Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics 25

New Approaches to Language Attitudes in the Hispanic and Lusophone World

Edited by Talia Bugel and Cecilia Montes-Alcalá

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Copyright 2020. John Benjamins Publishing Company. All rights reserved. May not be reproduced in any form without permission from the publisher, except fair uses permitted under U.S. or applicable copyright law.

EBSCO Publishing : eBook Collection (EBSCOhost) - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via
AN: 2399305 ; Bugel, Talia, Montes-Alcala, Cecilia.; New Approaches to Language Attitudes in the Hispanic and Lusophone World
Account: ns335141

New Approaches to Language Attitudes in the Hispanic and Lusophone World

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics (IHLL)

ISSN 2213-3887

IHLL aims to provide a single home for the highest quality monographs and edited volumes pertaining to Hispanic and Lusophone linguistics. In an effort to be as inclusive as possible, the series includes volumes that represent the many sub-fields and paradigms of linguistics that do high quality research targeting Iberian Romance languages. IHLL considers proposals that focus on formal syntax, semantics, morphology, phonetics/phonology, pragmatics from any established research paradigm, as well as psycholinguistics, language acquisition, historical linguistics, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. The editorial board is comprised of experts in all of the aforementioned fields.

For an overview of all books published in this series, please see *benjamins.com/catalog/ihll*

Editors

Jennifer Cabrelli Amaro
University of Illinois at Chicago

Kimberly L. Geeslin
Indiana University

Editorial Board

Patrícia Amaral
Indiana University

Sonia Colina
University of Arizona

João Costa
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Inês Duarte
Universidade de Lisboa

Daniel Erker
Boston University

Timothy L. Face
University of Minnesota

Sónia Frota
Universidade de Lisboa

Ángel J. Gallego
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

María del Pilar García Mayo
Universidad del País Vasco

Anna Gavarró
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Michael Iverson
Indiana University

Matthew Kanwit
University of Pittsburgh

Paula Kempchinsky
University of Iowa

Juana M. Liceras
University of Ottawa

John M. Lipski
Pennsylvania State University

Gillian Lord
University of Florida

Jairo Nunes
Universidade de São Paulo

Acrisio Pires
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Pilar Prieto
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Jason Rothman
UiT The Arctic University and Universidad Nebrija

Liliana Sánchez
Rutgers University

Ana Lúcia Santos
Universidade de Lisboa

Scott A. Schwenter
Ohio State University

Naomi Lapidus Shin
University of New Mexico

Carmen Silva-Corvalán
University of Southern California

Miquel Simonet
University of Arizona

Megan Solon
State University of New York

Juan Uriagereka
University of Maryland

Elena Valenzuela
University of Ottawa

Bill VanPatten
Michigan State University

Volume 25

New Approaches to Language Attitudes in the Hispanic and Lusophone World
Edited by Talia Bugel and Cecilia Montes-Alcalá

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

New Approaches to Language Attitudes in the Hispanic and Lusophone World

Edited by

Talia Bugel
Purdue University Fort Wayne

Cecilia Montes-Alcalá
Georgia Institute of Technology

John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/ihll.25

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:
LCCN 2019055092

ISBN 978 90 272 0511 7 (HB)
ISBN 978 90 272 6140 3 (E-BOOK)

© 2020 – John Benjamins B.V.
No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Company · https://benjamins.com

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table of contents

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the following colleagues, especially Ronald Beline Mendes and Lenka Zajícová, who participated in the initial stages of this project. Crucial also to the quality of this volume were Laura Álvarez López, Jon Amastae, Carla Amorós Negre, Pamela Anderson-Mejías, Uju Anya, John Attinasi, Milton Azevedo, Rusty Barrett, Laura Callahan, Kathryn Campbell-Kibler, Phillip Carter, Ana Maria Carvalho, Jinny Choi, Hilaria Cruz, Elise Dubord, Cindy Ducar, Adolfo Elizaincín, Anna María Escobar, Ana Isabel García, María García, Melvin González-Rivera, Shaw Gynan, Chad Howe, Margarita Jara, Kendall King, Carol Klee, Manel Lacorte, Erez Levon, Andrew Lynch, Glenn Martínez, Catherine Mazak, Jim Michnowicz, Irene Moyna, Mercedes Niño-Murcia, Luis Ortiz López, Livia Oushiro, Cíntia Pacheco, Diego Pascual y Cabo, Uli Reich, Ana Roca, Celeste Rodríguez-Louro, Darío Rojas, Hélade Scutti Santos, Lotfi Sayahi, Marta Scherre, Armin Schwegler, Sandro Sessarego, Gláucia Silva, Antonio Simões, Miroslav Valeš, Mark Waltermire, Joseph Weyers, Klaus Zimmermann.

Many thanks to the editors of John Benjamins series Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics, especially to Kimberly Geeslin, whose work with us was critical for the success of this project.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Preface

Ana Maria Carvalho and Anna María Escobar

Language attitudes respond to a very complex interplay between societal factors and linguistic material. Their fundamental importance to sociolinguistics lies in the fact that attitudes to language can affect language maintenance and language change in the long run. The empirical analysis of the interplay allows us to rigorously engage in efforts to uncover how we understand language use, how we understand how languages change, and how we understand the ways in which language both reflects and constructs social meaning; all important goals of sociolinguistics. The analysis of language attitudes matters not only because it sheds light on our understanding of the intricated ways in which language and society intertwine, but first and foremost, because societal attitudes and ideologies surrounding languages and dialects affect real life concerns. The right to use one's language in public domains, the right to raise one's children in one's language, the right to be listened to, respected, or hired, regardless of one's accent; is ultimately, a matter of human rights. As experts on the relations between language and society, sociolinguists are the ones in charge of uncovering, analyzing, and denouncing linguistic prejudice, and suggesting paths to promote change.

Given the undeniable importance of language attitudes to both the society at large and to sociolinguistics in particular, this volume fills an important void in the field of Hispanic and Lusophone linguistics. In Spanish, there are just a few volumes on the specific topic of language attitudes that were recently published.[1] In Portuguese, whole volumes on the topic are practically inexistent, despite a highly productive body of sociolinguistic research in Brazil.[2] With the present volume, Bugel and Montes-Alcalá contribute immensely to the field by making available

1. Bugel, 2014 *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana 23*, Nuevos estudios sobre actitudes lingüísticas; 2015 *Signo & Seña 28*, Actitudes ante el español, el portugués y el guaraní en Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay; Chiquito & Quesada Pacheco, 2014 *Actitudes lingüísticas de los hispanohablantes hacia el español y sus variantes*. Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo, Center for Development and the Environment.

2. Except for Bisinoto (2007) *Atitudes sociolinguísticas: Efeitos do processo migratório*. Campinas, SP: Pontes.

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.pre
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

studies on attitudes toward Spanish and Portuguese, two important global and ex-colonial languages that are spoken by approximately 700 million people in many continents of the world. The editors ought to be applauded for combining in a coherent volume a plethora of different sociolinguistic scenarios, allowing for the highlighting of different types of social factors that are relevant to the study of language attitudes. While some refer to the more familiar social and cognitive traits attributed to the speaker of minority dialects in monolingual societies (Lang-Rigal), others explore less studied social factors and their influence on language attitudes, such as mode (i.e., sign language, Bao Fente, Báez Montero, Vázquez Veiga), level of education of the respondent (Barbosa), the role of social networks (Gubitosi & de Oliveira, Shirakawa), and how to study language attitudes through different types of historical documents (Bertolotti & Coll). The studies also concentrate on the effects of language contact phenomena on people's reaction to language and to contact dialects both in central and peripheral, border contexts, within low and high degree of language contact scenarios (Suárez Büdenbender, MacGregor-Mendoza, Zajícová), including homogenous and heterogenous communities (Kester, Ribeiro Berger).

The volume includes attitudes toward minoritized varieties of either Spanish or Portuguese in monolingual and multilingual societies, where Spanish or Portuguese are in contact with each other or with other languages (English, Japanese, Guarani, Papamientu), whether in urban, rural, border or transnational communities. The diversity found within these two large sociolinguistic configurations allows for a wider understanding of patterns of language attitudes in different social scenarios. The case-studies presented here will no doubt make important contributions to theoretical discussions on attitudes toward language, and particularly to conversations on how language attitudes influence matters of education, policy, and language maintenance in different parts of the world, and in the different socio-histories that global languages represent today.

The multiplicity of contexts that are explored here is accompanied by a plethora of methodological approaches as well. Matched guise techniques, classroom action research, ethnography, interviews, mix methods, and diachronic perspectives are included in the composition of a volume that guides us in navigating the theoretical and the speculative advances of the field of language attitudes while providing sociolinguists interested in the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking world with updated scenarios from which further studies will be built upon. In addition, it is important to keep in mind the sociolinguists' ethical commitment to act upon the social and political implications of research on language attitudes. In her overview discussion of foundational aspects of studies of attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S., MacGregor-Mendoza is right to claim that "despite all we have achieved in advancing our knowledge of language attitudes over the last six decades, we still

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

cannot claim victory". Here she refers to the fact that although we have learned a lot about attitudes toward minority dialects, little have we done about combating linguistic discrimination. She is right when she says that we cannot wait until speakers and attitude perpetuators enroll in our classes to learn about stereotypes and misconceptions. We argue that this goal is within our reach, and as educators, we can have the tools to one day empower our students **and** their communities, with empirical evidence that will promote the weakening of linguistic discrimination. This volume is the perfect start.

Ana Maria Carvalho, University of Arizona
Anna María Escobar, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Introduction

Interdisciplinary approaches to the study of language attitudes towards Spanish and Portuguese around the world

Cecilia Montes-Alcalá and Talia Bugel
Georgia Institute of Technology / Purdue University Fort Wayne

In an ideal situation, all languages (or language varieties) would be created equal and no single one would be superior or inferior to another. However, the ubiquitous reality is that certain languages are preferred over others globally, including in the Hispanic and Lusophone worlds. The discipline of language attitudes emerged in the early 1970s in the United States with the work of Joshua Fishman, one of the founding fathers of the field of sociolinguistics. His seminal work carried out with Agheyisi was a survey of methodological approaches for language attitude studies (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). Fishman (1972) then proposed the term language attitudes to refer to the evaluative reactions or feelings towards language use that spark the association of a particular language (or variety) with particular (positive or negative) values. Shortly afterwards, dialectologist Manuel Alvar was also reflecting about language attitudes in Spain (1975), which would subsequently take him to conduct studies in Latin America (1986).

Nowadays, the study of language attitudes is still relevant and imperative in order to further understand some of the urgent phenomena currently affecting our world such as the incorporation of migrants, the integration of children in the educational system, and the importance of language as part and parcel of ethnic identity. Such relevance and urgency are reflected in the increase of studies in this field. While in the 1990s and early 2000s the pace of language attitudes research seemed to have slowed down, with exceptions such as the work developed by Baker (1992), Garrett, Coupland, & Williams (2003), and Garrett (2010), we are currently witnessing a surge in the interest of language attitudes among sociolinguists. Proof of this is that many of the manuals that we use in our classes now include chapters about language attitudes (see, for example, recent works by Bell, 2014; Díaz-Campos, 2014; Holmes, 2013; Holmes & Wilson, 2017; Meyerhoff, 2011, 2018 to name just a few).

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.int
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

The present volume aims to provide a sample of the latest production in the field of attitudes toward Spanish, Portuguese, Guarani and Papiamentu carried out by prominent scholars representing diverse perspectives around the globe. To this end, we present data from different communities and geographical areas including South America, the Caribbean, the United States, Spain and Japan.

Our main goal is to deliver a multidisciplinary account of the ways in which language attitudes can be examined. The richness of this volume is exemplified by the varied methodologies and data presented. While most chapters offer a socio-linguistic perspective, others focus on a specific theoretical frame (Chapter 1), a mentalist approach (Chapter 3), or even a diachronic/historical methodology (Chapter 5). The different methods employed in these studies include both audio and textual stimuli, participant observations, sociolinguistic surveys, self-reports, questionnaires, statistical analyses, interviews, matched-guise techniques and semantic differential scales.

The volume is organized around three main thematic areas that have been posited as guidelines for the study of language attitudes in the United States by Fishman: Language integration through education, language policy, and language maintenance. The intended audience for the volume ranges from undergraduate students to researchers with an interest in the field of language attitudes. These chapters can be used as assigned readings in courses related to Lusophone and Hispanic sociolinguistics and are written in a straightforward fashion comprehensible to seasoned scholars and novice researchers alike.

The formal educational system is one of the agents that plays an important role in the development of language attitudes, often supporting other socialization structures in their efforts toward language standardization and language maintenance. The first part of the book presents issues of language integration through education in four different contexts and geographical areas: Argentina, West Virginia, Galicia (Spain), and the Brazil-Paraguay border.

In Chapter 1, Jennifer Lang-Rigal investigates how a difference in pronunciation impacts the perceived competence (i.e., intelligence and occupation) of speakers of a minority dialect. Her findings show that a specific feature associated with the Córdoba dialect is significantly correlated with a perception of decreased intelligence and associated with a lower status of competence than the dialect of Buenos Aires in the view of Argentine speakers. Her work sheds light on the fact that language attitudes can negatively influence the educational opportunities afforded to speakers of stigmatized or minority varieties. Five decades after the first description of Cordobés dialect by Vidal de Battini (1964), and following her study linking dialect perception with language attitudes (Lang-Rigal, 2015), Lang-Rigal provides us now with an in-depth study of the attitudes of Argentineans toward this stigmatized variety of Spanish. Her findings bring to the fore that each variant

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of a language feature acquires different meaning, in line with Eckert's (2012) work explaining the third wave of sociolinguistics – now extensively presented and exemplified in her 2018 book.

Chapter 2 analyzes perceptions and attitudes toward Spanish varieties by native speakers of English in the Panhandle of West Virginia. Eva-María Suárez Büdenbender's study finds evidence of an awareness of dialectal differences in terms of prestige as well as an awareness of formal vs. informal speech. Her participants exhibit a preference for the Peninsular variety and, consequently, to study abroad programs in Spain, while revealing negative stereotypes toward Latin American varieties of Spanish. At the same time, "proper" or standardized speech is correlated with higher education and higher socioeconomic profiles. The attitudes that Suárez Büdenbender found among native speakers of English match those found by Bugel & Santos (2010) among native speakers of Portuguese in Brazil. A comparison and contrast of these two sets of data could serve as a basis for a future study in which native speakers of the two main non-Spanish countries in the Americas explore any extralinguistic reasons impacting their preference for the Peninsular variety of Spanish – or any changes in that preference throughout the years and the changing geopolitical circumstances. Suárez Büdenbender's work contributes to the body of knowledge about attitudes toward modern foreign language learning that Bartram (2010) made available to us about English, French and German.

In Chapter 3, María C. Bao Fente, Inmaculada C. Báez Montero, and Nancy Vázquez Veiga examine attitudes toward Spanish Sign Languages (SSLs) among hearing students, their families and their teachers in three schools in Galicia (Spain). The most important finding in their study is the correlation of a higher level of education with a positive disposition of students, teachers and families to the inclusion of SSLs in the school curriculum. Their research highlights the crucial role of formal education in its interplay with family systems in the shaping and transformation of language attitudes and confirm the benefits of implementing an innovative, cross-disciplinary, multilingual curriculum for teaching SLs. The chapter by Bao Fente et al. opens an opportunity to further explore the research conducted on the subject of language attitudes toward signed languages, of which Krausneker (2015) provides a very helpful, in her own words, "approximation". Regarding specifically the U.S. context, Hill (2012) offers a very informative inside view of language attitudes within the deaf community.

Part I concludes with Chapter 4, where Isis Ribeiro Berger explores the role of attitudes in Brazilian schools located in the Brazil-Paraguay border region. Her study emphasizes the importance to understand how the teachers' attitudes towards the presence of Paraguayan children in the Brazilian schools influence how they manage multilingualism, either forbidding or consenting the students' use of their languages (Spanish and Guarani). Her main conclusion points to the current need

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for policies that will further attend to the needs of the multilingual population from both sides of the border so as to build more positive attitudes toward these languages (and their speakers). The situation studied by Ribeiro Berger is evidently linked to the issues of language attitudes, language ideology and language policy in Paraguay, where the planification of the status and of the corpus of Guarani has been a slow process. As explained by Penner (2016), the officialization of Guarani in 1992, followed by its incorporation as a language of instruction, and the addition of language legislation in 2010 have not sufficed to raise it to the level of a functional language in the work context. Sociolinguistic characterizations of bilingual Guarani-Spanish regions, such as that developed by Gandulfo (2016) with the collaboration of native Guarani-speaking school children and their teachers, could support the recognition of Guarani also in the educational system of the Brazil-Paraguay border which is the focus of Ribeiro Berger's study. The attitudes of Brazilian teachers in face of the mere presence of Guarani in the schools reported by Ribeiro Berger (2015) is the foundation of how attitudes impact the management of multilingualism in those schools.

However, issues in education cannot be fully tackled without resorting to the field of language policy and planning, given that overarching national educational policies are involved in border areas where sovereignty is at stake. Part II of the volume discusses issues of language policy in three different geographical contexts: Uruguay, Paraguay, and Curaçao.

It is important to bear in mind that Brazil has a shared border with all the Spanish-speaking countries in South America except for Chile and Ecuador and, thus, the interaction of language attitudes and language policy has played out along its borders ever since the independence of these countries in the 19th century. An example is presented in Chapter 5 by Virginia Bertolotti and Magdalena Coll, who offer a novel analysis of attitudes towards Portuguese in 19th century Uruguay from a diachronic perspective. As is often the case at geographical boundaries, here the border "crossed" the people – rather than the people crossing the border – and moreover, the policies affecting language education were developed at the seat of the political power, far removed from the border areas. In 19th century Montevideo, a language policy was developed aiming to impose Spanish as the official language in an effort to build a nation-state. As a consequence, the traditionally neutral attitudes towards Portuguese turned into negative ones. This chapter allows to establish a rich dialogue with the situation analyzed by Ribeiro Berger in Chapter 4, as she works with the current stigmatizing attitudes toward Guarani and Spanish at another geographical area where the border crossed the people – that of Paraguay and Brazil.

Nevertheless, even when language policy intends to ensure the maintenance of a language, fostering bilingualism instead of monolingualism, as is the case of

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Guarani in Paraguay, attitudes play a crucial role in the success or failure of such policies. In Chapter 6, Lenka Zajícová shows how the interplay of rules set from the top down and language attitudes have resulted in the unique situation of Paraguay, currently the country with the highest level of bilingualism including an indigenous language in the Americas. Her study shows how self-reporting is influenced by attitudes in favor of the dominant language and how the actual use of the minority language is higher than reported. Thus, while language shift is not as immediate as it might seem, positive attitudes are not enough to ensure the survival of the minority language and negative attitudes are capable of repressing it. By highlighting the mismatch between language use and language attitudes as expressed in self-reporting, Zajícová's chapter offers a perspective that, over a decade later, sheds new light to understand Choi's (2003) findings, who showed an inconsistency between language attitudes and language use – given that the use of Guarani (and Spanish) in bilingual education did not change the negative attitudes of students and their parents toward the indigenous language.

Part II of the volume closes with Chapter 7, where Ellen-Petra Kester studies the correlation between language use and attitudes toward language and identity in the context of Curaçao. Her surprising findings indicate that, although Dutch is the dominant language in the school system, Papiamentu is widely used and attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity are overall quite positive. The exceptional prestige of Papiamentu (as compared to other Creole languages), its important role for instrumental purposes and its status as a strong identity marker provide critical insight for language policy and planning, especially in the educational system.

Positive attitudes towards minority languages are considered to be among the most influential factors to prevent language loss /attrition and to promote ethnic pride and language maintenance. Ultimately, the situations described in many of the chapters above arise out of the perseverance of speakers of minority languages. Such perseverance doesn't just play out on border regions but it is also patent in the challenges faced by minority speakers who find themselves settling in their new homes as immigrants. In Part III, we focus on the issue of language maintenance in situations of immigration in three distinct geographical areas: Japan, Massachusetts, and Indiana.

