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The Reflection and Reification of Racialized Language in Popular Media

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THE REFLECTION AND REIFICATION OF RACIALIZED LANGUAGE IN POPULAR MEDIA

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By

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ABSTRACT

This work highlights specific lexical items that have become racialized in specific contextual applications and tests how these words are cognitively processed. This work presents the results of a visual world (Huettig et al 2011) eye-tracking study designed to determine the perception and application of racialized (Coates 2011) adjectives. To objectively select the racialized adjectives used, I developed a corpus comprised of popular media sources, designed specifically to suit my research question. I collected publications from digital media sources such as Sports Illustrated, USA Today, and Fortune by scraping articles featuring specific search terms from their websites. This experiment seeks to aid in the demarcation of socially salient groups whose application of racialized adjectives to racialized images is near instantaneous, or at least less questioned. As we view growing social movements which revolve around the significant marks unconscious assumptions leave on American society, revealing how and where these lexical assignments arise and thrive allows us to interrogate the forces which build and reify such biases. Future research should attempt to address the harmful semiotics these lexical choices sustain.

KEYWORDS: Racism; Perception; Linguistics; Eye Tracking; Corpus; Media

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THE REFLECTION AND REIFICATION OF RACIALIZED LANGUAGE IN POPULAR MEDIA

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DEDICATION

Arnetta Kelly Patton was the strongest woman I have ever known. She worked for everything she had. She and her husband built a home with four hands and prayer. They built a plan. The forces I am writing about shaped her entire life, shortened the list of her available choices. But she did not see any of that. She looked past it and saw me. She persisted. Arnetta Kelly Patton knew that Kelly Elizabeth Wright would have the strength, space, and perspective to see and challenge these forces, to shine light on the poison in so many minds. I offer these pages to her, as part of the plan, and to the women of color not yet graced with such a champion.

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INTRODUCTION

Language has historically been used to marginalize minority populations by defining them (Alim and Smitherman 2012) and to maintain the marginality of these populations through semantic association with the terms used in those definitions, which are set by the majority (LeCouteur and Augoustinos 2001; Mastro 2011). Further, covert racism (Coates 2011) is deeply embedded in the descriptive and categorical latitude provided by the adjectives in the American English lexicon. Racism exists, though it is categorically denied in wide and intersecting swaths of society. Majority children are not taught the history of its rise because so many of their parents are blind to its existence—they believe we, as a society, have worked our way past it. But the cross-burning, death camp, rabbit-proof fence racism of generations past has simply switched its overt display for a covert, insidious presence, and has taken on this new form to infuse the social institutions which support it.

Racism, covert racism especially, is inherently present in descriptive language. I have taken on this project in order to better understand the process through which language becomes racialized. We can think of the racialization process as a parallel of the gendering process; over time certain words are used to apply to what are thought to be mutually (and biologically) exclusive[1] sections of society. Hearing a word like *pretty*, many would immediately conjure the image of a female (or some other sign commonly equated with femininity)—this word has become gendered. Hearing the word *thug*, many will immediately conjure the image of a Black youth—this word has become racialized. I argue that these connections are made below the level of conscious awareness, in the mental, semantic field which

[1] In the traditional understanding of binary differentiation of such categories.

augments (and/or hinders) our cognitive processing of lexical information. This study was designed to test for the presence of such connections.

This process of semantic field assignment in the cognitive space can be understood through the theoretical frames of indexicality and enregisterment (Johnstone 2006; Silverstein 2003; Labov 1972). An essential assumption of this research is that (covert racist) language is not understood as such throughout the whole of society, that it is felt more strongly among the out-group (the minority, and in this case the African American, community) than among the in-group. Indeed, the members of the majority community may not perceive the "pragmatic entailments of the indexical sign" at all (Silverstein 2003). Johnstone (2006) refers to a cline that represents the stages of indexicality. An "indicator" is a form what is linked—locally or performatively—to a social group, but the population does not have awareness that this form marks them in some fashion. These words may be unevenly applied in racialized and non racialized contexts, but users are not aware of this distribution, and do not associate a racialized meaning with the racialized (or –izing) word. A "marker", then, is a form that we do see used specifically because of its indexical meaning, although users may not be consciously aware of that meaning[2]. We see an example of this stage in the Labovian study of post-vocalic /r/, which is enregistered socially, but not overtly marked for one social group over another (Johnstone 2006). Lastly, is the "stereotype" stage, when a form takes on concrete pragmatic extension, and is recognized along with all those entailments.

The words that this experiment is testing likely lie at the earlier stages of racialization. Put differently, they can be understood to have progressed only through the initial, or perhaps the second, orders of indexicality. Indexical order

[2] The lexemes investigated in this study are reasonably assumed to be in this stage.

shows us how to "relate the micro-social to the macro-social" (Silverstein 2003). While this experiment is not working with production data, using this framework will allow for the measurement and understanding of the racialization process from a Sociolinguistic perspective.

In the pages to follow, we will view theory explaining how the parallel phenomena of institutionalized, covert racism and the post-racial society concept operate, sustaining each other through an intricate dialectic. This study is primarily informed, on a theoretical basis, by the Folk Theory of Racism (Hill 2008), which operates on four basic tenets: race is biological; prejudice is a natural human state; racism is a matter of individual belief, intention and action; and those who commit racist acts are "ignorant, vicious, and remote from the mainstream" (Hill 2008). Most importantly, these four principles are unmarked in society—they are acculturated through socialization into a way of being.

This Folk Theory of Racism is visible in racialized lexical patterns, and one arena which presents such patterns is the edited, public space created by the media (Mastro 2000; Mastro 2011; Camiciottoli 2015;). Labels are preprogrammed units of meaning with their own histories. Racialized language in the media acts like a label for an understood social type or character (Mastro 2011), and labels effect individual cognition and identity construction in particular ways, different from those of other lexical items (Turner and Tajfel 1979). The media is aware that the use of such words activates networks of associations in the reader-listener. Institutionalized media exploits this function by capitalizing on and reproducing such label-language. This is, in part, the nature of reporting and advertising.

There are decades-worth of textual evidence revealing the existence of such categorical language patterns in print (Mastro 2000). My own corpus investigation (described below) supports those claims and evidences; these patterns are thriving

across popular media in all its forms. To date, little experimental work[3] has been done to track the effects of exposure to racialized language which creates in our minds blatant (and dangerous) misrepresentations of the demographic makeup of American society. I am using this experiment to begin the long work of unpacking the cognitive effects of repeated exposure to these terms—in minority and majority communities—and to determine the semantic fields in which they are processed. Some of the words gathered from the corpus study will necessarily be at different stages of racialization, and will have taken up greater or lesser saturation of a commonly-understood "ethno-metapragmatic perspective" (Silverstein 2003). Another overall goal of this experiment is to approach a core set of adjectives that have progressed the furthest along the cline of indexical meaning, and are approaching (if ever-so-slowly) uniform, socially-informed semiotics which invoke crisp associations with the out-group (Johnstone 2006).

I have chosen to focus on racialized adjectives in mediated spaces, zeroing in on sports journalism in particular. Sports journalism is arguably the most prevalent journalistic frame (Mastro 2011). It is also highly formulaic. It provides a welcome space for investigation of racialized language because of its frame formula[4]. In these reporting frames, adjectives are one of the only—if not the only—avenues for descriptive variation and creativity. I argue here that the adjectives used, in attributive position, to describe racialized persons, events, and spaces in these frames are largely already selected by institutionalized racism (Coates 2011) and social identity-preservationist behavior (Tajfel and Turner 1979), and are not employed by the full conscious decision of the author. This language, in turn, is replicated as the frame is distributed and applied by those exposed reader-listeners

[3] This is not ignoring the experimental work of Straum Cassatano (2008), Babel and Munson (2007), or Squires (2013, 2014, 2016), whose elucidations about race(ism) and other social power imbalances are valid. Their work does lack the overt connection to media *exposure* which is crucial to my questions.
[4] A media frame works like a template, providing standard language for common events. The frame formula in this scenario might be something like: ACTOR at EVENT SCORES X. OUTCOME. RAMIFICATIONS.

in novel situations, thus reifying covert racism. The reality of exposure and replication certainly occurs outside of the mediated space of print journalism, but I am arguing here that because of the indefatigable repetition of these marked forms in this medium, any measurable effect will be most pronounced when considering this phenomenon within this context.

This removal from the context of exposure is key to my methodology here. If these adjectives have become racialized in our minds, then the semantic fields which enrich such associations will be active whenever we are reading or listening to these words, not necessarily only when we are being presented with an anecdote complete with actors in context. The adjectives that do present the strongest connections within this bare-lexeme contextual presentation will be those which are further along in the racialization process[5]. I believe that these racialized adjectives—which I have convincing evidence for in print—can and do alter the processing of human faces. This thesis presents a corpus cataloguing this print evidence, and an eye-tracking experiment testing for underlying word-to-face associations.

Taken together, we see from critical studies of race, psychology, and media that by focusing on such language in textual frames we can begin to understand the virulence of the post-racial society concept. It becomes clear that the racialized language that appears in sports journalism is conceptualized and employed by individuals who never come in contact with the original publications. These domains of absorption—the spaces wherein individual language uptake occurs—are defined not only at the individual level, but also at the group level as the effects of social identification play out. More than this, the public is often unaware of such mechanisms in their thinking unless prompted to reflect upon them

[5] As understood through indexical orders (Johnstone 2006; Silverstein 2003; Labov 1972).

specifically[6]. In this way, we see racist language and labels operating covertly. I argue here that covert racism functions in such a way that it brings with it subtleties that are *not* noticed by the in-group (the White community) as aspects of acceptance, inclusion, and normalcy, but that *are* marked and noticed as such by the out-group (the Black community) (LeCouteur & Augoustinos 2001). The in-group, employing covert racist language, does not experience these forms as marked; it is often not the intention of a majority member to performatively label with these utterances or word choices. The out-group, the minority, does mark this language, and does conceptualize it for its othering power.

[6] We see similar evidence for this pseudo-conscious awareness of variants/linguistic effects in the perceptual dialectology literature. (Preston 1999)

§1 RACE(ISM)

The sources I draw on in this thesis will be dealing directly with the African American community, and although many examples will be specific to that shared cultural context, any elucidations drawn from this work can—and should—be empirically applied across races in consideration of the major power dynamics which surround them.

This work deals with an American conceptualization of race and racism. The original conception of the term race comes from older anthropologic (and eugenic) classifications of the three Darwinian races of humanity—Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negro. While these pseudoscientific classes have been (and continue to be) debunked, the biological, phylogenetic conception of race is still quite common. The only linguistic context where this view is accurate is in the usage *the human race*.

Labels have long been used to separate the classes of power. Charles Hirschman, Richard Alba, and Reynolds Farley (2000) begin viewing these segmentations in American society by considering the various instantiations of the US census. In the early years, American census takers[7] often did not question citizens about their racial status "because the relevant characteristics were thought to be readily observable." This becomes immediately complicated in the light of North American colonial history. By the 1970s this melding gave us "the ethnoracial pentagon"—the standard five-way racial schema—that many of us grew up with—presented on the majority of institutional forms, including the census: "non-

[7] Census takers are responsible for making racial identifications until 1960, when Americans were sent the census form to complete themselves (Hirschman et al. 2000).

Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians, Non-Hispanic Indians, and Hispanics" (Hirschman et al. 2000). We see that a growing number of Americans "do not find the primary sources of their group identity"[8] in these five categories. With the 2000 census comes an innovation[9]; "respondents were able to indicate multiple races on the American census."

My work is not engaged directly in this debate over what is officially recognized as race, although it is undoubtedly related, and my findings may serve to aid in the further disentanglement of the associated terms and concepts. For summary and clarification, allow me to state a definition of race I am working under: "a socially constructed category of identification based on physical characteristics, ancestry, historical affiliation, or shared culture" ("race").

There is also an important idea of *racism* as an evolving concept, that has grown historically with the expansion of scientific knowledge and social sophistication. As we have come to know more about the aspects which separate and contain groups, *racism* specifically (and othering in general) has shifted through periods of

[8] Equitable recognition, at an institutional level, of an individual's self-identity is important, but race is socially constructed—it has no (relevant) criteria for observation. If race is socially constructed—it is not inherently biological—then we can expect the expressions of race to be subject to the same intersections that the expression of gender and other social identities are as well. Accepting this, we then see ourselves engaged in conversations about what it means to express race. We are clearly at the genesis of this arch, in that there is a genuine discomfort and trend towards rejection when individuals begin to reach across racial lines towards a different, and (in the apparent conception) biologically unmatched, expression. Put differently, we must make room for the Rachel Dolezals (Oluo 2017) if we are to fully embrace the concept of socioracial construction.

