

ON ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH VARIETIES: A BILINGUAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: This study explores the attitudes of 25 English-Spanish bilingual speakers from Tucson (Arizona) towards their own variety and compares them with their attitudes toward monolingual varieties of Mexican (from Hermosillo) and Peninsular Spanish (from Murcia and Madrid). Our analysis points to a clear influence of the *standard language ideology* (MILROY, 2001) on shaping these attitudes, escalated by a tendency among bilinguals in diglossic societies to feel insecure about their own variety as a minority language, or towards a feeling of linguistic self-hatred.

Keywords: Language attitudes. Language ideologies. Spanish varieties.

INTRODUCTION

■ **P**erceptual dialectology embodies the dialectologist's, sociolinguist's and variationist's interest in folk linguistics. Preston (1999) advocates the use of perceptual dialectology as an area of study that examines the attitudes of speakers to their own variety and to other varieties. The study of language attitudes is one of the most interesting aspects in current sociolinguistics analyses because languages are not only characterized by specific linguistic features, but are also capable of carrying meaning or social connotations (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2005, p. 178). These attitudes refer to value judgments that speakers make in relation to their own language(s) or dialects or toward other language varieties. With regards to the field of perceptual dialectology, an important method of data collection is the *matched-guise tech-*

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nique (LAMBERT et al., 1960; GILES, 1971, among others). This technique has its fundamental basis in the cognitive conception of speakers' attitudes. More specifically, by means of recording natural or manipulated speech and asking questions about social qualities of the recorded voices, this technique aims to uncover attitudes that speakers have towards linguistic varieties.

The aims of this study are to survey the attitudes of bilingual speakers from Tucson (Arizona, US) toward their own variety and to compare them with their attitudes toward other varieties of Spanish: two from Spain (Madrid and Murcia), and the Spanish spoken in Hermosillo, a city located in the neighboring Mexican state of Sonora. The motivation for selecting these four varieties is to assess to what extent the influence of geographical proximity of the dialects and the level of sociolinguistic awareness – in relation to different varieties of Spanish –, affect the way they value these varieties.

Previous research has focused on attitudes toward languages by the means of the *matched-guise technique* (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ; MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2002; CESTERO; PAREDES, 2015, among others). Unfortunately, language attitude studies related to Spanish and other languages of Spain have not been an item of priority in sociolinguistic research. Although language attitude studies on Spanish language outside Spain have been more abundant, they need to proliferate in the Hispanic world as stated by Moreno Fernández and Moreno Fernández (2002, p. 295). In line with this, and as described by Galindo (1995), examining language attitudes should be an essential component of sociolinguistic studies, particularly those involving bilingual speech communities. While the structural elements of language varieties found along the Spanish-English language contact situations have been the objective of sociolinguistic research, there is a lack of attitude studies that take into account language attitudes among US bilinguals towards monolingual varieties.

For the purpose of this study, we use natural speech in our verbal-guise technique, since it is a more accurate and realistic way of presenting language production, essential for this type of perceptual analysis. The *verbal-guise technique* differs from the *matched-guise technique* in that each recording comes from a different speaker. The main objectives of these techniques are to observe and to evaluate the psychosocial features associated to the speakers in the recordings, and, consequently, to the languages they use (BLAS ARROYO, 2005). We also use a variant of Preston's (2003, 2010) perceptual dialectology approach; while this author asked his participants to write the characteristics of different regions of the US on a map, the participants of our study had to locate the different Spanish varieties they heard by clicking on electronic maps.

The main linguistic features of these varieties are described below, along with some of the most relevant research associated with them. After presenting our research questions, we describe the methodology used followed by our quantitative and qualitative results.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SPANISH VARIETIES EXAMINED

In this section, we present previous research on the varieties spoken in these locations (Murcia, Madrid, Hermosillo and Tucson) and the linguistic features that characterize them. The geographical location of these varieties is provided in Figure 1.