In Chapter 8, Mineko Shirakawa examines the linguistic situation of Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families living in Japan. She finds that the higher the parental expectations for their children's acquisition of Portuguese, the more both parents and children use it at home. However, use at home does not necessarily translate into a higher use of Portuguese because peer pressure, among other factors, might lead these children to use more Japanese.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

In Chapter 9, Patricia Gubitosi and Judy de Oliveira present original research on the maintenance of Portuguese language and culture among first- and second-generation speakers from the Azores islands who have lived in Massachusetts for over fifteen years. Their study emphasizes the importance that fathers – rather than mothers – have on the development of positive linguistic attitudes towards the minority language. Such positive attitudes, as well as supportive social networks, are key factors to prevent language loss and promote ethnic pride, which in turn contribute to the maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality of Portuguese in this community.

The contrast between the situation of Azorean Portuguese in Massachusetts and that of Brazilian Portuguese in Japan brings to the surface the impact of extra-linguistic factors on language attitudes. The differences between the American – immigrant receiving – and the Japanese societies might be playing a role in the language attitudes and language use of the migrants studied by Gubitosi and de Oliveira, and by Shirakawa. The maintenance of Portuguese in Massachusetts could be fostered by the immigrant nature of the social fabric of the U.S. Moreover, the fact that Azoreans have a long history of emigration, which was not the case of Brazil before the last decades of the 20th century, could also influence the language attitudes of the migrant populations and how each group balances the social pressure to integrate in the receiving country and their need to preserve their native language and culture. Further studies of the impact of such social factors on language attitudes and the maintenance or the loss of native and heritage languages is worth exploring.

The final chapter in Part III looks at attitudes towards Spanish among native speakers in a non-traditional Spanish-speaking context in the U.S.: the state of Indiana. This is an important contribution to our knowledge of attitudes and Spanish maintenance beyond the Southwest, Florida, New York and Chicago, thus adding to Montes-Alcalá and Sweetnich's (2014) and Montes-Alcalá's (2011) studies in Atlanta, GA. In Chapter 10, Mara Barbosa's study reveals that education is a strong predictor of positive attitudes; higher levels of formal education correlate with positive attitudes towards Spanish maintenance and bilingualism, while lower levels of education are related to positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. Her data also shows that Spanish maintenance is associated with the least positive attitudes, suggesting that if speakers do not perceive language as a useful tool outside the home, they may lack the motivation to transmit it to the next generation.

Barbosa's findings regarding education as a strong predictor of positive attitudes mirror MacGregor-Mendoza's (2015) findings about the positive attitudes toward Spanish among the wives of professionals in the U.S.-Mexico border, themselves highly educated. Thus, Barbosa is continuing a decades-long and strong tradition of studying the attitudes of Spanish-speakers in the U.S. that started in the Southwest

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in the 1970s. We have resorted to Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza to recount the history of these studies over the last four decades and she has outstandingly done it in the post-face that closes this volume. Supported by her impressive command of the literature of the field, MacGregor-Mendoza reflects on the past, present and future of the study of language attitudes highlighting the relevance of the foundational studies as we advance toward the future.

Overall, the compilation of studies presented in this volume allows us to better characterize the varied factors affecting language attitudes, from prosody to educational level, from the family environment to the school setting. As a whole, this volume highlights important aspects to be considered in future research on language attitudes. First, it is crucial to keep investigating linguistic attitudes because they influence how we receive and judge not just the message but also the messenger. Second, linguistic attitudes constitute a powerful predictor of language survival and diversity. They can determine which ones are kept and which ones are lost in a community. While positive attitudes are not enough, they seem to be a necessary condition to keep a language alive. Those who hold negative attitudes towards a language are less likely to use it and transmit it to future generations. Furthermore, being aware of negative attitudes allows us to promote their change and prevent language loss.

In sum, our goal is that this collection of interdisciplinary work will help guide future researchers and enrich their approach to the study of linguistic attitudes with the hope that the reflections and discussions presented here will bring light to social, cultural, political and educational matters in this field.

References

Agheyisi, R., & Fishman, J. A. (1970). Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12(5), 137–157.

Alvar, M. (1975). *Teoría lingüística de las regiones*. Barcelona: Planeta.

Alvar, M. (1986). *Hombre, etnia, estado: Actitudes lingüísticas en Hispanoamérica*. Madrid: Gredos.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Bartram, B. (2010). *Attitudes to modern foreign language learning: Insights from comparative education*. London: Continuum.

Bell, A. (2014). *The guidebook to sociolinguistics*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Berger, I. R. (2015). Atitudes de professores brasileiros diante da presença do espanhol e do guarani em escolas na fronteira Brasil-Paraguai. *Signo y Seña*, 28, 169–185.

Bugel, T., & Santos, H. S. (2010). Attitudes and representations of Spanish and the spread of the language industries in Brazil. *Language Policy*, 9(2), 143–170. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-010-9166-3

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Choi, J. (2003). Language attitudes and the future of bilingualism: The case of Paraguay. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(2), 81–94. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050308667774

Díaz-Campos, M. (2014). *Introducción a la sociolingüística Hispánica*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Eckert, P. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, 87–100. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145828

Eckert, P. (2018). *Meaning and linguistic variation: The third wave in sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: CUP.

Fishman, J. (1972). *Sociolinguistics: A brief introduction*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gandulfo, C. (2016). "Hablan poco guaraní, saben mucho": Una investigación en colaboración con niños y maestros en un contexto bilingüe de Corrientes, Argentina. *Signo y Seña* 29, 79–102.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P., Coupland, N., & Williams, A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes: Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Hill, J. C. (2012). *Language attitudes in the American deaf community*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (4th ed.). London: Routledge.

Holmes, J., & Wilson, N. (2017). *An introduction to sociolinguistics: Learning about language* (5th ed.). London: Routledge.

Krausneker, V. (2015). Ideologies and attitudes toward sign languages: An approximation. *Sign Language Studies*, 15(4), 411–431. https://doi.org/10.1353/sls.2015.0014

Lang-Rigal, J. (2015). La percepción del habla de Córdoba, Argentina: Una prueba que combina las actitudes con la identificación de dialecto. *Signo y Seña*, 28, 111–138.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2015). *Son importantes los dos*: Language use and attitudes among wives of Mexican *profesionistas* on the U.S.-Mexico border. In K. Potowski & T. Bugel (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic change across the Spanish-speaking world: Case studies in honor of Anna María Escobar* (pp.147–186). Bern: Peter Lang.

Meyerhoff, M. (2011, 2018). *Introducing sociolinguistics*. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203966709

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2011). ¿Mejor o peor español? Actitudes lingüísticas de universitarios hispanohablantes en Estados Unidos. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 4(1), 35–54. https://doi.org/10.1515/shll-2011-1090

Montes-Alcalá, C., & Sweetnich, L. (2014). Español en el Sureste de EEUU: El papel de las actitudes lingüísticas en el mantenimiento o pérdida de la lengua. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*, 12(1), 77–92.

Penner, H. (2016). La ley de lenguas en el Paraguay: ¿un paso decisivo en la oficialización *de facto* del guaraní? *Signo y Seña*, 30, 108–136.

Vidal de Battini, B. (1964). *El español de la Argentina*. *Buenos Aires*: Consejo Nacional de Educación.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

PART I

Language integration through education

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Prosody perception meets language attitudes

Vowel lengthening, status judgments, and stereotypes in Argentina

Jennifer Lang-Rigal
James Madison University

A long pre-tonic vowel is associated with the regional variety of Cordoban Spanish in Argentina (Lang-Rigal, 2015a). This paper seeks to discover how, and if, prosodic production is correlated with perceived competence. Listeners judged the intelligence and occupation of anonymous speakers based on samples of their spontaneous speech. Results show that perceived speaker intelligence and occupation correlate with the degree of pre-tonic vowel lengthening ($t = 4.577$, $p < .01$). When a longer pre-tonic vowel was produced, the speaker's competence was more negatively evaluated. However, Córdoba speakers were evaluated positively for attractiveness and integrity, supporting Labov et al. (1968), Giles (1971, 1973), and Preston (1999) who found regional varieties were viewed as non-standard and of lower social status relative to the perceived standard dialect.

Keywords: Córdoba Argentina, language attitudes, perception, vowel lengthening, dialects of Argentina

Introduction

The province of Córdoba is situated in the center of Argentina and constitutes the greater part of the "Central" dialect zone as designated by Vidal de Battini (1964). Its capital city, Córdoba Capital is the largest in the province, and the second most populated city in all of Argentina. It is recognized for having a long history and a rich culture, with its Jesuit foundations and one of the first universities established in the Americas. The *cordobés* is regarded for having a quick sense of humor, which is manifested in remarks, comebacks, and terms which may be invented on the spot. This particular manner of speech is combined with a salient rhythm of intonation, or *tonada*, making the speech of the *cordobés* unmistakably unique to other Argentines or Spanish speakers,

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.01lan
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

> …por el carácter peculiar de la entonación en sí, que permite distinguir de inmediato a un hablante cordobés de otro nativo de cualquier otra región de la Argentina (…for the peculiar character of its intonation that allows [one] to immediately distinguish a *cordobés* speaker from a native of any other region in Argentina).
>
> Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, p. 11, my translation

Vowel lengthening is frequently the focal feature in the imitations and popular descriptions of the *tonada cordobesa* (see "Curso de Cordobés" from Capusotto, 2006; Criscordobes, 2006, and Najle, 2016), although certain words and expressions, syntactical structures, and morphology as well as an array of phonetic features are also associated with this dialect. The "Pequeña gramática cordobesa" website (Jaworski, 2010) lists vowel lengthening as the first of many features, which include the use of articles with first names (La Teresa), the omission or aspiration of /s/ in syllable and word final positions, the assibilation of /r/, the lack of assibilation of /j/, and the addition of the augmentative suffix "-azo" to adjectives (buenazo).[1]

With these observations, we can assume that this feature is salient to speakers of other dialects of Spanish, particularly within Argentina where there is frequent language contact with Córdoba speakers. To support this notion, a recent experimental study investigating dialect identification has demonstrated that the perception of a Córdoba identity across a variety of speakers can be manipulated by altering the duration of the pre-tonic vowel, longer durations were associated to a Córdoba identity while (artificially) shortened durations were associated to other dialects of Argentine Spanish (Lang-Rigal, 2015a).

The present paper goes beyond this initial perception of regional identity to investigate the relationship between vowel lengthening and language attitudes, in particular, the perception of the speaker's competence relative to their prosodic production. The remaining parts of this introduction present the features of the *tonada cordobesa*, the language attitude research relevant to the methods used in this study, the language attitude research specific to Argentina, concluding with the research questions addressed in this paper. Following is a description of the methodology used to gather and analyze the data, the results of the intelligence ratings, occupation ratings, and vowel lengthening, a discussion of the results and previous research, and concluding statements to the findings and limitations of the present research.

---

1. The lack of assibilation of /j/ is described by popular audiences as being palatal, although recent research finds a greater realization of the alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] (Colantoni, 2011; Lang-Rigal, 2015b; Lenardon, 2010)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The tonada cordobesa

The *tonada cordobesa*, designating the regional variety of Spanish spoken in Córdoba, Argentina, is characterized by a lengthening of the vowel in pre-tonic position (ex. Arge:ntína). Both Fontanella de Weinberg (1971) and Yorio (1973) describe this phenomenon as a pattern of lengthening of the syllable immediately before the last accent of the whole segment, or intonational phrase as exemplified in (1) and (2). The colon represents lengthening of the vowel or syllable preceding it.

(1) No la co:nózco
NEG her/it know (PRS 1SG)
"I don't know her/it."

(2) Quedáte a cenár con no:sótros
Stay (IMP 2SG REFL) to dine with us
"Stay and have dinner with us."

This pattern is made rare by the fact that the lengthened syllables in (1) and (2) are in the pre-tonic syllable, which is one syllable before the stressed, or tonic syllable. In a language such as Spanish where stress realization is correlated with an increased duration (Gussenhoven, 2004; Hualde, 2002) this realization is unexpected. The increased duration of the pre-tonic syllable was confirmed by a pilot study which measured duration, intensity, and average pitch (F0) for the pre-tonic and tonic vowels of 47 speakers in the capital city of Córdoba (Lang, 2010). Tokens selected from multisyllabic words produced in naturalistic, spontaneous speech were extracted and measured with Praat for duration, intensity, and fundamental frequency, comparing the pre-tonic and tonic vowel segments with a series of t-tests. While duration was not significantly different when averaged across all tokens (averages were 131 ms for pre-tonic and 128 ms for tonic vowels), pitch was significantly higher in the tonic syllable (167 hz) compared to the pre-tonic syllable (148 hz; $p < .01$) (Lang, 2010). Another recent empirically based study has confirmed these measures and the impression that the pre-tonic vowel is significantly lengthened while pitch remains anchored to the tonic syllable (Berry, 2014).

Language attitudes

Speaker traits, whether physically or psychologically manifested in perception are shown to influence listeners in a variety of listening tasks and attitude measures. The language attitude work of Edwards (1999) suggests that most of the variance of social evaluations towards a language variety is accounted for by two salient categories, *competence* and *solidarity*. Edwards' use of the term *competence* is sometimes

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

referred to as *social status* elsewhere in the psychology literature and refers to evaluations of characteristics like intelligence and industry. The term *solidarity* roughly combines two categories; *integrity*, which includes evaluations of helpfulness, reliability, and personal integrity, and *social attractiveness* encompassing evaluations of friendliness and sense of humor (Edwards, 1999, p. 102).

Many language attitude studies have found a strong relation between the standard variety and competence, or status-related traits such as intelligence, education and ambition (Garrett et. al., 2003; Giles & Coupland, 1991; among many other researchers of bidialectal and bilingual communities). Conversely, non-standard varieties of speech may receive positive evaluations of integrity traits relative to competence traits. Giles (1971) compares attitude responses to three varieties of English in the United Kingdom. He finds that non-standard varieties, in particular South Welsh and Somerset-accented speech, tend to elicit different positive qualities than the standard variety (Received Pronunciation, or RP), in traits such as social attractiveness and integrity. The divided assignment of *status* and *solidarity* traits, respectively to speakers of majority and minority language varieties was also reported by Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian's (1982) study of British speakers.

Similar findings have been described for American English by Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis (1968) and Preston's (1999) research on Michigan college students' attitudes towards northern and southern US English varieties. Preston (1999) reports the symbolic use of the northern variety(s) as a vehicle for standardness, education, and widely accepted mainstream values while the southern variety(s) marks solidarity, identity and local values. Speakers of Standard Modern Greek have a strong relation to competence/status-related traits such as intelligence, education and ambition when compared to Greek Cypriot Dialect speakers (Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). The patterns these evaluations reveal demonstrates their stereotypical nature since individuals are viewed in stereotypical group terms.

Language attitudes in Argentina

Evidence of language attitudes and ideology in Argentina comes in a variety of forms, from quantitative data utilizing questionnaires to introspective essays based on observation and subjective opinion. Many studies reflect attitudes of the speakers of the nation's capital and most populated city, Buenos Aires. Both Rodriguez-Louro (2013) and Solé (1987) distributed questionnaires to hundreds of residents in Buenos Aires, and despite the 26 years that separate these unrelated studies, both revealed similar attitudes of a double standardization of the language. The participants rated Castillian Spanish more highly for correctness (Solé, 1987) and for a model of education and a national language of Argentina (Rodriguez-Louro, 2013) while simultaneously valorizing the unique characteristics

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of River Plate Spanish (Solé, 1987) to mark identity (Rodriguez-Louro, 2013). This dual expression embodying forms of disapproval and pride at divergence from the perceived norm is reiterated by Blanco (1993). Blanco describes the Argentine attitudes towards language as "oscillating between conservative hispanism and Hispanophobia" with respect to the Castillian variety (Blanco, 1993, p. 335, my translation). Earlier works refer to the linguistic (in)security in Argentina as a *tremendo complejo de superioridad-inferioridad* ("great superiority-inferiority complex", Castro, 1941, p. 103, my translation), indicated by a societal state of 'antifilia hispana', or being anti-this or anti-that combined with an attitude of destructive abstract combativism leading to the speakers' belief that their language is justifiably special (Castro, 1941). Inspired by Alonso's "El problema de la lengua en Argentina" (1935), Castro shares the belief that their language problem is justifiably special and unique to Argentina, demonstrating a dichotomy between the pure and traditional and the impure and hybrid forms that dominate many colonized areas of the world (Pennycook, 2002, p. 22).

One of the more recent and thorough explorations of language attitudes focused on residents that were either native-born or long-term residents of the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (CABA) and their speech preferences and beliefs between regions of Argentina and varieties of Spanish around the world (Llull & Pinardi, 2014). In evaluating the regional varieties of Argentina, Córdoba was viewed as the "most different" from Buenos Aires speech and also the "most liked" among the Buenos Aires respondents (Llull & Pinardi, 2014, p. 24). As to the question of which region speaks best, or most "correctly", the response "none" predominated (27.5%) followed by a large collective who chose their own region, "Capital" as that which speaks best (21.5%). It is notable that a large portion, 17.5% chose the answer "I don't know" (Llull & Pinardi, 2014, p. 25). It's interesting to note that in this case an answer of "I don't know" could reflect either an unwillingness to choose or an inability to do so; the answer is too vague to be sure what the speaker intends. For negative attitudes as well, respondents were hesitant to assign any specific region as the least liked or worst speech, 51% claim "none" citing a positive evaluation of linguistic diversity (Llull & Pinardi, 2014, p. 27). However, a significant minority of respondents (10%) disparaged their own dialect in this respect, selecting the speech of Buenos Aires (city and province) as the least likeable and least correct (Llull & Pinardi, 2014, p. 27). This somewhat contradictory finding fits with previous studies where Buenos Aires speakers show mixed feelings towards their own dialect deeming it simultaneously as the "best" and the "worst" of the country.

In Córdoba, as well, the idea that there is a problem with the linguistic norm was reported by a nearly unanimous report of 328 speakers, in one of the few studies performed in and/or concerning the variety of Spanish in Córdoba, Argentina

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(Malanca, Prevedello, & Toniolo, 1981). This survey additionally revealed which regions and cities represented the linguistic ideal of speech for Argentine Spanish. The largest majority of the Córdoba respondents (25%) rated the North and specifically the Northwest as representing linguistic ideals, while the Litoral dialect zone, (which includes Buenos Aires) received this rating by only 1% of the respondents. The Córdoba region (assessed as "el centro") fared slightly better, receiving 2% of the votes (Malanca et al., 1981), which seems low considering that the respondents were from Córdoba. However, when respondents rated regional varieties by city the favor changed to prefer Buenos Aires and Capital Federal (8%), over Córdoba capital city (4%), while the highest rating for best speech (17%) was given to Santiago del Estero in the north. Other informants (12%) did not answer these questions citing the lack of a standard on which to base the comparison of regions, while nearly a quarter of the respondents (21%) did not feel informed enough to answer this question (Malanca et al., 1981).

Viramonte de Ávalos and Carullo de Díaz (1993) surveyed adolescents in Córdoba and found that a high percentage of these teenagers tended to judge their own speech as regular or normal in their speaking, but assumed a much more severe judgment when considering how older speakers might view their speech. Furthermore, the authors report a high percentage of reactions expressing displeasure towards "people who speak poorly", which remains undefined in the original text. The lack of elaboration of what 'speaking poorly' constitutes suggests a shared understanding among speakers – which includes the researchers – of the linguistic features implicated in this judgment.

In an experimental approach to the study of language attitudes in Argentina, a matched-guise sample of voices speaking with or without their respective dialectal features (River Plate and Peninsular), was used to elicit indirect and direct attitudes from Buenos Aires and Montevideo speakers (Bugel, 2012). When testing the 4 dimensions of attitudes (solidarity, evaluation, strength and social-educative level) the listeners gave more positive ratings to speakers whose dialect features were recognizable, whether they were River Plate Spanish or Peninsular Spanish. Those speakers whose speech lacked characteristic linguistic features were more negatively evaluated. As to which dialect of Spanish (among all dialects) listeners preferred, the largest group (37%) chose their own, followed by Spain (16%), and in lesser numbers the other dialects of Latin America (Bugel, 2012).

