of gamification, boosting motivation and engagement by allowing users to track achievements and set personalized goals. For educators, this shift calls for the integration of AI-powered tools that combine real-time performance analysis with emotional and cultural relevance.

Examples of such platforms include Duolingo, which adapts exercises dynamically based on user performance. By tracking factors such as accuracy rates, response times, and repeated mistakes, Duolingo adjusts the difficulty and type of exercises offered. For instance, if a user consistently struggles with past-tense verb forms, the App increases practice opportunities for those verbs and provides targeted feedback or additional explanations. This adaptive approach ensures that learners focus on strengthening specific areas while maintaining motivation through achievable, personalized challenges. Similarly, Busuu offers individualized AI-supported learning plans that respond to each user's progress and goals, while Lingvist identifies knowledge gaps and delivers tailored content to address them efficiently.

Moreover, other advanced AI tools integrate cultural nuances and context-specific language into training modules, preparing learners for real-world applications. For instance, a marketing professional might learn to tailor a pitch to different cultural

audiences, while an engineer could focus on technical terminology relevant to their field. Applications like Mondly and HelloTalk provide insights into regional expressions, idiomatic phrases, and cultural contexts during practice, ensuring learners achieve both language proficiency and cultural fluency.

By blending real-time analysis with emotional and cultural relevance, AI-powered learning tools go beyond traditional methods. They create a holistic approach that ensures learners are not only progressing cognitively but also deeply connected to the content, equipping them for success in diverse professional and social environments. For educators, this shift means embracing tools that offer personalized and adaptive learning experiences, enabling them to better support individual student needs, foster engagement, and enhance language acquisition. In other words, the integration of AI allows for more dynamic, context-sensitive teaching methods, helping educators guide learners through cognitive growth and cultural understanding.

Real-time Feedback and Assessment

Immediate feedback is a cornerstone of effective language learning. AI applications, such as speech recognition and natural language processing, provide instant corrections and suggestions. This capability helps learners improve pronunciation, grammar, and fluency more effectively compared to traditional methods. Moreover, AI tools can track progress over time, allowing users to identify and address recurring challenges. As mentioned above, neuroscience research underscores the importance of personalized learning experiences for enhancing memory retention and engagement. For example, studies by Cepeda et al. (2006) demonstrate that spaced repetition strengthens memory consolidation in the brain by leveraging the spacing effect. AI-powered platforms

integrate this principle by identifying optimal intervals for reviewing material, ensuring that knowledge is reinforced over time. This combination of real-time feedback and cognitive science principles creates a highly efficient learning process tailored to individual needs.

Examples of such tools include ELSA Speak, which provides detailed feedback on pronunciation, and Rosetta Stone's TruAccent, which evaluates speech accuracy. Duolingo employs natural language processing to correct grammar and sentence structure in real time. Grammarly is another App that offers immediate suggestions for written communication, including grammar, tone, and style enhancements. Advanced AI systems also incorporate adaptive testing, where the difficulty of exercises adjusts dynamically based on the learner's performance. This ensures that users are continually challenged at an attainable goal level, fostering steady progress. Furthermore, real-time feedback extends to written communication, with tools offering suggestions for improving email etiquette, report writing, and other forms of business correspondence.

For educators, this represents a significant opportunity to enhance their teaching strategies. With AI tools providing continuous, personalized feedback, educators can focus on deeper instructional tasks such as fostering critical thinking, guiding learners through more complex language use, and ensuring that individual challenges are addressed effectively. The ability to track participant progress over time enables educators to tailor their approaches, offering targeted support that maximizes each participant's potential.

Simulating Authentic Communication

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It is also worth mentioning that neuroscience supports the idea that engaging in realistic simulations and interactive scenarios enhances learning by leveraging principles of experiential and embodied learning. As Doidge (2007) explains, neuroplasticity is the brain's ability to reorganize itself by forming new neural connections throughout life. The brain changes with experience, rewiring itself in response to challenges and strengthening neural pathways based on repeated, context-rich learning experiences. When learners engage in AI-driven simulations, such as realistic conversations with virtual assistants or chatbots, they activate areas of the brain involved in problem-solving, language processing, and emotional regulation. These experiences help develop the cognitive and emotional skills necessary for effective communication.

AI-driven simulations offer learners opportunities to engage in realistic conversations by mimicking diverse accents, cultural contexts, and business scenarios. This prepares users for real-world interactions and is particularly beneficial for adults in business settings, where confidence and adaptability in communication are critical. For example, professionals can participate in simulated meetings, negotiations, or customer interactions, gaining valuable experience in a risk-free environment. Tools like ChatGPT-based systems, Google AI's language tools, and Speak.ai offer interactive scenarios where learners can practice conversational skills and receive feedback.

Furthermore, neuroscience highlights the importance of experiential learning, defined by Kolb (1984) as “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience”. By simulating business settings, difficult conversations, or negotiations, AI tools enable learners to build confidence in their communication

skills. These experiences facilitate the formation of "mental models" for real-world interactions, helping learners anticipate and respond to various scenarios effectively. AI-powered role-playing scenarios, for instance, allow users to practice handling difficult conversations, such as resolving conflicts or delivering constructive feedback. Additionally, the feedback provided by AI-based systems supports reinforcement learning, strengthening desirable responses and behaviors and leading to improved performance over time. By exposing learners to a variety of communication styles and scenarios, these simulations help build both linguistic proficiency and interpersonal skills.

In summary, neuroscience indicates that engaging with AI-driven simulations fosters the development of strong neural connections related to communication, problem-solving, and interpersonal skills, which are essential for success in professional settings.

Ethical Considerations in AI-based Training

While AI enhances language learning, ethical considerations must be addressed. Ensuring data privacy, minimizing algorithmic biases, and promoting equitable access to technology are essential for creating inclusive and effective learning environments. Educators and developers must carefully reflect on the implications of AI potentially replacing human interaction in language learning. Although AI tools offer valuable support, striking a balance between technology and human guidance is crucial to ensure that learners continue to benefit from the empathy, cultural insights, and adaptability that only human instructors can provide. As Krashen (1985) highlights, language is best acquired through interaction, where learners are exposed to meaningful input and have opportunities to produce language themselves. Social interaction thus provides the

context in which learners can make sense of language and negotiate meaning. This supports the claim that human engagement is vital for building cultural awareness and fostering emotional connections. Studies in applied linguistics further emphasize that instructors bring a nuanced understanding, contextual flexibility, and the ability to address learners' emotional and motivational needs—qualities that remain challenging for AI to replicate. Moreover, efforts should be made to ensure that AI tools are accessible to learners from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, helping to bridge the digital divide and promote inclusivity.

As AI technologies evolve, important questions arise: How can we preserve the human dimension in language education while embracing technological advancements?. What ethical frameworks should guide the development and implementation of AI-based learning tools?. And how can educators be supported in critically integrating AI in ways that enhance, rather than replace, the human experience of learning?

Conclusion

AI offers transformative opportunities for adults learning and using ELF in professional contexts. By personalizing learning experiences, providing real-time feedback, and simulating authentic interactions, AI-driven tools empower learners to achieve their communication goals more effectively. Neuroscience research highlights the significance of emotional relevance and personalized learning, with findings showing that such approaches activate key brain regions, like the hippocampus and prefrontal cortex, which are essential for memory retention, engagement, and skill development.

As technology advances, the ethical and thoughtful integration of AI into language training remains an essential priority for educators and learners. Striking the right balance between innovation and responsibility will ensure AI remains a powerful ally in helping professionals develop the linguistic, cultural, and cognitive skills necessary to succeed in increasingly interconnected global business environments.

However, while AI reshapes the role of trainers—allowing them to focus on nurturing critical thinking, cultural competence, and nuanced communication—questions still linger about how to preserve the human elements of learning. AI can handle repetitive tasks and offer data-driven insights, but the power of human interaction, empathy, and cultural understanding will always be irreplaceable in the language learning process.

The future of language education is one that embraces both technological advancement and the enduring importance of human-centered teaching. As we look ahead, it is vital to reflect on how these tools will evolve to meet the needs of learners, ensuring that AI supports, rather than replaces, the profound human connections that make learning meaningful.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Despite the transformative opportunities of AI, this analysis acknowledges significant limitations that open future lines of research. The main limitations are ethical, including the need to ensure data privacy, minimize algorithmic biases, and promote equitable access to technology to avoid widening the digital divide. A central concern is the risk of AI replacing human interaction, which is irreplaceable for developing empathy, cultural competence, addressing the emotional needs of learners, and eventually the acquisition of language itself. Based on this, future research should focus on developing

robust ethical frameworks for implementing AI in education. Furthermore, it is crucial to investigate how to preserve and enhance the human dimension in technological learning environments and how to support educators in critically integrating these tools, ensuring that technology serves as a complement that enhances, rather than a substitute for, human connection and guidance.

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Los cuatro sentidos de *common law* y su traducción al español

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Resumen

Este artículo ensaya una respuesta sobre la pregunta de a qué nos referimos cuando hablamos de «common law». «Common law» es un sintagma complejo que hace referencia a conceptos diferentes según el contexto en que se use. El artículo expone la «fórmula Moréteau»: una manera de explicar el fenómeno recurriendo a siglas para cada uno de los sentidos. La fórmula se basa en las explicaciones que da en sus clases de Introducción al Derecho Estadounidense el profesor Olivier Moréteau, de Louisiana State University. A partir de la identificación de cuatro usos claros y diferentes del término, la fórmula permite distinguir los significados con precisión. El artículo da cuenta de que esta no es la única manera de analizar la complejidad semántica de «common law», pero reconoce la fórmula aquí expuesta como una explicación eficaz y completa.

Palabras clave: traducción jurídica, derecho comparado, derecho continental, derecho anglonorteamericano, terminología jurídica.

Abstract

This article offers an answer to the question of what we mean when we talk about “common law”. “Common law” is a complex syntagm which refers to different concepts depending on the context where it is used. This article discusses the “Moréteau Formula”—a way of explaining the phenomenon by using acronyms for each sense. The formula is based on the explanations given by Louisiana State University Professor Olivier Moréteau in his Introduction to U.S. Law class. Based on identifying four clear and transparent uses of the term, the formula makes it possible to distinguish the meanings accurately. The article explains that this is not the only way of explaining the semantic complexity of “common law”, but credits the formula with providing an effective and comprehensive explanation.

Keywords: legal translation, comparative law, civil law, common law, legal terminology.

Introducción

«Common law» es un término polisémico. Esta etiqueta hace referencia a una noción compleja que toda persona vinculada con el derecho, la traducción jurídica o campos afines debe conocer. Volcar al español este término suele considerarse un supuesto de intraducibilidad. Sin embargo, claudicar y reconocer que no queda más opción que usar el extranjerismo crudo es un atajo inconveniente *a priori*. Al menos, no debe seguirse este camino de manera acrítica, pues, según cada uno de sus significados y el contexto de uso, puede haber otras opciones disponibles para expresar el concepto.

En todo caso, es necesario comprender a fondo todas las acepciones del término «common law» y, recién ahí, optar por una versión. Esta necesidad de entender exige una inmersión en una tradición jurídica que se ha desarrollado exclusivamente en un idioma, el inglés, y en muy estrecho contacto con una jurisdicción específica, Inglaterra (Mellinkoff, 1963, p. 4). Entender la terminología del «common law» exige comprender una cultura jurídica moldeada a partir de determinados hechos históricos. Este desarrollo no ha estado diseñado estructuralmente con antelación, sino que ha ido tomando forma sobre la marcha, como bien reconoció Oliver Wendell Holmes: «The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience» (Holmes, 1923, p. 1). Este artículo presenta la explicación de los cuatro sentidos del término «common law» siguiendo la fórmula propuesta en sus clases por Olivier Moréteau, profesor de origen francés residente en Luisiana. La fórmula es un atajo gráfico para comprender rápida y visualmente los diferentes significados de este término polisémico atado a una cultura jurídica específica.