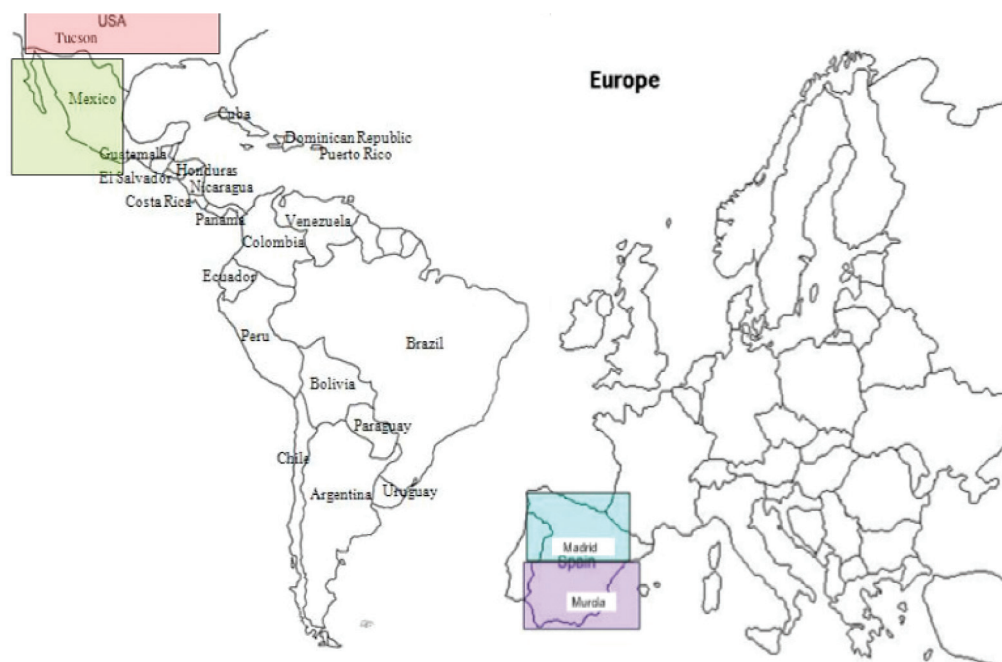


Figure 1 – Geographical location of the four varieties

Murcian Spanish or “*murciano*” is a dialect of the Peninsular Spanish that is spoken mainly in the autonomous region of Murcia, located in Southeastern Spain. One of the most distinguishing features of Murcian Spanish “is the loss of postvocalic consonants in final position – except –m and –n” (HERNÁNDEZ CAMPOY, 2008, p. 122). Hernández Campoy (2008) identifies four distinguishing features of Murcian Spanish: 1. /s/ dropping in coda position (f.i. *los perros* > [lo.'pɛ.rɔ]); 2. syllable final /d/ elision between vowels occurring mostly in past participle endings (f.i. *cuidado* > [kwi.'dao]); 3. vowel harmony: any instance of [ɛ, ɔ, æ] at any point in the word implies that [e, o, a] are not permitted in any preceding syllable (f.i. *mascotas* > [mæ'kɔtæ]); and 4. cases of velarization (ito > ico) of diminutive endings (f.i. *gatitos* > *gaticos*). According to Hernández Campoy (2008), these linguistic features move the Murcian variety away from the Peninsular prestigious variety of Spanish. However, only a few studies (BOLUDA NICOLÁS, 2004; SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, 2004) have been carried out in order to examine the attitudes of Murcian speakers toward their own dialect, and research on attitudes toward this variety on the part of speakers of other varieties of Spanish has been almost non-existent. Considering the observations of Boluda Nicolás (2004) and Sánchez López (2004), it seems that speakers of Murcian Spanish have negative attitudes toward their own variety as they perceive it as unpleasant and unfriendly, although some authors (TRUDGILL, 2001; HERNÁNDEZ CAMPOY, 2008), mention that some covert prestige can be detected as well.

Spanish spoken in Madrid or “*madrileño*” is considered the most prestigious variety in Spain (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ; MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2002). In contrast to Murcian Spanish, “*madrileño*” is not characterized by the /s/ dropping, /d/ elision, or vowel harmony. In a study conducted by Moreno Fernández and Moreno Fernandez (2002), speakers from Madrid perceived important differences when evaluating the Spanish spoken in different regions of Spain and when comparing those varieties to their own. Cestero and Paredes (2015) have explored beliefs and attitudes of Castilian Spanish speakers toward different Spanish varieties inside and outside Spain by using the *matched-guise technique*. Although the participants of their study showed positive attitudes toward different varieties, they granted Castilian Spanish with the highest scores, while Andalusian Spanish and Mexican Spanish were associated with lower work status, lower income level, and lower educational level.

In addition, while Spanish spoken in Murcia has covert prestige, the Madrid dialect has clear overt prestige in the entire country (HERNÁNDEZ CAMPOY, 2008). Hernández Campoy (2008) states that many Murcians feel linguistic insecurity, a fact also discussed by Trudgill, who stated that it is expected that Murcians feel an inferiority complex about their native dialect given that prestigious and non-prestigious varieties coexist in Spain along regional lines (cf. BELTRÁN CORBALÁ, 2001). Our results evaluate whether these values attributed to Murcian and Madrilean varieties of Spanish by Spaniards are encountered among Spanish-English bilingual speakers in the United States as well.

Hermosillo is a town in the border region of Sonora, Mexico. It is considered a monolingual community that shares linguistic features with those of other “*norteño*” towns closer to the border. One of its most salient linguistic characteristics is the fricativization of /ʃ/, i.e. [muʃaʃo] *muchacho* (“boy”). Several authors have explained the alternation between both allophones based on linguistic contexts of appearance (BROWN, 1989; NORIEGA, 2004) and some sociolinguistic factors such as age, gender, and social status (JARAMILLO, 1986). Casillas (2013), who included Spanish speakers of Tucson as participants in his studies of attitudes towards (ch) fricativization, found correlation between the fricative and the level of education; in his study, PhD speakers, users of the affricate, received higher evaluations than high school speakers, fricative users.

The different degrees of linguistic differentiation and pleasantness among border Spanish dialects have been analyzed by Sousa (2006), who conducted a study among 90 participants in the town of Nogales, located 100 km south of Tucson, on the US/Mexican border. The Nogales participants were asked to classify the Spanish varieties of Phoenix, Tucson, Nogales (AZ), Nogales (MEX), and Hermosillo in a pleasantness scale. Sousa (2006) shows that border residents ranked their own variety as the most pleasant. It is relevant to see if our speakers in Tucson (USA) and Sousa’s participants from Nogales (Mex) feel the same way about their Spanish. Sousa (2006) stated that 72% of the participants perceived the Hermosillo variety as the most similar to their own variety while 100% agreed that it is different from the one spoken in Mexico DF. Nogales speakers seemed to find more similarities between their varieties and the ones spoken in the USA side (Phoenix, Tucson), than with varieties inside Mexico. In our study, we examine to what extent our participants show similar behavior to

the one found in Sousa (2006), given the fact that Nogales and Tucson are no more than 70 miles apart.

As previously stated, Spanish of the American Southwest has been analyzed by numerous studies in terms of its linguistic structure and function (GALINDO, 1995, among others). These studies describe phenomena such as code-switching, lexical borrowing, and phonological aspects of Spanish.