Most recent and relevant to the present paper are the results from the author's previous work comparing the traits assigned to anonymous speakers from Córdoba, Tucumán and Buenos Aires (Lang-Rigal, 2015c). The status values "culto" (cultured) and "aburrido" (boring) were more frequently assigned to the (anonymous) Buenos Aires speakers than to those from Córdoba or Tucumán. Conversely, the solidarity trait "gracioso" (funny) and the anti-status trait, "pueblerino" (hick) were

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

much more frequently assigned to these latter two groups, than to the speakers from Buenos Aires in a division of status and solidarity values between the *tonada cordobesa* of Argentina and the dominant, Buenos Aires variety of Argentine Spanish (Lang-Rigal, 2015c).

Research questions

The research described so far has shown that listeners exposed to specific linguistic variants often coincide with assessments of the speaker's perceived social characteristics. Previous research in language attitudes has also argued that attitudes and dialect recognition should go hand in hand (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003), and that the addition of a dialect identification item to an attitude test can only provide more information and complexity to the interpretation of judgments (Preston, 1999). The present study addresses this issue by including a dialect identification item on the test instrument, so that listeners assess both an unknown speaker and the group (e.g., dialect) to which the speaker is perceived to belong. Further details of this methodology are described in Section 2.

The general topics discussed in this section form the basis for the research objectives of the present project: (1) Do listener assessments of individual speakers' perceived competence (i.e., intelligence and occupation) correlate with the dialect region of the speaker, whether this is based on the speaker's actual region of origin or the region they are perceived as being from? And (2) Do listener assessments of individual speakers' perceived competence (i.e., intelligence and occupation) correlate with the prosodic production of the speaker, specifically, a lengthened pre-tonic vowel? Córdoba speakers, in particular, and the vowel lengthening phenomenon associated to this dialect, are hypothesized to elicit low competence assessments. This result would be expected for a dialect viewed as non-dominant, and whose speakers are evaluated more positively for their attractiveness and integrity than their competence (Giles, 1971, 1973; Labov et al., 1968; Preston, 1999; among others).

The present study addresses these questions by means of a perception task with short speech excerpts combined with an attitude survey. Speech excerpts are taken from the naturalistic spontaneous speech of Córdoba, Buenos Aires, and Tucumán speakers and gather a variety of responses by listeners of the same, and other, dialects of Argentine Spanish.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Methodology

The perception task used to investigate language attitudes towards the *tonada cordobesa* combines speech samples and attitude judgments, performed by Argentine listeners. The speakers, listeners, stimuli, test instrument, procedure and analysis are detailed in this section.

Speakers

The speakers used to create the stimuli were 12 natives of Córdoba Argentina, balanced for sex, age, and social class to present a variety of voices, and 4 natives of Buenos Aires and Tucumán balanced for sex. All speakers were lifetime residents of their respectful region and were not proficient in a second language.

Listeners

Of the over one hundred people that consented to and began the online survey, sixty-three are included in the final analysis. They are all adults of Argentine origin with normal hearing who completed all tasks of the entire experiment and claimed Argentina as their country of "identity". Of these sixty-three subjects, twenty-one are from the province of Buenos Aires, fourteen are from Córdoba, nine are from Tucumán, eight are from Santa Fe, and the other eleven are from a variety of provinces that were not large enough to make any other groupings based on province. These provinces include: Jujuy, Misiones, Río Negro, Santa Cruz, Santiago del Estero, and Neuquén. Twenty-one of these subjects were male and forty-two were female. The ages of the subjects ranged from 18 to 66, with the majority being in the 26–40 age group. The education level of these subjects is skewed towards higher levels, with 54 (of 63) subjects having completed at least some university-level education. The professions of the subjects match this education level, with the majority of participants selecting professional employment ($n = 43$) and the second largest group being current students ($n = 19$).

Audio stimuli

Tokens for the Córdoba speakers were selected from spontaneously produced, naturalistic speech recorded during sociolinguistic interviews performed by the author in the capital city of Córdoba in 2010. Tokens used for the control groups were taken from spontaneously produced, elicited speech collected by the author in Buenos Aires, San Miguel de Tucumán and Yerba Buena (a suburb of San Miguel) in 2009.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Of the original, larger group of speakers that were recorded (48 from Córdoba and 6 each from Buenos Aires and Tucumán, respectively) a smaller subgroup was chosen to limit the number of final tokens. The token selection aimed to include a variety of speakers, based on their sex, age, and social class (upper middle or lower middle class, estimated by the speaker's occupation, educational level, and neighborhood of residence).

To narrow down the token selection to one per speaker (n = 16) several criteria were applied to the approximate 2–10 minutes of naturalistic speech (per speaker) available from the recordings. First, the content of the speech token was screened. In many of the original recordings the speaker recounted their occupation, education, and neighborhood, which highly restricted the excerpts of speech that could be included as stimuli in this task. Since speakers are being evaluated as to their potential personality, career, and intelligence, the final speech excerpt needed to be as neutral as possible in its content, and not include words or phrases that reflect the speaker's personal habits, beliefs, or regional affiliation (a transcription of all 16 tokens appears in Figure 2).

After controlling tokens for content neutrality, the duration and number of syllables were taken into consideration. The mean and standard deviation for each potential token was calculated, excluding those deviating most from the mean, in order to maintain a more uniform duration. Next, linguistic cues were controlled to exclude two phonemes known to vary across the dialects of Argentina. First, the vibrant /r/ which may be assibilated or realized as a multiple trill, and the alveopalatal fricative, /ʒ/ which (in Argentina) has been found to range from a devoiced variant /ʃ/ to a voiced palatal /ʝ/. The overall sound quality and intelligibility influenced the final selection of usable tokens. Lastly, we considered the characteristics of the speakers themselves. We maximized diversity in the Córdoba speakers by selecting speakers balanced by gender (six males, six females), age (two from each group are "young", two "middle-aged", and two "older") and social class (of those two one is "upper-working class" and one is "lower-working class"). The speakers from Buenos Aires and Tucumán were also balanced by gender. In total, 16 tokens were chosen to provide the maximum number of responses across a variety of speakers (n = 16) without exhausting the attention of the subject, who at that point in the experiment would have already performed a dialect identification task. Tokens range from 15–22 syllables in total, with an average of 18 syllables. The duration across tokens ranges from 2.4 seconds to 4.8 seconds, averaging 3.2 seconds.

The token selection both reflects the naturally produced utterances that were available and also represents an attempt to create a set of tokens that are equally able to provide enough linguistic information to elicit attitude judgments while limiting the time spent on the task and the linguistic cues that needed to be controlled.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Test instrument

The language attitudes survey is comprised of eleven test items. The analysis presented in this paper will focus on the responses to two attitude items evaluating perceived *competence*, and one item eliciting dialect identification (respectively questions 1, 2 and 6 in the survey, Figure 1). The other survey items (questions 3–5) provide information for an exploratory investigation into further attitude measures.

The perceived intelligence of the speaker is directly assessed in the first part of the survey (Question 1). This question is posed as: "*Esta persona suena…*", (this person sounds…') which is followed by 6 different descriptors, each presented as opposing values on a six-step scale. For instance, perceived intelligence ranges from "*inteligente*" (intelligent) at one end and "*no inteligente*" (not intelligent) at the opposite end.

In Question 2 the listener is asked to choose the most likely profession of the speaker from a list of nine occupations, "*Probablemente, esta persona es* (*elegí uno*)" (Probably, this person is (chose one)). The occupations are ordered in a vertical list beginning with the lowest ranked social status occupation and increasing in status. These are: (1) *obrero/a* (laborer), (2) *empleado/a doméstico/a* (maid), (3) *carpintero/a* (carpenter), (4) *vendedor/a* (salesperson), (5) *secretario/a*, (secretary) (6) *gerente* (manager), (7) *profesor/a* (teacher), (8) *abogado/a* (lawyer), (9) *cirujano/a* (surgeon). This list was created by the author and an Argentine assistant, and then modified and verified by three other Argentines for the best correspondence of occupation to social class perception. None of the Argentines assisting in this study were included as subjects. The ranking is approximate and is not meant to make one-step distinctions between two closely ranked occupations, such as 'manager' and 'teacher', but to find larger trends towards the extreme ends of the occupation hierarchy. Actual occupations were chosen (as opposed to a general scale of 'unskilled worker' to 'highly skilled professional') as it was the author's concern that these denominations might not be clearly understood or consistently interpreted across the subjects. Although morphologically all jobs are presented as either feminine or masculine, it is an unavoidable fact that many occupations are gendered, and so neighboring pairs present masculine/feminine alternations to avoid having all masculine-associated occupations on the highly skilled end of the spectrum, or vice-versa. This is done assuming that the speaker's voice (male/female) will have an impact on the listener's choice on this question.

The last survey item (Question 6) addresses dialect identification. The responses to the elicitation, "*Esta persona probablemente viene de…*" (this person probably comes from) reflect the listeners' perception (correct or incorrect) of the speaker's regional affiliation: Córdoba, Buenos Aires, or Tucumán. These responses are analyzed in conjunction with the language attitude items to help reveal the presence of stereotypes that inform the listener's judgments, even when they have mis-identified the listener's actual region of origin.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

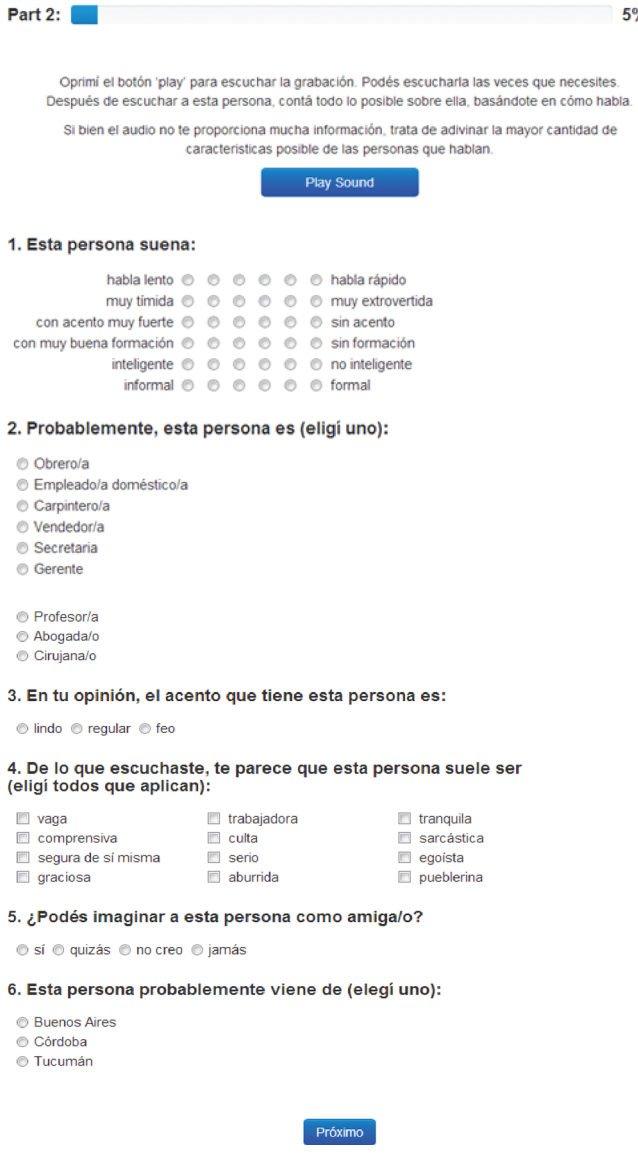


Figure 1. Screenshot of the language Attitudes test instrument including all questions

Procedure

This investigation into the language attitudes of Córdoba speakers was part of a larger perception experiment including a dialect identification task and a written questionnaire. The experiment in total took subjects between 35 minutes and an hour to complete, the language attitudes component of the experiment was completed as

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the second of the three tasks – after the dialect identification task and before the demographic questionnaire. The experiment was created on the author's website (lablinguistica.com) for the purpose of collecting these data. Subjects were recruited by the author and the author's personal contacts through email and social media websites such as Facebook. Potential subjects were sent an internet link to access the experiment from their personal computer at any time they wished. Participation was voluntary and consented to by clicking on a button following an introductory screen which described the purpose of the study and the risks of involvement.

After giving consent, participants performed the first task, which was a dialect identification task. It employed very short tokens of speech (about 1 second) accompanied by a single question, in Spanish, 'where do you think this speaker is from?' (see Lang-Rigal, 2015a for a complete description of this study). Next followed the language attitudes task described in this paper, before which the listener became attuned to concentrating on short speech samples from a variety of speakers and considering their regional affiliation between Córdoba, Buenos Aires, and Tucumán identities. The subject's participation in the experiment concluded with their completion of a questionnaire (multiple choice and drop-down menu format) which gathered demographic and experiential information from each participant.

Here I describe the contents of the language attitudes task, illustrated in a screen shot of its hosting webpage (Figure 1). Directions for the task appear at the top of the web page, below the progress bar. They instruct the subject to listen to the stimuli and guess the characteristics of the speaker based on how he or she speaks. This is followed by a "play" button to listen to the stimulus, which listeners can replay as many times as they wish before making their judgments and advancing to the next token. Under the play button and within the same (web) page, the questions appear numbered 1 through 6. Listeners relied on their impressions from a brief (2.5–4.5 second) audio excerpt of spontaneous, content-neutral speech to judge various personality traits of the speaker. At the bottom of the webpage is a button labeled "próximo" (*next*), which allowed the subject to advance to the next token where the webpage and questions were identical with only a change in audio stimulus. The design of the online experiment prevented subjects from advancing to the next token without having listened to the stimulus and having answered every question, or from using the "back" button on the browser once they began the task. The subjects took an average of 77 seconds (1:17s) to respond to each token/speaker on the language attitudes test, for a total of about 20 minutes to complete the entire task. Actual times varied from 13 seconds to 22 minutes for each token, while the median was 58 seconds per token. The questions and the format of the test instrument can be seen in Figure 1, which is a screenshot from the online survey.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Analysis

Four variables are analyzed in this study: (1) perceived intelligence of speaker; (2) perceived occupation of speaker; (3) vowel lengthening of speaker; and (4) perceived region of origin of speaker. I will discuss how each of these is measured independently and analyzed together to investigate the possible influence of a prosodic feature (i.e., pre-tonic vowel lengthening) on language attitudes (i.e., the perception of a speaker's competence).

Perceived intelligence

This scalar measure was analyzed with Chi-square when combined with independent variables (i.e., *speaker region*) and as a linear regression when combined with the dependent variable of vowel lengthening.

Perceived occupation

The perceived occupation of the speaker is treated as a continuous variable, ranging from the lowest ranked level of competence (laborer and maid, to account for gender bias) to the highest ranked level (lawyer and surgeon).

Vowel lengthening

The ratio of the pre-tonic to tonic vowel duration reveals the degree of pre-tonic vowel lengthening to be included as a predictor of speaker evaluations. To obtain this continuous measure, the target words from the sixteen speech tokens used in the dialect attitudes perception tests were isolated for measurements. Each of these tokens contained between 1 and 5 words that could be measured for pre-tonic vowel duration, that is, by having a syllable in pre-tonic position. Monosyllabic, or multisyllabic words with stress in the first syllable, such as "puede" ['pwe.ðe] cannot be measured for the vowel lengthening variable since they do not contain a pre-tonic syllable. However, the word "pensar" [pen.'sar] is suitable for this measurement since the tonic syllable /sar/ is preceded by a syllable, /pen/. The vowels from each of these syllables can be measured for duration and compared to each other as a ratio (i.e., vowel lengthening = pre-tonic V duration/tonic V duration). For each target word, the durations of the pre-tonic and tonic syllable vowels are measured in seconds. If coarticulation hindered the ability to segment the vowel from the consonant, then this measurement was discarded. For example, the vowels of "liviano" [li.'ʃja.no] in Token at_01 were not visible on the spectrogram displayed with

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Praat due to the significantly weakened, approximant pronunciation of "v" as /ß/. Consequently, this word was not measured or included in this analysis, but other words within the token were suitable for this measure. In one case, no words could be measured for the entire token (at_16, "Está de novia hace mucho tiempo con un chico……", *(she has been going out for a long time with a guy…*) and so it was not counted in any analyses using *vowel duration* as a variable.

The duration measures for the pre-tonic and tonic syllables were transformed into a ratio with the equation: Pre-tonic vowel duration (sec.)/Tonic vowel duration (sec.) *100. Thus, a result of 100 indicates a pre-tonic vowel that is equal to the tonic vowel in duration, numbers less than 100 indicate a pre-tonic vowel that is shorter than the tonic vowel in duration (and more similar to other varieties of Spanish), and a measure greater than 100 indicates a pre-tonic vowel that is longer than the tonic vowel in duration.[2] The ratios ranged from 37 to 357, but this variance was observed to be greatest between tokens (and thus speakers), and not within the words of a single token. The tokens with two or more target words had at least 2/3 of their ratios on the same side of the scale, either below 100 or above 100. When more than one target (measureable) word occurred in a token, all cases were measured and an average of all ratios was used in the statistical analysis (Figure 2). This continuous measure was also converted to a binary factor to be included as a categorical variable in statistical tests. A pre-tonic vowel duration with a ratio of 100 or greater displays the vowel lengthening phenomenon, (deemed "yes"), while pre-tonic vowel ratio of less than 100 counts as "no", the speaker does not display pre-tonic lengthening.

Vowel lengthening was tested with the attitude judgments previously mentioned to determine its effect on other measures of accent. First, *perceived accent strength* was shown to be significantly related to the binary factor *vowel lengthening*. The result of this ANOVA shows that those tokens with a longer pre-tonic vowel are rated as having a significantly stronger accent ($n = 615$, $p = .000$; $F = 55.334$). The long pre-tonic also was significant when tested with speaking rate (syll/sec), with the faster speaking rates found for the long pre-tonic ratios, and the shorter speaking rates for the normal pre-tonic ratios ($n = 915$, $p = .000$, $F = 112.1$).

Having established these relationships between some of the perceptual factors of interest (i.e., vowel lengthening), a series of statistical tests probed the remaining attitudinal measures. The items of the language attitudes perception test are first submitted to a factors analysis where correlations (Pearson's Chi-square) are determined for combinations of measures, to see which combinations produce significant correlations.

2. A ratio of over 100 is typical for Cordoban speakers (shown in this study, and in Lang-Rigal, 2015a)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Dialect identification

The attitudes test included an item of dialect identification for which the listener had to guess the origin of the speaker they had assessed (this was the last question of the items presented for each token). The three choices, Córdoba, Buenos Aires, and Tucumán, pertain to the actual provinces the speakers are from. However, the majority of the tokens (n = 12, or 75%) belong to Córdoba voices, while the remaining 4 tokens are divided between Buenos Aires and Tucumán voices, with one male and one female from each of these two regions. Thus, for the assessments made of each voice for each listener, we know both the region that the speaker was perceived to be from, and we know the actual, or true region they are from.

We can divide the responses to the attitude items on the survey to examine the listeners' attitudes towards speakers based on their *actual* dialectal origin, or based on their *perceived* dialectal origin. The *actual* dialect region of the speaker accounts for where the speaker is actually from, while their *perceived* dialect region reflects where the listener believes the speaker is from based on the speaker's accent.