La «fórmula Moréteau»

La fórmula ideada por el profesor Olivier Moréteau como recurso didáctico parte de un primer significado histórico de «common law» (CL1), ligado a sus orígenes como sistema jurídico centralizado por Guillermo el Conquistador. Luego, a partir de otro desarrollo histórico, el segundo significado distingue entre «common law» (CL2) y «equity» (E). El tercer significado opone «common law» (CL3) a «statutory law» (S) (de modo que $CL3 = CL2 + E$). Finalmente, el cuarto sentido responde al significado más amplio de todos, en referencia a la tradición jurídica que se denota con ese término (por lo que $CL4 = CL3 (CL2 + E) + S$).¹³

Los componentes de la fórmula quedan explicados en la siguiente tabla:

Sigla	Explicación
CL1	El «derecho común» del reino
CL2	El conjunto de las decisiones de los tribunales reales (incluye CL1), en oposición al derecho derivado de E («equity»)

¹³ Las bases de la fórmula propuesta por Moréteau aparecen en trabajos tempranos suyos (Moréteau, 2000, pp. 21-32, donde explica el desarrollo del «common law», «equity» y el derecho legislado; también hay un tratamiento más sistemático en Moréteau y Vanderlinden, 2003, pp. 45-48). De todos modos, la fórmula tal como se presenta en este artículo es parte de sus clases introductorias al derecho estadounidense en la materia *Introduction to U.S. Law*, que es obligatoria para quienes hacen el LL.M. in *Comparative Law* en Louisiana State University. El autor de este artículo cursó esa materia en el otoño de 2019. La expresión de la fórmula se basa en el material de clase distribuido por Moréteau, así como en los apuntes personales del autor. El autor tiene la autorización expresa de Moréteau para difundir la fórmula en este artículo.

CL3	CL2 + E (jurisprudencia de los tribunales reales más «equity»), en oposición a S (el derecho legislado)
CL4	CL4 = CL3 (CL2 + E) + S
E	«Equity»
S	Derecho legislado (de «Statutes»)

Tabla 1: Siglas de la fórmula Moréteau. Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Esta fórmula no es la única posible, sino que es una manera de segmentar la realidad del concepto «common law». Algunos autores han optado por dividir el fenómeno de otro modo; en ciertos casos, con algunas ligeras diferencias. Por ejemplo, Peter De Cruz divide en cuatro el concepto, pero de otro modo. «Common law», para él, significa cuatro cosas: 1) el sistema jurídico inglés desarrollado y aplicable en Inglaterra y Gales, 2) la parte del derecho inglés creada por los tribunales reales a partir del siglo XII, en oposición a «statute law», o el derecho consagrado por el Parlamento en oposición a las reglas de «equity», que comenzaron a desarrollarse en el siglo XIV; 3) el uso moderno, que incluye los casos y las leyes inglesas, incluidos los principios de los tribunales de «common law» y los de «equity»; 4) la parte del derecho inglés que ha sido «recibida» por una jurisdicción determinada, ya sea por colonización o por adopción voluntaria (De Cruz, 1999, p. 101).

Otra clasificación posible es la que ofrece el principal diccionario jurídico del mundo angloamericano, el *Black's Law Dictionary*, que identifica cuatro sentidos de «common law»: 1) el derecho derivado de las decisiones judiciales, y no de las leyes o constituciones; 2) el derecho basado en el sistema jurídico inglés, en oposición al

derecho continental; el sistema anglonorteamericano de conceptos jurídicos, junto con las técnicas para aplicarlos, que forman la base del derecho en las jurisdicciones en las que se aplica el sistema; 3) el derecho general común a un país en su totalidad, en contraposición al derecho especial que es solo de aplicación local (ofrece como sinónimo «jus commune»); 4) el derecho dimanado de los tribunales de derecho y no de los tribunales de «equity» (Garner, 2024, p. 348).

Bryan Garner, en su diccionario de uso del inglés jurídico, llega a identificar siete sentidos para el término «common law», entre ellos, la potestad de los jueces de crear nuevo derecho bajo la apariencia de hacer interpretación, el derecho jurisprudencial moderno y la mera referencia a «leyes habituales» (es decir, una ley de amplia adopción), uso este último que identifica con una equivocación habitual («miscue») entre los no versados en derecho (Garner, 2001, pp. 177-178).¹⁴

El presente artículo parte de la premisa de que la fórmula Moréteau es la que mejor disecciona la complejidad semántica de «common law» en toda su extensión y, por eso, las secciones que siguen están dedicadas a analizar cada uno de sus componentes.

¹⁴ Algún lector podría sentir confusión al ver dos citas seguidas del prolífico autor estadounidense Bryan Garner que difieren en su disección de los sentidos de «common law». Sucede que, en el primer caso, la cita es del *Black's Law Dictionary*, diccionario jurídico de referencia en el mundo anglonorteamericano, del que Garner es director. En el segundo caso, la cita es del diccionario de uso jurídico titulado *A Dictionary of Modern Legal Usage*, del que Garner es autor. Las diferencias entre un diccionario jurídico general, como el *Black's*, y un diccionario de uso, como la segunda obra mencionada, podrían explicar la divergencia entre ambas clasificaciones, así como también que Garner es director en un caso y autor en el otro.

El sentido primigenio de «common law» (CL1)

La primera acepción de «common law» es la más vinculada con la historia: en 1066, Guillermo el Conquistador, anteriormente duque de Normandía, ganó la Batalla de Hastings y se convirtió en rey de Inglaterra. En esa batalla, Guillermo derrotó a Haroldo II de Inglaterra, quien disputaba la sucesión al trono tras la muerte de Eduardo el Confesor, que había muerto sin descendencia. Con razón se ha dicho que el «common law» es un producto derivado de un triunfo administrativo, la manera en que se centralizó y se especializó el gobierno de Inglaterra durante los siglos posteriores a la Conquista (Milsom, 1981, p. 11).

Después de haber ganado la guerra por el trono de Inglaterra, Guillermo se ocupó de reorganizar el territorio, especialmente desde el punto de vista jurídico y judicial. Hizo algo poco común visto con ojos actuales: en vez de imponer un sistema nuevo y deshacerse del anterior, como se consideraba rey por sucesión legítima, prometió a los ingleses que podrían conservar sus leyes anteriores (Baker, 2019, p. 15). Esta decisión probablemente estuvo motivada en que Inglaterra ya era, al momento de la Conquista, una nación unificada con un gobierno central eficiente. Los tribunales reales, en los que se empezó a desarrollar el «common law», surgieron casi un siglo después de la Conquista. La justicia era impartida, no ya por el rey en persona, sino por los miembros de su gabinete, la «Curia Regis». La «Curia Regis» no era un tribunal de justicia en sí, sino un cuerpo compuesto por asesores aristocráticos, prelados y cortesanos que asistían al rey y supervisaban la administración del reino (Baker, 2019, p. 20).

Para el siglo XIII, se establecieron tribunales centralizados (denominados «royal courts», es decir, «tribunales reales») que impartían justicia en nombre del rey. Sin

embargo, estos tribunales no se crearon en el vacío. Después de la Conquista, Guillermo encontró tribunales locales desperdigados por el territorio inglés que aplicaban derecho local. Ese sistema jurídico consuetudinario se apoyaba en costumbres que variaban de región a región. Por ejemplo, eran habituales los juicios por ordalías («*trials by ordeal*»). Por caso, a una persona acusada se la forzaba a sostener un pedazo de hierro caliente, que le causaba una lesión en la mano. Días después, esa persona debía volver al tribunal y mostrar la herida. Si esta había sanado, por intervención divina, se demostraba que era inocente. De lo contrario, si la mano no había sanado, se la consideraba culpable.

Los tribunales reales fueron tres originalmente: «*King's Bench*», «*Court of Common Pleas*» y «*Court of the Exchequer*» (Worthington, 2010, p. 8). El derecho derivado de las sentencias de estos tribunales pronto formaría la base de lo que se llamó «*common law*», es decir, derecho común o uniforme de todo el territorio inglés, a diferencia de las costumbres que se aplicaban localmente antes de la llegada de Guillermo. Este sistema de justicia era relativamente eficiente; los tribunales reales sesionaban en pleno cuatro veces al año. El resto del año, los jueces recorrían «*circuitos*» por el territorio inglés y llevaban el derecho de Westminster con ellos. Se suponía que se aplicaba el «*common law*», a menos que se pudiera probar la existencia de una costumbre local (Glendon, 2025). Dado el tamaño limitado del país, el sistema funcionaba bien, y las cuestiones difíciles se resolvían en sesiones plenarias en Westminster. Este sentido de «*common law*» surgió para distinguir entre el derecho general de las costumbres y privilegios locales o grupales; daba la idea de un «*derecho universal*» basado en la razón y de

naturaleza superior a los existentes (Glendon et al., 2025, s. v. «common law», sección «Development of a centralized judiciary»).

El sistema de justicia en el que operaban los tribunales reales estaba basado en «forms of action» o «writs». En un principio, los «writs» eran órdenes del rey; una vez otorgado el «writ», el destinatario no tenía más opción que cumplir la orden contenida en el «writ». No obedecer no era ya una cuestión de incumplir frente a un individuo, sino de incumplir una orden real, punible hasta con la cárcel (Herzog, 2018, pp. 100-102). El sistema de «writs» estaba estructurado conforme a supuestos muy concretos y cada «writ», a su vez, tenía una denominación igual de específica, como «writ of trespass», «writ of covenant», «writ of trover and detinue», «writ of right» o «writ of assumpsit». Al comienzo, la obtención de un «writ» implicaba para el destinatario de la orden contenida en él la sola posibilidad de acatar. Con el tiempo, surgió la posibilidad de que el destinatario fuera escuchado antes de obedecer, con la opción de plantear su defensa. Esta interacción dio lugar a lo que luego se transformó en la presentación y la contestación de la demanda en un proceso judicial. A pesar de esta flexibilización, con el tiempo el sistema de los «writs» demostró ser extremadamente rígido, ya que la solicitud de un «writ» incorrecto para la pretensión de fondo que se tuviera podía derivar en el rechazo pleno, con la consecuente imposibilidad de solicitar un nuevo «writ». Esta inflexibilidad procesal y otras deficiencias sustantivas del «common law», derivadas de la falta de una respuesta justa ante determinados conflictos jurídicos, dio

paso al surgimiento de un nuevo sistema, el de «equity», y por ende implicó una resignificación del término «common law».¹⁵

La oposición entre «common law» (CL2) y «equity» (E)

Las dificultades derivadas de la rigidez del sistema de «writs» hicieron que surgiera algo nuevo en el derecho inglés: una jurisdicción especial en la que se pudieran analizar y resolver aquellos casos que no encontraban solución en el derecho jurisprudencial derivado de los tribunales reales (CL2). A medida que llegaban los reclamos que no encontraban una solución justa en el rígido «common law», el rey derivaba esas peticiones a su principal asesor en materia jurídica, el «Lord Chancellor». El «Lord Chancellor» era el encargado de custodiar la consciencia del rey. Las peticiones que llegaban al «Lord Chancellor» eran situaciones que no encontraban solución en los canales habituales y, por lo tanto, se solicitaba una resolución alternativa (Martin, 2009, p. 6). Lo usual era que los «chancellors» fueran clérigos, versados en teología y derecho canónico. Con el tiempo, la figura fue cambiando a especialistas en derecho que no eran clérigos. En un determinado momento, el rey institucionalizó esta derivación de casos al «Lord Chancellor» con la creación de un tribunal especializado a su cargo, el «Court of Chancery».