The Tucson community is known for its numerous Hispanic population (42% according to the Census of 2010). This leads to a situation of language contact that distinguishes this variety from others since the geographical location, next to a border, triggers different reactions toward the use of Spanish. Galindo (1991) examined linguistic attitudes of Chicanos (Mexican-Americans born in the USA) toward Mexicans in Texas and California. She claimed that Chicanos wanted to distinguish themselves socially and linguistically from recent immigrants. They chose English as their *lingua franca* and as an ethnic marker and displayed despise for Spanish and its speakers. On a similar note, Peñalosa (1980) believes that the alternation of two linguistic codes is perceived by Chicanos to be “bad”, and that the Spanish variety spoken in different cities of the USA is often stigmatized. In our study, we explore whether our participants consider their own variety as stigmatized, less pleasant, or less friendly compared the other three varieties under investigation. We expect that Tucson informants display different attitudes from those in Sousa’s (2006) study, due to the linguistic insecurity commonly reported in contexts of language contact. Along these lines, while studying linguistic attitudes, it is also important to take into account geographical proximity. Martínez (2003) conducted a study in the Texas-Mexico border, and showed that speakers perceive the Spanish spoken in the USA side as less pleasant and more stigmatized due to the physical proximity of the varieties at stake. The communities studied by Martínez (2003) (Reynosa in Mexico and McAllen in Texas) can be compared to ours (Hermosillo and Tucson). The author explains how Reynosa speakers are likely to accept that McAllen Spanish sounds like their Spanish, but they are still likely to judge McAllen’s variety as sounding “ugly” (MARTÍNEZ, 2003, p. 45). We explore if the perception of our bilingual participants towards their own variety and toward the closest monolingual variety (Hermosillo) is similar to that observed by Martínez.

In regards to the linguistic characteristics of Spanish spoken in Tucson, this is a very brief sample of some of the most salient features: 1. Phonology (these characteristics vary throughout different populations in the Southwest): /tʃ/ > /tʃ/ [muʃ aʃ o] “muchacho”, /r/ > /r/ [peʁo] “perro”, and /x/ > /h/, /méhiko/ “México”; 2. Lexico-semantic transfers and calques: borrowings: troca > truck; 3. Codeswitching: “los perritos son bien *cute*”.

In this study, we capitalize on the use of English as an important feature of this bilingual variety. It is also important to recognize that, the same way that some Spanish dialects are seen as more prestigious than others, the Spanish of the Southwest is also believed to have a “standard” variety and a “popular” one (SÁNCHEZ, 1983).

OUR STUDY

Our study explores the sociolinguistic attitudes of a homogeneous group of bilingual heritage speakers living in Tucson (Arizona) toward different Spanish

varieties: from Madrid and Murcia, the monolingual variety spoken in Hermosillo (México) and the Spanish spoken in Tucson (Arizona). Therefore, the research questions that we address in our study are the following:

1. What are the attitudes of Tucson bilingual speakers toward:
 - a. Spanish spoken by bilinguals in Tucson
 - b. Spanish spoken by monolinguals in Hermosillo
 - c. Two different Spanish varieties from Spain
2. How do the results from c. compare to the attitudes of monolingual speakers gathered in previous studies among monolingual Spaniards (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ; MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2002; BOLUDA NICOLÁS, 2004; SOUSA, 2006)?

On the one hand, our hypothesis is that bilingual speakers will have more positive attitudes toward the monolingual variety of Hermosillo than toward their own variety. On the other hand, in relation to the two Spanish varieties from Spain, we expect that participants show more positive attitudes toward the variety of Madrid, previously described in research as the “prestigious” variety of Spain (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ; MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2002), than toward the Murcian variety, clearly stigmatized in the Peninsula (BOLUDA NICOLÁS, 2004; SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, 2004; HERNÁNDEZ CAMPOY, 2008).

In this verbal-guise test, four women (in their 20’s), representing each of these dialects (Hermosillo, Tucson, Madrid and Murcian Spanish), followed a script that asked them to give similar opinions about the proposed topic and to talk as naturally as possible. From these recordings, we selected excerpts about the same topic: advantages and disadvantages of having pets (see Appendix). Participants for the verbal-guise test were recruited from the Heritage Language Program at a large university in the Southwest, where they were contacted via email and requested to participate voluntarily. 25 bilingual speakers residents of Tucson and students at the University of Arizona completed an online questionnaire (using the Survey software *Qualtrics*) that included the recordings of the four different varieties.¹ Our participants were selected for either having been born in Tucson or having lived there for longer than ten years, and for being Spanish-English bilinguals since childhood. We did not control the gender or age of our participants, but the age average is 22 years-old. Participants took on average 20 minutes to complete the survey.

In the online questionnaire, the participants answered ten different questions. First of all, they had to locate the variety that they heard by clicking on a map. Then, they completed four questions consisting of Relational Analog Scales (LLAMAS; WATT, 2014): slide bars where the participants had to move the bar toward one extreme or the other. In these questions, the participants rated the variety that they heard based on the degree of difference in relation to their own variety, pleasantness, friendliness and intelligence of the speaker. Moreover, they answered two multiple-choice questions related to the house and the job associated with the speaker (however, these questions were collected for future research purposes and are not analyzed in this paper). Finally, they answered one semi-open question where they had

¹ See questionnaire on Qualtrics at: <https://u.arizona.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_2nLR2OKFOWTxNad&Q_JFE=0>. Access in: Oct. 27, 2016.

to comment on the features, characterizing each of the Spanish varieties. After hearing the four recordings, they were given a map where they had to click on the region where they think the best Spanish is spoken and a second map where they had to click on the region where they think the worst Spanish is spoken.

RESULTS

Geographical location of each of the varieties

In this section, we can see where the participants located each of the four recordings (figures 2-5 below). In each of these maps, the frequency of selection of a specific area is shown by a “heat” spectrum: the hotter colors (red, orange, yellow) indicate areas frequently clicked on.