Results

Dialect identification of speaker

Before presenting the data on the perceived intelligence and occupation of the speaker, we will first report the dialect identification rates, which are important for our analysis of the attitude data. The accuracy of the listener in identifying the speaker's regional identity was tested by cross-tabulating *perceived* and *actual* speaker region to find the degree of correlation between the two with a Chi-Square model (by using the SPSS statistical software function "Crosstabs"). The Buenos Aires speakers were the most accurately identified, with 86.9% accuracy across all tokens (n = 976). Córdoba speakers were recognized with 65.5% accuracy, with a 27% incorrect identification as Tucumán accounting for the majority of the misidentifications. Tucumán speakers are the least accurately identified with an overall rate of 43.5% accurate identifications. They are (mis)identified as being from Buenos Aires 43% of the time and as Córdoba speakers the remaining 13.5% of the time. Identification accuracy also varied for individual tokens/speakers. The averages are shown in the *perceived correctly* column of Figure 2.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Token ID	Speaker	Token	Avg V lengthening (ms)	V lengthening?	Perceived correctly (%)
		Córdoba			
01	YUM	por lo más liviano, por lo que más se puede pensar, antes de que..	84	no	72.1
02	YWM	Así que, por eso también, medio que se complica	194	yes	96.7
03	YWF	es una película vieja que se volvió a hacer de nuevo.	222	yes	65.6
04	YUF	Te dan como un pequeño certificado para…	84	no	67.2
05	AUF	salimos de ver un, espectáculo y, pasaba la gente	109	yes	59
06	AUM	No, ahora estoy acá desde el año pasado.	132	yes	75.4
07	AWF	recién empieza el plan, vamos a ver cómo termina.	118	yes	60.7
08	AWM	porque están un poco más grandes, pero antes se juntaban los tres y…	187	yes	67.2
09	OWM	Estando acá, en Europa, en Estados Unidos, en Argentina, en Bolivia no sé.	112	yes	37.7
10	OWF	sino que no te lo dan imp- la importancia que tiene, en realidad,	167	yes	72.1
11	OUM	Pero la parte de, se puede entender, o una película,	89	no	50.8
12	OUF	Sobre todo, este, él se trata la mamá, y…el bebita.	243	yes	60.7
		Buenos Aires			
13	BAF	Al…cuidado…del señor, que está a cargo de la vigilancia.	69	no	86.9
14	BAM	La mujer en este momento está, tomando un vaso de agua.	103	yes	86.9
		Tucumán			
15	TUF	Y, hay una chica andando en bicicleta parece a la par del mar,	76	no	24.6
16	TUM	Está de novia hace mucho tiempo con un chico…	.	.	63.9

Figure 2. Tokens for language Attitudes test with ratios for pre-tonic/tonic vowel lengthening and dialect identification accuracy

*The codes for each speaker are as follows, those beginning with BA are from Buenos Aires, and TU are from Tucumán; all others are from Córdoba. The third letter designates Male or Female. For the Córdoba speakers (1–12) the first letter designates age: Young, Middle aged, Old, and the second letter designates social class, Working-middle class or Upper-middle class.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Perceived speaker competence

Intelligence

The rating of perceived intelligence for the three different regions is found to be significantly different (Pearson Chi-Square = 0.000 for both tests, $df = 10$). The means for each scalar response of intelligence ($n = 6$) range from intelligent to not intelligent, and were analyzed both for the regions these speakers were perceived to belong to ($n = 3$; Córdoba, Buenos Aires, and Tucumán) and the regions these speakers are actually from (i.e., the same three regions). The means for each of the response types and speaker groups are reported in % of the total for that group. For example, 48.9% of the Córdoba (Perceived) region speakers received a score of "3", which refers to "somewhat intelligent" as it's nearly in the middle of the six-point scale, but slightly closer to the "intelligent" end at "1". In general, all speakers are grouped most heavily around rating "3". Almost no speaker was rated "unintelligent" (score = 6) and very few speakers received a "low intelligence" score of 5. Similarly, few speakers received a score of 1, which is the positive extreme of "intelligent" (Figure 3.)

The overall difference of means contrasting the *perceived* versus *actual* groups is minimal except in a few cases. The cases where the *perceived* and *actual* means are over 2% points different are primarily within the Tucumán speaker groups. When listeners believed they were rating a Tucumán speaker, they tended towards lower intelligence ratings than when they were actually (and not knowingly) hearing a Tucumán speaker. This is most visible at the extreme ends of the scale, the *perceived* Tucumán speakers received only 1.1% of total scores at the rating of 1, "intelligent" and 3.3% at this same rating examining the tokens based on *actual* Tucumán speakers. Ratings of "5", or "not very intelligent" are more frequent for those speakers *perceived* as being from Tucumán, 4.9%, versus 0.8% in the *actual* group. When we look at rating "2", the second highest after "intelligent" the difference is almost double. In combining the counts for ratings "1" and "2" (the two closest to "intelligent" on the scale) we see that it accounts for 26.3% of the *actual* Tucumán speakers, whereas only 14.5% of the *perceived* Tucumán speakers were rated this highly for intelligence. Comparing the ratings between the *perceived* and *actual* groups for Buenos Aires and Córdoba results does not yield as much difference.

Returning to the data as a whole and looking across the three speaker regions (not counting the slight differences between *perceived* and *actual*) we see some differences across groups. While the curve of the scale for all groups is peaked similarly around the middle rating "3", Buenos Aires speakers receive ratings scaled slightly more towards the direction of "1" (intelligent) than the Córdoba and Tucumán speakers (Figure 3).

If we consider just the highest ratings for intelligence by combining scores "1" and "2" from the 6-point scale, then the proportion of Buenos Aires speakers

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

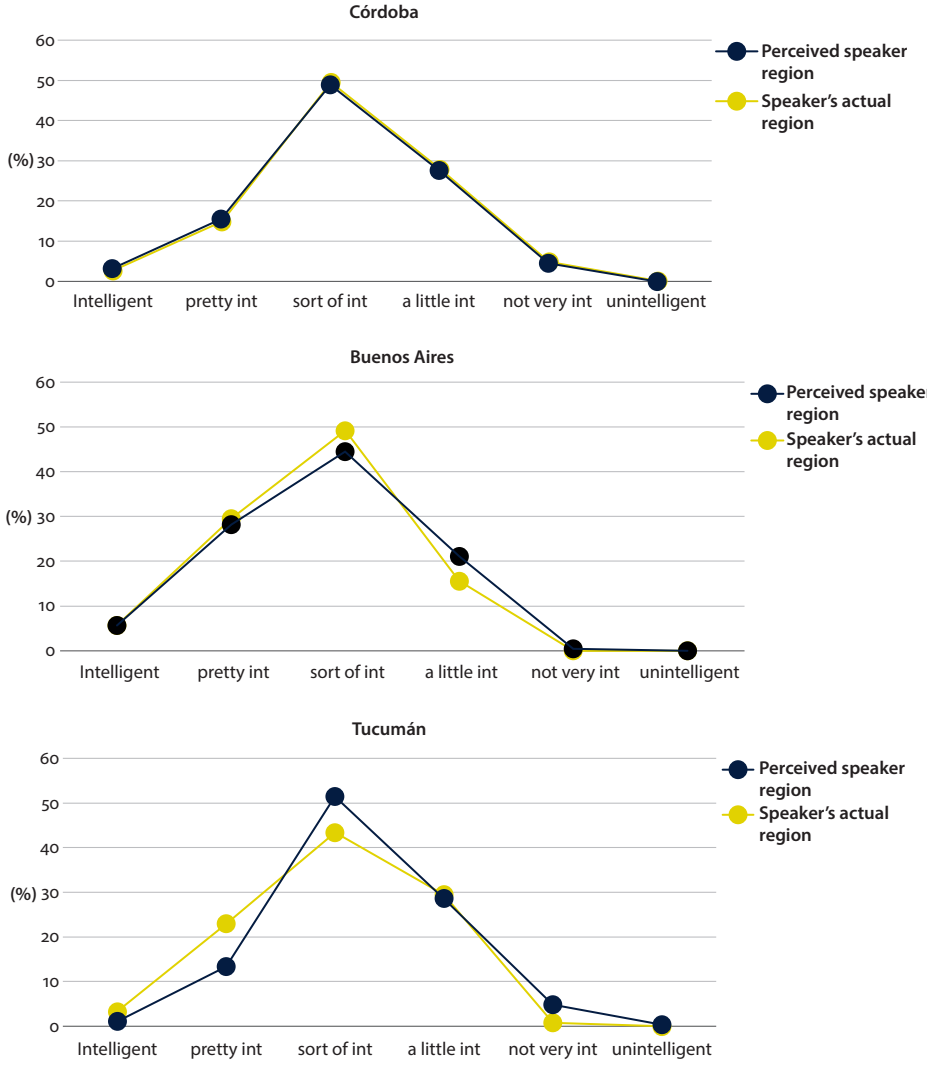


Figure 3. Intelligence ratings for 3 speaker dialects (% of total) in Córdoba, Buenos Aires and Tucumán

is larger than any other dialect group, making up 33.9% of the total ratings for *perceived* dialect origin and 35.2% of the total for *actual* dialect origin. This is compared to only 18.8% (*perceived*) and 17.6% (*actual*) of Córdoba speakers and 14.5% (*perceived*) and 26.3% (*actual*) for Tucumán speakers. In looking at the ratings of low intelligence at the opposite end of the scale (measured by combining scores "5" and "6" of the scale) the results similarly favor Buenos Aires speakers for perceived intelligence. Almost no Buenos Aires speakers are rated for low

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

intelligence 0.5/0 (%) (*perceived*/*actual*), while around 5% of Córdoba speakers are (4.6% *perceived*/5.0% actual). Tucumán speakers show a nearly 5% difference of rating depending on their *actual* vs. *perceived* region of origin. Those perceived as being from Tucumán are rated for low intelligence 5.3% of the time, while those speakers who are actually from Tucumán are rated for low intelligence less than 1% of the time (0.8%).

The perception of speaker intelligence was also tested with mixed-models linear regression, using *intelligence* as the dependent variable and the independent categorical variables *speaker sex, speaker age, speaker social class,* and *speaker region* (actual), and *vowel lengthening* as a continuous variable. The listener was included as a random intercept. The following factors were found significant at the two-tailed level ($p < .01$), *speaker age, speaker region,* and *speaker sex*. The factors *speaker social class* and *vowel lengthening* did not prove significant when all of these factors are combined. The fact that *vowel lengthening* proved insignificant in this particular model suggests that it is redundant when combined with *speaker region*, as pre-tonic vowel lengthening is a feature much more frequent among Córdoba speakers in this data set than the other dialect groups. Further linear regression tests with a simplified model of *intelligence* as the dependent variable and *vowel duration* as the independent variable and *listener* as a random effect showed that this measure was indeed a significant predictor of *speaker intelligence* ($t = 4.577$, $p < .01$). A lengthened vowel led to higher values on the scale, which correspond to a lower perceived intelligence. Adding *speaker region* back into this model made *vowel lengthening* insignificant, and *speaker region* significant ($t = 3.640$, $p < .01$). We explain the modeling progression since it provides additional evidence that *vowel lengthening* and *speaker region* are linked statistically and also in the perception of the listeners. *Vowel lengthening* does significantly influence the judgments made of these speakers, and presumably in the same way as *speaker region*, or dialect.

The remaining factors of the mixed models analysis with *intelligence* found *speaker age* and *speaker sex* significant, and post-hoc analysis on the Córdoba speakers only, entering *speaker age*, and *speaker sex* as independent variables with *perceived intelligence* found *speaker age* to be significant. The oldest group received the lowest means, signifying a perception of greater intelligence and the middle-aged group received the highest means, or less intelligent ratings. Young speakers received neutral intelligence ratings with no difference of sex, while in the middle aged and older groups men were rated more intelligent than women. These results can merely allow us to hypothesize what would be found in a larger test population. This is because the selection of specific speaker characteristics within this data set limits the number of subjects per group, so that differences, even significant ones, are likely to reflect those taken towards the individual(s) in that group and are not assumed to be generalizable to the greater community.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

To follow up on the effects of pre-tonic vowel lengthening on the perception of speaker traits, a mixed-models linear regression included this measure as the dependent variable, and *perceived speaker education*, (*degree of*) *accent rating*, and *perceived speaker occupation* as independent variables and the *listener* as a random intercept. The previous mixed-model had included *vowel lengthening* as an independent variable, along with several others, finding it non-significant. But in this model the variable is tested as the dependent variable as it is expected to exert influence on the assessments included as independent variables. Fixed main effects found *perceived speaker occupation* to be significantly affected ($p < .01$) by *vowel lengthening*, and *perceived speaker education* less strongly so ($p = .043$).

The results of these tests suggest that pre-tonic vowel lengthening is not the only linguistic factor used to determine speaker traits, although it can be used to identify a speaker's origin when little other linguistic cues are present, as found in the dialect identification experiment in this study. In this experiment, however, *perceived speaker occupation* and *perceived speaker education* were significantly different for tokens with a longer pre-tonic vowel. This result suggests that this cue was used by listeners but it cannot be confirmed, especially when we consider that these longer tokens contain more linguistic cues that can also influence listener judgment.

Occupation

First, it's important to note that some informants mentioned in their informal commentary after completing the experiment (subjects could optionally leave a message for the researcher) that this particular item felt contrived and unnatural, and resulted difficult for them to answer. These subjects reported that they did not feel 'able to guess someone's job just by hearing them speak a few words', to summarize their own comments.[3] Despite these considerations, the results for this measure resulted in statistically significant differences when *speaker region* (both *perceived* and *actual*) is tested (Pearson Chi-Square = .000, $df = 16$, value 98.9).

The lowest (social status) occupations, 'laborer' and 'maid' account for 24.6% of the total Córdoba (*actual* region) speaker tokens, and 16.4% of the Tucumán tokens, but only 4.1% of Buenos Aires speaker tokens. At the other end of the occupation scale the higher social status of Buenos Aires speakers is only further supported. For the occupations 'lawyer' and 'surgeon', *actual* Buenos Aires speakers were perceived by listeners as belonging to these occupations 27.1% of the time, while only 13.7% of Córdoba speakers were placed in these groups and 15.1% of the Tucumán speakers (see Figure 4).

3. This was the only item in the experiment that incited this type of comment.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

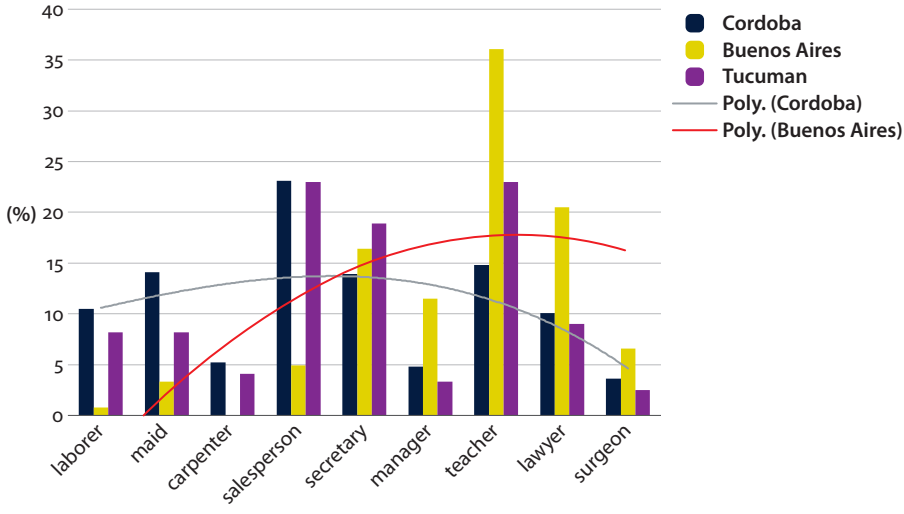


Figure 4. The percent of total responses for perceived occupation and actual speaker region. Polynomial trendlines intersect for Córdoba and Buenos Aires

Vowel lengthening

In Figure 2, the ratio of vowel duration (pre-tonic/tonic) describes if the vowels tend to be lengthened or not in a given token of speech. If the duration of the pre-tonic syllable exceeded that of the tonic it is considered lengthened, and thus numbers at or exceeding 100.0 denote a pre-tonic vowel that is equal to or longer than the duration of the tonic vowel of the same word. A ratio of 200 denotes a pre-tonic vowel that is twice the duration of the tonic vowel. These ratios have been averaged across the target words of the token.

The average vowel lengthening was tested as the dependent variable (n = 915) in a 2–2way ANOVA with both *perceived* and *actual* speaker region as independent variables (n = 976), and *listener* as a random intercept/variable, finding the *actual* speaker region to be significantly different (p = .000, F = 94.5). Post-hoc tests (LSD) revealed the vowel lengthening difference to be between Córdoba speakers and the two other regions (p = .000), with no significant difference between the vowel lengthening of the Tucumán and Buenos Aires speakers.

A second 2–2 way ANOVA with *vowel lengthening* as the dependent variable and *intelligence* as the independent variable (no random intercepts) showed a statistical difference for mean vowel duration difference (p = .000, F = 5.102). As the difference between pre-tonic and tonic vowels (i.e., the longer the pre-tonic vowel) increases, the intelligence rating decreases, revealing an inverse relationship. This trend holds until the extreme end of the scale, at the "unintelligent" rating, where there are very few data points.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Research questions

To conclude the summary of results we return to the two research questions asked in this paper.

RQ1: *Do listener assessments of individual speakers' perceived competence (i.e., intelligence and occupation) correlate with the dialect region of the speaker, whether this is based on the speaker's actual region of origin or the region they are perceived as being from?*
Yes, the speaker's perceived intelligence and occupation both correlated with their dialect region. Generally the *perceived* and *actual* dialect region coincided, but for Tucumán speakers there was more discrepancy, and the *actual* speakers were rated more intelligent than those *perceived* as being from Tucumán.

RQ2: *Do listener assessments of individual speakers' perceived competence (i.e., intelligence and occupation) correlate with the prosodic production of the speaker, specifically, a lengthened pre-tonic vowel?*
The perceived intelligence and occupation was inversely correlated with a lengthened pre-tonic vowel (relative to the tonic vowel) which characterized disproportionately the speakers from Córdoba.

Discussion

Dialect identification of speaker

The greater recognition of Buenos Aires speakers confirms that this dialect variety is indeed the easiest to recognize of the three speaker groups, which is an indicator of its dominance within Argentina, and potentially of these speakers using indexical speech variants making this recognition so high despite a low number of tokens. The relatively lower accuracy in recognizing Córdoba speakers suggests that variation between the speakers included in this study led to some of them being more easily identified than others. As expected, the Tucumán speakers were the least accurately identified in this test, again suggesting a lack of experience with both these speakers and with the features of their speech. Let us consider the following scenario: if a listener was presented with an anonymous speaker whose speech contained linguistic variants that were at once salient but unrecognizable to the listener (i.e., she could not associate them with a specific speaker profile or dialect), then it is likely this speaker would be categorized as belonging to some "other" group that is also unfamiliar to the listener, which may be Tucumán for the many listeners not from the Northwest of Argentina. However, in this same

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

scenario, it is unlikely that a listener would categorize this same speaker as being from Buenos Aires if she perceived linguistic variants that were marked, but NOT associated to a Buenos Aires dialect. Thus, the fact that the Tucumán speakers in this study received the same percentage of Buenos Aires identifications as Tucumán ones suggests that perhaps one of these speakers, who were only two in number, was perceived as neutral enough (i.e., by not using any recognizably marked variants) to represent a "standard" dialect identity, which was then associated to the dominant Buenos Aires dialect.

The interpretation of the neutrality of the mis-identified Tucumán speaker contrasts with the saliency argument used to explain identification of the Buenos Aires speakers, as in both cases speakers were assigned to a Buenos Aires dialect identity but for opposite reasons. But this double-sided association – of neutrality and saliency associated to the same dialect, could reflect the reality of the River Plate's perceived status as a standard variety, similar to the dichotomy presented in the previous literature (see Llull & Pinardi, 2014; Rodriguez-Louro, 2013; Solé, 1987). Argentine speakers do not believe the (Buenos Aires) accent to be heard as neutral, and yet link neutrality to the ideals of a standard language in their ideology.

Perceived speaker competence and integrity

The results of this study show that those speakers who are perceived as being from Buenos Aires and who are actually from Buenos Aires receive the highest ratings of intelligence compared to the other speaker groups (Córdoba and Tucumán). This measure indicates that perceptions of competence are linked to dialect group and/or specific linguistic features, and suggests that the Buenos Aires dialect is judged more highly for competence, which would qualify it within the domain of a standard dialect.

Comparing the ratings between the *perceived* and *actual* groups for Buenos Aires and for Córdoba does not yield as much difference. The larger difference in perception towards Tucumán speakers between *perceived* and *actual* dialect indicates the association of this feature, *intelligence*, as a measure of speaker competence and thus related to the perception of standard language (Giles, 1971, 1973; Labov et al., 1968; Preston, 1999). While individual speakers may be rated as more intelligent, those *perceived* as being from Tucumán are less highly rated, indicating that the status of a Tucumán origin is not associated to a standard dialect but to a non-standard dialect. An alternate interpretation of these results is supported by Bugel's, 2012 paper, in which speakers who used salient and identifiable dialect markers were rated more positively in a matched-guise attitudes test, when using a neutral guise without these linguistic markers the same speaker was less favorably viewed (Bugel, 2012). If Buenos Aires speakers do indeed use highly

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

recognizable and recognized linguistic variants this would mean they were more favorably judged than speakers, such as the Tucumán ones, whose speech lacked such characteristic features.