El sistema jurídico que se desarrolló con los casos que decidía el «Lord Chancellor» en el «Court of Chancery» se conoció como «equity». Así, el segundo significado de «common law» (CL2) opone el sistema derivado de la jurisprudencia de los tribunales

¹⁵ En la actualidad los «writs» ya no existen, pero su influencia entre los profesionales que ejercen en el «common law» ha sido tan profunda que aún hoy condiciona su forma de pensar: «persiste la estructura mental, como cuando se quita una torta del molde» (Moréteau, 2009, p. 59).

reales al conjunto de conceptos, doctrinas y decisiones de «equity». Una de las características del «Court of Chancery» era que no estaba atado a precedentes vinculantes, como sí sucedía en el «common law» de los tribunales reales.¹⁶ El «Lord Chancellor», como titular de la «Court of Chancery», no fallaba conforme a reglas establecidas en casos anteriores, sino persiguiendo la justicia en el caso concreto (de ahí la «equidad»). Esa mayor flexibilidad iba de la mano con el apartamiento de la rigidez de los «writs», que eran la llave de acceso al «common law», pero no a «equity». Para distinguir este uso en particular de «common law» (CL2) por oposición a «equity», hay quien prefiere usar mayúsculas en ambos casos: «Common Law» y «Equity» (Worthington, 2010, p. 9, nota 1).

«Equity» es también un hueso duro de roer para quien no tenga formación en el «common law». La única forma de comprender qué es «equity» es recurriendo a la virtud intelectual de la apertura mental que se exige para comprender una realidad foránea que no tiene réplica en los sistemas del derecho continental. El sistema o conjunto de principios que conocemos con este nombre se explica exclusivamente como un surgimiento histórico en respuesta a la insuficiencia y rigidez del «common law». No

¹⁶ Esto, con el tiempo, cambió también. Con el desarrollo de «equity», comenzó a proyectarse una tendencia a acatar los propios precedentes. En referencia al «Chancellor» Lord Eldon (1801-1806, 1807-1827), William Holdsworth expresó que ha sido uno de los mayores especialistas en «equity» y lo ejemplificó con una cita directa de Lord Eldon y su preocupación por el precedente: «Nothing would inflict on me greater pain in quitting this place than the recollection that I had done anything to justify the reproach that the equity of this court varies like the Chancellor's foot» (citado en Martin, 2009, p. 14).

existe equivalente en otra tradición jurídica, por lo que usar el extranjerismo crudo suele ser la mejor estrategia de traducción en español y en otras lenguas.

Entre 1873 y 1875 se produjo una importante reforma en el derecho inglés con la aprobación de las leyes denominadas «Judicature Acts», por medio de las cuales se eliminó la distinción jurisdiccional entre tribunales de «common law» y tribunales de «equity». Sin embargo, aun con esta fusión procesal, la sustancia de la distinción entre «common law» y «equity» continuó vigente y sigue vigente al día de hoy. Por ejemplo, la vigencia de la distinción se identifica en la separación entre «legal remedies» y «equitable remedies». Esto no es más que reparaciones reconocidas por el «common law» y reparaciones reconocidas por «equity». Ante un incumplimiento contractual, por ejemplo, típicamente la respuesta del «common law» era la de permitir que el afectado por el incumplimiento reclamara una indemnización en concepto de daños y perjuicios (lo que en inglés se conoce como «damages», un «legal remedy»). Para obtener esta reparación, quien la solicitara debía argumentar ante un tribunal siguiendo el sistema de conceptos del derecho general derivado de los tribunales reales (es decir, el «common law», en el sentido CL2). En cambio, si el damnificado por el incumplimiento contractual pretendía que un juez forzara al incumplidor a ejecutar la prestación exactamente como se había pactado en el contrato, debía recurrir a los principios y conceptos de «equity» para solicitar la reparación en especie conocida como ejecución forzosa («specific performance»).

La oposición entre «common law» (CL3) y «statutory law» (S)

El tercer sentido de «common law» es el que se opone a «statutory law». En este uso, «common law» se refiere al conjunto de decisiones judiciales en sí, lo que en derecho

continental se conoce como «jurisprudencia» (también puede decirse que, en este sentido, «common law» es sinónimo de «caselaw» e, incluso, de «jurisprudence» (Vitetta, 2021)). Vale aclarar, en este punto, que «equity» comparte con esta acepción de «common law» el origen jurisprudencial: ambos derechos son el resultado de la creación judicial. Esta es la acepción de «common law» en una frase como la siguiente en los Estados Unidos: «The Uniform Commercial Code applies only in sales of goods; any other contractual transactions are covered by the common law». Es decir, el tercer sentido de «common law» hace referencia a lo que conocemos como «derecho jurisprudencial», en oposición al derecho que surge de la legislación, de las leyes: «derecho legislado» («statutory law»). «Common law» en este sentido (es decir, CL3) es más amplio que CL1 y CL2, porque también incluye dentro de la denominación el conjunto de conceptos y doctrinas de «equity». En este sentido, solamente se oponen dos fuentes de derecho: la jurisprudencia y la ley (en sentido formal). Así, la oración del ejemplo anterior, podría traducirse del siguiente modo: «El Código Comercial Uniforme se aplica solo a las ventas de bienes; todas las demás operaciones contractuales quedan cubiertas por el derecho jurisprudencial». Pertenecen a esta acepción de «common law» los usos del término como adjetivo compuesto con guion («hyphenated adjective») en denominaciones de ciertos institutos jurídicos creados o reconocidos por la jurisprudencia (y no por la legislación), como «common-law crime», «common-law copyright» o «common-law marriage», entre algunos otros. Así, por ejemplo, un

«common-law crime» es un delito penado en virtud de la jurisprudencia y no de una ley.¹⁷

Julio Cueto Rúa destacó que la distinción entre «common law» y derecho legislado es de larga data e incluso puede rastrearse en la obra de William Blackstone, que distinguía entre derecho escrito («lex scripta») y derecho no escrito («lex non scripta»). Este autor identificaba el derecho no escrito con el «common law», y el derecho escrito con el derecho legislado (Cueto Rúa, 1957, pp. 30-31). Sin embargo, no es exacto identificar el «common law» con el derecho no escrito, ya que ese derecho que tuvo origen en tiempos inmemoriales en el reino se encuentra, efectivamente, plasmado en documentos escritos: las sentencias judiciales.

Es frecuente escuchar una opinión liviana sobre las diferencias entre el derecho continental y el «common law» según la cual el derecho continental se distingue por estar basado en leyes, mientras que el «common law» tiene como fuente principal o exclusiva de derecho la jurisprudencia.¹⁸ Esta versión simplista puede refutarse con solo revisar las leyes más recientes aprobadas en el Parlamento inglés o en el Congreso de los Estados Unidos, por poner el ejemplo de las dos principales jurisdicciones de «common law». Si bien el «common law» se desarrolló principalmente sobre la base de

¹⁷ En la actualidad, lo más habitual es que las diferentes jurisdicciones cuenten con códigos penales modernos y que los delitos reconocidos por la jurisprudencia hayan caído en desuso.

¹⁸ En relación con las apreciaciones livianas sobre las diferencias entre el derecho continental y el «common law», puede verse con provecho Spamann, 2024. Aunque el autor de a ratos parece forzar el argumento para evitar conceder que existen diferencias sustanciales entre una tradición y otra, muchas apreciaciones contrarias a los «mitos» sobre la diferencia son sólidas y están bien argumentadas.

las decisiones judiciales, es decir, de la jurisprudencia, la actividad legislativa de los órganos encargados de aprobar leyes ha cobrado importancia creciente con el tiempo. La principal diferencia entre una tradición y otra radica en el estilo con el que se aborda la legislación: mientras que la tradición continental se enmarca en el paradigma de la codificación decimonónica, en el que se pretenden aprobar códigos sistemáticos e integrales, en el «common law» el estereotipo legislativo es el de las «remedial statutes», es decir, leyes dictadas para resolver un problema específico, pero no para sistematizar un área del derecho. Muchas veces, en el «common law» se dicta una ley para cambiar una solución jurídica derivada de un precedente judicial. Recordemos que, por aplicación de la doctrina de «stare decisis», en el «common law» no se admite el cambio de criterio de una decisión previa que tenga carácter de precedente por mero desacuerdo con la solución contenida en ella. En esta tradición, también, las leyes tienen por objeto complementar el «common law» (en el sentido CL3).

Estas diferencias en el modo de abordar la legislación en ambas tradiciones se reflejan también en el estilo de la legislación en cada tradición: mientras que en el derecho continental cada ley intenta establecer un régimen lo más completo posible, generalmente en forma de artículos que contienen párrafos enteros, en el «common law» se legisla definiendo muchísimos términos con antelación y con largas listas, catálogos y cadenas de referencia (Dale, 1977, p. 331 y siguientes; citado en Karpen, 2012, p. 161). De este modo, es muy habitual en el «common law» encontrar que las primeras secciones están dedicadas a definir palabras de utilidad para la ley en cuestión, a la vez que cada definición dentro de cada sección se desgrana en múltiples incisos, y estos a su vez en incisos de incisos...

La oposición entre «common law» y «civil law»

El último sentido de «common law» estudiado en este artículo es el que opone, por ejemplo, «common law» a «civil law». Es decir, se trata de la etiqueta utilizada para dar nombre al conjunto de sistemas jurídicos que se consideran comprendidos dentro de la tradición jurídica surgida en Inglaterra en el siglo XI y expandida a través de las colonias inglesas. En este sentido, puede decirse que «common law» abarca todos los demás sentidos del término, de modo que $CL4 = CL3 (CL2 + E) + S$. O sea, «common law» como tradición jurídica abarca el derecho nacional histórico creado con la Conquista Normanda, el conjunto de la jurisprudencia de los tribunales reales, más «equity» (derivada del «Court of Chancery»), más el derecho legislado emanado de las leyes aprobadas por el órgano legislativo correspondiente.

En este punto conviene hacer una precisión terminológica importante: el «common law» en el sentido CL4 describe la etiqueta de una tradición jurídica o familia de sistemas jurídicos, pero no un «sistema». El «common law» no es un sistema en sí; lo que sí existen son sistemas específicos, como el sistema jurídico de Inglaterra, el de Australia o el de Texas. Ese conjunto de sistemas forma parte de algo más grande que se denomina «tradición»; algunos también optan por usar, para el mismo concepto, «familia jurídica» (David y Brierley, 1988, pp. 17-31). «Sistema», así, se refiere al grupo de elementos que interactúan o son interdependientes y que forman un todo unificado. Los sistemas deben entenderse como un proceso dinámico que involucra un grupo de elementos relacionados de manera funcional, condicionados mutuamente e interdependientes, que en conjunto lo dotan de su rasgo especial. Así, hablamos, por ejemplo, de sistema solar, de sistema digestivo o de sistema jurídico. En esta acepción,

«sistema jurídico» equivale a «ordenamiento jurídico». Un sistema jurídico es un conjunto operativo de instituciones, procedimientos y reglas de corte jurídico. En un mundo organizado en estados soberanos y organizaciones de estados, existen tanto sistemas jurídicos como estados y organizaciones (Merryman, 2007, p. 1).

El término «tradición jurídica», por su parte, hace referencia a un conjunto de actitudes profundamente enraizadas y condicionadas históricamente sobre la naturaleza del derecho, el papel del derecho en la sociedad y el sistema político, la adecuada organización y operación de un sistema jurídico, y la manera en que el derecho es o debe hacerse, aplicarse, estudiarse, perfeccionarse y enseñarse (Merryman, 2007, p. 2).