[9] One of the major influences behind this change was the rise of a popular young athlete, Tiger Woods (Hirschman et al 2010). The US struggle with official race classification began in the 1790s and one of the most significant shifts in the institutional conception of race revolves around the rise of a Black Asian American phenomena in the American sport consumer consciousness. Also, this occurred right at the time media was exploding and the internet was in its prepubescence. We Americans were all mostly getting our news together, or at least from the same outlets. Meaning, there was more exposure, saturation, and diffusion of single messages within this period. People in their dining rooms begin to ask —What box does Tiger check on his census? And several years later, multiracial options appear.

covert and overt expression. Currently we can understand modern racism as a new type of prejudice that emerged in the early 1970s that is "characterized by beliefs that racism is not a continuing problem," that we live in a post-racial society (Henry 2010; see also Hill 2008; Bonilla-Silva 2000). This conceptualization is built "during socialization" (Henry 2010; see also Coates 2012), but it is not acquired through "explicit lessons," rather it becomes "part of the individual's rational ordering of her perceptions of the world" (Lawrence III 1995). The post-racial society concept derives from a variety of sources that cooperate to shape today's racial ideologies. This capacity is borne out in a person's behavior in response to and in support of social groups: "Racial attitudes, behaviors, and actions are symptomatic of institutional, ideological, and cultural structures which define, legitimate, and promote racial outcomes within a given society" (Coates 2012).

These attitudes flourish because modern racism is covert and ubiquitous, reaching across the strata of human interaction. Defined by Rodney Coates as racism which is "hidden; secret; private; covered; disguised; insidious; or concealed [that]…varies by context [and]… serves to subvert, distort, restrict, and deny rewards, privileges, access, and benefits to racial minorities" (2012). Coates likens Covert Racism to *The Matrix*, a world-within-the-world which "serves to create and preserve an illusion of reality" with "…its own rules." This illusory space is one where "differences in outcomes associated with racial hierarchies are defined as the natural or normal functioning of a democratic system based upon meritocracy" (Coates 2012). This space is created through applications of language and behavior which are "subtle in application" and can be "confused with mechanism of exclusion and inclusion" within the social strata. In the American context, we often view common mismatches in social outcomes as stemming from flaws in the individual—they did not work hard enough, did not sufficiently value their blessings—and not from flaws in the institution—their opportunities were categorically limited. Coates observes that, "Covert racism operates as a boundary keeping mechanism whose

primary purpose is to maintain social distance between racial majorities and racial minorities" (Coates 2012). And because most of this social operation is the product of (often subconscious) mental work, "covert racism often goes undetected and is inherently inculcated with each generation of new members" (Coates 2012).

Jane Hill (2008) delineates the spaces where common linguistic realties are co-opted by White racism to "denigrate" (2008). The Folk Theory of Racism operates on four basic tenets: race is biological; prejudice is a natural human state; racism is a matter of individual belief, intention and action; and those who commit racist acts are "ignorant, vicious, and remote from the mainstream" (Hill 2008). *Folk* here is an anthropological term which is characterized by commonsense understandings of some socially or locally salient force. This theory provides an interpretation, a way of thinking about racism, that is crucial to the perpetuation of White racist culture. The Folk Theory interacts with linguistic ideologies in "intricate ways that make possible the simultaneous reproduction and denial of White racism" (Hill 2008). It is essential to note that while these tenets are those that are believed or perceived by the majority of people, the Folk Theory is not something many possess the conscious awareness of to describe it in detail. Instead it is manifested in their behavior in situations where these tenets are called into question.

These principle tenets show up in the talk and text of our classrooms, our halls of worship, the deliberations of our legislative bodies, and in the cultural tropes we rely on so heavily in our media and entertainment industries. In response to, and collusion with what the Folk Theory proposes, "the modern racist denies that he or she is prejudiced; any conscious and obvious feelings and attitudes are justified by 'matter-of-fact' observations that minority groups transgress central values such as hard work, thrift, and self-reliance" (LeCouteur & Augoustinos 2001). Most

importantly, the four principle tenets of The Folk Theory's provide societal barometers to gauge covert racism's (Coates 2012) function.

Hill begins her investigation of the Folk Theory by confronting slurs, the most recognizable racist language. Slurs have a social life, one which sits astride hatespeech and freedom of speech. When hearing or reading a slur, the Folk Theory immediately puts us on the defensive, because it hangs production on intention. In commonsense understanding, to use a slur is to be racist. Hill (2008) discusses the all-important "metalinguistic" distribution of slurs that their occurrence propagates. Someone utters a slur, and people become hurt or angered by it. When this happens, the conversation moves from those directly involved into increasingly more public domains. Those who condemn the slur-user and those who oppose the condemners repeat the slur *ad nauseum*. And it is then in the Zeitgeist. Those who have never uttered the word are able to immediately grasp its meaning, and all its connotation, and the cycle begins to repeat.

Hill's arguments about slurs (and the gaffe-firestorms created when renowned individuals utter them) addresses lexical items that are traditionally, and overtly, racist. The arguments surrounding the "All Lives Matter" variant of the "Black Lives Matter" hashtag (Garza) shows common language being used in a way that causes it to take on the mantel of a slur, allowing the Folk Theory to operate, or rather keying us into its presence like a curtain rippling in the breeze. When we come to define common lexemes (like *All*) as hatespeech, and specifically as racist speech, this outlines a new group of racists, unaware of and violently opposed to the label. Hill tells us that these sorts of utterances capitalize on and operate through language ideologies. Here we see several in operation, but of particular salience is the "baptismal ideology of meaning," which works under the assumption that a word's meaning does not arise from its context of application,

but instead "can be found by tracing its history"[10] (Hill 2008). In the example of *All* versus *Black* (Lives Matter), this ideology maps onto the Saussurean idea of signifier and signified. When *All* is supplanted for *Black*, we are claiming that using one word—*Black*—automatically implies the opposite—not White—it invokes the negative differentiation of a binary opposition (Saussure 1916). This ideology creates space for the claim that anyone stating Black lives matter is also implying that White (or other) lives do not. While this is patently untrue, and not related to the argument, it is this facet which shapes the resulting discourse. They are forced (by the Folk Theory) to engage the conversation—which should be about more than terminology[11]—on this most basic level because that is where the stance line has been drawn, that is where we can find purchase in the rhetorical framework and be allowed into the discussion.

Hill (2008) also discusses White power and the privilege associated with control of linguistic resources. Whites are the power brokers in American society, and they view "their ascendency, not as a historical product, but as a moral imperative." Traditionally, "Whites were thoroughly insulated by segregation from people of color, and actively oblivious to their concerns" within the larger institutions of American society, characterized by property holding, voting, education, equal protection, among other activities (Hill 2008). Overtime these barriers have been (forcibly) shed. But the effects of this mentality continue to rumble in covert racist discourse. While the conversation of *All* versus *Black* happens to be about race (a fact many would couch with progress), it is not about a particular slur. Yet we do see "White racist culture work[ing] to shift both material and symbolic resources from the bottom of the racial hierarchy, Color, to the top, Whiteness" (Hill 2008). Replacing *Black* for *All* serves in belittling the slogan, making any claims made for recognition or reparation under the movement's banners repugnant with

[10] See also Henry, Butler, & Brandt (2014) p. 186 for further discussion of this in the context of slurs.
[11] They are not talking about Michael Brown, or Trayvon Martin, or Sandra Bland, as it their want.

intolerance and synonymous with truculence. This rhetorical move also stems from the needs individuals have to maintain the positive psychological associations with their social groups Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Reynolds and Turner (2001)[12] claim are necessary. In this discussion, the White majority is ostensibly deciding which utterances can qualify for a meta-level discussion on meaning and which utterances qualify as performances of race-motivated wounding[13].

People from all walks of life engage in baptismal language ideologies, often automatically, and not always from a negative plateau. Black Lives Matter is set upon by the Folk Theory, which prevents its elements from overall comprehensibility—from acceptance or respect among the general American public. This pooh-poohing has nothing to do with the movement's interventionist methods, with their decentralization of leadership, or with the idea of protest. It has everything to do with the referentialist ideologies that permeate our collective understanding of how language works and the specter of White virtue which bleaches meaning from these words like so much stain.

It is essential to note that the Folk Theory operates in a significantly different, and I would argue more harmful, manner around covert versus overt racism. Hill (2008) provides as an example of overt racism the debate over renaming "Squaw Peak," an area in Arizona. Members of the in-group (non-Native citizens) were arguing for the maintenance of this title, which is a derogatory term as understood by members of the out-group (the Native population). Hill shares online conversation that stretched over months about the use of this slur—what it meant, what it meant for people to use it, what it meant for institutional support to be

[12] Discussed in detail below in §2.

[13] This struggle with baptismal ideologies and White virtue is not unknown to those associated with the BLM. Alicia Garza waxes at length on the movement's official website over the seemingly immediate, pervasive appropriation, and reapplication of the #blacklivesmatter slogan for the benefit of various organizations and campaigns.

placed beneath it. This debate does, in many ways, serve to reify the term. *Squaw* becomes more permanent than before, a matter of not only written but also now digital, not only physical but also now conceptual meaning and memory. Yet the debate also creates space for the minority to voice their opinion, to share the wounding power of pejorative performance (by establishing the baptismal ideology of meaning in defining the lexeme's history), to highlight and challenge the complacent ignorance surrounding the use of the word by those it does not describe. You can do this with *Squaw*, but you cannot do it with *All*. Looking at the Squaw Peak debates, ultimately we see new (in-group) users have started "to notice and attribute meaning" to this term, and are beginning to know and accept the baptismal ideology of meaning offered (by the out-group) (Johnstone 2006). *Squaw* has risen to third-order indexicality (Johnstone 2006), and we know this because speakers have begun to "link" the use of a variant with an identity (their own or another's)[14].

With *covert* racism, it is nigh impossible to address the racism of an utterance directly[15]. And this fact creates a heretofore unprecedented problem as covert racist discourse becomes the overwhelmingly prevailing form of such talk—because the racist no longer has conversational space for self-defense, there is no denouncement happening at all. Typically, as per the principle tenets of the Folk Theory, anyone engaged in a metalinguistic discussion of racist language would eventually have the opportunity to respond to the claims of the minority; if a word is indeed a slur, harmful in all its meaning and connotation, they would, if ever-so-briefly, accept the baptismal meaning brought forward by the minority if but to challenge it. This is important because it forces the majority to admit first that

[14] It is this sort of unconscious, associative perception I am testing for.

[15] With the intersecting pragmatic entailments circling covert racist terms (like *All*), it is not surprising that the resulting discourses pattern differently. Due to the nature of covert racist language, a variety of indexical orderings are anticipated. These orders will vary with respect to each other (*all* vs *thick* vs *angry*), and with respect to the overtly racist variants in the lexicon.

they understand the claims of the minority; second that they recognize the negativity in this specific racist performance; and third that some of their number are capable of purposefully acting in such a way. But—and this is key—they would immediately pass off this truth on an invisible caricature, perhaps a Dixie-whistling bumpkin in some mythical Southern holler barefoot next to his moonshine still whooping slurs up like battle cries[16]. In this conversational space it is revealed that for Whites, "racism is a belief;" one that only "a few individuals hold" (Bonilla-Silva 2000), but that nonetheless exists and is dispreferred by the discerning members of the group. Put differently, to pass off this utterance on a removed individual they must—crucially—admit that such utterances are wrong, that those who support their use deserve ostracism. Disturbingly, we see that censure is no longer the default response to vitriol, and I would argue this is due to the current covert default of racist language.

Hill's claim that we live in a post-racial society—one where race is seen as an inconsequential product of biology (like brunetteness) and racism is wedded to individual acts and intentions—is supported by scholars in various fields, notable linguists among them (Rickford 2016; Alim 2016; Smitherman 2012; Alexander 2010). Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2000) has tested the extent of this ideology with in-depth sociological surveys, and his work has contradicted the widely held notion of the colorblind state of the contemporary Western worldview. Bonilla-Silva takes sociological research since the Civil Rights movement to task[17] for its laissez-faire

[16] This obviously socio-geographically specific caricaturization is applicable only to the American context, and to the context of a White majority's versus racial minority's overtly racist linguistic ideologies.

[17] See also Sonya Fix (2016) who claims "Popular American binary notions of race have often been both imported and reinforced by the field of sociolinguistics in its analysis of uses of racially and ethnically marked language varieties," and Tukufu Zuberi, who challenges statistical methodologies and the establishment of the so-called "race effect," looking specifically at the "implications for how racial data are interpreted" through the casual (and often incorrect by dictionary (or anthropological) standard) language used to define variables in quantitative analyses of social factors. Zuberi states that the "social

approach to racial issues, claiming explicitly that many of these studies serve only to preserve "the global justification [of]… the racial status quo" (2000). This is done by a seemingly-orchestrated scholarly avoidance of "racial discourse" in a such a way that the shift from overt racism to covert racism we observed goes not only unnoticed in production and perception, but also unassessed in presence and purpose. Many of the studies in this time period point to survey data, showing that the attitudes of Whites (often students) towards integration; Affirmative Action; and minorities in general have cooled, expressing a growing tolerance overall. There is contemporary support for this belief (see the last two decades of Gallop polling). Bonilla-Silva's results highlight an unnoticed presence of covert racist practices diffused throughout the college community (2000). Coates, too, comments on this type of thinking, stating that it "often happens when one grows up in a society with a history of racism. It has become so embedded within the national culture that many seem impervious to its existence" (2012).