Whether subjects were judging the speaker individually or their perceived speaker dialect group (*perceived* versus *actual* speaker region variables) the differences in judgment illustrate an association between accent and perceived occupation, with professional and prestigious jobs being more linked to a Buenos Aires identity and the un-skilled and working-class jobs to a Córdoba and Tucumán identity. These results support the conclusions from the 'intelligence' rating, which also addresses the aspect of speaker competence in the social judgments analyzed with this research.

Since both *perceived* and *actual* speaker region produced the same trends with the same degree of significance, it is hard to disentangle the influence of the linguistic and vocal cues in each token and the stereotypes associated to the speaker's regional origin that contribute to the perceived occupation of the speaker. The other judgments made for the same speaker should also influence the listener's decision while completing this survey. For instance, if she has deemed the speaker to sound unintelligent, she will take into account this, and other judgments in Question 1 of the survey (which also include education, speech rate, extroversion, and formality) when determining the most probable occupation for the speaker. Furthermore, the responses to the *perceived occupation* question may influence the listener's subsequent assessments for this speaker, and be used as a benchmark for assessing the other speakers in this test.

The standard dialect of Argentina

The inverse relation of social status and integrity, evident in the comparison of Buenos Aires and Córdoba speakers, also occurs in the language attitude research of Labov et al. (1968), Giles (1971, 1973), and Preston (1999). In these dialect studies, the 'standard' dialect receives more positive evaluations of competence, and the non-standard dialects receive higher measures of attractiveness and integrity. While the status of the Buenos Aires variety of Spanish as a standard dialect is not clearly demonstrated in previous studies of language attitudes, linguists agree that this dialect is at least the most dominant in the country with its majority population and media diffusion, among other factors (Granda, 2003; Lipski, 1994; Mackenzie, 2001). The associations to power, prestige, and the assignment of competence traits are likely to be associated to this dialect and taken into account with the city's standing as the national capital and economic and political center of Argentina.

However, the hesitation to assign standard status to the River Plate variety is expressed in the mixed attitudes from speakers of this dialect. Researchers of language

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

attitudes and ideologies in Argentina (see Blanco, 1993; Rodriguez-Louro, 2008, 2013; Solé, 1987) report an expression of pride and nationalism combined with linguistic insecurity that Rodriguez-Louro describes as "estándares dobles" (*double standards*) in her 2008 language attitudes survey. The inability for Argentines to match the River Plate dialect with their ideologies of language correctness and purity may be seen as problematic for establishing its status as a standard among dialects. In fact, previous attitude research has shown that speakers from Buenos Aires (city) do not positively assess their variety (Rodriguez-Louro, 2013; Solé, 1987), and anecdotal impressions suggest that speakers of other dialect zones do not see this dialect as sounding "neutral" or unmarked; instead, all evidence supports that speakers from Buenos Aires are readily identified by their speech. The survey by Llull and Pinardi (2014) suggests a growing preference for the local dialect over the peninsular standard when the attitudes from younger age groups are compared to those of older speakers, but still the population is divided in deeming their variety of speech as the *most* or *least* "correct" for a national standard (2014, p. 27). Moreover, a general perception that the Northwest speakers use a more neutral and "correct" dialect within Argentine Spanish varieties is suggested by Malanca et al. (1981), following the positive evaluations made by speakers from Córdoba with respect to speakers from the North and Northwest, and the aesthetic preference for the Córdoba dialect by Buenos Aires speakers (Llull & Pinardi, 2014, p. 24). Thus, the ambiguous status of Buenos Aires as the standard variety for Argentine speakers complicates the conclusions we can draw from the results gathered here.

Conclusions

This study gathered attitudes towards Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Tucumán anonymous speakers and the dialects themselves to examine the relationship, if any, between the perception of speaker competence and the expression of prosody, specifically the pre-tonic vowel lengthening typical of Córdoba speech. Listeners evaluated each speaker based on a short audio recording accompanied by a written survey. Along with the speaker's perceived region of origin, listeners were asked to rate anonymous speakers on their perceived intelligence and occupation. A unique methodology, combining attitudinal measures and dialect identification within the test instrument and the analysis, allowed for a nuanced interpretation of the listeners' stereotypes towards individuals and individual dialect groups, specifically Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Tucumán. This was achieved by grouping the results by the speaker's *actual* dialect region and again based on the region the listener *perceived* them to be from. The duration of the pre-tonic vowel in the speech samples was also measured to determine its effect, if any, on attitudinal measures.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

A pre-tonic vowel duration exceeding that of the tonic vowel (which here is considered lengthened and associated with a Córdoba dialect) was found to be significantly correlated with a perception of decreased intelligence. Consequently, speakers who were perceived as being from Córdoba and who actually were from Córdoba were rated as slightly less intelligent than those speakers who were from and/or were perceived to be from Buenos Aires. Tucumán speakers fared similarly as Córdoba speakers in this respect. The Córdoba speaker groups (both *perceived* and *actual*) were assigned unskilled occupations at a higher rate and professional occupations at a lower rate than the Buenos Aires speaker groups (*perceived* and *actual*).

While these findings are limited in number and scope, they suggest the association of the Córdoba dialect to a lower status of competence than that of Buenos Aires, placing Córdoba as a likely non-standard dialect and Buenos Aires as more standard, in the view of Argentine speakers. However, the complex relationship between linguistic variants, language attitudes, and standard language ideologies is difficult to untangle with these methods and those used by past research. Questionnaires directly eliciting attitudes with ambiguous wording (such as "best", or "most correct" language) are able to show us the often contradictory beliefs held by speakers, but do not allow us to interpret them. In fact, most of the previous language attitude research uses limited methods (e.g., written questionnaires) unable to reveal the unconscious beliefs about language. Future research might remediate this by developing elicitation methods that are more indirect and experimental, such as the matched-guise approach.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank María José Foguet for her help in revising the preliminary versions of this manuscript, and also the useful suggestions from two anonymous reviewers and the editors. Any mistakes or omissions are my own.

References

Alonso, A. (1935). *El problema de la lengua en América*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Berry, G. (October 2014). Transcribing the "tune": Prosodic and sociolinguistic properties of the to:nada cordobesa. Paper presented at *First Symposium on Intonation and Tone in the Spanish speaking World*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. <http://intospan2014.weebly.com/uploads/4/2/6/8/4268188/intospan_berry.pdf> (21 October, 2019).

Blanco, M. I. (1993). Lengua e identidad: Actitudes hacia el español de España y el español de la Argentina. In L. Martínez Cuitiño, E. Lois, & A. Barrenechea (Eds.), *Actas del III Congreso Argentino de Hispanistas 'España en América y América en España'* (pp. 333–339). Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bugel, T. (2012). Buenas y no tan buenas variedades del español: Opiniones y actitudes en Montevideo y Buenos Aires. *Revista Internacional De Lingüística Iberoamericana: RILI*, 19, 83–107.

Capusotto, P. (2006). Curso de Cordobés [video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BUlh9AU0pkc> (21 October, 2019).

Castro, A. (1941). *La peculiaridad lingüística rioplatense y su sentido histórico*. Buenos Aires: Losada.

Colantoni, L. (2011). Broad-focus declaratives in Argentine Spanish contact and non-contact varieties. In C. Gabriel & C. Lleó (Eds.), *Intonational phrasing in Romance and Germanic: Cross-linguistic and bilingual studies* (pp. 183–212). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/hsm.10.10col

Criscordobes. (2006). Curso de Cordobés para extranjeros [video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fq28WuGmu_E> (21 October, 2019).

Edwards, J. (1999). Refining our understanding of language attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18(1), 101–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X99018001007

Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (1971). La entonación del español de Córdoba (Argentina). *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo*, 26(1), 11–21.

Garrett, P. N., Coupland, N., & Williams, A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes: Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity, and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Giles, H. (1971). Patterns of evaluation to R.P., South Welsh and Somerset accented speech, *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 15, 280–281. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8260.1971.tb00748.x

Giles, H. (1973). Communicative effectiveness as a function of accented speech. *Speech Monographs*, 40, 330–331. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637757309375813

Giles, H., & Coupland, N. (1991). *Language: Contexts and consequence*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

De Granda, G. (2003). *Estudios lingüísticos hispanoamericanos: Historia, sociedades y contactos* (Vol. 3). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

van Gussenhoven, C. (2004). *The phonology of tone and intonation*. Cambridge: CUP. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511616983

Hualde, J. (2002). Intonation in Romance. *Probus: International Journal of Latin and Romance Linguistics*, 14(1), 1–204. https://doi.org/10.1515/prbs.2002.004

Jaworski. (2010). Pequeña gramática cordobesa: Para extranjeros: reglas básicas de la tonada cordobesa [website]. Retrieved from <http://www.vallepunilla.com.ar/gramatica.php> (21 October 2019).

Labov, W., Cohen, P., Robins, C., & Lewis, J. (1968). A study of the nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. *Final Report, Cooperative Research Project 3288* (Vols. I. & II. Washington, DC: Office of Education.

Lang, J. (2010). Prosody in Córdoba, Argentina: A sociolinguistic analysis of the Tonada cordobesa. Paper presented at the annual meeting of *New Ways of Analyzing Variation*, San Antonio, TX.

Lang-Rigal, J. (2015a). Dialect identification and listener attributes: Do you hear la tonada? In R. Klassen, J. M. Liceras, & E. Valenzuela (Eds.), *Hispanic linguistics at the crossroads: Theoretical linguistics, language acquisition and language contact. Proceedings of the Hispanic Linguistics Symposium 2013* (pp. 269–292). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.4.14lan

Lang-Rigal, J. (2015b). Regional variation in the devoicing of the alveopalatal fricative in Argentina. *Estudios de Fonética Experimental*, XXIV, 141–170.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Lang-Rigal, J. (2015c). La percepción del habla de Córdoba, Argentina: Una prueba que combina las actitudes con la identificación de dialecto. *Signo y Seña*, 28, 111–138.

Lenardon, M. L. (2010). Variation of the palatals in Spanish from Córdoba (Argentina). Paper presented at the *Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, University of Indiana, Bloomington, IN.

Lipski, J. (1994). *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longman.

Llull, G., & Pinardi, L. C. (2014). Actitudes lingüísticas en la Argentina. El español en Buenos Aires: Una aproximación a las representaciones de sus hablantes. In A. B. Chiquito & M. A. Quesada Pacheco (Eds.), *Actitudes lingüísticas de los hispanohablantes hacia el idioma español y sus variantes, Bergen Language and Linguistic Studies (BeLLS)*, 5 (pp. 1–62). <https://bells.uib.no/index.php/bells/article/view/676> (21 October, 2019).

Mackenzie, I. (2001). *A linguistic introduction to Spanish*. Munich: Lincom.

Malanca, A., Prevedello, N. L., & Toniolo, M. T. (1981). Actitud del hablante frente a su lengua. Resultado de una encuesta realizada en la ciudad de Córdoba, Argentina. *Lingüística Española Actual*, 3(1), 33–47.

Najle, M "Matzorama". (2016) MuyLiebre – Curso de Cordobés 01 [video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WcE6C_-5xtM> (2 December, 2019).

Papapavlou, A., & Sophocleous, A. (2009). Language attitudes and folk perceptions towards linguistic variation. In S. Tsiplakou, M. Karyolemou, & P. Pavlou (Eds.), *Language variation: European perspectives*, II (pp. 179–189). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/silv.5.15pap

Pennycook, A. (2002). Mother tongues, governmentality, and protectionism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 154, 11–28.

Preston, D. R. (1999). A language attitude approach to the perception of regional variety. In D. R. Preston (Ed.), *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. I, pp. 359–374). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.hpd1.30pre

Rodriguez-Louro, C. (2008). Speakers' attitudes and the 'standard' in Argentinian Spanish. Paper presented at the *Australian Linguistic Society Conference*, University of Sydney, Australia.

Rodriguez-Louro, C. (2013). Actitudes lingüísticas de los hablantes rioplatenses: Un estudio cualitativo. In L. Colantoni & C. Rodriguez Louro (Eds.), *Perspectivas teóricas y experimentales en el español de la Argentina* (pp. 453–468). Madrid & Frankfurt: Iberoamericana & Vervuert.

Ryan, E., Giles, H., & Sebastian, R. J. (1982). An integrative perspective for the study of attitudes toward language variation. In E. B. Ryan & H. Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes toward language variation: Social and applied contexts* (pp. 1–19). London: Arnold.

Solé, C. A. (1987). Lenguaje y nacionalismo en la Argentina. In T. Morgan, J. Lee, & B. Van Patten (Eds.), *Language and language use: Studies in Spanish* (pp. 209–218). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Vidal de Battini, B. (1964). *El español de la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Consejo Nacional de Educación.

Viramonte de Ávalos, M., & Carullo de Díaz, A. M. (1993). Enseñanza y Aprendizaje de la lengua materna en Córdoba (capital). Realidad y Problemática. *Trabajos del CIL*, VI, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.

Yorio, C. A. (1973). Phonological style in the dialect of Spanish of Córdoba, Argentina (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Michigan.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Perceptual attitudes towards Spanish in the Panhandle of West Virginia

Eva-María Suárez Büdenbender
Shepherd University

This study contributes to the ongoing discussion of perceptions of and attitudes towards Spanish by native English speakers in the U.S. (e.g., Fuller, 2013; Lippi-Green, 2012; Orozco & Dorado, 2014) and examines the image of Spanish speakers in a small community in the Panhandle of West Virginia. The responses from the 445 participants indicate a juxtaposition between high prestige accorded to Spanish spoken in Spain and varieties of Spanish spoken in the Americas. The responses underline the influence of underlying language ideologies (e.g., Garret, 2010; Irvine & Gal, 2000), popular negative imagery of non-European varieties (e.g., Fuller, 2013; Lippi-Green, 2012; Lipski, 2002), and Eurocentrism, in other words, a preference for European history, languages, and cultures (e.g., Franzki, 2012; Quijano, 2000).

Keywords: perceptions, attitudes, Spanish, language ideologies

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the ongoing discussion of perceptions of and attitudes towards Spanish by native English speakers in the U.S. The investigation itself examines the perceptual attitudes of 445 students of a small liberal arts college located in the Panhandle of West Virginia (Shepherdstown, WV). In contrast to a previous study by Orozco and Dorado (2014), who examined students' attitudes towards Spanish and speakers of Spanish in communities with a high percentage of Hispanics in the metro area of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, this study offers a snapshot of attitudes among predominantly white students with little to no contact with Spanish speakers. Most of the students' perceptions of Spanish and its speakers most likely stem from either their limited class exposure to this matter (many of the students have been exposed to Spanish in the course of their high school or college education), limited contact with Hispanics who live in the area, or exposure

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.02sua
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

to stereotypes and media portrayals of Spanish and its speakers. Therefore, the main focus of this paper is to examine what kind of an image of Spanish and its speakers emerges from the data and to search for a connection between how the participants view the language and how they view its culture(s) and its speakers. More in detail, we investigate what the perceptions of different varieties of Spanish are, especially compared to their perceptions of English, and whether the participants have a sense of linguistic superiority (i.e., do they feel that one variety of English/Spanish is more correct than other ones). Lastly, the study taps into the motivations for learning a foreign language, especially Spanish and the students' thoughts on which variety is the best to learn and where.

The ensuing sections will offer a background summary on previous findings that have emerged from research on attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. It will serve to motivate the study and describe in greater detail the current approach, including details on the sociolinguistic setting of this investigation.

Social evaluations of Spanish in the U.S.

Although Spanish is respected as a global language (Fuller, 2013), the positive evaluations do not translate to more concrete or local forms of Spanish spoken in the U.S. In fact, since discussions of race are often not perceived as politically correct in the larger society, negative evaluations of language have become encoded as evaluations of the culture and its speakers (Schmidt, 2002; Urciuoli, 2009 as cited in Fuller, 2013, p. 13). There is sufficient evidence in the literature that Spanish has become *indexed* with the image of a person with lower socioeconomic and educational attainment and phenotypically darker (e.g., Fuller, 2013; Lipski, 2002). As Baker (2009 as cited in Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 263) states "(…) the general image of Latinos is that of the Mestizo." The term *Mestizo* is officially recognized in most of Central and South America, as referring to persons of mixed European and indigenous ancestry. However, it also carries negative connotations, stigmatizing the speaker as a poor person with little education. By extension, the use of Spanish marginalizes its speakers and relegates them to the realm of lower educated and poor immigrants. Fuller (2013) cites many examples from online forums that exude fear and hostility towards Spanish and Spanish speakers (e.g., Fuller, 2013, pp. 15–18). Crucially, the investigation of these social and linguistic stereotypes toward minority language speakers, especially Spanish speakers in the U.S. allows us to better understand the dynamics of the role of social context in language attitudes and perceptions.

Most evaluations of languages and/or language varieties correlate the use of particular linguistic features (for instance the articulation of a certain word, or sound, or the use of particular lexical items) and the social and educational profile

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of the members of a particular speaker group "X". Consequently "proper" or standardized speech is correlated with higher education and higher socioeconomic profiles (e.g., Bradac & Wisegarver, 1984; Bugel, 2009; Crowley, 2003; Hoffmann & Walker, 2010; Labov, 1966a; Lippi-Green, 2012; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Milroy, 2007). Conversely, stigmatized language variants will be associated with low-status groups. This dynamic also transfers onto evaluations of languages and their speakers. Minority languages are particularly vulnerable to these evaluations, as are those with a foreign accent in the majority language, which often leads to stereotyping (Ballard, 2013; Barrett, 2006; Garrett, 2010; Garrett, Williams, & Evans, 2005; Smith & Mackie, 2000).

Since many of the participants in our study have little to no contact with Spanish or its speakers, it is the existing forms of stereotyping that emerge in popular culture and the media that might influence their perception. By definition, stereotyping incorporates an affective response in the listener evoked by experience with particular social groups (Baker, 1992; Smith & Mackie, 2000; Tajfel, 1981). Typically these experiences are of a personal nature such as interactions with members of another group, but they can emerge through outside sources such as the media. Contact with different language varieties and its speakers therefore can trigger beliefs about a speaker and their social group, all of which feeds from and into existing language ideologies. In fact, from early on listeners learn to "(…) create associations between certain phonetic properties of the speech signal and external social referents" (Docherty, Langstrof, & Folkes, 2013, p. 355; see also Babel, 2014; Drager, 2006; Foulkes & Docherty, 2006; Hay, Warren, & Drager, 2006; Hay & Drager, 2007). For instance, listeners learn to correlate a speaker with a certain socioeconomic background with a particular form of speech. This awareness seems inevitably accompanied by a value judgment (Honey, 1998; Joseph, 1987; Rubin, 1992). Language attitudes and perceptions can be seen strongly influenced by powerful ideological positions (Garrett, 2010, p. 33). These ideologies form part of a larger world-view that favors European history, values, languages, and linguistic traditions as "normal" and superior to others, less developed, and indigenous/black cultures (e.g., Quijano, 2000). Termed *Eurocentrism*, this ideology plays an important role in the existence and maintenance of negative perceptions and stereotypes, linguistic or otherwise, of minority populations in the U.S. but also perceptions of inhabitants of other countries, e.g., Latin America, and their languages (Franzki, 2012; Quijano, 2000).

Immigrants in the U.S. of course are aware of the negative images and stereotypes linked to their language (Hernández, 1993). Part of the frustration for these and other speakers is the perception of Spanish as 'easy' corresponding to the perception of Spanish speakers as rural folk with little education (e.g., Lipski,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

2002, p. 1248; Schwartz, 2011). At the same time, ongoing politically charged and very sensitive debates about undocumented immigration from Latin America, the role of Spanish in public life and schooling, as well as an "official language" controversy have been ongoing for decades without a national solution in sight (Clyne, 1998; Lippi-Green, 2012; Lipski, 2002, 2008). They, however, contribute to an image of the Spanish-speaking immigrant population as unable or unwilling to integrate at the expense of a national cohesion, as exemplified by the use of English as the national language, and monolingualism as the norm (Clyne, 1998; Fuller, 2013).[1] The consequences of a widely accepted norm of monolingualism are examples of expressions of "white racism" that mostly targets languages other than English (Lippi-Green, 2012; Schwartz, 2011).