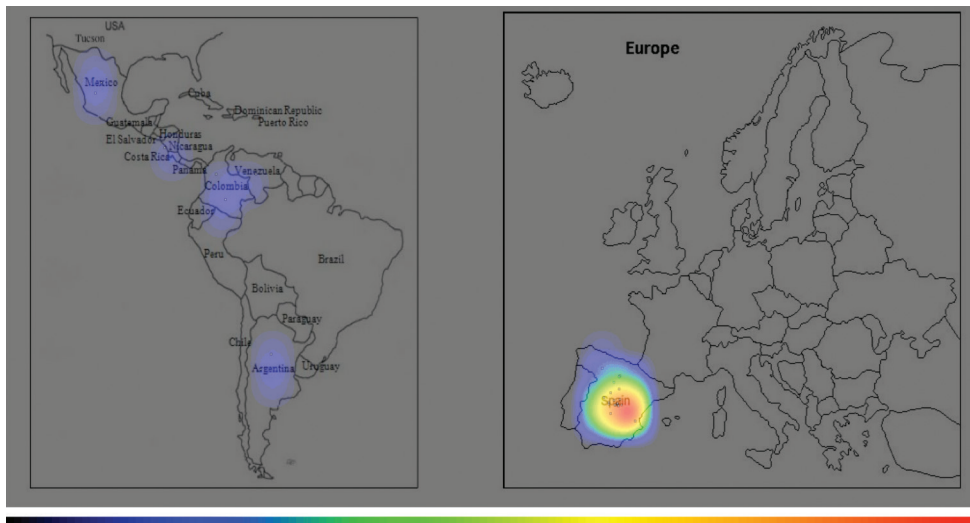


Figure 2 – Location of the Madrid variety according to survey participants

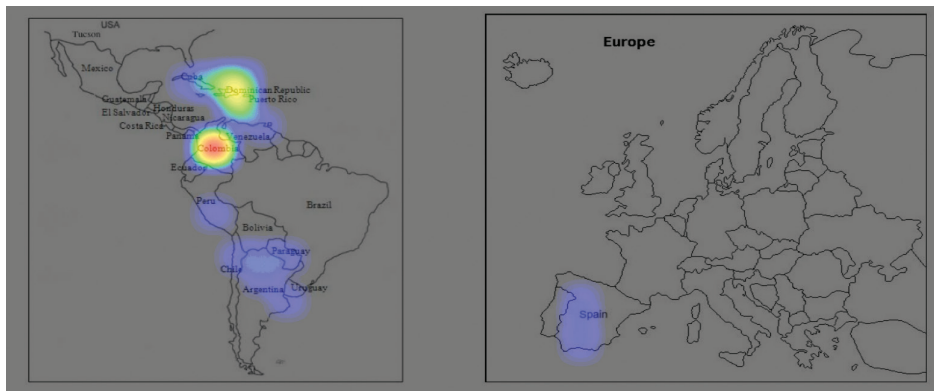


Figure 3 – Location of the Murcian variety according to survey participants

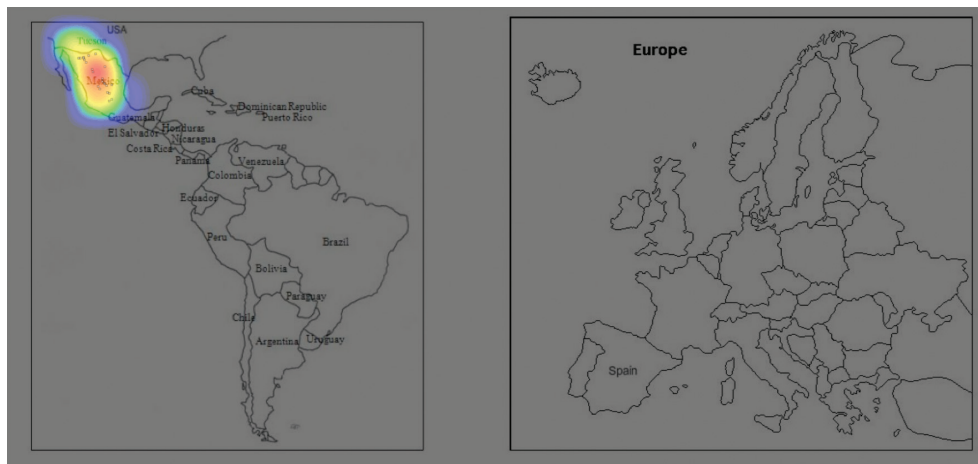


Figure 4 – Location of the Hermosillo variety according to survey participants

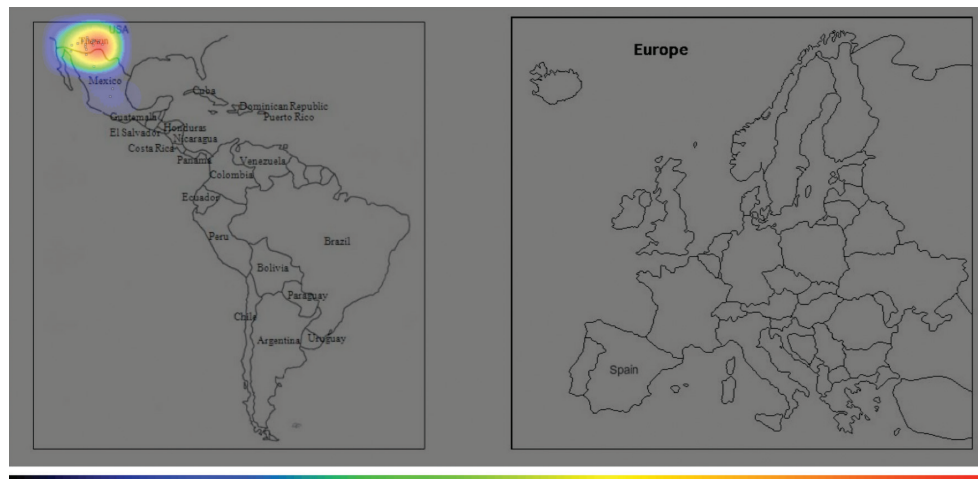


Figure 5 – Location of the Tucson variety according to survey participants

We did not expect our participants to know where Murcia is, however, Madrid was definitely located in the right location and the same happened with Hermosillo and Tucson. We further examine the implications of these results in our discussion section.