The idea of a post-racial society is also taken up in the legal profession, wherefrom rises Critical Race Theory. Critical Race Theory developed post-Civil Rights by legal scholars- and practitioners-of-color in response to the "mainstream commonsense assumptions" of modern racism and how these effect "the dominant legal conception of racism as a discrete and identifiable act of "prejudice based on skin color'" (Crenshaw et al. 1995). Contemporary Critical Race theorists are working to edit one manifestation of the legal definition of discrimination, the necessity of intention (Crenshaw at all 1995). If a young child says the N-word, they cannot be a racist because they do not understand the meaning of this word,

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construction of race as an unalterable characteristic places a conceptual limitation on the researcher's ability to understand racial dynamics" (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008). (See also Wolfram 2007.) Leaving the common conception of race as something observable and unchangeable has been in the best interest of the powers that be since the inception of our nation, and scholarship which does not complicate the objectivity of these lines is complicit in their reification. We must take steps "in the evolutionary process of realigning statistical categories of group identity to conform to contemporary understandings of the population's makeup" (Hirschman et al. 2000).

and therefore any who are harmed by hearing it—or by being labelled as such by this performative utterance—have no foundation to claim reparation, even in the form of apology, from a legal standpoint[18]. In this application, we see that, "By insisting that a blameworthy perpetrator be found before the existence of racial discrimination can be acknowledged, the Court creates an imaginary world where discrimination does not exist unless it was consciously intended. And by acting as if this imaginary world was real and insisting that we participate in this fantasy, the Court and the law it promulgates subtly shape our perceptions of society" (Lawrence III 1995).

In the intervening decades since Civil Rights, racist ideologies have waxed and waned, moving from prevalent (if personal) notions of rightness and decency which challenged integration efforts, to a lunatic fringe of holdouts[19], clinging to a romantic ideal of bygone eras of prosperity (Hill 2008). Today, we witness the pendulum (globally) swinging back to center, with increasingly vocal resistance to the products of equality-as-policy such as Affirmative Action, political correctness, and amnesty. Much of this vocality parallels the rhetoric and ideological performance associated with mid-century protectionist movements. Coates (2012) holds that "Plausible deniability, an intrinsic component of covert racism, benefits perpetrators by allowing them to deny responsibility and culpability while simultaneously undermining its victim's ability to claim damage(s)." Critical Race theorists also see that claims of institutional racism (and discrimination broadly) have become nearly insupportable because the plaintiff's burden of proof hinges on intent. There is no legal space for claims of injustice or personal harm experienced at the presence or utterance of covert racist language. But, because

[18] Hill's (2008) arguments for intention as an integral component of the Folk Theory provide similar thought-experiment evidence.
[19] Trump happened. This may be less true than it was a year and a half ago.

modern racism is allied to intent, we must be “analyzing the racial language utilized” to bring forth such challenges (Zuberi 2012).

§2 PSYCHOLOGY

Group identity is essential to the cognitive manifestation and function of covert racism this experiment tested for. Also, it adds theoretical mental scaffolding which explains the behaviors relating to the Folk Theory discussed above. The group elements of social interaction have been addressed since the rise of the Gestalt school of psychology in post-WWII America. The most relevant theory addressing this issue is Social Identity Theory (SIT), established by Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner in 1979; it hinges on the establishment of "certain defined relationships to members of other groups" (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Social relationships are defined by categorization criteria—or labels established through language—filled with "value laden attributes or characteristics" (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Even "explicitly arbitrary" delimiters (assigned by the administrators and unlinked to socially salient categories) created intergroup discrimination between subjects. Through a series of subsequent experiments, Tajfel and Turner's conclusions lead them to posit three levels of cognitive processing which develop and sustain Social Identity: Social Categorization, Social Identification, and Social Comparison.

Social Categorization is the process through which one decides to which group she wants to belong. These categorizations are "conceived here as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action." We see that, "As a social classification becomes salient, the norms of that group direct the individual's beliefs and behaviors in order to enhance self-esteem and confirm attitudes and behaviors" (Mastro 2002). The second level is Social Identification, which involves identification with a social group, an explicit alliance with compatible attitudes held by other members of that group. This step "provide(s) a system of orientation

for self-reference" and "create(s) and define(s) the individual's place in society" (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Finally, and importantly, "These identifications are to a very large extent relational and comparative: they define the individual as similar to or different from, as "better" or "worse" than, members of other groups." This is the third level: Social Comparison (Tajfel & Turner 1979). These comparisons manifest themselves in aural and visual mediums as label-language.

These mechanisms work among and through minority and majority groups, but the resulting individual ideologies differ somewhat, particularly in regards to social comparison. Tajfel and Turner find that Social Identity Theory operates on the surface roughly as ethnocentrism, manifesting as protectionist action for a group's share of scarce resources (be that cultural cachet or actual sustenance). Tajfel and Turner suggest, "However, that [this pseudo-] ethnocentrism among stratified groups is, or at least has been, very much a one-way street." There is "a great deal of evidence that minority or subordinate group members…have frequently tended to derogate the in-group and displace positive attitudes toward the dominant out-group" (1979). Put differently, minority groups may favor majority groups at the social identification and comparison levels. This is immediately and obviously problematic[20]. These distinctions create a core us-versus-them phenomenon without using socially or personally salient benchmarks. What is important to ask then is, where does this continuum shade from personal identity off into social identity—where can the line of responsibility be drawn?

Social psychologists Reynolds and Turner (2001) get after these questions by investigating group mentalities, using several experiments to catalogue the development of SIT, and looks specifically as the development of discrimination.

[20] One look at the cadre of beauty products commonly marketed to the African-American woman—skin bleachers, chemical hair straighteners—will provide ample contemporary evidence for these prevalent and detrimental associations.

Reynolds and Turner apply the psychological license for group formation to what they call Social Categorization Theory, which looks at the type and level of identity that becomes "psychologically operative" in the moment, arguing that with each action, "individuals aim to achieve or maintain a positive social identity"[21] (2001).

Discursive psychologists Amanda LeCouteur and Martha Augoustinos apply the psychology of racism to language "located within the dominant institutional practices and discourses of a society" (2001). LeCouteur and Augoustinos agree with Reynolds and Turner to an extent, but they state explicitly that social categorization is more than mental, it is also not inherently performative, but instead is recursively present in everyday talk[22]. They look at "interpretative repertories" (Potter & Wetherell 1987), which function as tools or choices allowing individuals to negotiate their social standing in any given moment or context with "whatever ideological resources a society makes available" through talk and text (and now, screen) (2001). This negotiation is understood as always operating in service of "oppressive structural arrangements which need continually to be justified and legitimated for their maintenance and reproduction" (2001). Further: "This negativity does not manifest itself in what most would regard as traditional prejudiced talk (i.e. old-fashioned racism), but rather a delicate, flexibly managed, and locally contingent[23] discussion" (LeCouteur & Augoustinos 2001)[24]. This view of covert language sees these acts of covert racism not as justification for behavior but as wedded to a psychological imperative—to use those ideological resources (e.g. label-language) (2001). Additionally, when speaking linguistically, the choices

[21] This maps well onto to Hill's Folk Theory (2008), and we see it play out in the rhetorical backflips employed by many of Bonilla-Silva's (2000) survey participants.
[22] Findings in Josey (2010) support this as well.
[23] Johnstone 2006 addressed the necessity of locality in the advancement of indexical orders associated with label-language similar to that studied here.
[24] Coates (2012) addresses this stating: "Covert racism, subtle in application, often appears hidden by norms of association, affiliation, group membership and/or identity."

between ideological resources are somewhat limited. Yes, there is agency here, but the individuals and institutions which collectively create and support systemic racism arise from "grooves of thinking" (Sapir 1929), and while they may not emerge from a structural limitation in our language, there is evidence (Tajfel and Turner 1979; LeCouteur and Augoustinos 2001; Mastro 2011) that the choice to employ these methods is a well-worn, near automatic one. It is this sort of choice that this experiment tested for directly.

These studies show that group formation and subsequent defensive behavior are inherent aspects of at least the American condition. Systemic racism, then, seems to be group mentality writ large. And it becomes clear that these forces are embedded in our society simply because of the methods by which we cognitively manage and adjudicate our places within it. This may be a nasty, brutish part of our humanity that we can strive to work against, but it is something that will never quite disappear.

§3 MEDIA

Inequity in racial and ethnic representation across media (on TV shows, in movies, on the news) has been catalogued and tracked for decades, and Dana Mastro has been instrumental in gathering and analyzing this data. She explains (Mastro 2015) that the skewed and unrealistic representation of the demographic breakdown of American society is coupled with many stereotypical roles for the diversity-representing characters and presences seen in media. The combination of these phenomena leads to "a media-formulated understanding of race/ethnicity-based issues, related judgments, and behaviors." The media is complicit, Mastro argues, in the development and upkeep of our mental images for racial and ethnic groups, and these effects percolate up the chain. She speaks of "vicarious contact" with the offset media exposure, which has an effect on general conceptualizations of these groups (among the minority and the majority, although they may not parallel), as well as "group-level features" which have to do with the ways in which we select our peers, the ways in which we find comfort, belonging, and normalcy.

Mastro (2015) states "the range of unfavorable characterizations of minorities in the media provides Whites with abundant applications for stereotypical responses (e.g., comparisons that advantage their in-group), which boosts these viewer's self-concept." If, in the consideration of racialized language we begin—passively or actively—to digest these characterizations, we distance ourselves from other groups by way of the range of semantic associations with label-language (*brainy*; *thuggish*) and the character/individual it describes. I would argue that the media employs such language frequently and increasingly to the mental and emotional detriment of the minority groups it characterizes[25]. By the elucidations of Social

[25] See Naber (200) for a glaring example of the sincere danger in mediated application label-language to a

Psychology, we begin to understand that the negative and/or minority associations are maintained because they advantage the in-group: "Because media messages offer little in the way of comprehensive explanations for portrayals of race and ethnicity, and instead merely link groups with both desirable and undesirable characterizations (e.g., Entman, 1994), exposure can do more than simply define racial/ethnic groups but also exacerbate racial tensions in society" (Mastro 2015).

Exposure here is understood as just that—the amount of time we attend to media and the messages therein. This can be measured over time, or as a percentage of total coverage of a subject or event. Mastro (2015) holds that, "With such media-saturated lifestyles, it may be difficult for audience members to even recognize the influence of exposure on perceptions of reality. Accordingly, the potential is great for media use to assume a profound role in shaping views of diverse groups. As such, the quality of media content takes on unprecedented importance." In my opinion, the presence of such skewed representations of demographics allied with a standard set of characterizing tropes (expressed through language) leads individuals to be able to define *what they are not* by this list of terms. As presence of mind and self-awareness is reached, Social Identity Theory (SIT) begins to take effect, and social categorization, identification, and comparison begin along these lines. It is with the presented archetypes and indexically associated terminology that this operation is negotiated. Further, Mastro holds that as recent and repeated exposure to the demographic mismatch in the media "increase[s] over time the cognitive associations between the attribute and the attitude object strengthen until this construct becomes chronically accessible in the minds of consumers—again underscoring the importance of more favorable and equitable characterizations of diverse groups in the mass media." [26]

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particular social group, and how that language works to define the American conceptualization of and behavior towards that group. (See also Entman (1991); Billings (2004))

[26] Favorable and equitable characterizations of diverse groups is what the revelations of this experiment

Mastro et al (2011) addressed the intersecting characterizations of athletes of color with news depictions of crime[27]. Mastro et al (2011) shows that the words used to describe the successes of Black athletes are predictably different than those used to describe White ones. That Black athletes are "addressed in reference to what are perceived to be innate talents such as physical ability, atheleticism, and brute strength; identified as superior to the natural abilities of White athletes" (Mastro 2011). These differences in characterization work to strengthen the positive associations of the White community among the White community (Hill 2008), while also harming the chances of positive associations of the Black community among the White community *or* among the Black community (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Mastro et al (2011) also adds in the concept of framing[28] to address how this language characterizing minority athletes differs from that characterizing Whites and from real-world population proportions. An example of frames can be seen in Durgid's 2015 corpus study on public apology (a subject which Hill 2008 treats extensively). Durgid's elucidations of the very real and increasingly forceful ability of the media to orchestrate public opinion with the information it shares is highly illustrative. Her results show surprisingly little change over time in "apology-

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aid me in advocating for.

[27] This work also supports my claim that sports reporting is the media's most common reporting format, and "suggest[s] that distinct messages are used depending on the race of the athlete."

[28] In Lakoff 2004, we received a definition of framing with the now classic "Don't think of an elephant" example. Lakoff, holds that "Every word, like *elephant*, evokes a frame. which can be an image or other knowledge." Applied in the context of our conversation, when the news media is reporting on criminal activities, they are doing so using the "distinct messages" Mastro has provided evidence of in her content analysis. These messages are translated through word and image. So, when you hear the word *thug*, you are not only envisioning a criminal, but a Black one. Framing "is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. Framing is often traced back to roots in both psychology and sociology (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). The psychological origins of framing lie in experimental work by Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), for which Kahneman received the 2002 Nobel Prize in economics (Kahneman, 2003)" (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). (See also Luntz 2008; Entman 1991; Iyengar 1991 for further discussion, and cross-disciplinary applications of framing)

related lexis," from popular to academic print, from recorded speech to digital publication; all forms of public apology seem to fit a general pattern, one designed and controlled by the media itself. The revelations from this work show that because the media reports such events within a set and highly artificial format, it has ostensibly created a new form of discourse to fit this frame. The elements left to fill in are only the pertinent details. This limits the ability of a public figure seeking forgiveness to do so with any significant personal force, emotion, or variety while maintaining the possibility of wide distribution or a serious reception of message. This is exactly the same framework we see in sports reporting: a highly formulaic, nuts-and-bolts frame that limits the journalist's originality. It is little wonder that we see near-fixed phrasing appearing again and again throughout corpora (mine included[29]), because the frame has become so consumable any deviation from it would render the report unrecognizable and would threaten the reception and distribution of the information. Media frames shape language if by no other mechanism than sheer pervasiveness.