More evidence comes from the examination of labels used to describe speakers of Spanish. On the one hand is the ubiquitous use of the term *Hispanic* that was created for the 1980 census to better identify Spanish-speaking communities. Although today the term is contested among Spanish speakers in the U.S., non-Spanish speakers often do not differentiate, and labeling is highly homogenized as a tidy and simple package for the rest of the U.S.[2] The perception of Spanish-speakers as a homogenous group is one of the labels Zentella (1995) points out as one of three misconceptions about Spanish and native Spanish-speakers living in the U.S. The other two speak to the low esteem expressed towards non-Castilian varieties of Spanish, and the belittling of the linguistic abilities of second-generation bilinguals (see also Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 260). Moreover, assessments of non-native languages have been shown to be related to experiences in the native language and include the aspect of *recursivity* (Fuller, 2013; Irvine & Gal, 2000), whereby evaluations of variants in the native language are reapplied to evaluations of other languages and varieties. Recently, Orozco and Dorado (2014) examined non-native speakers' evaluations of Spanish in Louisiana with methodology used in the area of perceptual dialectology. This area of research examines the beliefs and attitudes of non-linguists, or *folk beliefs*, first initiated by Hoenigswald (1966) and later on established by Preston (e.g., Long & Preston, 2002; Niedzielski & Preston, 2003; Preston, 1989, 1993, 1999, 2002). In their study, the authors presented their participants with a questionnaire that tapped into their perceptions of linguistic differences in varieties of Spanish, and strove to uncover thoughts on correctness and pleasantness (e.g.,

1. Fuller (2013) traces this line of thinking back to President Roosevelt who highlighted monolingualism as a symbol for national unity and multilingualism became synonymous of a déclassé working class and immigrant groups.

2. Many prefer to refer to their country of origin rather than to be placed in a larger ethnic bucket (e.g., Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 259) or prefer to use the terms *Latino/Latina*.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Preston, 1989, 1993, 1999, 2002) of Spanish varieties in comparison with English. Their results indicated that speakers' awareness of linguistic variation is not limited to their native variety but can extend to languages and varieties they do not speak. In contrast to the Orozco and Dorado study, that examines attitudes in a metropolitan area in the Southern U.S. with a higher percentage of Hispanics living there (about 4.5% in Louisiana) (Orozco & Dorado, 2014), the present study will examine perceptions of speakers with little to no contact with Spanish or Spanish-speaking populations and offer us insights into the interaction between how speakers perceive and evaluate a language and their image of its speakers. The ensuing section will offer more details on the sociolinguistic setting of the study.

The sociolinguistic setting of the present study

The geographic setting of the current study is Shepherdstown in the Panhandle of West Virginia with a total population of 1,743 (Census Quickfacts Shepherdstown). It is a small community outside of the greater Baltimore/Washington D.C. metro areas and the home of a liberal arts college, in which the data was collected. Shepherdstown and West Virginia at large are ethnically fairly uniform with Caucasian inhabitants reaching 85.5% and 93.7% respectively. In Shepherdstown, the African American or black population reaches 9.5%, Hispanics 2.9%, and Asians 1.3% (Census Quickfacts Shepherdstown). By comparison in West Virginia, the percentage of African American or black population reaches 3.6%, Hispanics 1.5%, and even lesser percentages on Asian Americans, (0.8%) Native Americans and Alaskan Natives (0.2%) (Census Quickfacts West Virginia). Martinsburg, WV, the closest neighbor to Shepherdstown, by comparison, has a larger Hispanic population estimated at 6.2% in 2010, with 14.9% of African Americans and 77.5% Caucasian inhabitants (Census Quickfacts Martinsburg, WV). Shepherdstown has a fairly high level of education compared to the rest of the state: 87.6% have a High School Diploma and also 50.5% have Bachelor's Degree or higher (Census Quickfacts Shepherdstown, WV) versus 84.4% of West Virginians with a High School Diploma, and 18.7% with a Bachelor's Degree or higher (Census Quickfacts West Virginia). The college is fairly small with an enrollment in Fall 2015 of 3,776 students, most of whom are West Virginia residents (60%) (Shepherd At-A-Glance Information).

In contrast to a previous study that examined attitudes towards Spanish and speakers of Spanish in communities with a high percentage of Hispanics (e.g., Orozco & Dorado, 2014), the location for the present study offers insights from speakers who have little to no contact with Hispanics. Although many have had Spanish in class (either in high school or college), they otherwise have had little

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

contact with Spanish speakers. Therefore, most of their perceptions of Spanish and its speakers most likely stems from either their limited class exposure to this matter, limited contact with Hispanics who live in the area, or exposure to stereotypes and media portrayals of Spanish and its speakers. The ensuing section will describe the details of the current study.

The present study

The purpose of the present study is to advance the ongoing discussion on the nature and emergence of linguistic perceptions and attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. The focus will be on examining the perceptual attitudes towards both Spanish and English, as a point of comparison, among 445 native English-speaking students in a liberal arts college in the Panhandle of West Virginia. The ensuing sections will offer details on materials, participants, and data collection.

Materials

The materials for the present study are adopted from Orozco & Dorado (2014), a study examining attitudes towards Spanish in a large, multi-ethnic community in Louisiana. The questionnaire contains two sections: (1) demographic information and (2) the language opinion survey (see Appendix A). The questions on the demographic information cull data on gender, year of birth, declared major in college, ethnicity/ancestry, travel experiences, and languages other than English learned and/or spoken at home. The language opinion survey contains a total of 8 items (A–H). Of these, 3 items are open-ended statements and 5 items require the participant to indicate a level of agreement by choosing one of 4 options: "totally agree", "agree", "disagree", or "totally disagree". The first three items (A–B) tap into participants' sense of the diversity of varieties of English and the correctness of some varieties over others. Other items tap into the role of English and other languages in the U.S. (item C), the participants' interest in learning another language (item D) and Spanish in particular (item E). Item (F) references the participants' sense of varieties of Spanish. Items (G) and (H) are identical to items (A) and (B) except that they focus on varieties of Spanish and enquire about the participants' sense of correctness of one variety over another. All items allowed space for extra comments.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Participants

A total of 445 participants took part in the study, 138 men and 307 women. The split between gender groups among the participant pool is not an even balance however it reflects the gender ratio at Shepherd University close to accurately, where since 2012 there have been recorded more female students than male students (Shepherd Demographics, Fall 2010–2014).

As the demographic information culled from part of the questionnaire reveals, all of the participants are traditional university students (the majority (88%) was born between 1990–1996). However, the participant pool also includes non-traditional students. Of those, 5.8% were born between 1980–1989, 1.3% were born between 1970–1979, 1.6% were born between 1960–1969, and 0.7% were born prior to 1960. Most of Shepherd University's students are West Virginia residents, which is also reflected in the data pool, as 63.1% or respondents live in WV. The Panhandle is also geographically close to Maryland and Virginia. Therefore, 18.4% and 7.6% of participants are residents in these states respectively and often commute to campus.

Data on home language used reveals that 85.2% reported to speaking English as their only home language. Moreover, 0.9% of participants only speak Spanish at home, but 3.6% said they spoke English and Spanish at home. Another 9.3% reported speaking English and a heritage language (not Spanish) at home.

Out of all participants, 91.2% have had previous exposure to a foreign language.[3] Of these, 53% had studied or continued to study only Spanish, 19% had or were studying Spanish and another (third) language, 11% had studied/were studying French, 6% reported prior knowledge of German, and 11% stated having studied another language (e.g., Italian, Latin, Gaelic among many others). Of the total number of participants, only 12.8% replied they had not learned any language other than English.

Procedure

Data collection took place during the spring and fall semesters of 2015. Surveys were administered to students taking a wide range of classes across campus and the completion of the questionnaire took approximately 10–15 minutes. The students were asked for their consent to participate and then asked to fill out the questionnaire. Afterwards, each questionnaire was given a participant number and the responses were coded for ensuing data analysis.

3. There is only a language requirement for B.A. degrees not B.S. degrees at the university.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Analysis

At the end of data collection, the surveys were coded in Excel and entered into SPSS for quantitative analysis (one-way ANOVAs). Data coding entailed creating age groups for the participants (i.e., born between 1990–1996, 1980–1989, etc.) and languages spoken at home ("English only" = 1, "English and Spanish" = 2, etc.). These groups were created based on the responses given and enabled the researcher to take the influence of prior language knowledge (more specifically prior knowledge of Spanish) and its effects on the ratings given in the survey into consideration. More details on the coding procedure for specific items in the questionnaire will be presented separately for each questionnaire item in Section 3. Also included in the analysis and discussion are relevant examples from the qualitative data culled from the open-ended responses and comments sections that offer a glimpse into the participants' thoughts and rationales.

Results and discussion

The presentation and discussion of the results will be organized in order while also addressing the guiding thoughts outlined in the introduction. Responses to item A ("English is spoken the same everywhere") and item G ("Spanish is spoken the same everywhere.") reflect participants' sense of linguistic variation in their native language as well as Spanish and the results provide an understanding of the participants' perceptions. The results (represented in Figure 1) show a high awareness of linguistic variation in English. For item A only 1.1% marked "totally disagree" and 5.4% indicated "disagree", whereas 47.7% indicated their agreement and 43.6% agreed highly with this statement. Figure 1 also represents the results for the ratings on Spanish (item G). Recall that Spanish is a language that 53% of the participants have learned and/or been in contact with. Only 0.2% answered that they "totally agree" with this statement and 1.3% "agree". By contrast 49.4% "disagree" and 47.9% "totally disagree". To examine the differences in ratings between English (A) and Spanish (G) statistically, a one-way ANOVA was conducted and the results were statistically significant ($F(3, 436) = 41.48$, $p = .000$).

The majority of responses appears to disagree with the idea that a language, whether English or Spanish, is spoken the same everywhere. There is likely some projection of the participants' understanding and perceptions of varieties of English onto their evaluations of Spanish (i.e., they are aware that English is not the same spoken in different part of the U.S. or in other countries, therefore this must be the same for Spanish). This could be evidence of *recursivity,* a process whereby speakers project their experiences and evaluations of variants in the native language onto

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

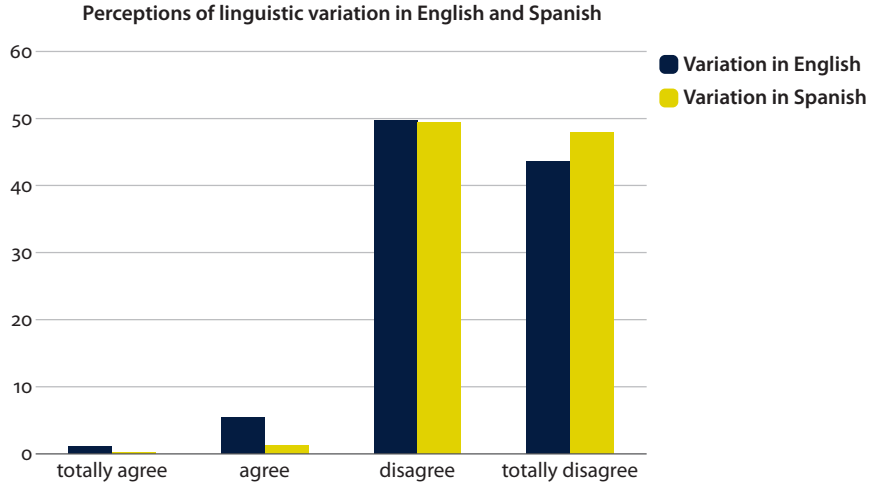


Figure 1. Reponses to items A/G ("English/Spanish is spoken the same everywhere.") (in %)

evaluation of other languages and varieties (Irvine & Gal, 2000). However, the ratings cannot solely be based on experiences in English, since 91.2% had exposure to some second language, and half of them had exposure to Spanish. It is likely that ratings on linguistic variation are based on both, a transferring of their linguistic experiences and ideologies from the native language on to another language, and their experiences in learning another language.

Figure 2 represents the responses to item B ("English is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others") and item H ("Spanish is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others."). The responses to item B ("English is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others") suggest that the participants believe that among varieties of English, there is a hierarchy of prestige. A total of 60.2% agree with this statement (13% marked "totally agree" and 47.2% indicated "agree"), whereas a total of 30.6% disagreed with this statement (26.1% disagreed and 4.5% totally disagreed). This outcome infers that two-thirds of participants hold views that idealize standardized language and attach social and linguistic importance to it. Given the dominant linguistic ideology in the U.S. that emphasizes an idealized language and adherence to language norms (Crowley, 2003; Lippi-Green, 2012; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Milroy, 2007) and stigmatizes variants associated with speakers of low socioeconomic and educational attainment (e.g., Fridland, 2008; Garrett, 2010; Niedzielski, 1999; Tajfel, 1981), this outcome is not surprising; rather it confirms previous findings also for the present participant pool. The responses offered in the comments section of this question (see Examples (1)–(3)) underline

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

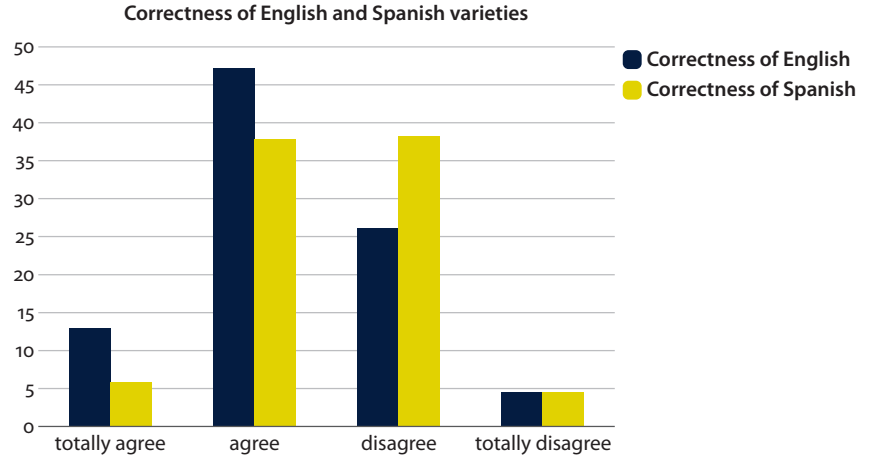


Figure 2. Responses to items B/H ("English/Spanish is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others") (in %)

the perceived importance of standardized varieties. Moreover, they reflect an awareness of regional differences (1), suggest differences in speech between formal and informal speech (2), and mention the influence of better education on a "better" use of English (3). In these reported comments, as in all comments cited in this chapter, the participant number is given, as is his/her gender and age.

(1) "Higher SES (socio-economic status) areas typically have better education and therefore better use of English." – Participant #145 (Male, 20)

(2) "Cities have more variety of language a lot of formal speaking (for business) and slang." – Participant #169 (Female, 19)

(3) "England speaks differently than America/ Southern States different than northern." – Participant #223 (Female, 21)

The trends in the evaluations offered for item (H) ("Spanish is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others."), are included in Figure 2 as well. Here the results appear more split than the evaluations for English where the majority agreed with the statement to different degrees. For item (H) those who agreed with this statement (37.8%) and those who marked "totally agree" (5.8%) are almost equal to those who disagreed with the statement (38.2%) and those who circled "totally disagree" as their reply (4.5%). A one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine possible statistical differences between evaluations of English (B) and Spanish (H). The results revealed that the differences were statistically significant ($F(3, 428) = 159.59$, $p = .000$). What is noteworthy about the results for Spanish is that on the one hand participants

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

apparently rejected ("disagree") more strongly the notion that some varieties of Spanish are more correct than others (37.8%) but on the other hand it appears that an almost equal percentage (37.8%) agreed with the notion that some varieties of Spanish are more correct than others. Several speakers commented on the latter (see Examples (4)–(6)). Most attributed the highest prestige to the varieties spoken in Spain (4), specifically due to its grammar and "linguistics" (5) which the response implies is better than in Latin America. The speaker cited in (6) applies a historical rationale whereby the Spanish spoken in Spain is preferred due to the fact that this is the place of origin for the language.

(4) "It is spoken the best in Spain rather than in South America." – Participant #347 (Female, 19)

(5) "Namely, in linguistic rules and grammar, Spain." – Participant #376 (Male, 23)

(6) "Spain, as I mentioned in question c), Spanish (like English) is made up and derived from many dialects, but it originated in the Spanish (Spain) region." – Participant #427 (Female, 28)

The highly favorable views of Spanish as spoken in Spain as rated the most prestigious variety (see Figure 3), is a perception that is shared by the informants in the study by Orozco and Dorado (2014). Unfortunately, as a point for comparison, the questionnaire did not require the participants to reply where they thought the best English was spoken and whether also in these responses English from Britain would be attributed greater prestige since it is considered the geographical origin of the language. The present responses, however, evidence a preference for the European variety in the case of Spanish. Similar tendencies have been noticed in prior studies on evaluations of Spanish in the U.S. (e.g., Fuller, 2013; Lippi-Green, 2012; Zentella, 1995) and often emerge in stark contrast to evaluations of Spanish spoken in Latin America and their speakers.[4]

We will return to the image of Spain and its varieties later in the discussion. For now, we will turn our attention to the role of languages other than English in the U.S. Item (D) states "It is important to speak (an)other language(s) besides English in the United States". Here the replies revealed strong agreement with this statement: 24.9% totally agreed and 53.9% agreed. By contrast, only 7.1% disagreed

4. Based on Bugel (2009), it appears perceptions of socioeconomic strength at least in some cases outweigh Eurocentric views. In a study by this author on Brazilians' attitudes towards varieties of Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese was highly favored in contrast to the European variety of the language. The data suggest that speakers favored Brazilian Portuguese because of this country's perceived stronger economic and geopolitical impact in contrast to the smaller and internationally less powerful Portugal.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and 4.5% totally disagreed with this statement. This outcome indicates a growing awareness among the participants that learning another language would be beneficial to them. Responses to open-ended item E ("If I had the opportunity to learn to speak any language, I would learn …"), reveals which languages are thought to be beneficial.

As we see in Figure 3, 42.5% stated that Spanish is an important language to speak in the US. The rationale behind these very high ratings was the recognition among many participants that Spanish is a language widely spoken in the U.S. as exemplified in items 7–8.

(7) "Spanish. It is becoming a language that many people speak. " – Participant #434 (Female, 21)

(8) "Spanish. Rapidly growing in the U.S." – Participant #177 (Female, 22)

Comparatively, German (10.8%) and French (9.9%) received much lower ratings. The fact that these two languages are still present in these responses might be due to the fact that they often are part of a traditional foreign language repertoire of many high schools in the country. The group "other European languages" contains responses such as Latin, Italian, Portuguese, Gaelic, Greek, or Russian (see Example (9)). The rationales for studying languages in this group largely cited either personal interest through family history or images purported in the media or other sources (such as the perceptions of Russian).

(9) "Russian. It sounds badass." – Participant #439 (Male, 24)

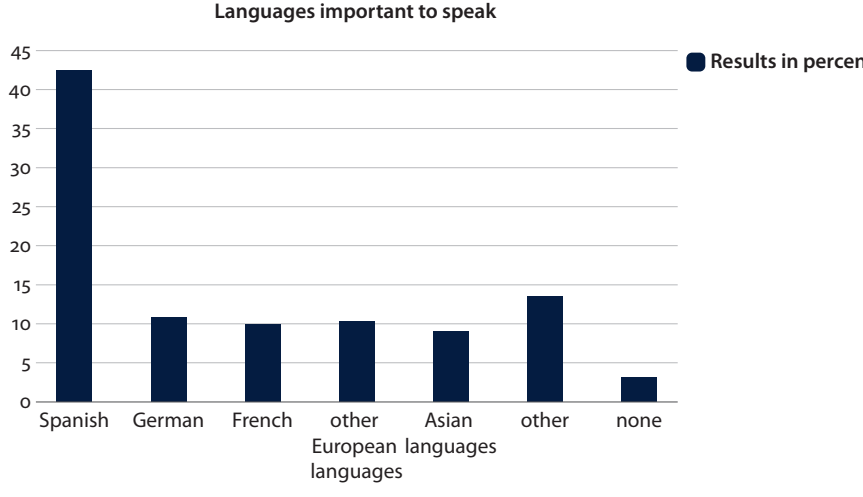


Figure 3. Responses to item E ("If I had the opportunity to learn to speak any language, I would learn …") (in %)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Likewise, the group "Asian languages" was created to include responses mentioning Japanese or Chinese as important to learn for economic reasons (see Example (10)), rather than personal interest as the earlier comment on Russian suggests.