Así, hablamos de países que siguen la tradición continental o de base romano-germánica (estas son dos de las etiquetas correctas con las que se puede nombrar lo que en inglés se denomina «civil law», es decir, la metonimia con la que se conoce el derecho continental en inglés, tomando una parte por el todo). Por lo general, se dividen las tradiciones jurídicas en derecho continental, «common law», derecho musulmán, derecho consuetudinario y jurisdicciones mixtas (habitualmente, combinan «common law» y derecho continental).¹⁹

Propuestas de traducción al español

La traducción es una actividad que siempre depende del contexto en el que se insertan los textos de destino. En particular, la función del texto de destino, que puede no ser la misma que la del texto de origen, condiciona o sugiere la adopción de determinadas estrategias de traducción (Pym, 2023, p. 52 y siguientes). A veces convendrá traducir literalmente; otras veces, adaptar al idioma de destino; otras, conservar un extranjerismo

¹⁹ Se puede consultar una visión crítica de las clasificaciones estancas de familias jurídicas en Husa, 2024.

crudo y, quizás, agregar una nota al pie. Estas decisiones son las que enfrenta el traductor que tiene el objetivo de volcar a un idioma un texto que está escrito originalmente en otro. También enfrenta estos problemas quien, sin dedicarse a la traducción, debe expresar esta realidad en un idioma distinto del inglés, como puede ser un abogado, un académico, un profesor, un juez...

Más allá de la variedad de posibilidades que se abren al tener en cuenta el contexto y la función, es posible ofrecer algunas soluciones de traducción para el término «common law» en abstracto, del mismo modo que se hace en un glosario o en un diccionario.²⁰ Si bien en las secciones anteriores, en la explicación de cada sentido, se hizo mención a algunas de las traducciones posibles para cada sentido de «common law», en esta sección se analizan las posibilidades con un grado mayor de detalle. Estas posibilidades de traducción se basan en cada uno de los cuatro sentidos del término estudiados en este artículo. En algunos casos, también se mencionarán traducciones habituales de «common law» que pueden juzgarse erradas.

En primer lugar, la acepción CL1 es compatible, siempre que el contexto lo permita, con «derecho común», «derecho uniforme» y hasta «derecho nacional». Recordemos que este es el significado primigenio que da el nombre a «common law». Esta traducción sirve, también, para hacer referencia al sentido más literal del adjetivo «common» en «common law»: se trata de un derecho, creado por los tribunales del rey a

²⁰ Puede verse un abordaje distinto, con ejemplos contextualizados, en Andrada e Irrazábal (2023), en que se vincula la teoría de la traducción, en particular la del *skopos*, con este problema de traducción concreto. Estos autores, además, aplican el concepto de «culturema» para analizar la oposición entre «common law» y «equity», enfoque acertado a juicio del autor del presente artículo.

partir de la Conquista de 1066, «común» a todo el territorio del reino inglés, y no limitado a las ciudades y subdivisiones más pequeñas a las que se circunscribía el derecho local antes de la llegada de Guillermo el Conquistador. En este mismo sentido, «derecho nacional» también puede funcionar para describir el campo semántico CL1. Se trata del derecho que se aplicaba a toda la nación inglesa, sin distinción de localidades. También, siguiendo la misma línea de pensamiento, puede funcionar «derecho uniforme». Sin embargo, en este punto es apropiado aclarar que «derecho común», «derecho nacional» y «derecho uniforme» son términos con mucho contenido específico que, sin las debidas aclaraciones o usados fuera de contexto, pueden transmitir conceptos erróneos. Por ejemplo, es habitual usar la construcción «derecho común» en oposición al derecho federal en las jurisdicciones que tienen un sistema federal de gobierno. Por otro lado, y poniendo otro ejemplo, en el contexto del derecho de la integración, «derecho nacional» hace referencia al derecho de cada país integrante de una unión, a diferencia del derecho comunitario o de la unión. «Derecho uniforme» suele ser la etiqueta preferida para referirse a los instrumentos de «soft law» que intentan unificar los diferentes derechos nacionales. Para evitar estas posibilidades de malentendidos, si el contexto no las ahuyentara, puede recurrirse al extranjerismo crudo, con la marca diacrítica que corresponda, ya sea cursiva o comillas: «common law». En segundo lugar, la traducción del sentido CL2 exige tener presente el contraste de «common law» con el concepto de «equity». Como ya se explicó en la cuarta sección, «equity» es un concepto profundamente arraigado en la historia de la evolución del «common law», que no puede explicarse ni traducirse mediante equivalentes funcionales en otros sistemas jurídicos. Simplemente, no hay equivalente. Recurrir a la

traducción directa y literal de «equidad» para «equity» es peligroso e inexacto, aunque ambos términos tienen algún contenido en común. En español, «equidad» es un «principio de justicia material que debe ponderarse en la aplicación de las normas en atención a las circunstancias del caso» (Muñoz Machado, pp. 934-935). Esta definición no está desconectada del sentido original de «equity». La jurisdicción de «equity» y su conjunto de doctrinas y conceptos nació, precisamente, por la rigidez de la otra jurisdicción, el «common law» (CL2) a la hora de ofrecer soluciones a los problemas jurídicos de la población. En sus orígenes, la jurisdicción de «equity» implicaba un sentido de justicia particular al caso en cuestión, a diferencia de la rigidez del «common law». Entonces, salvo que el contexto despeje toda duda a favor de la equivalencia entre «equity» y «equidad», es mejor conservar el extranjerismo crudo para esta realidad tan específica del «common law», que no tiene parangón en otras tradiciones. Por las mismas razones, es muy difícil traducir al español «common law» en el sentido CL2. El diccionario de Cabanellas y Hoague incluye la posibilidad de «derecho estricto» (Cabanellas y Hoague, 2010, p. 140). Esta opción tiene la ventaja de ser descriptiva para quien conozca la historia: el «common law», basado en los «writs», en un determinado momento histórico devino rígido, «estricto», por lo que fue necesario crear una jurisdicción alternativa, encabezada por el «Lord Chancellor», para resolver aquellos casos en los que no se podía alcanzar una solución justa debido a la falta de flexibilidad del «derecho estricto», es decir, el sentido CL2. La principal desventaja que tiene esta traducción es que, en sí, «derecho estricto» no transmite mucho al hispanohablante medio, aun con conocimientos jurídicos. Solo adquiere sentido cuando está claro el

contraste con el «common law» rígido dimanado de los tribunales reales (CL2). Por supuesto, también en estos casos es válido el uso del extranjerismo crudo.

En tercer lugar, la traducción del tercer sentido de «common law», CL3, exige un manejo de la terminología de las fuentes del derecho. El sentido CL3 contrasta, no ya con «equity», sino con otra importante fuente de derecho: la emanada de un congreso o parlamento, la legislación. Así, por ejemplo, podríamos encontrar frases como la siguiente: «Any cases not governed by the Uniform Commercial Code are to be decided searching for an answer in the common law». Es decir, «los casos no regidos por el Código de Comercio Uniforme se decidirán conforme a la jurisprudencia». En suma, el sentido CL3 puede traducirse con acierto como «jurisprudencia» a secas, en el sentido de ‘conjunto de decisiones judiciales que sientan precedente y resuelven algún conflicto jurídico’ o, incluso, como «derecho jurisprudencial», es decir, el derecho que surge del conjunto de fallos judiciales. En este caso, quizás sea contraproducente usar el extranjerismo crudo «common law», ya que alguien podría verse tentado de preguntarse si el UCC del ejemplo anterior no forma parte, de hecho, del «common law». Se trataría simplemente de un malentendido entre las diversas acepciones de «common law», ya que la legislación (tal cosa es el UCC) es parte, en efecto, de una concepción más amplia del «common law» (CL3). Si, según el contexto, se evalúa que no hay riesgo de confusión, puede usarse el extranjerismo crudo sin problemas. Hay quienes consideran que sería adecuado calificar el sustantivo «jurisprudencia» con un adjetivo que dé cuenta de la fuerza vinculante de esa fuente del derecho en el «common law». Así, proponen «jurisprudencia obligatoria» (Andrada e Irrazábal, p. 29) para traducir «common law» en el sentido CL3. Si bien el agregado no daña porque transmite una

calificación que se corresponde con la realidad (por la aplicación de la doctrina del *stare decisis*, los precedentes que forman la jurisprudencia tienen fuerza vinculante en el «common law»), también es verdad que el uso de «jurisprudencia» en un contexto en el que se denote la referencia al «common law» transmite ya esa idea. Incluso en español puede decirse que a veces se usa el término «para hacer referencia a algo que tendría valor de precedente» (Ratti Mendaña, 2020, p. 153); es decir, que es de seguimiento obligatorio. De hecho, hay autores calificados que, dentro del derecho continental, proponen replicar los métodos de la tradición del «common law» para dotar a los profesionales del derecho vernáculos de herramientas para operar con precedentes, es decir, para tratar (cierta) jurisprudencia como obligatoria (Garay, 2021). También se ha sostenido que la Argentina, como ejemplo de jurisdicción del derecho continental, tiene un «toque de “common law”» en este aspecto, al dar a cierta jurisprudencia un valor similar al que se le da en el «common law» (Legarre y Handy, 2021). La formulación teórica más extrema, dentro de los estudios del derecho comparado, sostiene que es un mito que la jurisprudencia no sea obligatoria o fuente de derecho en el derecho continental (Spamann, 2024, pp. 17-26).²¹

En cuarto y último lugar, respecto de la concepción más amplia del «common law» (CL4), a diferencia de las tres anteriores, es conveniente y deseable mantener el extranjerismo crudo. La referencia al «common law» como tradición jurídica imperante en el mundo angloparlante se entiende mejor manteniendo el término en inglés. De hecho, en relación con este sentido se hacen la mayoría de las recomendaciones de

²¹ Esta cita de Spamann (2024, p. 20) es conspicua: «Precedent in France or Germany is not merely a statistical predictor of the (higher) courts’ whims; it has *normative* force» (cursivas en el original).

traducción en español erradas. Por ejemplo, es habitual que algunos diccionarios jurídicos inglés-español ofrezcan como equivalente «derecho consuetudinario» (Bossini et al., 2005, p. 66; Robb, 1967, p. 147; Románach, 2006, p. 142). Es un craso error; o, al menos, se trata de un uso muy inespecífico, que conviene evitar, por su riesgo de confusión con otros conceptos. El derecho consuetudinario es aquel que se basa en reglas derivadas de la costumbre. Si bien es verdad que el «common law» surgió de las costumbres del derecho local inglés anterior a la Conquista Normanda y luego se cristalizó en las decisiones de los tribunales reales, el «common law» no es solo «derecho consuetudinario». En todo caso, esta etiqueta queda muy pequeña para describir la complejidad de fenómenos que hoy componen el «common law», especialmente en su sentido CL4.

Otra traducción insuficiente para el sentido CL4 es la de «derecho anglosajón», bastante difundida. Desde el punto de vista etimológico, el adjetivo «anglosajón» es la combinación de las denominaciones de dos pueblos germánicos que dieron origen al establecimiento de Inglaterra: los anglos y los sajones. En general, la referencia al anglosajón es a la ‘lengua germánica occidental que hablaban los antiguos anglosajones desde la invasión de Inglaterra hasta aproximadamente el año 1100’ (Real Academia Española, 2001, p. 155). Vista de este modo, la referencia al «common law» en su sentido CL4 parece más bien un anacronismo: se utiliza un término específico, referido a un determinado momento histórico, para hacer referencia a algo mucho más amplio, que es la tradición jurídica imperante en la mayoría de los países de habla inglesa. En suma, de optarse por una expresión española para este sentido, quizás la que más se acerque a la verdad sea «derecho anglonorteamericano», que hace referencia a los

principales sistemas que componen la tradición, a saber, el de Inglaterra y Gales y el de Estados Unidos de América. Sin embargo, puede argumentarse con razón que esta denominación deja afuera importantes ordenamientos jurídicos que pertenecen a la misma tradición, como el de Australia, el de Nueva Zelanda, el de Nigeria, el de la mayor parte de India, entre otros.²²

La tabla que aparece a continuación resume las traducciones en español sugeridas en el artículo:

Término	Sentido	Traducción
<i>common law</i>	CL1	«derecho común», «derecho uniforme», «derecho nacional», «common law»
	CL2	«derecho estricto», «common law»
	CL3	«jurisprudencia», «derecho jurisprudencial», «common law»
	CL4	«common law», «derecho anglonorteamericano»
<i>equity</i>	E	«equity»

²² Respecto de la denominación equivalente en inglés, «Anglo-American law», se ha dicho que quizás no sea precisa porque el derecho estadounidense ha evolucionado de tal modo en los últimos años que las diferencias con el derecho inglés son ya significativas. No sería preciso englobar, según esta opinión, el derecho inglés y el derecho estadounidense (De Cruz, 1999, p. 102). En este sentido, también se ha comentado el cambio del título de una publicación jurídica periódica de «Anglo-American Law Review» a «Common Law World Review» por este mismo motivo: no hay solo dos países que siguen la tradición del «common law», sino muchos más, y sería más preciso englobarlos en el «mundo del “common law”» (Bennion, 2001, p. 1).