[29] See the Method section below.

METHOD

I am assessing written language in this study. My research questions could potentially be answered (perhaps even easier) by using visual or aural media data sources. It has been hypothesized (Lang 1995; McCarthy & Warrington 1988) that verbal information—while powerful—is *not* as effective as visual. Tukachinsky, Mastro, and King (2011) show that "contrary to the hypotheses, no significant differences in the effect sizes of the two types of exemplars were found, suggesting that pictures are not inherently more influential than verbal exemplars." From their experimentation, the authors uphold that written "[e]xemplars can influence both readers' perceptions of the issue covered by the media…and attitudes toward the issue." These attitudes effect individual responses to "social policies"—and I would argue—other individuals. Tuckachinsky et al. (2011) provides a justification for an analysis of verbal exemplars in mediated environments which could effect individuals in exactly this fashion.

I am dealing with data that is textual. Corpus Linguistics provides methodology which enables us to ask about the frequency of forms in gathered bodies of texts. It also allows us to ask about what patterns those forms occur in—who is using them, when, in what registers, and across which domains? Linguistic anthropology provides methodology for assessing that use, with tools developed in discourse analysis asking questions about how different words are interpreted based on who is doing the uttering, and who is doing the hearing—what does a certain word mean in a certain conversational space that is does not mean in others and how do such phenomena play out, effecting future conversation? Experimental Linguistics provides the methodological space to investigate the elucidations gained from these previous lines of questioning, getting us ever-closer to understanding the

universal aspects of Language[30] that make what we observe on a community level possible on a cognitive level. I believe, quite strongly, that multiple methodologies are essential for modern Sociolinguistics. The time for insulated atomistic inquiry is over. We need to continue to expand our approaches to the extents which allow us to make a legitimate attempt at accounting for the complexities enmeshed in our questions. Indeed, enough initial research has been done, enough subsequent questions generated, that now we must begin tying up these loose ends, through whatever methodologies are of best fit to each specific challenge.

Overt racist language is indubitably present in print. And we find that there are topics which it is applied to—like the Squaw Peak debate—more commonly than others. I identified Serena Williams as an individual who is commonly addressed in a variety of print media, with an unfortunate history of suffering racist attacks on the page (Desmond-Harris 2015). If overt racist language (e.g. *feral gorilla*) was used to describe Williams in print, covert racist language—as Hill and Mastro seem to predict—would be as well. Starting from a well-formulated corpus query perspective, Serena Williams provided a convenient lure to begin a search for racialized adjectives with, because using *Serena Williams* as a seed words to build a corpus from would likely (and did) return one containing both overt and covert racist language. Further, Williams was a good subject not only because of the variety of publications she has been covered in, but also because her career provided a ready-made time segment. Without the support of such a corpus, I would have been reliant on introspective judgments in assembling the list of potentially racialized adjectives for this research; I would not have been able to gather these exemplars objectively[31].

[30] See Production and Perception research from Niedzelski (1999); Irvine and Gal (2000); Johnson (2006); Levon (2006; 2014); Narayan, C., Werker, J., and Beddor, P. S. (2010), Beddor, P. S., McGowan, K. B., Boland, J. E., Coetzee, A. W., and Brasher, A. (2013); Sumner, M., Kim, S. K., King, E., and McGowan, K.B. (2014); Beddor (2015); and Kevin McGowan (2015)

[31] Hans Lindquist (2009) has addressed the many reasons to employ corpora in linguistic study, including

To collect these texts, I used a Search Engine Optimization (SEO) Search Engine Results Pages (SERP) extraction tool (Ainsworth) online. This tool allows all the results from a Google search to be displayed on a single page. I then performed an advanced search on Google— which allowed me to search across a single website (e.g. Fortune.com) instead of the entire web—using the specified search terms, "Serena Williams".

The SERP extractor works as a bookmark and plugin combo (for Google Chrome only). The plugin allows for all Google results to be displayed on one page, and the bookmark then generates a list of all those URLs (and other information as well). This provided an optimal presentation of the URLs needed for BootCaT[32] to function. Those URLs were placed into a text document (.txt) of one URL per line and then fed to the BootCaT. This organization effectively created a mini-corpus from each website, containing every article they had printed (online) on Serena Williams. These corpora remain in their raw form and are accessible for future study upon request. Copies of these mini-corpora were then tagged for part of speech (POS) with the Penn tagset (Santorini 1991) using treetagger in the command-line, or TagAnt software (which employs treetagger). The analysis was completed in AntConc software. The total word count of this corpus[33] is 17, 7042. There were forty-two publications assessed, creating forty-two subcorpora (See Appendix A: Table Three for a full accounting of their individual size and distribution).

adding an increased measure of quantificational validity. There is a wealth of language data out there for any linguistic phenomenon we are studying, and corpora provide an accessible method of gathering data to respond to queries and validate claims.

[32] BootCaT is a utility designed to bootstrap corpora and terms from the web to aid in the collection of web-based corpora for specific "single-use" research projects. This interface brings together a toolkit of command-line scripts to follow URL "seeds" to their destination websites and return output folders containing raw test. Some of the websites proved tricky for BootCaT and were collected with wget and cleaned with justext in the command-line.

[33] called SWOLE (the Serena Williams Opprobrious Language Experiment corpus)

Using AntConc, a search was preformed for "JJ", the Penn basic adjective tag, with the context words "Serena", "Williams", and "she".

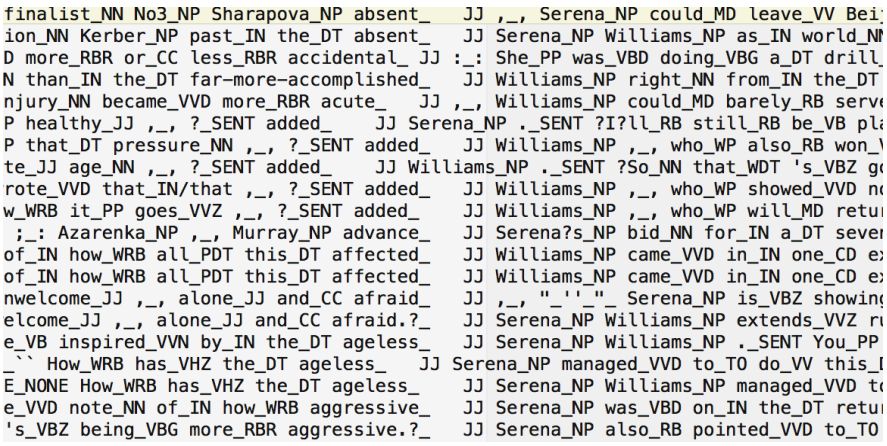


Image I: Sample Search Return Window

These context words were used to view those adjectives used in attributive position, referring directly to Serena Williams or discussing her with an anaphoric *she*. To promote an organization that aided in the individual assessment of each returned hit for this desired context, the results were sorted by the context words with the horizons "1L" and "3L", meaning the first word to the left followed by the third word to the left[34], as seen in Image I above. The results are thus displayed and arranged by those criteria.

This returned 3006 hits, which were individually assessed to determine if the adjectives were indeed being used in attributive position to describe Serena Williams, the person[35] (specifically or anaphorically). Of those, 1218 were in the correct position. Those terms were recorded along with the publications they were printed in and the sentence of context (e.g. *A hungry Serena is a deadly Serena*.

[34] The first word being the adjective itself, because the search is looking for the tag, JJ, and the third word being the word immediately preceding the adjective because the intervening second item (2L) is the Penn POS tag following that word. This is so terms like *The great* could be easily captured.

[35] Sometimes, they are describing her swing, her stance, The Serena Slam, etc.

Wimbledon), and examples of each type are available as Appendix A: Table Two. Each of these adjectives was coded for racialization initially by the author[36]. She then, in consultation with two other linguists, compared their ratings to derive a master list of adjectives to be used in critical trials in the eye-tracking experiment described below. Each of the adjectives were also coded for semantic type. Under several frameworks for adjectival organization in lexical semantics (Dixon 1982; Raskin & Nirenburg 1995), all of these adjectives can be said to fall under the category of "human propensity" (Dixon 1982). The author, then, developed several subcategories representing the types found in SWOLE. They are as follows: Emotive (e.g. "angry"); Hyperbolic (e.g. "almighty"); Hostile (e.g. "dangerous"); Temperament (e.g. "fiery"); Quality (e.g. "dominant"); Skill (e.g. "dominating"); Animalistic (e.g. "cat-like"). All of the tokens were also coded for polarity (See Appendix A: Table Six). This corpus investigation generated a list of attributive adjectives to be used in the eye-tracking experiment described below (See Appendix A: Table Five).

The eye-tracking experiment was run on an Eyelink 1000 Plus and by Experiment Builder software. This experiment utilized a visual-world paradigm (Huettig et al 2011), which traditionally presents images, not simply written words, to those being tracked. This is often seen as a single image, representing a common setting or scene. This paradigm elevates balance, ensuring that the images used take into account the general human propensities for reading an image. My experiment pairs two faces from the Chicago Face Database (CDF) and one word from the SWOLE corpus.

[36] If I perceived the adjectives as racialized *in their specific, sentential context*, I coded them as racialized. I then presented my reasoning to my committee, who upheld or disputed my original judgement. In the discussion section, I will address briefly my plans for further assessment, introducing multiple raters and measures of inter-rater reliability to this data.

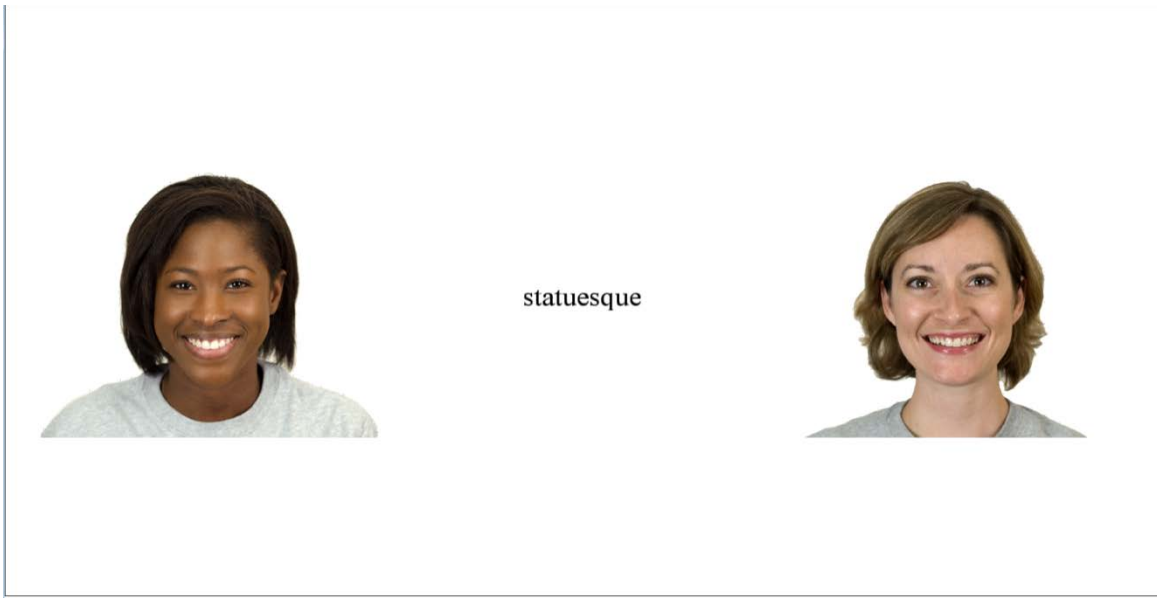


Image II: Sample Trial

The CFD images were developed by Ma, Correll, & Wittenbrink (2015), and present images of normal people, all wearing a standard grey t-shirt, sitting in front of a white background. These images are all the same size and quality. Importantly, the images are matched with vast amounts of norming data on attributes like perceived age or gender. In all critical trials, images were used that were normed at 100% female, and between 100-94% White or Black. All critical trials pair a Black female with a White female, due to the nature of the corpus data. The faces chosen from the CFD were, for all trials, matched for expression[37] and the individual's size, to avoid additional noise or distraction.

The filler trials serve as a workable control in that they allow me to account for anticipated noise in the signal—due to gender, race, or left-right reading bias. They present only same-race pairs, and male pairs as well. There are no male-female pairs in this experiment. The words used in the filler trials came from the corpus as well—occurring in the same syntactic position—but were not deemed

[37] The CFD offers up to five expressions per subject.

racialized. The filler terms included were also chosen to aid in balancing polarity of the critical adjectives, as a large portion of those deemed racialized have negative polarity.