(10) "Japanese. It is widely spoken in the U.S. but it is economically and socially relevant." – Participant #189 (Female, 24)

The group entitled "other" includes languages such as Nahuatl (a native Mexican language), American Sign Language, Arabic, or Swahili. A total of 13.5% of participants mentioned languages in this category. Only 3.1% did not respond to this prompt.

The high interest in Spanish has been part of a larger trend at universities over the past 10–15 years, if not longer. As Lipski (2002) observed, enrollment for Spanish has increased while other language programs struggle to fill classes. Shepherd University is a small college with a limited number of basic language classes. As such, the interest in modern languages (Spanish and other language class offerings included) is less than elsewhere. Recall that more than half of participants in the study had had contact with Spanish language classrooms either in high school or college. Much of the interest in Spanish, as in comments (7–8) above, is motivated by an understanding that Spanish is useful in the U.S. given the high number of Spanish speakers. As Lipski (2002) suggests, this is a sign that Spanish for many is not considered such a "foreign" language but a means of communication that will be required of a well-rounded college graduate irrespective of the area of employment (s)he might pursue later on.

More insights into the thinking of the students emerge from the responses to item (F) "If I had the opportunity to study Spanish anywhere in the world, I would do it in…" and responses are illustrated in Figure 4.

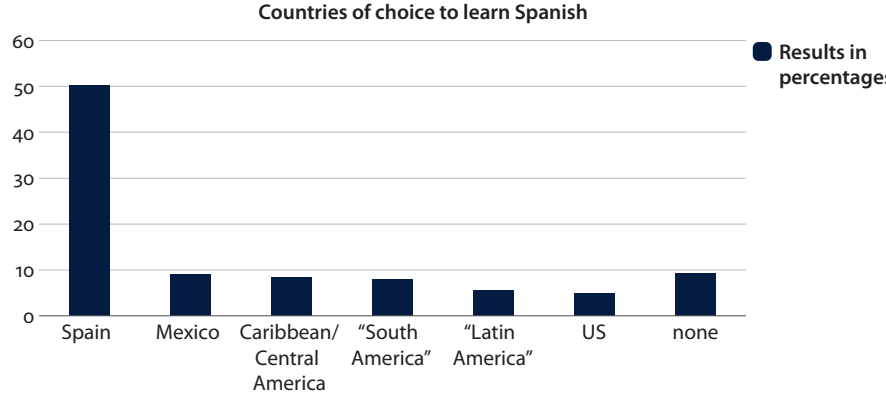


Figure 4. Responses to item F ("If I had the opportunity to study Spanish anywhere in the world, I would do it in…") (in %)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The overwhelming majority of responses denote Spain as their preferred country in which to study Spanish (50.3%). The second most common response was Mexico with 9% of participants. 8.3% of participants indicated a country in the Caribbean (Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic) or Central America. 7.9% of participants stated that "South America" was their preferred place to study and 5.6% replied "Latin America". It is worth mentioning that the last two groups were created based on the responses in the questionnaire and the labels reflect the wording in the responses given, (i.e. the responses written on the questionnaires were "Latin America" or "South America"). The U.S. was also mentioned by 4.9% of participants. The residual 9.2% of respondents did not give a reply or reported no interest in studying Spanish.

The comments of the participants allow insights into their rationales. Much like in the responses to item (H) discussed above, Spain again received very positive comments. The country is seen either as the historical home of the language as in (11) or the responses highlight how Spanish from Spain, much like Spain itself was "beautiful" and "sophisticated" as do the participants in items (12) and (13).

(11) "Spain. It's where the language originated." – Participant #171 (Female, 23)

(12) "Spain. It's very beautiful, very cultured, very sophisticated, and where the language is not spoken as slang." – Participant #167 (Male, 20)

(13) "Spain. It is beautiful." – Participant #162 (Female, 21)

Another aspect that appeared attractive to a number of participants was that Spain was geographically far from the U.S. and therefore appealing (14). Taking into account that many of the participants have never traveled beyond the mainland U.S., a European country would be a more favorable place to travel.

(14) "Spain. It is far from the U.S. and would be extremely fun to explore the country and learn the culture." – Participant #146 (Female, 20)

By comparison, the comments referencing other locations indicate a less romanticized imagery but attest to the speakers' more practical approach to learning Spanish. Such as for instance the comment on Mexico (15) that references the higher usefulness of Mexican Spanish in the U.S., in allusion to the higher percentage of speakers of this variety, as means of communication.

(15) "Mexico. The dialect spoken there would be more useful to me than the one spoken in Spain." – Participant #232 (Male, 20)

Other replies bear evidence of contact with Spanish speakers, as in (16). Here the participant has established a friendship with a native of Peru, and through this contact shows allegiance to her friend's country of origin by indicating a preference

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

to learn the variety spoken there. Several responses revealed similar forms of preference for a friend's country of origin.

(16) "Peru. My friend is from there and speaks Spanish very well." – Participant #444 (Female, 19)

Other replies, often those citing more abstract locations such as "Latin America" or "South America" instead of a specific country (terms used by the participants themselves), divulged little knowledge of specific countries or geographic areas (e.g., the Caribbean) and also frequently mixed these general ideas with rationales such as geographic proximity and a perceived difference between Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries (17).

(17) "South America. Because of the culture and the fact that Mexico is close and I would be able to differentiate between Spanish and Mexican languages." – Participant #381 (Male, 20)

A similar pattern could be found in the responses to open-ended item (G) (represented in Figure 5) that was included to tap into the participants' perceptions of correctness of Spanish variants as spoken in different countries or their curiosity to learn a variety they know is different from what they've learned but they view favorably ("If I had the opportunity to speak Spanish perfectly or differently, I would like to speak it the same way that it is spoken in…"). The country perceived to speak the most correct Spanish is Spain (25.8%), followed by Mexico (14.2%), Caribbean and Central American countries (6.3%), "South America (5.4%), "Idk" ("I don't know") (5.4%), "Native Country" (5.2%), and "in the U.S. (2.2%).

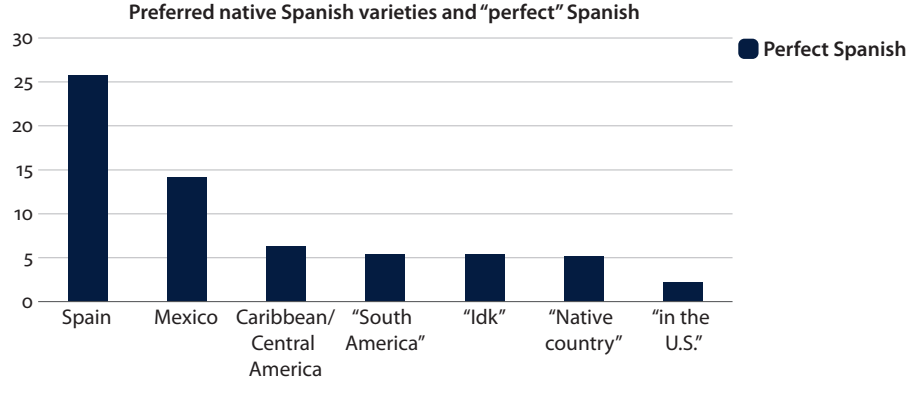


Figure 5. Responses to item G ("If I had the opportunity to speak Spanish perfectly or differently, I would like to speak it the same way that it is spoken in…") (in %)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Much like in the previous comments, the reasons included historical arguments for a preference for Spain (19), geographic proximity (20), and a preference for Mexican or Latin American varieties because of their usefulness for communicating with Spanish speakers in the U.S. (20–21).

(18) "Spain because it's the home nation of Spannish [sic]." – Participant #408 (Male, 21)

(19) "America because I live here and want to use it here." – Participant #418 (Female, 23)

(20) "Mexico because more easily understood by the Spanish speaking people in the area." – Participant #232 (Male, 20)

(21) "South America because then I could understand everyone who spoke Spanish." – Participant #205 (Male, 21)

The fact that some participants appear to have little cultural/linguistic awareness of Spanish varieties and Spanish-speaking countries might be attributed to their limited travel experiences. About 45% had never traveled beyond the borders of the United States and only 23% had traveled to Spanish-speaking countries. Other possible influencing factors could be the pervasively positive image of Spain not only in popular culture but also in commonly accessible teaching materials on Spanish. The positive image of Spain then among non-native speakers is undoubtedly linked to a Eurocentric ideology that views Spain, its history, its language, and its people as superior to indigenous/black Spanish speaking immigrants, often with little to no access to education, arriving to the U.S. from Mexico, Central- and South America (Franzki, 2012; Quijano, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that these results fall in line with Orozco and Dorado (2014), who also found a preference for Spain both as a preferred travel destination and ideal location to learn the language in their study in Louisiana. These perceptions clearly are not limited to West Virginia, but extend to the larger U.S.

By consequence, the evaluations given to non-Castilian, that is, Latin American, varieties although not directly negative, speak of more pragmatic and less romantic images and motivations. With approximately 400 million speakers of Spanish worldwide (Ethnologue) and close economic ties to neighboring Mexico, it is useful to learn the language for reasons other than cultural interests. But few if any of the comments made by the participants offered more positive imagery. Without more details, one might assume a lack of interest in getting to know the culture of those countries. Although, no negative remarks were made in any of the 445 questionnaires, the lack of outright positive imagery and interest is a statement in and of itself. As many previous researchers have stated (e.g., Fuller, 2013; Hobsbawm, 1991; Lippi-Green, 2012; Schwartz, 2011; Zentella, 1995), it is in many cases more

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

socially acceptable to express thoughts on language than to comment directly on social or ethnic differences. If we reframe the results based on this analysis, we find that for the present participant pool, positive perceptions towards Spain and its predominantly ethnically white inhabitants abound, whereas there is markedly less interest in the Spanish spoken by the majority of Latinos/ Latinas living in the U.S. and in neighboring Mexico and Latin American countries, which by comparison to common perceptions of Spaniards are inhabited by phenotypically darker peoples. Incidentally, this is one of the findings by Alfaraz (2002, 2014) in a study on perceptions of Spanish by Miami Cubans, where she encounters highly positive ratings for varieties spoken in countries perceived to be more European (e.g., Spain and Argentina) but very negative evaluations for those with higher percentages of speakers of indigenous or African heritage (e.g., Bolivia, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic). Based on the sparse data presented here, this can only remain a theory. On the other hand, perhaps the use of general expressions such as "Latin America" or "South America" doesn't just reflect a lack of geographic knowledge or interest, but additionally a form of homogenization of Spanish speakers other than those coming from Spain. Although some participants pointed out specific countries they wanted to study in, or whose Spanish they preferred, in most cases these speakers explained their preferred choice through having personal ties with one of its nationals.

Conclusion

Since many participants have little to no knowledge of Spanish and its variants, the ideological framework with which Spanish is evaluated appears to be transferred from English, their native language. Therefore, their evaluations of Spanish and its speakers are strongly influenced by dominant ideas of standardized language that generally accord more prestige to speakers of more socially accepted variants, whereas non-standard varieties and its speakers are evaluated negatively. Furthermore, the role of Eurocentric views has been discussed as a factor in the linguistic and social evaluations accorded to different Spanish-speaking groups. Spain is lauded as the cultural and linguistic "home" of Spanish and variants spoken in Spain are therefore valued very positively, whereas variants spoken in Latin America (especially those spoken in Mexico) are perceived as less "correct" and the motivations named for learning them are not due to cultural and historical reasons, as in the case of Spain, but for "practical" reasons. Nevertheless, by far the majority of participants state the importance of learning Spanish in the U.S. where it is a widely spoken language.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

References

Alfaraz, G. (2002). Miami Cuban perceptions of varieties of Spanish. In D. Long & D. R. Preston (Eds.), *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 2, pp. 1–13). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.hpd2.06alf

Alfaraz, G. (2014). Dialect perceptions in real time: A restudy of Miami-Cuban perceptions. *Journal of Linguistic Geography*, 2, 74–86. https://doi.org/10.1017/jlg.2014.8

Babel, A. (2014). Stereotypes versus experience: Indexing regional identity in Bolivian Valley Spanish. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18(5), 604–633. https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12101

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, L. (2009). *Latinos still misrepresented: Add 'mestizo' to the U.S. Census*. https://juantornoe.blogs.com/hispanictrending/2009/07/latinos-still-misrepresented-add-mestizo-to-the-us-census.html

Ballard, L. (2013). Student attitudes towards accentedness of native and non-native speaking English teachers. *MSU Working Papers in SLS 2013*, 4, 47–73.

Barrett, R. (2006). Language ideology and racial inequality: Competing functions of Spanish in an Anglo-owned Mexican restaurant. *Language in Society*, 35(2), 163–204. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404506060088

Bradac, J. J., & Wisegarver, R. (1984). Ascribed status, lexical diversity, and accent: Determinants of perceived status, solidarity, and control of speech. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 3, 239–255. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X8400300401

Bugel, T. (2009). Explicit attitudes in Brazil towards varieties of Portuguese. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 2(2), 275–304. https://doi.org/10.1515/shll-2009-1053

Census Quickfacts Shepherdstown, WV. *U.S. Census QuickFacts*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/54> (22 October, 2019).

Census Quickfacts, West Virginia. *U.S. Census QuickFacts*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/54> (22 October, 2019).

Census Quickfacts Martinsburg, WV. *U.S. Census QuickFacts*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/5452060> (22 October, 2019).

Clyne, M. (1998). Multilingualism. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 301–315). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Crowley, T. (2003). *Standard American English and the politics of language*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230501935

Docherty, G., Langstrof, C., & Folkes, P. (2013). Listener evaluation of sociophonetic variability: Probing constraints and capabilities. *Linguistics*, 51(2), 355–380. https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2013-0014

Drager, K. (2006). Social categories, grammatical categories, and the likelihood of "like" monophthongization. In *Proceedings of Australian International Conference on Speech Science and Technology* (pp. 384–387). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ethnologue. Data on Spanish speakers worldwide. Retrieved from <https://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size> (22 October, 2019).

Foulkes, P., & Docherty, G. (2006). The social life of phonetics and phonology. *Journal of Phonology*, 34(4), 409–438.

Franzki, H. (2012). Eurocentrism. *InterAmerican Wiki: Terms – Concepts – Critical Perspectives*. Retrieved from <www.uni-bielefeld.de/cias/wiki/e_Eurocentrism.html> (22 October, 2019).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Fridland, V. (2008). Regional differences in perceiving vowel tokens on Southernness, education, and pleasantness ratings. *Language Variation and Change*, 20, 67–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954394508000069

Fuller, J. (2013). *Spanish speakers in the USA*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511844713

Garrett, P., Williams, A., & Evans, B. (2005). Attitudinal data from New Zealand, Australia, the USA, and the UK about each other's Englishes: Recent changes? Or consequences of methodology? *Multilingua*, 24, 211–235. https://doi.org/10.1515/mult.2005.24.3.211

Hay, J., & Drager, K. (2007). Sociophonetics. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 36, 89–103. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120633

Hay, J., Warren, P., & Drager, K. (2006). Factors influencing speech perception in the context of a merger-in-progress. *Journal of Phonetics*, 34, 458–484. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2005.10.001

Hernández, R. (1993). When an accent becomes an issue: immigrants turn to speech classes to reduce sting of bias. *The New York Times*, 2 March. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/03/02/nyregion/when-accent-becomes-issue-immigrants-turn-speech-classes-reduce-sting-bias.html> (22 October, 2019).

Hobsbawm, E. (1991). The perils of the new nationalism. *The Nation*, 534 (Nov. 4), 55–56.

Hoenigswald, H. (1966). A proposal for the study of folklinguistics. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 16–26). The Hague: Mouton.

Hoffmann, M., & Walker, J. A. (2010). Ethnolects and the city: Ethnic orientation and linguistic variation in Toronto English. *Language Variation and Change*, 22(1), 37–67. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954394509990238

Honey, J. (1998). Sociophonology. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 92–106). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language. Ideologies, polities, and identities* (pp. 35–84). Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Joseph, J. E. (1987). *Eloquence and power: The rise of language standards and standard languages*. London: Frances Pinter.

Labov, W. (1966a). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Lippi-Green, R. (2012). *English with an accent. Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Lipski, J. M. (2002). Rethinking the place of Spanish. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 117, 1247–1251. https://doi.org/10.1632/003081202X61124

Lipski, J. M. (2008). *Varieties of Spanish in the United States*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Long, D., & Preston, D. R. (Eds.) (2002). *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. 2). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.hpd2

Niedzielski, N. (1999). The effect of social information on the perception of sociolinguistic variables. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18, 62–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X99018001005

Niedzielski, N., & Preston, D. R. (2003). *Folk linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Milroy, L., & Milroy, J. (1985). Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 339–84. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226700010306

Milroy, J. (2007). The ideology of standard language. In C. Llamas, L. Mullaly, & P. Stockwell (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to sociolinguistics* (pp. 133–139). London: Routledge.

Orozco, R., & Dorado, D. (2014, April). "English speakers' perceptual attitudes towards Spanish". Paper presented at the *Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics 7*, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Preston, D. R. (1989). *Perceptual dialectology*. Dordrecht: Foris. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110871913

Preston, D. R. (1993). The uses of folk linguistics. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 3, 181–259. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.1993.tb00049.x

Preston, D. R. (Ed.). (1999). *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. 1). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.hpd1

Preston, D. R. (2002). Language with an attitude. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 40–66). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality, eurocentrism, and social classification. *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1(3), 533–580.

Rubin, D. L. (1992). Non-language factors affecting undergraduates' judgments of nonnative English speaking teaching assistants. *Research in Higher Education*, 33(4), 511–531. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00973770

Schmidt, R. (2002). Radicalization and language policy: The case of the USA. *Multilingua*, 21, 141–162.

Schwartz, P. (2011). Mockery and appropriation of Spanish in white spaces: Perceptions of Latinos in the United States. In M. Díaz-Campos (Ed.), *The handbook of Hispanic sociolinguistics* (pp. 646–663). Malden, MA: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444393446.ch30

Shepherd Demographics, Fall 2010–2014. Retrieved from <http://www.shepherd.edu/wordpress-1/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/HEOA_demographics.pdf> (22 October 2019).

Shepherd At-A-Glance Information. Retrieved from <http://www.shepherd.edu/at-a-glance/> (22 October, 2019).

Smith, E. R., & Mackie, D. (2000). *Social psychology*. New York, NY: Worth.

Tajfel, H. (1981). Social stereotypes and social groups. In J. C. Turner & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup behaviour* (pp. 144–165). Oxford: Blackwell.

Zentella, A. C. (1995, April). The "chiquitification" of US Latinos and their languages, or why we need anthropolitical linguistics. Paper presented at *Salsa III. Proceedings of a Symposium on Language and Society*. Austin, TX.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Appendix A

Language opinion survey: *This survey asks for personal opinions, so all answers are good.*

a. English is spoken the same way everywhere
____ totally agree ____ agree ____disagree ____ totally disagree
Comments _____

b. English is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others.
_____ totally agree _____ agree _____ disagree _____ totally disagree
For example _____

c. It is important to speak (an)other language(s) besides English in the United States
_____ totally agree _____ agree _____ disagree _____ totally disagree
Comments _____

d. If I had the opportunity to learn to speak any language, I would learn _____
because _____

e. If I had the opportunity to study Spanish anywhere in the world, I would do it in
_____ because _____

f. If I had the opportunity to speak Spanish perfectly or differently, I would like to speak it the same way that it is spoken in_____ because _____
_____

g. Spanish is spoken the same way everywhere: ____ strongly agree _____ agree
_____ disagree _____ strongly disagree
Comments _____

h. Spanish is spoken more properly or more correctly in certain places (countries, regions, states, or cities) than in others: ____ strongly agree _____ agree _____ disagree
_____ strongly disagree
If it is, please mention where _____

My demographic information: Sex: M F – Birth place: _____
Year I was born: _____
Place (city) of residence: _____
At home with my family, I speak (language(s).____.
I have spoken/studied_____ for _____ years.
Education level:
high school: _____ Freshman. _____ Sophomore _____ Junior _____ Senior _____ Grad.
Other _____
Academic major in college: _____

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Differing attitudes toward Spanish sign languages in three Galician pre- and primary schools

María C. Bao Fente[i], Inmaculada C. Báez Montero[ii] and Nancy Vázquez Veiga[i]
[i]Universidade da Coruña / [ii]Universidade de Vigo

Research into multilingual communities in Europe shows parallels between spoken languages and sign languages in relation to the influence of school and family on the origin and transformation of linguistic attitudes. Compared with the number and variety of studies on spoken languages, however, relatively little research has been carried out on the question of linguistic attitudes to sign languages. The dearth of specific research is further compounded by the methodological challenge of how to apply indirect research techniques to the study of visual-spatial languages. The results obtained in this study confirm the influence of linguistic attitudes on the teaching of deaf pupils, as well as the need to resource and promote the development of plurilingual curricula in different language modalities.