<i>statutory law</i>	S	«derecho legislado»
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Tabla 2: Los equivalentes en español de los cuatro sentidos de «common law». Fuente:

Elaboración propia.

Conclusiones

En este artículo se demostró la complejidad semántica del término «common law» y se propusieron alternativas de traducción al español basadas en cada uno de los cuatro sentidos explicitados. Debe quedar en claro que la disección del concepto en estos cuatro sentidos es una opción entre otras posibles, pero se ha presentado como la más ajustada a la realidad.

Se expuso la fórmula Moréteau como una plasmación concreta de esa disección en cuatro sentidos. Esta fórmula tiene la ventaja de mostrar, de manera visual y didáctica, similitudes y diferencias entre las diferentes acepciones. El artículo dejó en claro que conocer las acepciones de «common law» exige una exploración en la rica historia del sistema jurídico que comenzó con Guillermo el Conquistador en 1066. Sin comprensión del contexto histórico, no es posible entender las acepciones de «common law». Esto es especialmente así en relación con el concepto de «equity».

Finalmente, las propuestas de traducción al español presentadas tienen por objetivo acercar opciones que escapen del exclusivo recurso al extranjerismo crudo. Si bien se explicó que, en ciertos contextos, se puede usar (e incluso en algunos se recomienda usar) el extranjerismo crudo, hay otros en los que el redactor puede decantarse por una opción española. En todo caso, la corrección y adecuación de las opciones sugeridas siempre dependerán del contexto.

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**Influencia del concepto de esclavitud en la traducción de la Biblia de William
Tyndale del siglo XVI y su incidencia en sucesivas traducciones al inglés: el caso de
*doulos***

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Resumen

Este trabajo trata sobre la traducción del término griego *doulos* en la Biblia de William Tyndale y su impacto en posteriores traducciones al inglés. Tomando en consideración la teoría de la equivalencia formal de Eugene Nida, se discute que la traducción frecuente de *doulos*, esto es, *servant*, no consigue comunicar el valor semántico y teológico del término griego. Mediante el análisis sociolingüístico e histórico de los sistemas de esclavitud grecorromano y medieval, se establece la relevancia de preservar el sentido original. Este estudio concluye que la precisión semántica en las traducciones tiene implicaciones relevantes para la vida espiritual de los cristianos.

Palabras clave: *doulos*, *servant*, esclavitud, equivalencia, valor semántico, teología.

Abstract

This article addresses the translation of the Greek term *doulos* in William Tyndale's Bible and its influence on later English translations. From the perspective of formal equivalence proposed by Eugene Nida, it is argued that the frequent translation as *servant* fails to convey the original term's semantic and theological weight. Through historical and sociolinguistic analysis of Greco-Roman and medieval slavery systems, the importance of preserving the original meaning is highlighted. This study concludes that semantic fidelity has relevant doctrinal implications for contemporary Christian understanding.

Keywords: *doulos*, servant, slavery, equivalence, semantic value, theology.

Introducción

La obra más traducida en la humanidad, la Biblia, es un texto religioso que presenta desafíos traductológicos complejos que se relacionan con factores lingüísticos, semánticos, socioculturales, históricos, y por supuesto, teológicos y terminológicos. Uno de los términos complejos de traducir es el término griego *doulos* cuyo significado literal es “esclavo”. No obstante, en muchas traducciones al inglés, la elección más frecuente ha sido *servant*. Para comprender esta decisión traductológica, examinaré las diferencias que existen entre el sistema de esclavitud del mundo grecorromano y el sistema medieval, y cómo estas diferencias afectaron la traducción de William Tyndale y posteriores traducciones. Tyndale (1490-1536) fue un traductor bíblico inglés y mártir protestante que estaba convencido que solamente la Biblia debía determinar las prácticas y doctrinas de la iglesia y que todos los cristianos deberían poder leerla en su propio idioma (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2025).

Asimismo, desde el marco teórico de Eugene Nida, argumentaré que la equivalencia formal en la traducción de *doulos* es más acertada que la equivalencia dinámica para traducir *doulos*, ya que permite preservar el valor semántico y cultural del texto original.

Marco teórico

La teoría de equivalencia de Nida

Eugene Nida, precursor de los Estudios de Traducción y estudioso exhaustivo de la traducción bíblica, teorizó sobre la importancia de abordar la traducción desde un punto de vista sociolingüístico, es decir, considerar la relación entre la lengua y los elementos culturales en el proceso de traducción. Nida (1959) consideraba que era

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imposible tratar cualquier lengua simplemente como un signo lingüístico sin reconocer inmediatamente su estrecha relación con el contexto en su totalidad (p. 151). Nida elaboró dos conceptos fundamentales: la equivalencia formal y la equivalencia dinámica. En palabras de Molina (2006) la equivalencia formal “es la que mantiene una traducción que se centra en el texto original (su lengua y su cultura, entre otros) y que tiene como prioridad preservar, en el mayor grado posible, la forma y el contenido del mensaje original” (p. 30). Uno de los aspectos fundamentales en la teoría de Eugene Nida (citado en Molina 2006) es la comunicación de la semántica de los términos en el marco del contexto de origen (31), ya que esto “permite al lector percibir cómo el texto original utiliza sus elementos culturales locales para expresar sus ideas” (p. 31). Por otra parte, Nida también propone el concepto de equivalencia dinámica que se centra en la transmisión del texto original de forma tal que el receptor tenga la misma reacción que tuvo el receptor original, es decir, prioriza el significado por sobre la forma.

En el caso particular de la traducción de textos bíblicos esta tensión entre forma y significado cobra especial importancia. Como indica Stein (2004), la teología se ve comprometida si no se retiene la forma y la cultura tanto como sea posible y si no hace que la traducción sea clara y entendible en la lengua de llegada. Aquellos que creen que la Biblia es un texto divino insisten en mantener el contexto histórico de los textos en lugar de domesticarlos, mientras que otros como Nida, que también creen en la divinidad de la Biblia, piensan que la misión principal (por sobre la forma) es proclamar el evangelio para que las personas creen en Cristo. Para ello es necesario acercar el texto al lector de manera que sea comprensible y accesible (p.478). Sin embargo, el problema reside en priorizar la equivalencia dinámica como enfoque para la traducción bíblica.

Esto puede generar un vacío semántico que puede afectar la precisión teológica de un término. El lingüista Ernst-August Gutt (1990) apoya esta idea, ya que se opone a la teoría de la equivalencia dinámica y argumenta que lleva a la distorsión del texto original al adaptarlo a la cultura del receptor. Asimismo, Hiebert (1987) aboga por una traducción que no domestique excesivamente el texto, sino que invite al lector a comprender el mundo cultural del autor bíblico.

Historia de la traducción bíblica

La Biblia es el libro más traducido a través de los siglos y se continúa traduciendo a nuevas lenguas o se retraducen y revisan distintas versiones (Smalley, 1991). De acuerdo con la organización *Wycliffe Global Alliance*, dedicada exclusivamente a la traducción bíblica, el texto completo ha sido traducido a 700 lenguas; el Nuevo Testamento ha sido traducido a más de 1500 lenguas y en este momento existen más de 2700 proyectos de traducción activos en todo el mundo (*Why Bible Translation*, 2020). Ya que el fundamento de tanto la fe judía como la cristiana es el texto original, la fiabilidad y fidelidad del texto de origen, así como su traducción son imprescindibles.

En este sentido, la *Tenaj* o lo que el cristianismo denomina “Antiguo Testamento” es el principal texto de origen para la traducción del hebreo o arameo al griego. Moisés, autor de Génesis, Éxodo, Levítico, Números y Deuteronomio, y quien recibió las tablas de los Diez Mandamientos en el Monte Sinaí (Ex.20), enseñó al pueblo que la bendición de Dios está con aquellos que guardan y cumplen la Palabra de Dios y que la maldición está guardada para todos aquellos que no lo hagan (Deuteronomio 28.13, 15). Para el israelita, no importar dónde estuviera, conocer la ley

era un mandato y una prioridad. Como reflejo de la preocupación por mantener la integridad del texto, surge el rol del escriba, un copista profesional que debía dedicar especial atención y cuidado a la escritura y que tenía prohibido escribir de memoria. Asimismo, antes de copiar el texto, el escriba debía prepararse para escribir los nombres de Jehová con devoción y pureza, y era costumbre sumergirse en un baño ritual denominado *mikveh* antes de comenzar su trabajo (*Virtual Jewish Library*, 2020). Para el judío, la *Tenaj* es la palabra misma de Dios que no puede alterarse de ninguna forma. Por otra parte, el Nuevo Testamento, la segunda parte de la Biblia cristiana, que narra la vida, muerte y resurrección de Jesús (los evangelios), los comienzos de la iglesia y los eventos futuros, entre muchos otros temas, está estrechamente relacionada con el Antiguo Testamento y existen cientos de referencias de éste en el Nuevo Testamento (p. ej. Mt. 21:5, Jn. 12:38, Hch. 1:20, Ro. 2:24 y Gal. 3:13). Asimismo, los cristianos afirman que, de acuerdo con lo narrado en el Nuevo Testamento, toda la Escritura es inspirada por Dios (2 Ti. 3:16) y que, dado que Dios es perfecto y no hay sombra de variación en Él (Santiago 1:17), el texto es infalible. De acuerdo con la teología cristiana, solo los libros contenidos en la Biblia fueron inspirados por Dios. Por lo tanto, el celo por la preservación del mensaje original es igualmente importante para los judíos (*Tenaj*) como para los cristianos (Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento). Además, para el pueblo cristiano, la Biblia es el instrumento principal para la evangelización e indispensable para cumplir la misión encomendada por Jesús (Mt. 28:19-20).

La traducción en el judaísmo: de la Tenaj a la Septuaginta

El pueblo judío experimentó diferentes diásporas. Una de ellas tuvo lugar durante la conquista de Alejandro Magno. Cuando el pueblo judío se asentó en

Alejandría (Egipto), Asia Menor, Grecia y otras regiones del Mediterráneo oriental
asimilaron la lengua y la cultura. A partir de allí surge la necesidad de traducir la *Tenaj*
al griego para que ellos pudieran tener acceso a las Escrituras.

La expansión cristiana y la Vulgata latina

Siglos después, un movimiento similar con la expansión cristiana durante el
imperio romano (*History of Bible Translation*, 2015). Debido a la propagación de la fe
entre pueblos de habla latina surge la necesidad de traducir la biblia al latín. A fines del
siglo IV d. C., el papa Dámaso le comisionó a Jerónimo de Estridón la traducción de la
Biblia hebrea al latín, llamada Vulgata, tarea que finalizó en el año 404 (Balliu, 1995).

Primeras traducciones al inglés: Tyndale y su legado

Mucho tiempo después, ya en el siglo XVI, William Tyndale tradujo el Nuevo
Testamento del griego al inglés.