The study had thirty-six participants between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three: four Multi-Racial; five Black; seven Hispanic; eighteen White; and one who declined to answer. Participants were trained on eight practice trials with stock images to acculturate them to the task. The practice trial images offered obvious choices in the same framework (see Image II). To minimize movement, participants were asked to fixate on an image to make their selection instead of pressing a button or key. Participants were shown the images for 9850 ms, the length of the entire trial. After 3750 ms a fixation cross appears between them, and after another 3100 ms, it is replaced by the adjective. The adjective remains between the images for 3000 ms while the participant fixates on their chosen image. There are eighty-three total trials, and fifty are critical. The experiment took approximately twenty minutes total.

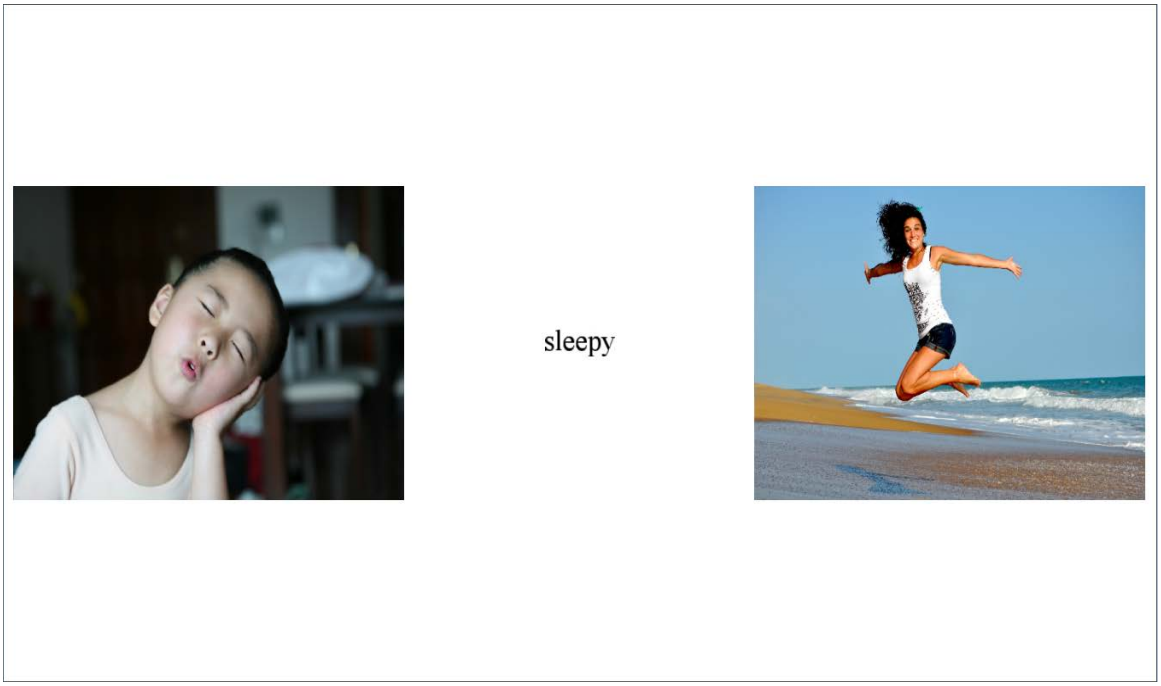


Image III: Sample Practice Trial

RESULTS

The corpus investigation returned 1218 attributive adjectives, found across forty-two publications, which were individually assessed for racialization and were coded for semantic type. Of those 1218 adjectives, 87 tokens were coded as racialized, and of those 87, thirty-nine are discrete types. These types, their distribution within the subcorpora, and examples of them in context are recorded as Appendix A.

The eye-tracking experiment tested how racialized adjectives effect the processing of faces. The H1 hypothesis tested was: Reaction times will be shorter to the Black face when a racialized adjective is present. This H1 was unsupported for reaction times. Because of this, my results cannot speak to the "vicarious contact" Mastro (2015) and Josey (2010) have theorized. Additionally, the identification of socially salient groups whose application of racialized adjectives to racialized images is near instantaneous, or at least less questioned, is not possible at this stage.

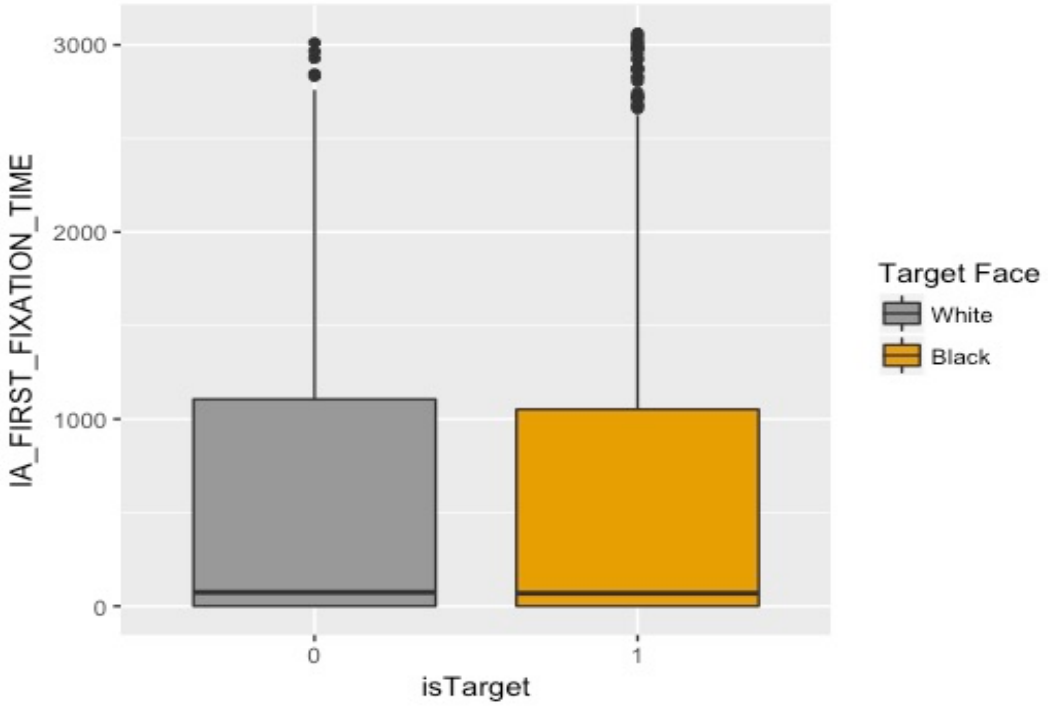


Figure one: Aggregate Reaction Times

H1 was further unsupported for dwell time, where we see similar medians in the aggregate output.

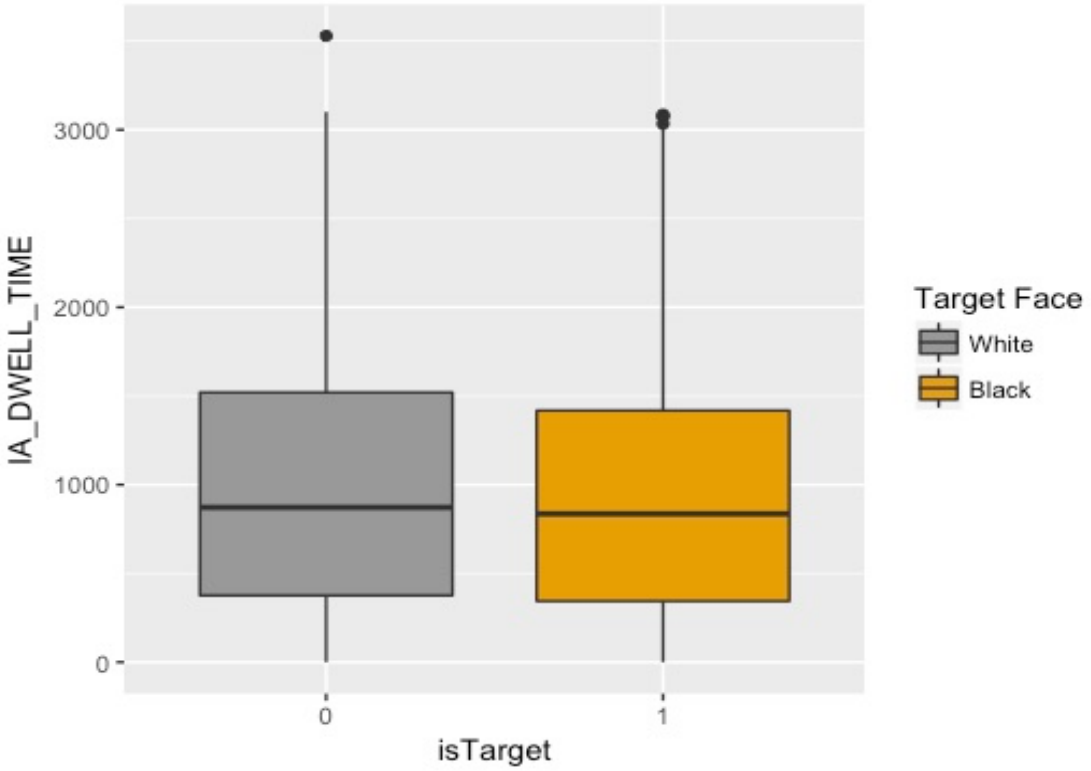


Figure Two: Aggregate Dwell Times

An overall goal of this research was to dig down to a core list of words which appear to be racialized—or to be in the process of indexical racialization—from the larger list of potentials extracted from the corpus. There are some interesting patterns when we compare these measures by word.

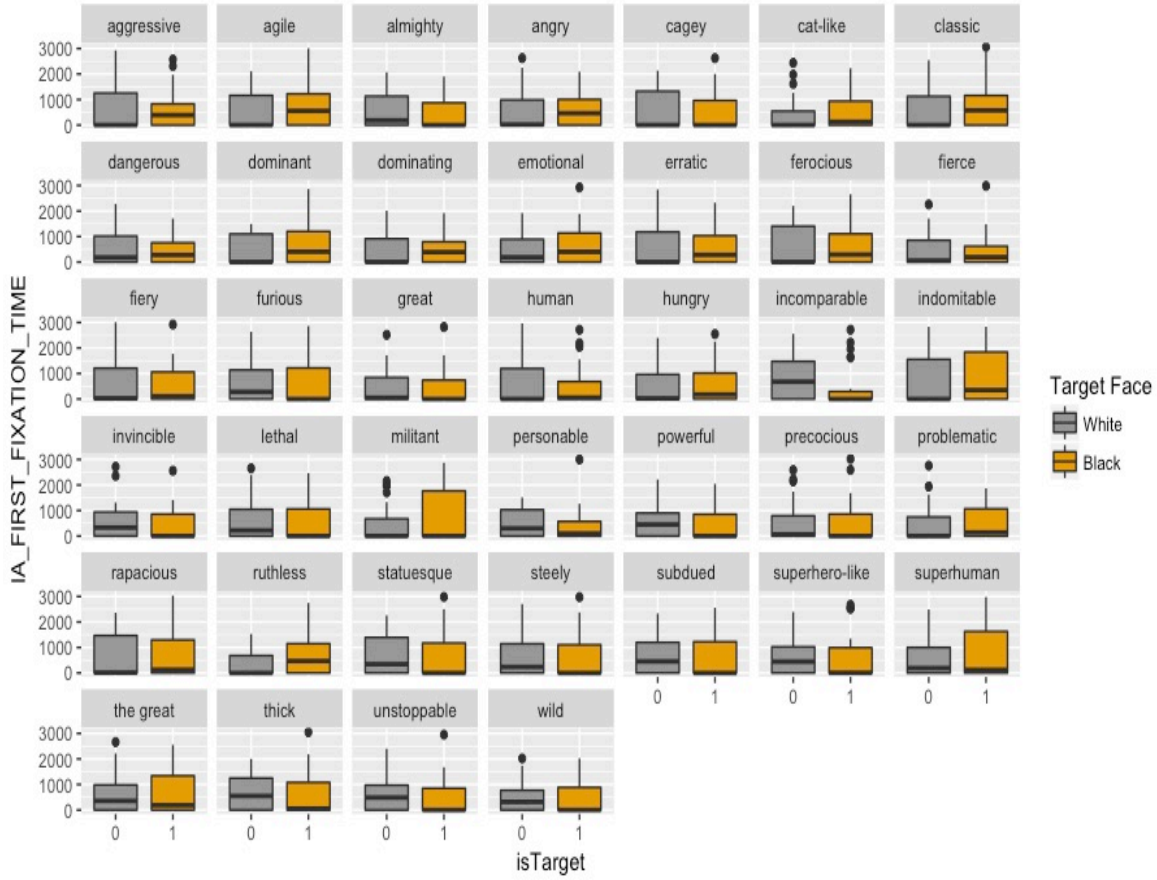


Figure Three: Reaction Times by Critical Adjective

We would expect those words with reaction times (in Figure Three) that are much faster for one image or the other, to have dwell times which reveal a similar pattern, to be naturally longer for the image fixated on first. For a small set of words, we see dwell times that are equal or skewed instead, meaning that although the appearance of the adjective did draw the eye initially to one image or the other, over the duration focus was equal or biased towards an unexpected image. See Figure Four Below.