Quantitative results

The responses to the first four questions consisting of Relational Analog Scales (degree of difference, pleasantness, friendliness and intelligence of the speaker) have been analyzed through a series of one-way repeated measures ANOVAS. The independent variable *Spanish Variety* included four levels (Madrid, Murcia, Hermosillo, Tucson). The analyses compared two of the levels in this variable according to the four combinations found considering location and “prestige”: (Madrid *versus* Hermosillo, Madrid *versus* Murcia, Tucson *versus* Hermosillo, Tucson *versus* Murcia).

Relational analog scales

Table 1 – Average percentages of participants' responses per factor in Analog Scales

	Madrid	Murcia	Hermosillo	Tucson
Degree of difference	60.4	56.2	30	41.5
Pleasantness	78.5	65.1	80.6	63.3
Friendliness	72.3	75.5	90.5	80.7
Intelligence	77	74	69.4	62.3

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Table 2 – *p* values per comparison as a function of question

	Madrid versus Hermosillo	Madrid versus Murcia	Tucson versus Hermosillo	Murcia versus Tucson
Degree of difference	<.001 ✓	>.050	>.050	<.011 ✓
Pleasantness	>.050	<.044	<.016 ✓	>.050
Friendliness	<.006 ✓	>.050	<.011 ✓	>.050
Intelligence	>.050	>.050	<.028 ✓	<.009 ✓

<.05 = significant

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Madrid versus Hermosillo

When comparing Madrid and Hermosillo, results show a highly significant difference in terms of *degree of difference*: $F(1,24)=24.125$; $p<.001$, Madrid being perceived by the participants as more different than Hermosillo (60.4% and 30%, respectively). Also, the results show that in terms of *friendliness*: $F(1,24)=9.698$; $p<.006$, there is a significant difference, being Hermosillo the variety perceived as friendlier (90.5% vs. 72.3%, respectively). However, no significant differences between these two varieties were found in relation to *pleasantness*: $F(1, 24)=0.38$; $p>.050$ and *intelligence*: $F(1,24)=3.382$; $p>.050$.

Madrid versus Murcia

The only significant factor observed for this pair is *pleasantness*: $F(1,24)=4.587$; $p<.044$, being Madrid more pleasant than the Murcian variety (78.5% and 65.1, respectively). Non-significant differences were observed in relation to *degree of difference*: $F(1,24)=1.085$; $p>.050$, *friendliness*: $F(1,24)=.392$; $p>.050$ and *intelligence*: $F(1,24)=.704$; $p>.050$.

Tucson versus Hermosillo

Significant differences were found for all of the factors except for *degree of difference*: $F(1,22)=0.620$; $p>.050$. As regards to *pleasantness* and *friendliness*, a highly significant difference was observed [*pleasantness*: $F(1,23)=6.89$; $p<.016$; *friendliness*: $F(1,23)=7.80$; $p<.011$]. Hermosillo was seen as friendlier (90.5%) and more pleasant (80.6%) than Tucson (80.7% and 63.3%, respectively). Intelligence was also found to be significant [*intelligence*: $F(1,23)=5.56$; $p<.0,28$], Hermosillo receiving (69.4%) and Tucson (62.3%). Possible reasons for these differences are examined in our discussion section.

Murcia versus Tucson

The factors found to be significant in this case were *degree of difference*: $F(1,23)=7.83$; $p<0.11$ and *intelligence*: $F(1,23)=372.31$; $p<.009$. The Murcian variety was perceived as more different (56.2%) than the Tucson one (41.5%). Furthermore, the Murcian variety shows higher results of intelligence (74%) than the Tucson variety (62.3%). No significant differences were observed in terms of *pleasantness*: $F(1,23)=.018$; $p>.050$ and *friendliness*: $F(1,23)=.302$; $p > .050$.

To conclude with this results' section, the heat maps with the location of the best and worst Spanish are presented (see Figures 6 & 7); these maps match the previous results that show how the bilingual variety (the variety of the participants) is perceived as less pleasant and less intelligent than the rest varieties. Quantitative results are further discussed below along with a brief qualitative analysis that serves to better understand the previous results.