Entre otras traducciones al inglés se incluyen la Gran Biblia de 1539, la Biblia
de Ginebra de 1560, que tuvo gran popularidad para el uso personal, y la Biblia del Rey
Jacobo de 1611, la versión más publicada hasta hoy (*History of Bible Translation*,
2015).

Estas etapas de la historia de la traducción no solo reflejan un esfuerzo por
preservar el texto sagrado, sino también el modo en que las decisiones traductológicas
han estado influenciadas por factores históricos, sociales y teológicos. Un claro ejemplo
de esta influencia se observa en la traducción del término *doulos*, que exploraremos a
continuación.

La esclavitud en la Biblia

Uno de los temas más controversiales y difíciles de entender es el tratamiento que en la Biblia se da a la esclavitud. Sin embargo, la esclavitud tal como se la concibe en Occidente en el siglo XXI tiene poco que ver con el sistema de esclavitud del mundo hebreo cuando se escribió el Antiguo Testamento, el imperio grecorromano, cuando se escribió el Nuevo Testamento o la Edad Media cuando Tyndale tradujo la Biblia al latín.

La práctica de la esclavitud en la era grecorromana

Para poder considerar la traducción de la palabra *doulos* y analizar la elección de *servant* como equivalente natural, es necesario dar primero una perspectiva histórica de la práctica de la esclavitud en la era grecorromana y contrastarla con la esclavitud en la Edad Media.

La esclavitud era uno de los pilares que sostenía la economía y garantizaba el lujo de los ricos durante el imperio grecorromano. Los subyugados podían adquirirse por derecho de gentes (prisioneros de guerra); por derecho civil (crimen, deuda, falta de pagos de impuestos, desertión) o por nacimiento (Perfetti, 2011). Según esta autora, si bien el esclavo no gozaba de personalidad jurídica, tenía personalidad natural; por lo tanto, podía recibir ciertas facultades como tener pequeñas cantidades de dinero o bienes recibidos; podía constituir relaciones familiares (no matrimonio legal) que eran propias de las personas libres y podía ejercer su religión en el culto público, familiar y en las ceremonias funerarias. (p. 40-41). A su vez, una persona podía someterse a la esclavitud de forma voluntaria para saldar deudas o simplemente por querer quedarse con su amo. También le era posible recuperar la libertad por *vindicta*, por censo o por testamento.

Según González Echegaray (2009), existían los esclavos del campo (cultivo y ganado) y los domésticos (criados de familias ricas). En cuanto a estos últimos, González Echegaray (2009) agrega:

sociológicamente era mucho más importante ser un esclavo distinguido de una familia de la alta sociedad, que ser un hombre libre pero pobre y mediocre, incluso aunque éste tuviera el título de ciudadano romano” (...) “el esclavo normalmente era bien tratado y considerado por su dueño, sobre todo si aquél era una persona valiosa (p.91).

Si bien no todos los esclavos tenían una movilidad social significativa, para ejemplificar, se cita a Epicteto (c. 50 – 135 d.C.) que fue propiedad de Epafrodito, un liberto muy influyente del emperador Nerón. Una vez obtenida su libertad, fundó una escuela filosófica en Nicópolis (Inwood, 1999). Otro ejemplo notable es Narciso, un esclavo imperial y alcanzó un considerable poder político (Becker, 2004).

Sin embargo, en todos los casos, los esclavos eran propiedad de su dueño, no eran empleados y estaban totalmente subyugados a los deseos y mandatos de sus dueños.

La esclavitud en la Edad Media

A partir del siglo IV, el imperio grecorromano se vuelca al cristianismo, la esclavitud comienza a disminuir progresivamente y la iglesia primitiva comienza a abogar por la igualdad y la libertad natural de los seres humanos (Muñoz García, 2007). Hacia finales del siglo XI, una amalgama de factores contribuyó a la desaparición de la esclavitud, incluyendo la prohibición de la iglesia de esclavizar cristianos, la gran demanda de esclavos en tierras musulmanas y la disminución de las actividades bélicas

(McKay, 1997). Además, la demanda de agricultores a grandes escalas disminuyó y se desarrollaron nuevas tecnologías, lo que hizo obsoleta la mano de obra de los esclavos y llevó a los dueños de las tierras a arrendar la tierra a los esclavos y permitirles trabajar a cambio de mano de obra y pago de impuestos. Esto dio lugar a un nuevo sistema económico –el feudalismo– y surge una nueva relación entre amos y esclavos – la servidumbre. Entender los contrastes entre ambos sistemas de esclavitud permite contextualizar por qué posiblemente los traductores bíblicos, entre ellos William Tyndale, eligieron traducir *doulos* como *servant*. Esta diferencia no es simplemente lingüística si no que es también histórica y cultural.

El caso de *doulos*

Según Nida (1991), la traducción de textos canónicos es más compleja en términos sociolingüísticos que cualquier otro tipo de texto debido a las vastas diferencias culturales entre su revelación original y su uso en la interpretación en la actualidad (p. 215).

Este fenómeno se ejemplifica en la traducción de la palabra griega *doulos*. Según MacArthur (2010), y de acuerdo con el *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, *doulos* se utiliza para referirse exclusivamente ya sea al estado de esclavo o a la actitud correspondiente a uno; su significado es inequívoco y siempre se refiere a una persona que tiene que servir como esclavo lo quiera o no (idem). Según Wurzburger (MacArthur, 2010), si bien las responsabilidades de un esclavo y un siervo coinciden en parte, una diferencia fundamental es el hecho de que un esclavo se posee y un siervo se emplea. De igual forma, Pilch (2001) afirma que *doulos* es un subdominio que pertenece al campo semántico de “control” o “mando” y se refiere a alguien que está

bajo el completo control de otra persona u otra cosa; a uno sujeto a cadenas o alguien que está metafóricamente esclavizado por un espíritu poderoso o una enfermedad maligna (p. 472). Beavis (1992) en su artículo sobre las parábolas del Nuevo Testamento, cuyos actores principales son el amo y el siervo (por ej. Mt. 25), advierte que traducir *doulos* como *servant* resta importancia al estado servil del *doulos* y conduce a interpretaciones que probablemente no asimilan la posible respuesta de una audiencia antigua (p.40). Esta autora agrega que algunos comentaristas del Nuevo Testamento tienen dificultad para aceptar que los esclavos de la Parábola de los talentos (Mt. 25:14-30) o la Parábola de los dos deudores (Mt. 18:3-35) sean personas reales y no metafóricas. Sin embargo, Beavis (1992) argumenta que una audiencia antigua no se habría sorprendido de la descripción de los personajes, ya que un esclavo podía cumplir todo tipo de funciones, incluyendo cargos políticos o responsabilidades onerosas. Además, en el Diccionario Expositivo de Palabras del Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento Exhaustivo Vine se explica que si bien al llamarse a sí mismo *doulos* de Jesucristo (p.ej., en Ro 1.1), el apóstol Pablo implica: (1) que había sido anteriormente esclavo de Satanás, y (2) que, habiendo sido comprado por Cristo, era ahora un *doulos* voluntario, ligado a su nuevo dueño (p. 713). Para el apóstol Pablo esto significaba una vida diaria de sacrificio dedicada al Maestro, Jesucristo. Lo mismo sucede con Santiago (Santiago 1:1); Pedro (2 Pedro 1:1), Judas (Judas 1:1) y Tito (Tito 1:1), ya que todos ellos se presentan como *doulos* de Cristo. Asimismo, cuando la *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* aclara el origen de la palabra “cristiano” como autodenominación de los creyentes, menciona que en el comienzo se presentaban como *doulos* de Cristo. Es por

lo que, en términos de lo que implica seguir a Cristo, *doulos* y *servant* no son
sinónimos.

A la luz de todo lo expuesto y teniendo en cuenta que *doulos* figura 124 veces en
el NT (Harris, como se citó en Mac Arthur, 2010) surge el interrogante de por qué
Tyndale eligió *servant* como el equivalente natural de *doulos*. MacArthur (2010)
propone dos teorías: a) los traductores de la sociedad occidental quisieron evitar
cualquier tipo de asociación con la esclavitud, una posible confusión y una imagen
negativa de las enseñanzas del Nuevo Testamento, ya que como se señaló
anteriormente, la representación de un esclavo que podía tener un lector de la Edad
Media no se correspondía con la descripción de un esclavo grecorromano; b) es posible
que la Biblia en latín hubiera influido en la traducción de Tyndale, ya que *servant* es
una rendición más natural que *slave*. Su elección se replicó en la Biblia de Ginebra y en
la Biblia del Rey Jacobo, entre otras.

Como se observa en la Figura 1 *doulos* en Santiago 1:1 se traduce como *servant*
en diferentes versiones, incluida la de Tyndale (Faith in God, 2025).

Wycliffe	Tyndale 1526	Tyndale 1534	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops	KJV
1:1 I James, the seruaunt of God, and of oure Lord Jhesu Crist, to the twelue kinredis, that ben in scatering abroad, helthe.	I ¶ James the servant of God, and of the lord Jesus Christ, sendeth greeting to the xij. tribes which are scattered here and there.	I James the seruaunt of God and of the Lorde Jesus Christ sendeth greeting to ye .xii. trybes which are scattered here and there.	I James the seruaunt of God and of the LORDE Jesus Christ, sendeth greeting to the xij. trybes which are scatered here & there.	I James a seruant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelue Tribes, which are scattered abroad, salutation.	I James a seruaunt of God, and of the lorde Jesus Christ, to ye twelue tribes which are scatted abroade, greetynge.	I James a seruant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelue Tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting.

En la Figura 2, se compara la traducción de *doulos* en Romanos 6:17 en diferentes
versiones, incluida la de Tyndale (Faith in God, 2025).

Wycliffe	Tyndale (Rog.Cov.Cran.)	Geneva	Revised Websters KJV
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6:17	17 But I thank God, that ye were servants of sin; but ye have obeyed of heart into that form of teaching, in which ye be betaken.	17 God be thanked. [,that though] Ye were once the servants of sin: But now [ye] have [yet] obeyed with your hearts [heart] unto the form of doctrine where unto ye were delivered.	17 But God be thanked, that ye have been the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart unto the form of the doctrine, whereunto ye were delivered.	17 But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered to you. [which...: Gr. whereto ye were delivered]
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Impacto teológico

MacArthur (n.d.) resalta que *doulos* tiene una sola traducción universal y es la que mejor describe la relación entre el creyente y Cristo. La primera carta de Pablo a los corintios, el capítulo 6, versículo 20 reza, "...porque habéis sido comprados por precio; glorificad, pues, a Dios en vuestro cuerpo y en vuestro espíritu, los cuales son de Dios." El *doulos* ha sido comprado y, por lo tanto, tiene un dueño, carece de voluntad propia y debe, en obediencia, cumplir la voluntad de su Señor. No tiene a ningún lugar al cual ir sino solo a su Señor. El concepto de *doulos* indica la negación a sí mismo y la obediencia a los mandamientos de su Señor, como se señala en Lucas 9:23, "Y decía a todos: Si alguno quiere venir en pos de mí, niéguese a sí mismo, tome su cruz cada día, y sígame". Desde esta perspectiva, la relación entre el cristiano y Dios no se basa en deseos personales sino en la obediencia y fidelidad al Señor.

Esta relación de pertenencia y devoción también se manifiesta en Gálatas 1:10, donde Pablo afirma: "¿Busco ahora el favor de los hombres o el de Dios? ¿O trato de agradar a los hombres? Pues si todavía agradara a los hombres, no sería *doulos* de Cristo." En este pasaje, Pablo muestra que su prioridad es su amo, no la aprobación de los demás porque él le pertenece a Cristo.