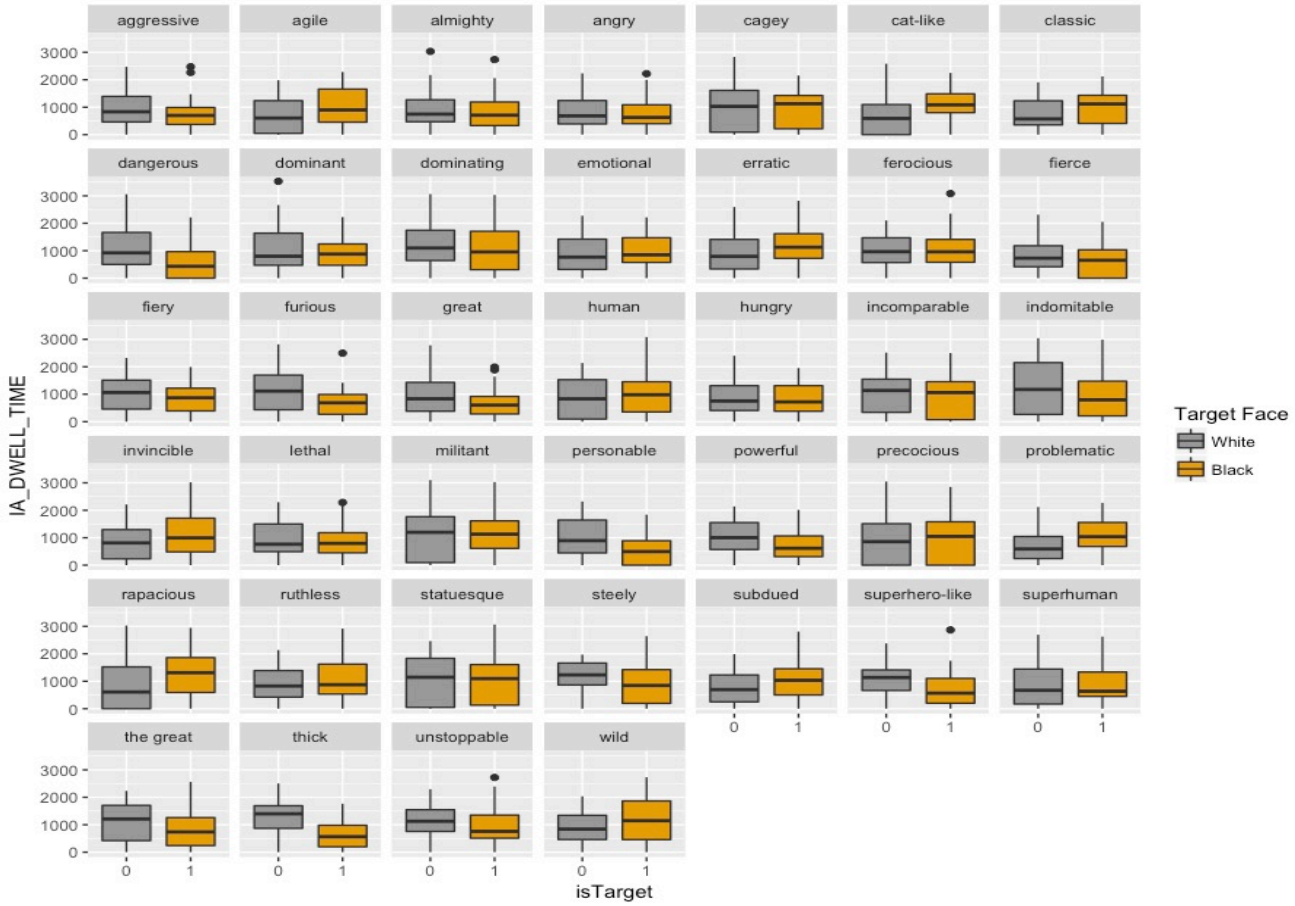


Figure Four: Dwell Times by Critical Adjective

From this assessment, three patterns emerge: a *To Black Face* pattern, a *To White Face* pattern, and a *Skewed* pattern. Below, *statuesque* and *incomparable* show dwell times which pattern towards a Black image; *angry* shows dwell times which

pattern towards the White image; and *unstoppable*, shows dwell times which present a skewed pattern.

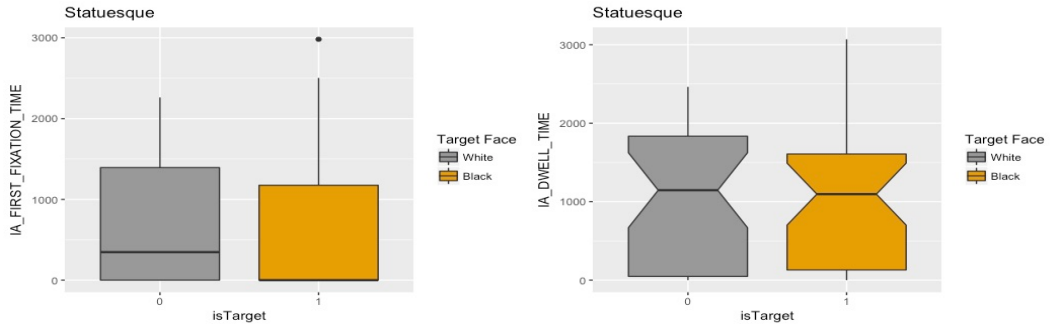


Figure Five: Statuesque Reaction Time and Dwell Time

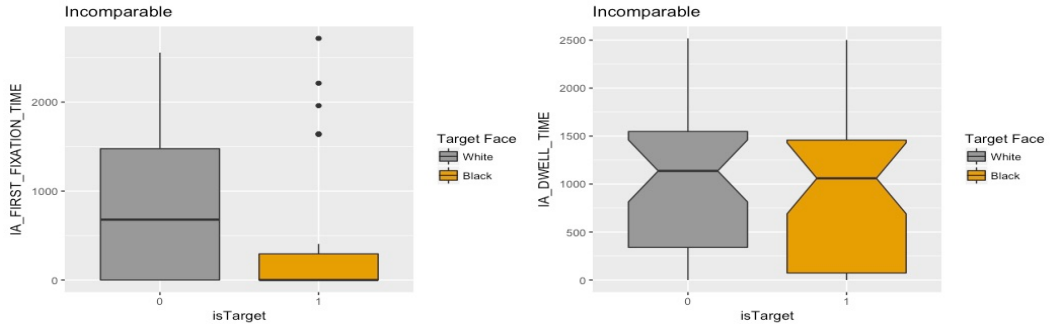


Figure Six: Incomparable Reaction Time and Dwell Time

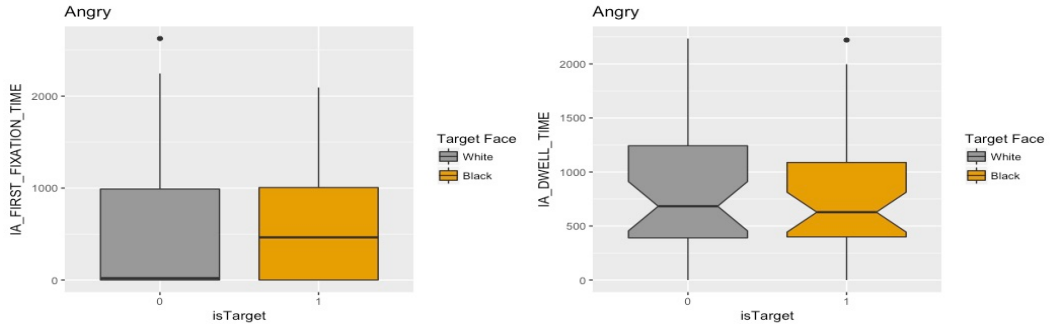


Figure Seven: Angry Reaction Time and Dwell Time

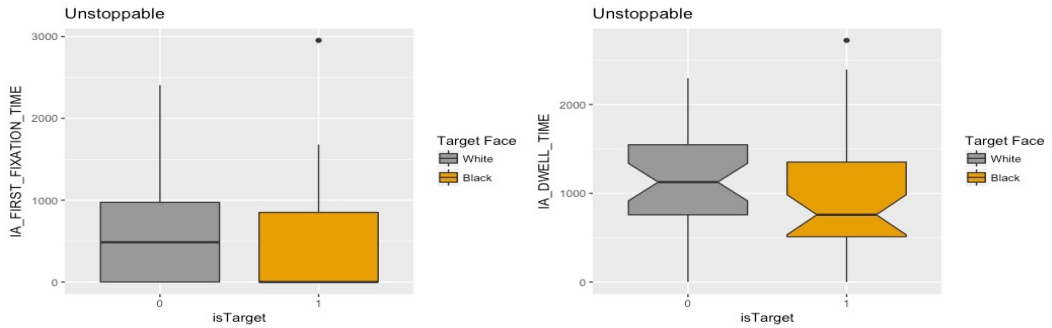


Figure Eight: Unstoppable Reaction Time and Dwell Time

There is also a thought that these patterns may become more salient when the results are plotted by semantic type. And we do see that some of these key words (from Figures Five-Eight) fall into certain semantic groups that also pattern in these unexpected ways (see Figure Nine). With a word like *incomparable*, we see a mismatched *to White face* pattern in reaction time to dwell time, and we see the same pattern imbalance in all of the hyperbolic positive polarity (Hy-P) adjectives.

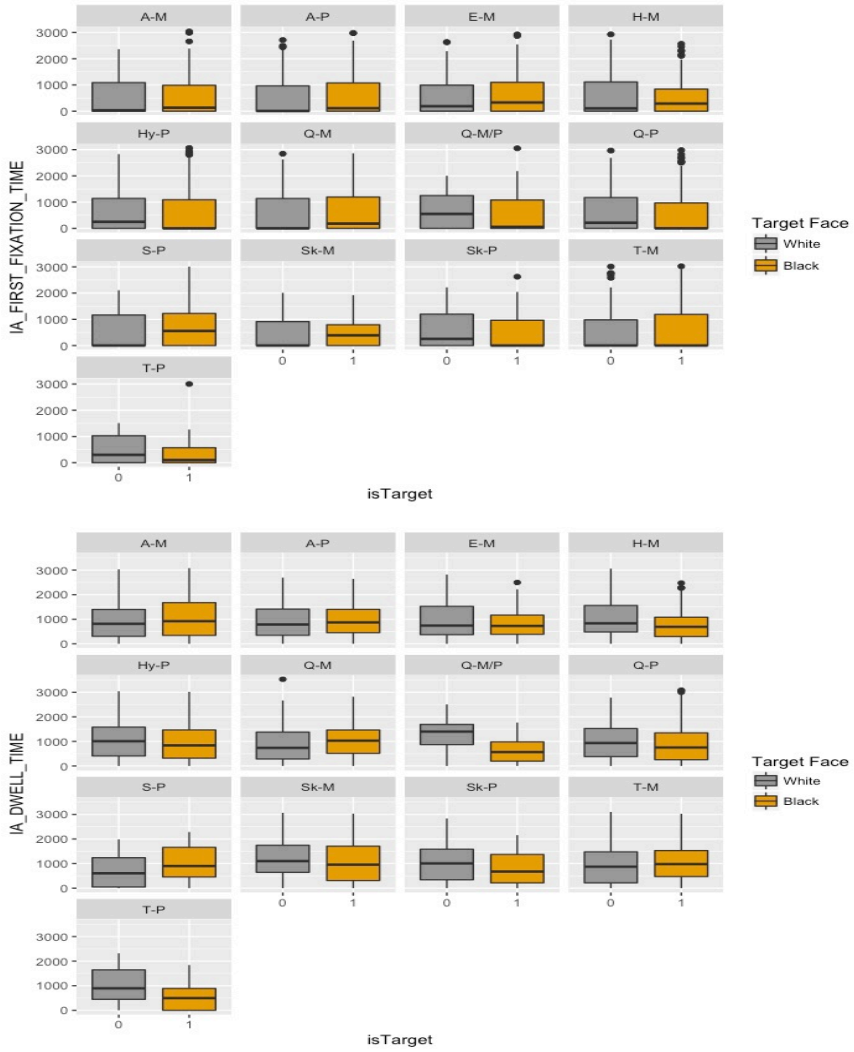


Figure Nine: Reaction Time and Dwell Times by Semantic Type

However, of these key words (from Figures Five-Eight), only the first fixation pattern in *incomparable* approaches significance, with a P-Value of 0.0868 and a

T-Value of -0.7708. This measure reveals that although many of these boxplots reveal what looks like an initial tendency in participants to look towards one image or the other after the adjective is presented, only the first fixations for *incomparable* may suggest the presence of a trend that the present experiment can not reveal. Put differently, this suggests that there is a potential for significance with more participants, but only with *incomparable.* We also see a similar lack of significance when we test the semantic types. The pattern in the whole semantic group containing *incomparable*, hyberbolic-positive polarity (Hy-P), is not significant, with a P-Value of 0.5509 and a T-Value of -1.3529 for first fixations. The one semantic group which appears significant adjacent is the skill-negative polarity (Sk-M) group (containing only *dominating* and *unsettled*), with a P-Value of 0.07675 and a T-Value of -1.7833 for dwell times. The implications of this finding will be addressed in the discussion section.