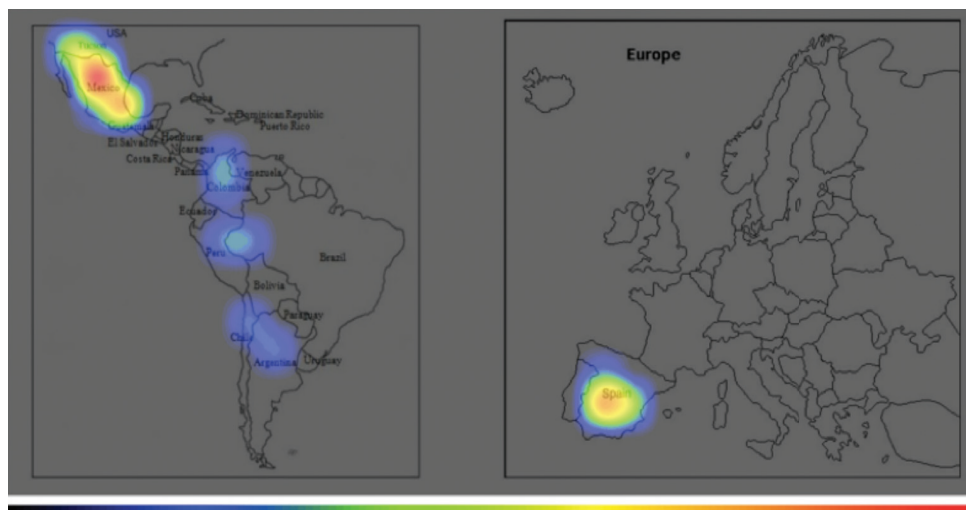


Figure 6 – Locations selected as Best Spanish

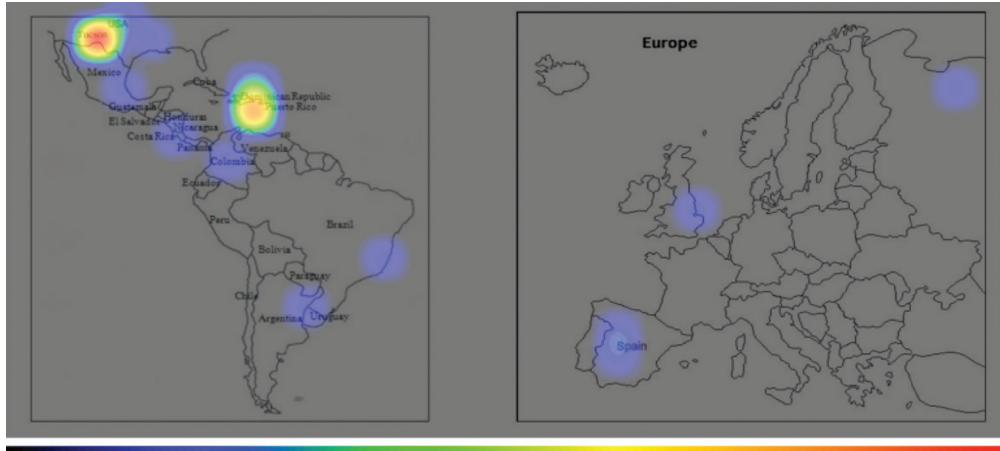


Figure 7 – Locations selected as Worst Spanish

Qualitative results

Location maps

As figures 6 and 7 reveal, responses for the best Spanish are divided into Mexico (11 participants) and Spain (8 participants). In contrast, these countries barely received any response for the worst Spanish category (2 participants, respectively). Responses related to the worst Spanish are mainly found for the region of Tucson (9 participants), followed by the Caribbean (6 participants). The responses that pointed places, such as Russia or the UK, are not counted for our interpretation, since we cannot guarantee if they were referring to European Spanish or if they did not recognize part of the map. Therefore, this section of the questionnaire is used to support our previous quantitative results.

Linguistic features of the four varieties: comments from our participants

Participants were asked to comment on the linguistic features characteristic of each of the recordings. Not surprisingly, they recognized and commented on the most marked features of each variety. A selection of the most common answers is presented below:

Madrid

“she makes a *th* sound characteristic of Hispanos from Spain”.

“Different sounds such as the *C* sound in *vecinos*”.

“This way of speaking has a distinct sound when pronouncing *C*”.

Murcia

“The word *gatico* is definitely different. I would use the word *gatito*”.

“She doesn’t say the *s* sound”.

“The way of speaking also pronounces the “*c*” more like a “*th*” sound, but it is less noticeable than the first speaker”.

Hermosillo

“The *ch* sound”.

“The speaker pronounced the *ch* in words such as *mucha* as *sh*”.

“Sounds like the Spanish I speak”.

Tucson

“Spanglish is used”.

“It sounds very broken, uneducated”.

“The word cute gave her location away”; “she sounded like a young Latina-Americana”.

“Uses some Spanglish words but is nearly the same as what I use”.

As was observed, the Spanish dental fricative [θ] is the most salient linguistic feature for the Madrid recording. This probably helped them locate this variety correctly. The diminutive “ico” and the “s” deletion are distinctive features of the Murcian variety and they are perceived by our participants. In regards to Hermosillo, the fricativization [ʃ] of the palatal affricate /tʃ/ is recognized by most of the respondents and a few of them claim to identify themselves with this variety. Finally, codeswitching is definitely called out by our participants for the Tucson variety. As we can see above, most of the comments have negative connotations attached to the word “Spanglish”. Next, these comments are intertwined with the rest of the results to better understand the attitudes of our bilingual participants.

DISCUSSION

In this section, we follow the four pairs presented in our quantitative results (Madrid *versus* Murcia, Madrid *versus* Hermosillo, Tucson *versus* Murcia, Tucson *versus* Hermosillo). However, our interpretation mainly focuses on the results related to the variety of our participants (Tucson), since it is the only variety that has not been previously studied, and shows very interesting attitudinal patterns.

Madrid and Murcia

All of the results of this study are based on the responses of a very specific population sample: bilingual speakers of the Southwest Tucson. This particular setting serves as a basis to explain why the participants show the attitudes observed in the previous results; attitudes that differ from those studies analyzing different Spanish varieties from a monolingual participants’ perspective (CES-TERO; PAREDES, 2015).

As previously stated, the two Peninsular varieties (Madrid and Murcia) were selected to examine the different attitudes that bilinguals could have toward these varieties in comparison to what Castilian speakers and other Spanish monolinguals perceive. For instance, monolingual speakers from Murcia tend to perceive the Murcian variety as less pleasant and less prestigious (BOLUDA NICOLÁS, 2004; SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, 2004). Furthermore, Ciller (2015, in progress), found that monolingual speakers from Latin America (Argentina, Colombia) had the same attitude when asked to compare Madrid and Murcia; Madrid

was seen as more pleasant, more prestigious, more intelligent and as associated with a higher socioeconomic status. This contrasts with the responses obtained in our study with regards to these two Peninsular varieties. In fact, very similar patterns are observed in terms of *degrees of difference*, *intelligence*, *friendliness* and socioeconomic status, without a clear distinction between two varieties that are well-known in Spain for their differences, as stated in previous studies. However, our participants did perceive differences in terms of *pleasantness*. This difference of attitudes between monolingual speakers and bilingual speakers can be due to the fact that they might not be that familiar with the linguistic features that usually trigger a positive or negative attitude among monolingual speakers; this difference is probably increased by the geographical distance that situates our participants very far from the Peninsular Spanish, preventing them from showing the same strong attitudes that Spaniards have toward these two varieties. On the other hand, “s” deletion is usually linked to less educated groups (ZENTELLA, 2002) and this can explain the less pleasant rating the Murcian variety receives.