En definitiva, *doulos* es un término que describe la relación del creyente con Cristo e implica un vínculo marcado por la obediencia voluntaria y absoluta y la

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dependencia total del Señor. Al reconocerse un *doulos* de Dios, el cristiano entiende cuál es su verdadera posición ante Él y su propósito en la vida.

Al analizar el impacto teológico del término *doulos* queda en evidencia que elegir *servant* para su traducción cambia radicalmente el entendimiento que puede tener un creyente de su relación con Cristo y tiene consecuencias doctrinales importantes.

Líneas de futura investigación

Una posible línea de futura investigación consiste en comparar la aplicación de las teorías de equivalencia de Nida a las traducciones de la Biblia a lenguas modernas romances, analizando el impacto tanto lingüístico como sociocultural. Este estudio podría incluir, además, la comparación del impacto de la traducción del término *doulos* según la religión, por ejemplo, católica o protestante.

Conclusión

En resumen, el análisis de los elementos sociolingüísticos en los textos bíblicos resulta esencial para traducir términos complejos, ya que no tener en cuenta el contexto en el que fueron escritos puede afectar el significado teológico de los mismos. En el caso de *doulos*, comprender las diferencias entre los sistemas del mundo grecorromano y en la Europa medieval es clave para lograr que conserve la intención comunicativo original. Aunque comprensible en su contexto histórico, *servant* no refleja el mismo significado que *doulos* en el texto original.

Si bien Tyndale no conocía la distinción entre la equivalencia formal y dinámica (siglo XVI vs. siglo XX), su elección de *servant* puede considerarse como una aproximación a lo que Nida denominó equivalencia dinámica. Su interpretación para traducir *doulos* modifica la percepción que un cristiano tiene de su relación con Dios y

su rol y responsabilidad como *doulos* de Cristo, porque la idea de obediencia absoluta se transforma en una noción más asociada al servicio voluntario. Por esta razón, la aplicación de la equivalencia formal planteada por Nida resulta más adecuada para el contenido teológico inherente del término.

Para concluir, una traducción minuciosa del texto bíblico no puede prescindir del análisis sociocultural del léxico ni la consideración teológica de sus consecuencias. En contextos como el del término *doulos*, la fidelidad al texto original no solo es una cuestión lingüística, sino también doctrinal.

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**NNESTs' (Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers) Impact on the Realm of
English as a Foreign Language**

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Abstract

The article analyses the ways in which non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) impact the teaching-learning process of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). It is relevant to consider that the mentioned process has been influenced by the idealization of native English-speaking teachers (NESTs). Principally, the present essay aims to provide a detailed depiction of NNESTs' features when developing the teaching role. This subject matter will be analyzed using students' perceptions. In the first place, a definition of both speakers will be introduced. Also, the various students' outlooks will be mentioned and described. Furthermore, the idea of NESTs' idealization will be explored.

Keywords: *NNESTs, NESTs, EFL, idealization, NNESTs' features*, students' perceptions.

Resumen

El presente artículo analiza el impacto que tienen los docentes no-nativos en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera. Es de suma importancia considerar que dicho proceso ha sido influenciado por la idealización de los docentes nativos. Principalmente, a través de este trabajo se busca ofrecer una descripción detallada de las características que presentan los profesores no-nativos al participar de dicho proceso, a partir de las percepciones de los estudiantes. En primer lugar, se introducirá la definición de ambos docentes. Por otra parte, se mencionarán y describirán las distintas perspectivas de los estudiantes. Asimismo, la idealización de los hablantes nativos será explorada.

Palabras clave: docentes no-nativos, docentes nativos, inglés como lengua extranjera, características de los docentes no-nativos, percepciones de los estudiantes.

Introduction

A plethora of questions appear in the realm of English as a foreign language (EFL) when analyzing the role of teachers in the teaching-learning process. Some of them are: Who teaches English better? Who is the ideal teacher? Is there a preferred speaker to perform the teaching endeavor? The English language is spoken by two extensive groups of speakers: natives and non-natives. Being an EFL teacher in Argentina, a country where the local professionals are non-native speakers of English (NNESTs) has prompted the selection and research of the presented topic.

In the first place, Thornbury (2006) establishes that “a native speaker (NS) of a language is a person who has acquired the language as their first language in childhood. Native speakers are considered to know this language intuitively, and to use it accurately, fluently, and appropriately” (p. 140). Conversely, Medgyes (2001) defines that “most commonly, a non-NEST may be defined as a teacher: for whom English is a second or foreign language; who works in an EFL environment; whose students are monolingual groups of learners; who speaks the same native language as his or her students” (p. 433).

Moreover, the principal purpose of the present article is not only to give an account of NNESTs’ figure but also to describe their impact on the teaching-learning process in the context of English as a foreign language, built upon the idealization of the native English-speaking teacher. In this regard, Holliday (2006) introduces the notion of “native-speakerism” and defines it as “a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which

spring the ideals both of the English language and English language teaching methodology” (p. 385).

Therefore, in the first place, the various ways in which students perceive NNESTs will be analyzed thoroughly with a view to examining the teaching-learning process of English. In order to achieve this task, there will be a report of a number of studies with the aim of exploring the way in which learners esteem non-native speakers. Likewise, the unique features owned by NNESTs when performing the role of language educators will be examined in depth.

In addition, NNESTs’ visibility in the mentioned field will be evaluated taking into consideration the ongoing process of globalization. In this endeavor, the convergence of heterogeneity of teachers will be examined for the purpose of understanding how teaching practices can be enhanced.

Moreover, the present paper aims to study the ways in which the idealization of NESTs can be removed from a plural EFL environment. Hence, the different courses of action that can be implemented to overcome the indicated ideology will be mentioned.

Students’ Perceptions

To begin with, Mahboob (2004) introduces the notion that it is possible to categorize students’ perceptions according to three wide-ranging classifications. Similarly, Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) work on the indicated assemblage. The first group is related to “linguistic factors” (p. 155). Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) state that “ “oral skills”, “literacy skills”, “grammar”, “vocabulary”, and “culture” ” are embraced in this arrangement (p. 155). The second group is linked to “teaching styles” (p. 155). The “ “ability to answer questions” and “teaching methodology” ” are the pillars of this

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category (p. 155). Finally, the third group, which relates to “personal factors”, “includes “experience as an ESL learner”, “hard work”, and “affect” ” (p. 155). Moreover, the researchers state that students impart both positive and negative remarks about the said sorting. It is pertinent to mention that these classifications constitute the main guidelines of the data that is both analyzed and described in the present article.

Following the mentioned scheme, Mahboob (2004) explains that learners observe NNESTs as “good teachers of writing” (p. 11). Interestingly enough, the author includes some excerpts quoting the respondents’ observations. These data reflected that they considered these teachers to be more efficient in the mentioned area than native speakers. Even more, in the area of linguistic skills, the researcher points out that there were no positive comments about NESTs’ performance. Hence, Mahboob (2004) concludes that this situation implies that learners consider non-native speakers as outstanding instructors of the said language realm. Furthermore, the academic discusses students’ perceptions in the sphere of grammar. In this regard, the researcher elucidates that NNESTs are observed as good guides for the preparation of standardized exams. Similarly, Selvi (2014) supports both the notion that NNESTs offer students a more exhaustive preparation for exams and that they present advantages in the realm of “declarative knowledge” (p.15).

Additionally, Floris & Renandya (2020) provide an inventory containing some skills that “a good language teacher today should also possess” (p. 13). Some of the indicated features will be mentioned herein. In the first place, they state that teachers of English should have knowledge of the learners’ culture and mother tongue, which will help them to perform more competent explanations of the taught elements. Also,

educators should be able to “serve as an excellent model of successful English learners” (p. 14). Even more, the authors claim that generally trained NNESTs are the ones who appear to be in possession of these attributes.

On another note, Kiczkowiak, (2019) claims that several authors agreed on the fact that one of the modes in which nativespeakerism is present in the EFL environment is in a negative outlook on behalf of students. On this subject, Ma (2012) refers to the idea that students are frequently considered to be partial to NESTS in contrast to NNESTs. Relatedly, Floris & Renandya (2020) put forward the notion that the tendency to have a bias for NESTs can be justified by the students’ scarce awareness in terms of teaching methodology, the expounded nativespeakerism, the traits that conform to a good language educator, among others. Likewise, Kiczkowiak (2019) proclaims that the binary option of native speaker versus non-native speaker leaves aside all the elements that assemble a good language educator when students are presented with questionnaires.

Furthermore, Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) put forward the idea that students consider that each teacher provides the classes with distinctive features. Likewise, Selvi (2014) alludes to a number of research works in which the results exposed the fact that learners do not have a marked tendency to any speaker. However, they expect language educators to be in possession of certain traits such as vast declarative and practical knowledge of the language as well as well-founded pedagogical abilities. In this regard, Tosuncuoglu (2017) alludes to the conception that NNESTs are able to reach better levels of comprehension concerning technical grammar.

Interestingly enough, Kiczowskiak (2019) also carried out an interview with a trailblazer of the topic being researched: Péter Medgyes. The interviewee agrees with the notion that being a non-native speaker leads to a number of challenges. Albeit this situation, Péter Medgyes appraises the fact that the teachers' "main clients", i.e. the learners of the language, do not coincide inexorably with the said viewpoint (p. 2). Even more, learners tend to realize that there are several benefits and drawbacks to both types of speakers.

NNESTs' Features

With a view to characterizing the figure of the NNESTs, Medgyes (2001) proposes to contemplate the notion that regardless of NNESTs' native language, they are also able to evolve into language educators who perform their roles efficiently. Interestingly enough Medgyes (2001) applies the appellation "The Bright Side of Being a Non-NEST" when making reference to NNESTs' characteristics as language instructors (p.436).

On this subject matter, Medgyes (2001) introduces a series of premises esteemed as NNESTs' advantages to bring them up for discussion. The author explains that the mentioned considerations are presumptions that are based on the comparison between NNESTs and NEST's unique features. The linguist claims that NNESTs are able to:

1. Provide a better learner model;
2. teach language-learning strategies more effectively;
3. supply more information about the English language;
4. better anticipate and prevent language difficulties;
5. be more sensitive to their students;
6. benefit from their ability to use the students' mother tongue.

(Medgyes, 2001, p.436).

In the first place, Medgyes (2001) explains that a teacher of a language has the possibility of becoming two types of guiding paradigms for their learners: “a language model and a learner model” (p. 436). More specifically, in the case of NNESTs, they are prone to become the second kind of model. One of the reasons why they are not always susceptible to developing into a language model is connected with the notion that they pertain to the same category as learners of the English language. They share the specified group with the students that they teach. Thus, NNESTs are able to strive to turn into “(...) a ‘perfect’ learner model” (Medgyes, 2017, p. 57). These speakers learnt English after their native tongues helps them excel in the role of an ideal paradigm to take into consideration.

On this topic, Mahboob (2004) claims that several respondents in his research study relate being a NNEST to working hard. This idea is closely connected with NNESTs’ experience as learners of the foreign language that they teach. Even more, Mahboob (2004) explains that non-native speakers must exert themselves to become a speaker of the English language.

In other words, learners recognize their industrious path to achieve language proficiency. Hence, Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) claim that the mentioned accomplishment has contributed to NNESTs becoming “role models” for their students (p.171). Learners feel motivated to follow a similar process to master the foreign language. On a final and noteworthy note, Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) illuminate the notion that NNESTs can share the “enjoyment” of learning the language with their students (p. 171).

In addition, Medgyes (2001) avows that NNESTs have the skills to familiarize learners with a myriad of learning strategies to acquire the foreign language. On this point, the author clarifies the notion that the said strategies are not only involved with the simplification of the learning process. Conversely, the specified methodologies also speed up the achievement of the learning objectives, buttress the content within the process, and help to enhance the quality of the obtained knowledge as well as to extrapolate it to novel instances. Even more, Li & Jin (2020) purport that learners claim that one of NNESTs' advantages is their learning strategies. On the contrary, Li & Jin (2020) allude to the fact that NESTs never have or will undergo the learning process of the language. The researchers underline that the process of learning a mother tongue completely diverges from the process of learning a foreign language.