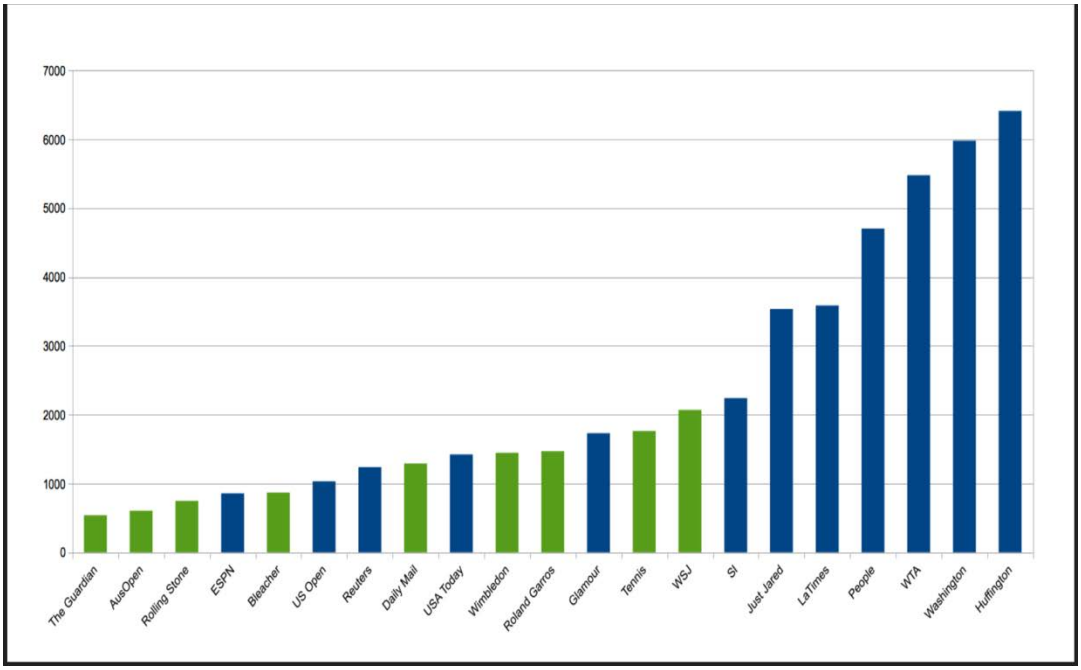
Excitingly, we do see some provocative patterns when we return to the corpus and assess the distribution of these key adjectives (from Figures Five-Eight). The questions of exposure and framing that Mastro raises seem to be the most salient to the effects[38] predicted (and unseen) in this experiment. These results must, then, be assessed in terms of the publications disseminating those frames. We find—interestingly—that of the texts which contain racialized adjectives in the corpus, it is the top two-thirds of those (as measured by a ratio of the total word count of the subcorpus to the total critical types found within) which contain the key tokens[39] (this distribution is best understood looking at Appendix A: Table Three). Although the total word count of some of these subcorpora is rather small, they hold the largest ratios of critical types to overall word count. In this portion of the corpus with the highest density distribution of critical tokens, one might read

[38] These effects being that the uptake of racialized adjectives and subsequent reapplication in new contexts by reader-listeners will be greatest when they have had sufficient exposure either to a saturated text or a highly repeated frame (Mastro 2000; 2011; 2015).

[39] *Angry*; *incomparable*; *unstoppable*; *statuesque;* and *aggressive* (which was not diagrammed above).

a critical token in one to every five hundred to one to every two thousand (1:500—1:2000) words. Take *The Guardian* for example: It has a ratio of one critical token per approximately five hundred thirty words. There were fourteen critical tokens, of which four are those key tokens with unexpected result patterns in the eye-tracking experiment (See Appendix A, Table Three). Without further multivariate analyses it is impossible to say if this is coincidence or correlation, but there does seem to be a tendency for those texts most saturated with critical tokens to be the ones which contain the key types we see these (interesting-at-best) effects for.

Table One: Ratios of Critical Type to Total Word Count



DISCUSSION

What we can see from this data is that there is something about the expression of covert racism through these kinds of descriptive terms that may be tied to the semantic type. And these semantic types appear to be invoked when describing people of color. The best examples of this are in hyperbole (in general), used throughout the corpus data. As Serena Williams makes her way onto the tennis scene, she is exceptional in every sense; she is young, Black, from Compton, and breathtakingly gifted on the court. This predominantly White and traditionally segregated[40] world of tennis must recognize her presence in a way that does not reflect the obvious exceptionality of her color. In a way, her skill is a challenge and a gift to them. It gives organized tennis something to talk about, but they must find a way to talk about it. And so, early on in her career, in these publications, Serena Williams is described as "great", "incomparable", "historic", "superhuman". I would argue that part of this lexical inflation is a direct result of the hesitance to mention her color, which in and of itself makes her exceptional in these spaces. Track this tendency over time, and we see these hyperbolic adjectives inflate so much, that they almost burst into another plane. At the height of her career in 2012, after she won the Grand Slam, she is called "transcendent", "almighty", "invincible," and her most common epithet, "top-ranked". Now, she is often described in near elegiac terms—"classic", "legendary", "The Great"—using words that are often applied in the past tense and commonly reserved for those who have died or retired. A line can be drawn from the hesitancy to discuss Serena Williams'

[40] Arthur Ashe blazed a trail in this space before the Williams sisters become part of this conversation. They reinvigorated a fire for tennis in the American sports-watching population that had had waned since Ashe's retirement. It is of note that some of the same (now) racialized adjectives were used in attributive position to describe Ashe as well. A Toledo Blade article reporting on the 1968 Australian Open opens with the line "The indomitable Arthur Ashe…". This is important in terms of framing, as the terms chosen as descriptions of Ashe serve as editors' trial-runs for how best to ignore color while celebrating skill.

race initially, and what is—seemingly—an exhaustion of English lexemes synonymous with *exceptional*.

The results here give us a clue as to which adjectives have become—or are in the process or becoming—racialized, forming a core group. Further study can be directed at teasing out how they fit together on an ordered indexicality cline, looking for signs of enregisterment of the out-group pragmatics of usage within the in-group (Johnstone 2006; Silverstein 2003; Labov 1972). Additionally, research should be directed at finding evidence of these key words (from Figures Five-Eight) in similar textual applications with a wider subject base, and at testing how they effect perception directly, removed from the noise of a long list of companion candidates.

The publications carrying these curious tokens (*The Guardian*; *Australian Open*; *Rolling Stone*; *The Bleacher Report*; *Roland Garros*; *The Daily Mail*; *Wimbledon*; *Tennis*; and *The Wall Street Journal*) do not easily segment by genre, but should be assessed for similarity in distribution and consumer base. It is too interesting to shrug off the occurrence of all of the key adjectives in these most saturated publications. It would seem that once a publication is using racialized adjectives regularly—is falling prey to those grooves of thinking—the application of such adjectives becomes ever-more ubiquitous over time. This should be tested by looking for these adjectives directly across the breadth of topics covered in these publications, and by looking for natural classes among the publications themselves. Put differently, more information must be gathered for a proper data-driven analysis.

There was a third portion of this project included in the proposal and approval that has yet to be initiated: a semantic differential scale survey. Building a corpus

to mine these adjectives from added an amount of quantifiable validity to this research. Leaving the assessment of these groups of lexemes to rest in my own intuitional space is at best limiting and at worst unethical. The semantic differential scale survey was designed to get at the connotations of some of these words—also completely removed from the original contexts—to perhaps establish a baseline of perception that might have aided in winnowing the list down before the experiment took place. The task was designed to present the adjectives attributively, and ask participants to rate hypothetical dinner dates or house guests based on the qualities they associated with these descriptive terms. This rating was designed to take place digitally, where a non-binary slider could be moved along a scale for a series of attributes. An example question would look like the following: *If I were to describe your houseguest as* angry, *how would you rate the person's personality based on these qualities*? The qualities would be attributes, such as trustworthiness, confidence, well-educated, masculinity? The value of such a task has shifted post-experiment, as the list of (interesting) testable adjectives has already been winnowed to an extent. However, a task of this nature could add some stability to the semantic groups I necessarily manufactured for this experiment.

For similar reasons, I had also planned to introduce inter-rater reliability to the task of assessing and assigning racialization. As mentioned in Methods, the final list was chosen in consultation with other Linguists, who were helpfully and problematically familiar with my task. Adding in multiple raters, asking them to scan the 1218 hits in the corpus and to assign those adjectives to groups must be a step taken before any methodological redesign and subsequent redeployment of this experiment can take place. It has also been suggested that retrieving basic demographic information and language histories from these raters will aid in understanding the data returned from these ratings, and in experimental design.

A post-experiment questionnaire seems necessary to gather information about the perceived purpose of the task, and to gather the same sort of demographic and language history information from the participants as well. The thirty-six participants whose results are discussed above here were not given such a form[41]. They were, however, asked if they had comments or questions when they completed the task. One participant (whose results were thrown out) commented that they realized this study was testing something about race, about the perception of people based on that criterion. They remarked that after they had this realization, when they saw a word that made them think "Black," they immediately looked at the White face because they "did not want to seem biased." This was a percept anticipated in the population, as it seems a natural behavior[42] (especially when considered with the lens of Social Identity Theory), but it is not one which lends itself easily to experimental control. It is crucial, however, that future iterations of this experiment formulate a method of doing exactly that, or (if not controlling for) at least devising a way to measure for.

Another potentially problematic comment I received from multiple participants was that the Chicago Face Database (CFD) images looked like mug shots. Apparently these normal-looking people are too normal-looking; as one participant remarked, "I couldn't think of any other scenario when you see people all wearing the same outfit." In almost every experimental Linguistics paper using images (and in some of the Psychology literature), we see researchers commenting about a need for normed images, or speculating about the effects the attractiveness (etc.) of those presented in the image, or the image's size or quality

[41] Reported demographic information was retrieved from University of Kentucky internal analytics.
[42] This observation may also inform on indexical order of some of these adjectives. Clearly, a few of them made the participants cautious about their reactions, meaning that some of the associations I tested for are present at some level of processing. It could be that even if these words were "indicators", participants may have perceived them as "markers" (Johnstone 2006).

may have had on the results. Further, the time and capital investment for norming images is quite high, a difficult demand for a Master student to meet. Finding the CFD images seemed like a boon, an unanticipated gift from those researchers who have struggled with such issues before. I believe any experimentalist, when presented with this time- and cost-saving (and (ostensibly) noise-reducing) tool, would have made the same choice as I and incorporated the CFD images into her experimental design. Again, I used the norming data to aid in the unbiased selection of trial images. This seems to have, quite unexpectedly, introduced the worst noise imaginable into the signal[43]; these images activated one of the strongest, marked, social stereotypes in the American raciocognitive tapestry, that of the Black criminal (Mastro 2011). If five of thirty-six participants remarked openly about thinking these images were mug shots, more must have perceived this in the task. It is impossible that this assessment of the images did not play a role in the results. And because this was wholly unanticipated, there is no measure included in the design that would allow for viewing or testing such effects. When this experiment is redeployed, a choice will need to be made between the noise normed images can control for, and the noise they can create.

[43] especially when you begin to consider these adjectives within the concept of framing Lakoff (2004) and Mastro (2011) lay out

CONCLUSION

This experiment sought the measurement and comprehension of the lexical racialization process from a Sociolinguistic perspective. Corpus Linguistics allows us to ask about what patterns and frequency of forms in gathered bodies of texts those forms occur in—who is using them, when, in what registers, and across which domains? From the corpus investigation reported above we find some evidence that of the publications gathered here, the ones using racialized adjectives appear to be using the ones that might be—in this moment—moving from one order of indexicality to the next. This is an essential time, then, to widen a search for evidence of this shift. As noted above, an obvious grouping of these culprit publications is not readily apparent, but if a connection(s) is identified, then a wider net can be cast in those areas, reeling in new publications. Finally, the corpora already gathered should be supplemented with texts covering new topics from the publications containing the deepest saturation of key racialized tokens. A more focused corpus study can then advance with the same methodology here, getting us a richer list of sources, topics, and frames to work with in future experiments.

Linguistic anthropology aids us in assessing what a certain word means in a certain conversational space that is does not mean in others. Although it stands to reason that—even from the introspections of one mixed Linguist—that these lexemes are in the process of racialization (are undergoing deepening pragmatic enregisterment as they are continually applied in these syntactic positions; in description of some social groups at the exclusion of others; within predictable print and conversations frames), the results of this study do not allow us to move past assumption. It is possible that this is a gift, a sign that these terms, whose cousins have proved to be genuinely detrimental to the groups they describe (LeCouteur & Augoustinos 2001; Naber 2000; Mastro 2011), can still be pulled back

from the brink. I have gone after racist behavior and perception in the manner I have done because I believe that the results from such a study—couched in the media's *modus operandi*, and in the normal, mental function of social identity—could be more easily accepted by those who ignorantly employ such language. It is easier to have a conversation with someone about what their brain is doing that what their mouth or pen is doing. If there is no effect seen here— when looking for evidence of indexicality—then perhaps it is not too late to reverse these trends. Perhaps the conversations to be had are along the lines of baptismal ideology, and could seek to share the history of these wounding words.