Furthermore, the consequence of the geographical distance in our participants’ attitudes can be seen when they locate these two dialects in the map; not even associating Murcia with Spain. By observing Figure 3, only three participants located the Murcian variety in Spain, whereas the rest of the participants located it mainly in Colombia and the Caribbean. In contrast, we assume that the accuracy when locating the Madrid variety is due to the salient voiceless dental fricative pronunciation [θ] of the “c” letter. This typical feature of the Spanish from Madrid is what differentiates the Spanish spoken in Spain from the rest of the Spanish varieties; this can be seen in the comments on the linguistic features of our participants. Therefore, we can conclude that the attitudes existent among monolinguals (especially Spaniards) between these two peninsular varieties do not extrapolate to our participants, probably due to geographical distance and consequently a lack of experience with regional dialects in Spain.

Madrid and Hermosillo

In relation to the Hermosillo variety (the monolingual variety closest geographically to our participants), it was expected that Madrid would be rated as being clearly more different than Hermosillo. However, as was observed in Table 1, in the solidarity scale (*friendliness*), Hermosillo was perceived as friendlier (90.54%) *versus* Madrid (72.3%). This falls into the findings of previous research that describes how one’s closest varieties are usually rated as the friendliest ones (PRESTON, 2009). While all of these comparisons are interesting, the most significant statistical results are definitely found in the Tucson variety.

Tucson and Murcia

These two Spanish varieties have been identified as somewhat stigmatized and similar ratings were expected, except for the *degree of difference* dimension. Surprisingly, Murcia received higher results of *intelligence* (74%) than the Tucson variety (62.3%). However, with regards to *degree of difference*, it is not unexpected

that the Murcian variety was perceived as more different (56.2%) than the Tucson one (41.5%). Thus, the Murcian variety, considered stigmatized by monolinguals in Spain, does not have the same degree of stigmatization for the US bilinguals. It is true, however, that Madrid still receives the higher rates for intelligence, bringing evidence to the presence of *standard language ideology* in shaping these attitudes (MILROY, 2001). It seems that the prestige attributed to the dialect spoken in the Spanish capital crosses the geographical distance barrier existent between our participants and Spain, and is embraced by the US bilinguals.

Tucson and Hermosillo

Whereas Murcia and Madrid are rated as less friendly than Tucson, as expected, Hermosillo received a higher rate that is significant. This is surprising since participants in previous attitude studies attribute higher solidarity rates to their own variety (ROSALES, 2007). Nonetheless, this result is consistent with the results of the rest of the varieties, since Tucson also received the lowest rates in these factors: pleasantness and intelligence. The only percentage that was higher for Tucson than for Hermosillo was the *degree of difference* – they perceive the Tucson recording (their own variety) as being more different than the Hermosillo one (see Table 2). This result reinforces the low values of *pleasantness* and *intelligence*; the fact that our participants perceive the Hermosillo variety as more similar to their own variety is striking since respondents usually classify the recordings of their own variety as similar to theirs.

Furthermore, the lower values associated with *intelligence* and *pleasantness* match statistically the *degree of difference* responses, since it is understandable that the participants may want to distance themselves from a variety that they have perceived as less intelligent and less pleasant. As Rosales (2007) noticed, Spanish-English bilinguals in the US usually show *linguistic self-hatred*, and this leads them to reject the similarities with their own variety and to assimilate to the geographically closest monolingual variety (Hermosillo). This assimilation to the Spanish of a monolingual community entails the appropriation of language of that speech community; a fact reflected in the high rates given to Hermosillo for *pleasantness* (80.6%) and *friendliness* (90.5%), the highest ones among the four varieties. Given the special situation of this community, these results fit the complex ideologies around the Spanish spoken in the state of Arizona.

When asked to specify some linguistic features of the recordings, most of the participants gave opinions that supported the previous quantitative results. For instance, some of the participants stated that the Tucson recording sounded “very broken” and “uneducated”, thus, the low results for the ratings of intelligence. This type of non-linguistic evaluations was found just for this variety and this might be a possible reason to explain why many of the participants rated the Hermosillo variety as more similar to their own. However, undoubtedly, the fact that there is an English borrowing (“*cute*”) in the Tucson recording seems to be the direct reason why participants gave such ratings. We can observe this in the comments of the participants such as “English is used”, “Spanglish” “the word ‘cute’ gave her location away” or “uses some Spanglish words, but is nearly the same as what I use”, which points to a clear purist language ideology behind the rates.

Despite the fact that many participants state that they use Spanglish and that the speech of the recording is very similar to theirs, we have seen in the analog scales how our respondents do not seem to reflect this idea in their ratings. It is not unreasonable to assume that the results are consequence of the notion of *linguistic purism* that does not accept codeswitching as a way of speaking. Silva Corvalán et al. (2008) have discussed that many bilingual communities seem to have interiorized negative attitudes toward codeswitching. Some of the terms associated with this phenomenon are *Spanglish*, *mochó*, *pocho*, *broken Spanish* (as some of our participants have commented themselves). Furthermore, these authors state that many individuals who use codeswitching define this practice as “español mal hablado”, and even some Mexicans refuse to recognize its use. At the same time, an important concept to take into account when interpreting codeswitching is *iconization*. The process of iconization occurs when a linguistic system or feature is interpreted as an image of the essence of a social group. Irvine and Gal (2000) have identified *iconization* as a useful tool in linguistic ideology, for thinking about how codeswitching comes to signify socially. This clearly transfers to our participants’ responses when they rate Hermosillo to be more similar, friendlier and more intelligent, but yet accept that what they heard is very similar to what they speak.

While most of the minority languages have been analyzed as showing covert prestige (LAMBERT et al., 1960), our results do not detect such a phenomenon. In turn, if this type of prestige had been present among our bilingual participants, a lower rate for the degree of difference and a higher percentage for the friendliness dimension (see Table 2) would have been attributed to Tucson, and not for Hermosillo. Speech communities with covert prestige usually spend their symbolic capital on the “friendly” dimension (PRESTON, 1999), but this is not the case of our participants, or at least, not according to the current results.