Furthermore, Medgyes (2001) states that it is the student's faculty to choose the appropriate strategies according to their preferences. Notwithstanding, it is pivotal for teachers to act as facilitators of this task, which can occasionally present a number of obstacles. In this regard, the linguist expounds that NNESTs own the capability of sharing with learners both the strategies that have been useful for them as language learners, as well as, other methods which are cognizant. In this procedure, educators can help students identify the strategies that will be more beneficial to their personal language- learning path (Medgyes, 2001).

Along the same lines, Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) conducted an interesting study in which essays written by Japanese students were the corpus analyzed. The mentioned students attended an orientation course dictated by a NEST and a NNEST. The informants were asked to write the reports at the beginning and at the end of the

programme. The results demonstrate that NNESTs were the unique speaker to be positively described regarding “teaching methodology” (p.166). As a mode of illustrating the provided observation, the researchers mention that learners consider that NNESTs can distinguish which lexical items are easier for them to both understand and acquire (p. 166).

Correspondingly, Li & Jin (2020) assert that on account of the shared participation in the learning process of the English language, NNESTs are more cognizant of their experience. Henceforth, they are more capable of giving students a myriad of strategies to navigate the acquisition of the language. Moreover, they can interchange between students’ native tongue and English in order to adequate the teaching methodology according to their needs (Li & Jin, 2020).

Moreover, Medgyes (2001) manifests that NNESTs are inclined to be insightful in terms of the language being taught as a result of the enormous amount of knowledge gained by them. Therefore, these educators are able not only to perceive obstacles with anticipation but also to attend to them. On this point, the author accentuates that the previously mentioned problems might be almost imperceptible by other speakers. What is more, Medgyes (2001) argues that NNESTs have the skills both to interpret and recognize which items of the language would be difficult or easy to understand. In this regard, they can intercede in the path of linguistic errors with marked anticipation.

Relatedly, Mahboob (2004) analyses the notion that NNESTs’ experience as learners of the language has a great impact on the teaching-learning process. In this regard, the researcher elucidates that students esteem the specified familiarity with the language learning process as a critical aspect to give an account of teachers. Besides,

Mahboob (2004) claims that learners identify teachers' experience as an important resource for them to understand the problems that are present in language learning. Likewise, this trait helps them not only to be better prepared to develop their roles as instructors but also to help students.

Even more, Adara (2018) adds that the study exposes that several learners are of the view that NNETs impart their knowledge better in the grammar area. Furthermore, Li & Jin (2020) state that they are perceived to give not only clear but also precise instructions regarding this topic. In addition, these speakers are observed as better providers of tactics for solving any problems that might arise. With a view to illustrating the specified situation, Medgyes (2017) refers to NNESTs' ability to compare the linguistic elements of their native and their target language in order to detect those points that might be more problematic. For example, the difficulties might appear as a consequence of a structure that constitutes the foreign language but that does not exist in the learners' mother tongue.

Moreover, Mahboob (2004) highlights NNESTs' "ability to answer questions" (p. 16). In this regard, the author elucidates that learners tend to feel content with the answers provided by non-native speaker educators. In the same vein, the author insists on the notion that NNESTs are capable of achieving students' expectations. The specified attainment is a consequence of their experience as learners of the language. Subsequently, Mahboob (2004) alludes to the fact that learners observe NNESTs' applying more efficient teaching techniques. The mentioned outlook is related to the diversity of pedagogic styles and classroom dynamics offered by NNESTs. Even more,

these educators are generally described as taking into careful consideration both students' learning preferences and styles (Mahboob, 2004).

Besides, Medgyes (2017) reinforces the idea that NNESTs' familiarization with both the teaching-learning process of the target language and the educational context signifies a benefit. The mentioned knowledge allows them to establish learning objectives that are possible for students to accomplish. NNESTs embark on the task of complementing their students' profiles, i.e. motivations and capability, with the expectations set by the social and educational environment.

Subsequently, Medgyes (2001) insists on the idea that NNESTs have a deep connection with learners' experiences. Thus, they are generally more sympathetic towards various aspects of the students' paths as learners of a foreign language. In the first place, they tend to be more sensitive about their real needs. Namely, Medgyes (2001) asserts that NNESTs are known for defining learning objectives that are achievable by their students. Especially, they have a precise awareness of the working curriculum, the examination parameters, as well as both the kinds and the availability of the materials to work with. Thus, NNESTs tend to elaborate more suitable teaching plans for their classes taking into careful consideration the mentioned guiding elements. Secondly, Medgyes (2001) declares that these speakers are susceptible to the levels of motivation owned by the students in each institution where they develop their profession.

Likewise, Mahboob (2004) mentions that learners appraise the fact that NNESTs can provide them not only with pedagogical tools but also emotional support. The said notion is associated with NNESTs' experience as learners. In a similar vein, Ma (2012)

states that they are considered to exhibit greater levels of empathy towards not only the difficulties undergone by students but also their needs within the learning process.

Mahboob (2004) explains that the sense of empathy is congruent with having been involved in the teaching-learning process. Their participation in such a process has given them an awareness of what it feels like to acquire the language.

Accordingly, Medgyes (2017) explores the notion of empathy within the teaching- learning process of the target language. The linguist professes the idea that “(...) empathy is one of the most characteristic features of the successful teacher” (p.68). Even more, Medgyes (2017) explains that students expect their teachers to be a source of both empathy and comfort. Further to this, research has indicated that students perceive NNESTs as being empathetic figures in their learning process. On this topic of analysis, the researcher expresses the fact they are able to both understand and direct their attention to the learners’ real needs helps to build the aforementioned considerations. In other words, Medgyes (2017) asserts that NNESTs are in possession of an admirable quality. The said virtue is related to their ability to thoroughly understand the learning scenario. By way of explaining, Medgyes (2017) refers to NNESTs being comprehensively aware of the learners’ context in terms of language, culture and personal experiences.

Regarding the use of students’ native tongue, Medgyes (2017) supports its usage and questions its avoidance because English is not their mother tongue. Even more, the author buttresses the said notion by mentioning that NNESTs tend to share the mentioned language. Hence, Medgyes (2017) inquiries about the reason for students using English, which is not their L1, entirely in the language classes. It is pertinent to

add that Medgyes (2017) elucidates the fact that it has not been determined the proper amount of the students' L1 that might be included in the lessons. Nevertheless, the author points out two guiding principles. In the first place, it is important to also take into consideration learners' preferences towards this tool. Secondly, Medgyes (2017) alludes to the conception that there are occasions on which its appliance resolves understanding situations in short periods.

Additionally, Tosuncuoglu (2017) states that in the cases in which NNESTs share their mother tongue with students, the latter is favored with their educators' assistance when difficulties arise. As a mode of illustration, the author mentions that a potential issue might be instances of misunderstandings in communication. Specifically, the said advantage is of benefit in the beginning learning stages (Tosuncuoglu, 2017). Similarly, Li & Jin (2020) refer to the shared mother tongue as an important facilitator of the teaching-learning process of the language. All the agents partaking in the process are able to understand one another with great success.

Equally, Ma (2012) points out that students value the possibility of comprehending complicated grammar and lexical items more favorably. Likewise, Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) expound that learners behold the said feature as a facilitating tool to comprehend the language. Therefore, it is categorized as a NNEST's advantage.

NNESTs' Visibility in the EFL World

In a changing world, the process of globalization has provoked the far-reaching expansion of the English language worldwide. Therefore, NNESTs' visibility has become an important matter in the field. Selvi (2011) states that the said space has been

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moving towards an environment that embraces the diversity of speakers. Hence, the heterogeneity of teachers together with their strengths and weaknesses are being recognized. Therefore, a place for collaboration has been facilitated, which will probably be transmuted into a series of more appropriate educational instances and opportunities.

As a result, collaborative teaching practices have been a topic of interest in the EFL environment. Importantly enough, academics such as Mahboob & Lipovsky (2010) and Medgyes (2001) deduce that students consider this setting favorable for balancing both NESTs and NNESTs' benefits and drawbacks. Consequently, the teaching-learning process is significantly improved. Besides, not only the pedagogical sphere is enhanced but also the professional links are ameliorated. As was previously described, Medgyes (2017) emphasizes the notion that NNESTs are given the possibility to also be considered the main character of the teaching process with this assemblage. Thus, the collaboration between both speakers is an interesting strategy to put an end to the examined ideology within the field.

Notwithstanding, however profitable this arrangement is described to be, teachers are not fully aware of the various possibilities in which they can collaborate. Thus, educators should be motivated to take over the task of creating novel spaces of cooperation.

Also, Braine (2010) explains that NNESTs' points of view and contributions are increasingly taken into account. Besides, the way in which the language teaching sphere is assembled has been modified. Llurda (2015) exemplifies this tenant by mentioning the process of going beyond the idea that it is an activity best developed by native

speakers. The mentioned exchange will eventually pass through the native speaker model's hegemony in the academic sphere. In order to achieve the mentioned task, Braine (2010) highlights the importance of non-native speakers taking over the different investigations that have been carried out in the field. However, the scholar expounds that when critical topics to NNESTs are included, their veracity of them is sometimes questioned.

Thus, Braine (2010) manifests the idea that it would be advantageous for non-native speakers to also participate in the investigations to diversify the areas of study. In the same vein, novel branches of research should be addressed. The author proposes three premises to address said processes. They are the improvement of NNESTs' proficiency in the language in question, the collaboration with native-speaker teachers, the maximum utilization of professional organizations and the variety of approaches in the research of NNESTs.

Conclusions

As a final note, NNESTs' participation in the teaching-process has been thoroughly put into question in the face of the idealization of NESTs. It is pertinent to consider that students' perceptions towards NNESTs have been important factors in the EFL world. The study of the learners' points of view has been crucial both to delineate and to understand the mentioned process. As a consequence of the specified work of research, a plethora of features have been able to be listed on behalf of NNESTs. For instance, these speakers are regarded as imitable acquirers of the language, important providers of learning strategies, and empathetic figures in the learning process. Likewise, they are described as possessing the ability to recognize difficulties in

advance. Notwithstanding, it is relevant to add that some of the responses mentioned the potential benefit of having both NESTs and NNESTs in charge of the teaching-learning process of English.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to infer that students consider these teachers as valuable instructors of the foreign language. More precisely, NNESTs' distinctive characteristics are highly appraised. Even more, as previously referenced, Selvi (2014) surmises that learners are not partial to any specific type of speaker. On the contrary, the researcher points out that they demonstrate their preference for educators who have certain characteristics. For instance, they value extensive expertise in the language and pedagogical skills.

Correspondingly, it is important to gather that they provide learners not only with an effective model of a learner but also with vast information about the language. They teach strategies more efficaciously, anticipate difficulties in the learning process, are more sensitive towards students' need and, lastly, are able to resort to their shared native tongue. NNESTs act as learning models for learners, can predict potential linguistic problems, are the source of empathy, learning strategies and further information about the language, and share the native tongue with the learners.

Therefore, it can be concluded that there is not an ideal speaker to perform the role of language teacher. Each professional owns a unique and valuable set of methodologies. Most specifically, NNESTs do generate a positive impact on the teaching-learning process of English as a foreign language, particularly in an era where the idealization of the native speaker is still prevailing.

Notwithstanding, it is of utmost importance for us, NNESTs, to actively engage in pertinent actions with a view to highlighting our participation in the field. For instance, it is necessary to embark on varied branches of research or on collaborative practices in which the development of our strengths will permit our growing visibility.

Consequently, it would be possible to overcome the paradigm of idealization in the EFL realm.

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