I have mentioned above that I am interested in gathering more information about how the semantic fields of these lexemes spread by gathering survey data. It is important that this data come from a variety of sources, but especially from those in the minority groups they describe. In the vein of what Mary Bucholtz et al. (2014) call "sociolinguistic justice", these associations mean nothing if they are not perceived by the community as such. In cooperation with Dr. Sasha Johnson-Coleman, I will survey a population of students at Norfolk University, an HBCU. This population is young, majority-Black, and has wide exposure to these frames. Including the intuitions of the community I am attempting to serve is essential to establishing and measuring the indexicality of covert racist language in the American lexicon.

Experimental Linguistics gets us ever-closer to understanding the universal aspects of Language that make what we observe on a community level possible on a cognitive level. The limitations of experimental design in its deployment. This is an integral aspect of scientific inquiry, an essential step in the method we all hold so dear. What I have presented above has peeled back a layer, and has revealed we are (unsurprisingly) not yet at the center. There remains a wealth of data to sift

through from what was gathered at this stage—in particular a full assessment of the words used in the filler trials, and a comparison of reaction times by race.

Removal from the context of exposure was key to my methodology—I believe still that if the core adjectives have become racialized in our minds, then the semantic fields which enrich such associations will be active whenever we are reading or listening to these words, not necessarily when we are being presented with an anecdote complete with actors in context. From the results of the experiment, it seems that a *complete* removal from context may have been too much. This appears as an obvious potential edit in methodology. Adding in a priming task, such as reading a short passage about Serena Williams containing a standard frame, might introduce enough scaffolding to queue associations. Another avenue would be to gather collocation data from the corpus and present the adjectives two-grams or short phrases.

Additionally, it was my intention to gather data from a wide age range of participants. Exposure to terms and frames increases over time, thus we assume the effects predicted to be more pronounced in the older participant. An age range of seven years does not allow us to see such an effect. I still believe, quite strongly, that reaction times to a Black face will be faster when a racialized adjective is present in the older generations. Recruiting participants outside the convenient pool of undergraduates must take precedence in the any redeployment of this study. Lastly, adequate controls must be developed to ensure that the nature of the task is not so readily discernable to ensure the most natural response to the stimuli.

Racism is real. It is extant throughout our social institutions, and it is thriving. When this work began we had not yet entered an age where overt racism was as visible at these levels[44]. This is an ongoing shift, a renegotiation of the ideological resources [our society has made] available" in our time (Turner and Tajfel 2001). We see the transition happening through many of the conversational strategies that covert racism is most comfortable in. We, as Linguists, are poised to catalogue, lay bare, and challenge racialized language (and thereby covert racism) as is increasingly called up in such renegotiations. Work of this type—interrogating these intertwined forces in language—*must* continue, regardless of the difficulty of exploring these phenomena empirically. And, I state again, leaving the common conception of race as something observable and unchangeable has been in the best interest of the powers that be since the inception of our nation, and scholarship which does not complicate the objectivity of these lines is complicit in their reification.

What is of issue is that covert racism—used through language—is invisible to those who wield it. Remaining unaware of the meaning and presence of these forms enables those who cannot be harmed by them to continue their proliferation. This is troubling, as it is such under-awareness of and disinterest in the minority experience that has sustained the post-racial society concept. My work brings awareness of the mental and social structures which aid in defining and maintaining the constants of experience for a double minority—Black women. I affirm their struggle. As a member of such a minority, hearing this sort of language applied to your self, your being, your appearance, your character, your worth, is damaging because it is language which seems to speak of a separate box that defines your life at an institutional level. This box is not as simple as the extra

[44] It is heartbreakingly difficult to define the boundary between covert and overt racist expression when we see President Trump assuming that a Black female reporter must have connections to the congressional Black caucus.

one checked off on a census, instead it is a distinct cognitive location that separates same from other. This definition is—importantly—assigned to you by a majority who cannot (or will not) recognize your embattled experience. Individuals who suffer such damage deserve to have their pain recognized and respected. They deserve a place to challenge the use of such terms, and those who use them (and profit off them) in print and conversation. A place cannot be created for these people and these pains to be heard without a distinct recognition that these mental connections are made between racialized words and the social groups they are commonly applied to as description—mental connections which make themselves felt in the behavior and proclivities of the majority and the social institutions they build and inhabit.

APPENDIX A

TABLE TWO: RACIALIZED ADJECTIVE TYPES IN CONTEXT

Type	Source	Racialized?	Context
aggressive	Bleacher	1	"""made note of how aggressive Serena was"""
agile	USA today	1	"""a slightly more agile Serena comes out on top"""
almighty	AusOpen	1	"""Losing early for the almightly Serena"""
angry	AusOpen	1	"""heaven help anyone who faces an angry Williams"""
breezy	Wimbledon	1	"""Less than breezy Serena blows past Sadikovic"""
cagey	ESPN	1	"""provided vivid insight into just how cagey Serena can be"""
classic	Washington	1	"""The rest was a classic Williams storm surge"""
despondent	Daily Mail	1	"""in the second set from a despondent Williams."""
dominant	ESPN	1	"""only a dominant Serena prevented her from"""
dominating	Daily Mail	1	"""featured the dominating Willims tennis fans have"""
emotional	Bleacher	1	"""an extremely emotional Williams buckled down"" "
erratic	Reuters	1	"""Azarenka stuns erratic Williams in Indian Wells"""
ferocious	Daily Mail	1	"""and holding off some ferocious Williams responses"""
fierce	Tennis	1	"""I began to identify Serena as the fierce Williams sister"""
fiery	The Guardian	1	"""stoic, composed and driven while the sometimes fiery Williams can be as playful"""
forcible	The Guardian	1	"""After rebounding a tarrent of forcible Serena groundstrokes"""
great	JJ	1	"""naturally great Serena Williams was given"" "
the great	Roland	1	"""entering the lioness's den to meet the great Serena"""
incomparable	WSJ	1	"""The incomparable Serena Williams from a cameo"" "
indomitable	Wimbledon	1	"""The sight of the incredible indomitable Williams clutching"" "

invincible	US Open	1	"""pummled the heretofore invincible Serena Williams with huge"""
lethal	ESPN	1	"""A loose Serena is a lethal Serena"""
cat-like	USA today	1	"""play that a cat-like Williams turned the tides"""
superhero-like	USA today	1	"""the unbeatable, superhero-like Serena in a week"""
loose	ESPN	1	"""A loose Serena is a lethal Serena"""
mighty	AusOpen	1	"""The mighty Serena is chasing history"""
Muscular	Daily Mail	1	"""Muscular Serena just needs to win"""
personable	LaTimes	1	"""a poised and personable Williams kept saying"""
powerful	Daily Mail	1	"""Powerful Serena looked stunning"""
precocious	Huffington	1	"""the precocious Serena was asked what"""
problematic	The Guardian	1	"""one half of the problematic Williams sisters who"""
statuesque	The Guardian	1	"""Stosur hammers a forehand past in a statuesque Williams."""
steely	Reuters	1	"""Or the hard-hitting, steely Serena?"""
subdued	ESPN	1	"""A subdued Williams said she enjoyed"" "
superhuman	Glamour	1	"""there's the seemingly superhuman Williams sisters"""
thick	People	1	"""she says she has always been thick, Williams was the heaviest"""
unstoppable	Roland	1	"""to come up against an unstoppable Serena Williams"""
wild	The Guardian	1	"""A wild Williams shank out of bounds"""

Table Three: Critical Type and Token Distribution By Source

Source	Total Word Count	Total Token Count	Total Critical Tokens	Critical Types
Forbes	7171	1	0	
HSN	6110	1	0	
Ultimate Run	78	1	0	

Us Mag	4666	3	0	
Page Six	4916	4	0	
Fortune	4151	5	0	
Vogue	2960	5	0	
MarketWatch	1968	6	0	
NY Mag	6860	5	0	
SW Blog	959	6	0	
BET	6796	9	0	
Team USA	3280	11	0	
Olympic	1650	15	0	
Glamour	1732	1	1	superhuman
People	4704	2	1	thick
Just Jared	3538	6	1	great
Huffington	6412	14	1	precocious
WTA	5479	15	1	dominant
WSJ	4139	23	2	incomparable
Washington	11960	73	2	classic; invincible
LaTimes	7175	91	2	personable; dominant
Rolling Stone	2241	7	3	angry; classic; dominant
Roland Garros	4409	13	3	despondent; the great; unstoppable
SI	6723	81	3	dominating; mighty; personable
AusOpen	2420	15	4	almighty; angry; mighty; ruthless
US Open	4130	29	4	invincible; indomitable; invincible
Wimbledon	5787	40	4	breezy; the great; indomitable; unstoppable
Tennis	7052	115	4	"fierce; dominant; angry"
Reuters	6190	68	5	erratic; mighty; ruthless; steely
USA Today	7114	189	5	agile; dangerous; indomitable; cat-like; superhero-like
Daily Mail	10322	71	8	despondent; dominating; ferocious; Muscular; Powerful; unstoppable
ESPN	7717	135	9	cagey; dominant; lethal; loose; subdued
Bleacher	8700	92	10	aggressive; almighty; dominant; emotional; invincible

The Guardian	7533	66	14	aggressive; angry; classic; dominant; ferocious; fiery; forcible; incomparable; indomitable; problematic; statuesque; wild
TOTALS	177,042	1218	87	

TABLE FOUR: SEMANTIC TYPE KEY

Semantic Type		Polarity	
Hostile	H	Plus	P
Skill	Sk	Minus	M
Hyperbolic	HY		
Emotive	E		
Quality	Q		
Temperament	T		
Animalistic	A		

TABLE FIVE: TOKEN COUNTS FOR ALL CRITICAL AND FILLER TYPES USED AND THEIR ASSIGNED SEMANTIC TYPES

Word Type	Token Count	Semantic Type
ferocious	2	A-M
wild	1	A-M
rapacious	1	A-M
fierce	1	A-M
vulnerable	1	A-M
cat-like	1	A-P
superhuman	1	A-P
steely	1	A-P
hungry	1	A-P
angry	4	E-M
emotional	7	E-M
furious	3	E-M
nervy	1	E-M
listless	1	E-M
breezy	1	E-P

beaming	2	E-P
lethal	1	H-M
aggressive	2	H-M
dangerous	1	H-M
psycho	1	H-M
classic	6	Hy-P
unstoppable	4	Hy-P
almighty	2	Hy-P
invincible	4	Hy-P
indomitable	5	Hy-P
incomparable	4	Hy-P
the great	14	Hy-P
vintage	16	Hy-P
sensational	1	Hy-P
erratic	1	Q-M
subdued	1	Q-M
dominant	13	Q-M
basic	1	Q-M
usual	3	Q-M
passive	1	Q-M
thick	1	Q-M/P
human	1	Q-P
great	2	Q-P
statuesque	1	Q-P
superhero-like	1	Q-P
young	6	Q-P
beloved	1	Q-P
amazing	2	Q-P
lucky	1	Q-P
talented	1	Q-P
familiar	1	Q-P
alive	1	Q-P
top-ranked	149	Q-P
different	4	Q-P

pure	1	Q-P
Muscular	1	Q-P
fit	1	Q-P
agile	1	S-P
dominating	2	Sk-M
unsettled	1	Sk-M
powerful	6	Sk-P
cagey	1	Sk-P
effective	1	Sk-P
experienced	2	Sk-P
strong	4	Sk-P
mighty	4	Sk-P
alert	1	Sk-P
loose	1	Sk-P
fiery	1	T-M
militant	1	T-M
precocious	1	T-M
problematic	1	T-M
ruthless	2	T-M
blunt	1	T-M
personable	2	T-P
curious	1	T-P
gracious	2	T-P
resolute	1	T-P
optimistic	1	T-P
undaunted	1	T-P

TABLE SIX: ALL TOKENS BY SEMANTIC TYPE

Q-P	Hy-P	Q-M	T-M	T-P	E-M
human	classic	erratic	fiery	personable	angry
great	unstoppable	subdued	militant	curious	emotional
statuesque	almighty	dominant	precocious	gracious	furious
superhero-like	invincible	basic	problematic	resolute	nervy
young	indomitable	usual	ruthless	optimistic	listless
beloved	incomparable	passive	blunt	undaunted	
amazing	the great				
lucky	vintage				
talented	sensational				
familiar					
alive					
top-ranked					
different					
pure					
Muscular					
fit					

A-M	H-M	A-P	E-P	Sk-M	Q-M/P	Sk-P
ferocious	lethal	cat-like	breezy	dominating	thick	agile
wild	aggressive	superhuman	beaming	unsettled		
rapacious	dangerous	steely				
fierce	psycho	hungry				
vulnerable						

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