CONCLUSION

The study of linguistic preferences of the bilingual community in Tucson sheds new light in the field of language attitudes. While the different attitudes toward two clearly distinct varieties such as Madrid and Murcia seem to be less noticeable for our participants, some traces can still be found in terms of pleasantness (Murcia perceived as less pleasant than Madrid). These results point to the presence of some influence of the *standard language ideology* (MILROY, 2001), and also, to the important role that geographical distance plays in shaping people’s attitudes. This is reinforced by the fact that Hermosillo, geographically closer to our participants’ variety, was perceived as more pleasant and friendlier than Madrid and Murcia. However, Hermosillo was rated as more intelligent in comparison to their own variety, the Spanish spoken in Tucson. An explanation for this result can be found in the well-documented *linguistic self-hatred* that speakers usually experience in areas where two languages are in contact (CARVALHO, 2014; AUER, 2005). This linguistic insecurity seems to be linked to the use of codeswitching in the case of our participants whose comments reflect a negative attitude toward it, and therefore, toward their own variety. Undoubtedly, this negative attitude is caused by the influence of purist language ideologies that lead to stigmatizing habitual language practices like

code-switching and depict contact induced linguistic changes as forms of cultural deficiency. Finally, although our results do not point to a situation of covert prestige, further research needs to be conducted in order to give more conclusive results to this particular question in regards to this bilingual community and bilingual communities in general.

SOBRE AS ATITUDES EM RELAÇÃO ÀS VARIEDADES ESPANHOLAS: UMA PERSPECTIVA BILÍNGUE

Resumo: Este estudo explora as atitudes de 25 falantes bilíngues de espanhol e inglês de Tucson (Arizona) com relação à sua própria variedade linguística, comparando essas atitudes em relação ao espanhol de Hermosillo (México) e a duas variedades peninsulares: a espanhola de Múrcia e a de Madrid. Nossa análise mostra uma clara influência da *ideologia da língua padrão* (MILROY, 2001) em determinar essas atitudes, agravada pela tendência de os falantes bilíngues de sociedades diglóssicas se sentirem inseguros quanto à sua própria variedade como uma língua minoritária, ou relacionada a um sentimento de auto-ódio linguístico.

Palavras-chave: Atitudes linguísticas. Ideologias linguísticas. Variedades espanholas.

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Appendix

TRANSCRIPTS OF RECORDINGS

Recording 1: Madrid

A mí de siempre me han gustado mucho los perros pero... pues nunca tuve ninguno porque mis padres... no me dejaban comprármelo. Pero lo que sí que tuve fue una cobaya, que se llamaba Kika... y la verdad que me encariñé muchísimo con ella y falleció [fayeθjó] la pobrecita a los seis años, pero yo, vamos, sacaba a pasear la cobaya como si fuese un perrito, siempre la llevaba conmigo a todas partes... con decirte [deθirte] que todos mis vecinos [beθinos] sabían que tenía una cobaya y algunos me llamaban Laura la de la cobaya, pero... bueno pues a mí me encanta... me encantaría tener mascota la verdad.

Recording 2: Murcia

Vale, pues a ver, eh yo estoy a favor de las mascotas [læ.mæ.ˈkɔ.tæ], me gustan mucho las mascotas [læ. mæ.ˈkɔ.tæ], sobre todo los gatos [lɔ.ˈgæ.tɔ], yo tengo muchos gaticos [ˈmu.ʃɔ.gæ.ˈti.kɔ] y claro, eh... requieren muchos cuidados [ˈmu.ʃɔ.kwi.ˈdao], pero tu te tienes que hacer también responsable de su cuidado [kwi.ˈdao], de llevarlo al veterinario, de estar con ellos... los gaticos [lɔ.gæ.ˈti.kɔ] no requieren tanto cuidado como los perros [lɔ.ˈpɛ.rɔ] em... porque tu, no hace falta que los sagues [ˈsæ.ke] a pasear, ellos solos se quedan en casa, hacen sus cosas [ˈkɔ.sæ] en la, en la casa, y les gusta más [mæ] estar en en la casa que sacarlos a pasear.

Recording 3: Hermosillo

Mm...pues sí, yo creo que un perrito sí, sí te puede hacer mucha [a.ˈser.ˈmu.ʃa] compañía. Pero tener un perrito sí, tiene muchas [ˈmu.ʃas] ventajas pero también hay que fijarse en las desventajas. Por ejemplo, si hay un perrito en la casa, cuando llegas pues se alegra mucho de verte, es como...como tu amigo. Él se alegra, tú te alegras, y ya ves, nunca estás solo, siempre tienes compañía. Pero también pues, tener un perrito tienes que, tienes que ser responsable. Hay que sacarlos a pasear, cuidarlos, limpiarlos y más si están chiquitos [ʃi.ˈki.tos]. Requieren de mucha atención [ˈmu.ʃa.ten.ˈsion] y también de mucho [ˈmu.ʃo] cuidado. Es casi como otro ser humano. Y ya ves, los cachorritos [ka.ʃo.ˈri.tos] también yo creo que necesitan más cuidados porque son más débiles y si se enferman hay que llevarlos al veterinario y todo eso.

Recording 4: Tucson

Pues un perrito te puede hacer [a.'ser] mucha compañía, igual que los gatos, pero siento que los gatos son animales más solitarios. Tener un perrito tiene sus ventajas... pero también puede ser inconveniente. Por un lado, cuando llegas a casa, si tienes mascotas, no importa si te vas por diez [djes] días o solo dos segundos, siempre se alegran de verte. Es verdad que hay, que hay que sacarlos a pasear, darles de comer y mantenerlos, pero sobre todo son bien cute (CC).

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