Keywords: linguistic attitudes, sign language (SL), European Language Portfolio (ELP), plurilingualism, inclusive education

Introduction

Interaction between auditory-oral and visual-spatial languages in situations of language contact can result in the emergence of clichés, stereotypes and prejudices in relation to the use of one or another language type. Sign language (SL) is never the only language within a linguistic community – it necessarily coexists with one or more spoken languages, and in a socially subordinate relation to them. The sign languages used by deaf people have traditionally been considered unsuitable for teaching, even for children affected by hearing loss. Until the mid-20th century, the predominance of orality and its perception as an intrinsic feature of human language meant that SLs were not recognized as a natural language system from the point of view of linguistics.

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.03bao
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

SLs emerge in response to the need for communication between individuals who do not have access to sound. Paradoxically, however, these visual systems of signs are often left to languish under a cloak of social invisibility. The treatment of deafness as a disability has led, not only to the linguistic nature of visual-spatial communication systems being ignored, but also to deaf communities not being recognized as a linguistic minority, even where an awareness of linguistic rights exists (Báez & Cabeza, 2005, p. 280).

SLs are recognized in law by only a small number of countries. In Spain, the Spanish and Catalan Sign Language Acts (27/2007, October 23, and 17/2010, June 3) recognize the Spanish and Catalan varieties of visual-spatial language used in Spain (SSL and CSL, respectively). Galician Sign Language (GSL) is not officially recognized either in regional Galician law or by the Spanish state.

The Spanish Sign Language Act (27/2007) guarantees access to education for people with deafness, hearing loss and deaf-blindness, together with their right to learn and use a SL and other oral communication aids at school. As yet, however, no specific legislation has been introduced to ensure the availability of learning programs in spoken and signed languages in all regions of Spain or minimum standards for their implementation (CNLSE, 2014).

This chapter begins with a brief description of the European Language Portfolio and the reasons for its implementation in a leading school for deaf children in the Galician city of Vigo (Báez & Bao, 2015). The next section describes the survey sample and the measurement instruments created to assess and compare respondent attitudes to Spanish and SLs.

Attitudes to Spanish sign languages

The promotion of inclusivity and respect for the linguistic and social rights of pupils has led to the gradual implementation of education programs in spoken and signed languages in most countries as a way of improving educational standards for children with hearing loss. Despite official recognition in countries such as Spain, there is still considerable debate around the value of SL as a primary language of instruction. In Spain, as in the United States (Burns, Matthew, & Nolan-Conroy, 2001; Hill, 2013; Krausneker, 2015), deafness is viewed from contrasting perspectives: the medicalized approach, which views hearing loss as a disability; and the cultural view, which sees it as a mark of linguistic identity. Although cultural background is an important factor in the formation of these ideas, it seems clear that until SSL is recognized, not just legally but also more generally within society, the restrictive medicalized view of deafness and sign language will continue to prevail.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The education of children with hearing loss has been the subject of research in many countries, yet very few studies explore linguistic attitudes to SLs and SL speakers in schools. Most of these focus on deaf children and the teachers and family members responsible for their education. For example, none of the work done so far analyzes linguistic attitudes towards SLs in schools with no deaf students on their roll (but which may have them in the future). Research into other multilingual communities (Baker, 1992; Lasagabaster & Huguet, 2007) shows clear parallels with SSL in relation to the influence of school and family on the origin, consolidation and change of linguistic attitudes.

For this study, a survey was carried out of linguistic attitudes to SLs in three Galician pre- and primary schools, in an attempt to identify indicators of social change in regard to SL and the potential future success of plurilingual curricular projects in spoken and signed languages (Bao, 2017).

The survey was designed to examine linguistic attitudes to SLs in two educational contexts: (a) schools with no deaf pupils, and (b) schools teaching deaf pupils based on an *inclusive,*[1] *plurilingual* approach to education.[2]

The overall goal of the study was to find out whether the inclusion of SLs in the curriculum of a well-known school for deaf children has altered linguistic attitudes among the school community as a whole. To facilitate the inclusion of SLs in schools, a multimodal version of the European Language Portfolio (ELP) was created by our research team. The ELP is an innovative teaching resource created by the Council of Europe to implement the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in schools.[3] The plurilingual approach promoted by the Council of Europe for the teaching of mother tongues and environmental and foreign languages emphasizes the benefits to any person of learning and experiencing different languages and cultures from an early age (Council of Europe, 2001).

The study started from the premise that clichés, stereotypes and prejudices towards SLs are more pronounced in educational contexts involving deaf students owing to the traditional resistance to their use as a primary language of instruction.

---

1. Organic Education Act 2/2006 (May 3) (LOE) introduced *inclusion* as a principle of equality and diversity to be guaranteed by the Spanish education system, with diversity seen as a source of knowledge and cultural enrichment, and an essential part of school life.

2. The term *plurilingualism* refers to a person's simultaneous communicative ability in two or more languages and the interrelationship between them. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) promotes a plurilingual approach for the teaching of mother tongues and environmental and foreign languages (Council of Europe, 2001).

3. For further information about the ELP project and its adaptation to the teaching of both spoken and signed languages, see Báez & Bao (2015).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The expected outcome, therefore, was to find that attitudes towards SL in the school with deaf pupils were more unfavorable than in the two schools that have no deaf pupils and where the teaching of SL is not included in the curriculum. Unlike most other research, this study also analyzes linguistic attitudes to visual-spatial languages in schools with no deaf pupils, since, under the current policy of integration and normalization (LOMCE, 8/2013), the inclusion of pupils with hearing loss could become a reality at any time.

Methodology

The study analyzes linguistic attitudes to SL and SL speakers at three Galician pre- and primary schools using a mentalist, rather than behaviorist approach. Mentalism is the most commonly used methodology in studies of this kind, conceiving of attitudes as internal, mental constructs that determine how people respond to particular ideas (Iglesias, 1999, p. 275). The analysis explores the influence of shared social beliefs on respondents' mental predisposition towards one form of language use over another (Moreno, 2012, p. 215).

Following best practice in this area, linguistic attitudes have been measured using a combination of direct and indirect methods, adapted to meet the special conditions of visual-spatial languages.[4] The mentalist approach raises the difficulty of having to infer respondents' attitudes from the information provided, rather than observe them directly. A prior exploratory examination of attitudes to SSLs is, nevertheless, a useful way of distinguishing more popularly held beliefs and opinions about language from the expert views of actual linguists (Moreno, 2012, p. 213). For this study, a combination of direct and indirect methods was used to ensure the reliability of the results and to offer a more comprehensive analysis of the ideas expressed by respondents.

Most of the data were collected from direct research methods, such as interviews and questionnaires, but also, most notably, using the so-called *matched-guise* technique, first developed by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum in 1960. Though often criticized, the test has the advantage of exposing how a single speaker may be valued differently depending on what language they use, as respondents believe that each of the speech samples is provided by a different person. After

4. Traditionally, the methods used for studying linguistic attitudes have been classified as direct or indirect, according to the respondent's prior knowledge of the reality being analyzed. A *totally direct method* directly elicits the respondent's opinion about one language or another, while a *totally indirect method* is designed to avoid respondents becoming aware that their attitudes towards the language are being studied (Fasold, 1984, p. 149).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

listening to the *masked* voices, respondents are instructed to associate each speaker with a selection of characteristics (such as intelligence, friendliness, attractiveness, etc.) to demonstrate how certain social attributes are associated with each linguistic variety based on the clichés, stereotypes or prejudices prevailing in that community.

Because oral languages can be transmitted and decoded by sound alone, the values associated with the speaker (e.g., intelligence, friendliness, responsibility, goodness, etc.) derive solely from linguistic factors, such as the speaker's voice. For visual-spatial languages, however, the process must be adapted in order to dissociate the act of communication from the speaker's image.

Sample description

Respondents were selected using purposive sampling. All subjects familiar with the multimodal version of the ELP at the school with deaf pupils were included in the sample. The other primary school with signing pupils which trialed our multimodal ELP participated at the pilot stage only, as a way of testing the validity of the study's measurement techniques with respondents of similar characteristics.

The size of the sample at each school was determined by the age of the pupils. While the aim of the survey was to compare the attitudes of pupils, teachers and families to SLs, the decision was taken to focus on children in their final year of primary school (aged approximately 12 years), in line with studies which show that student attitudes start to stabilize around the age of 12, before solidifying in adolescence (Baker, 1992, p. 63). Teachers and families of pupils from all year groups were invited to participate, in view of the participation difficulties of family members, in particular.

Two schools that had not tested the multimodal version of the ELP were selected in order to balance the sample of respondents, that is, to achieve a similar number of adults and children, and teacher and parent respondents. The criteria used in the selection of these schools were: (a) location in the same neighborhood or sociolinguistically similar areas, (b) absence of deaf pupils among school population, (c) absence of SL from school curriculum, and (d) willingness and availability to take part in the study.

A total of 351 people were involved at the different stages of the research process ($n = 351$). The present analysis focuses on the data obtained from respondents at the three schools used in the main survey ($n = 187$). The pilot study carried out prior to the main survey provided valuable feedback regarding the adjustments required to adapt our instruments for measuring attitudes to spoken languages to the specific features and requirements of visual-spatial languages. Table 1 shows the numerical distribution of the sample, according to the characteristics of the schools and the respondents in each one.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 1. Numerical distribution of total sample

		Pupils			Teachers			Families			Total
SSL	ELP	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	351
No		24	20	44	2	8	10	1	3	4	58
		42	30	72	7	31	39	9	31	43	154
Yes	No	20	13	34	7	17	25	1	3	4	63
	Yes	17	17	34	1	15	17	5	19	25	76
		103	80	**184**	17	71	**91**	16	56	**76**	

Table 2 shows the numerical distribution of the sample at the three schools used in the main survey.

Table 2. Numerical distribution final sample

		Pupils			Teachers			Families			Total	
SSL	ELP	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	187	
No		16	12	28	2	21	24	4	5	10	62	90
		9	5	14	3	1	4	3	5	10	28	
Yes	No	12	8	21	3	9	13	1	3	4	38	97
	Yes	10	11	21	1	11	13	5	19	25	59	
		47	36	**84**	9	42	**54**	13	32	**49**		

The groups and subgroups within the sample were divided according to three independent variables: teaching of SLs, experience of the multimodal ELP, and position within the school community (pupil, teacher, family member). Respondent gender was also taken into account, in keeping with studies on other languages which show differences between the linguistic attitudes of men and women (Baker, 1992; López, 2004).

Measuring attitudes to visual-spatial languages

Data measurement of linguistic attitudes toward SLs and SL speakers presents a number of challenges. Previous attempts to analyze linguistic attitudes to SLs using a combined direct/indirect approach have been hampered by the problem of applying indirect research methods (such as the matched-guise experiment) to visual-spatial languages. The absence of any benchmark studies on attitudes to SLs in schools with no deaf pupils also removes the possibility of replicating videos and questionnaires from studies on other SLs (Burns et al., 2001; Hill, 2013; Krausneker, 2015), since half of the sample in this case had no experience of SSL. In light of these

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

difficulties, it was decided, instead, to extend and adapt the methodology used in research on spoken languages in a school setting (Andersson, 2011; Baker, 1992; Fernández, 1984; Iglesias, 1999).

A questionnaire was created as an easy-to-use direct measurement instrument for data collection and analysis. For indirect measurement, an adapted matched-guise test was used to compare and contrast the data obtained from the questionnaire.

The success and validity of the matched-guise experiment under such conditions requires careful theoretical planning to ensure that the opinions expressed by respondents are determined by the linguistic variety used and not by the type or quality of the chosen text in each case (González, 2008, p. 232). The main changes introduced to the traditional matched-guise technique to adapt it to the study of linguistic attitudes to visual-spatial languages involved (a) the format of the recordings, and (b) the selection of participants (Burns et al., 2001, p. 189).

In addition to the careful selection of stimulus texts and speakers to ensure against their interfering in subject responses, the study also took into account a series of attributes in relation to two underlying dimensions of SSL: status and solidarity. Studies on other language varieties suggest that these two dimensions (at least) can be assumed to be present in the evaluation of any language. However, as part of this research, we decided to analyze both the number of dimensions and the scales of corresponding attributes, and to test for any variance due to language type, sociolinguistic context, text, variety or speaker, even within a single sample (Fernández, 1984, p. 440).

A combination of procedures was used to carry out the necessary assessments and validations. Firstly, the dimensions of assessment and their attributes were determined using scales from previous studies conducted in a school setting (Andersson, 2011; Fernández, 1984) and among users of American Sign Language (Burns et al., 2001; Hill, 2013). Factor analysis of the data provided by respondents was then applied to establish the degree of dimensionality of each text and language. From the pilot study of respondents with similar characteristics to those in the main sample group, we were able to (a) confirm the validity of the texts and speakers or signers presented as stimuli, and (b) correct the scale of social attributes used to assess the attitudes of our respondents.

The language pair used in the textual stimuli presented to all respondents was Spanish and SSL. The spoken stimulus was presented in Spanish, the majority language in the three schools under study. Video recordings were used in the case of SSL in order to mask the textual stimuli present in visual-spatial languages. For consistency, therefore, the same format was applied in the case of the recorded texts in oral Spanish, rather than the more typical audio recordings found in standard matched-guise experiments.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The use of video for presenting textual stimuli introduces the potential for interference by different variables in the outcome of the measurement process. The perception of a person as lazy, unfriendly or irresponsible, for example, does not arise when the matched-guise test is applied in the traditional way to oral language. To prevent the physical characteristics of the signers and speakers from influencing subject responses, each pair must be physically similar. In the recordings made for this study, the Spanish speakers were selected after the SSL signers, based on the physical appearance of the latter. As the images in Figure 1 show, as well as being competent in the language they were performing, both men and both women were physically alike, aged around forty, and dressed in black for the video.

Figure 1. Spanish speakers and SSL signers

The subject matter of the texts was selected to ensure they would be of interest to students, teachers and families alike, as we needed to present the same videos to all three groups and compare their answers. The topic in both instances was the benefits or opportunities offered by the use of technology: the first text was about video games and was recorded by the two women; the second text explained the concept of a *chatbot* and was recorded by the two men. The duration of the video in both cases was less than two minutes, with the first lasting 1 minute 47 seconds and the second, a slightly shorter 1 minute 42 seconds.

Using the information from the pilot study (n = 164), we were able to hone the scale of evaluation and the way in which the videos were presented, to produce a valid matched-guise experiment with which to analyze and compare the answers obtained from the main survey (n = 187). As part of this revised and more accurately renamed *hidden impressions* technique, respondents were asked to record their immediate impressions of each speaker and signer, to deflect attention away from the actual purpose of the study and prevent subjects from focusing on the linguistic attitudes revealed by their assessments.

Figure 2 illustrates how the videos in the main survey were split in such a way as to introduce each speaker and signer separately, and thus prevent the simultaneity of stimuli in SSL and Spanish from influencing respondents' answers.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

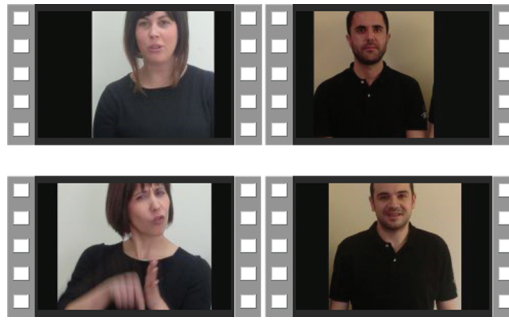


Figure 2. Textual stimuli in SSL and Spanish

Figure 3 shows an example of the semantic differential scale used by respondents to evaluate each speaker and signer. The measurement scale in each case was based on a set of numerical values between one and ten, a grading system familiar to most respondents in a school setting. Each social attribute was graded on a pass or fail basis, with the friendliness of the signer, for example, scored between one and four if he/she did not appear friendly, and between five and ten if he/she did. The same assessment scale was used for all videos and respondents, with the order of attributes in each scale determined at random. The same distribution was applied in all of the questionnaires, to ensure that pupils, teachers and family members received the same scale to complete after viewing each of the videos.

- **The women in the video seems:**

Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard-working
Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly
Not intelligent at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Very intelligent
An evil person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A good person
Irresponsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Responsible
Like she doesn't have many friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Like she has a lot of friends
You can't trust her	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	You can trust her
Like she doesn't care about other people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Like she cares about other people
Like she didn't get good grades at school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Like she got good grades at school
Like she depends on other people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Like she doesn't depend on other people

Figure 3. Semantic differential scale

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

In light of the results of the pilot study, we decided to expand the status dimension to include qualities found in other studies as part of a mixed dimension evaluating the activity or the ability of the speaker (Fernández, 1984, p. 430). Thus, for example, adjectives such as *hard-working* and *responsible* were used to assess whether the association of signed languages with the context of disability has a direct influence on the perceived success or social prestige of the signers.

In the final version of the scale, each assessment dimension was made up of five attributes: the status dimension comprised the attributes *intelligent*, *had good grades at school*, *hard-working*, *responsible* and *independent*; while the solidarity dimension consisted of *friendly*, *has a lot of friends*, *can be trusted*, *cares about others* and *a good person*. Of these, the attributes *independent* and *a good person* were dispensed with in the final stage of the analysis, after dimensionality testing revealed that the items change dimension when used in Spanish.

The results of the hidden impressions experiment were complemented by data collected through a study-specific questionnaire. The instrument was designed to assess the opinions of pupils, teachers and family members directly on a selection of ideas and beliefs about SLs, how SLs are taught and the special needs of deaf students.

While the possibility of carrying out direct and indirect measurements on separate days was ruled out by the schools, owing to time constraints upon families, the order of the two tests was identical in each school and for each group of respondents. They were first shown the videos in order to measure their linguistic attitudes indirectly, and then given the opinion questionnaire to complete.

All of the items in the questionnaires related to attitudes and beliefs regarding linguistic and cultural diversity, in keeping with the purpose of the study as it was informed to respondents: to investigate their opinions about diversity in Galician schools. The only difference between some of the questions was the particular language or group being asked about, while other items dealt more generally with diversity at the school. Questions about languages and groups other than Spanish or SL were also included, to avoid focusing too heavily or obviously on either visual-spatial languages or the issue of deaf education.

Items also varied according to the type of respondent, with different questionnaires supplied to students, teachers and families. While some issues were common to all three questionnaire types, other items were set for certain subgroups only (teachers and family members, or students and family members). A number of specific items were also included for each separate group of participants. The order of questions was likewise varied, as the student questionnaire contained a smaller number of items ($n = 24$) compared to those received by families ($n = 51$) and teachers ($n = 53$). Table 3 shows the total number and distribution of items in each questionnaire, according to subject category: (a) attitudes to languages

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(visual-spatial, spoken), (b) views about the special educational needs of deaf and immigrant pupils, and (c) opinion about inclusive education and plurilingualism.

Table 3. Total number of items in questionnaires

	Languages		Students with special educational needs		Plurilingualism and inclusive education		
	SSL	Other	Deaf	Immigrant	PL	IE	Total
Pupils	6	6	5	3	2	2	**24**
Teachers	9	14	12	6	9	3	**53**
Families	8	13	12	6	10	2	**51**

The results presented in this study correspond to the 31 items dealing with signed languages, deaf students and inclusive education, as highlighted in Table 3: 8 items common to all three questionnaires, 11 items common to teachers and families, a single item common to students and families, and an additional 11 single-group items (4 student, 5 teacher, 2 family).

The questionnaire comprised a similar number of positive and negative items, worded according to the favorable or unfavorable attitude or belief expressed by each statement. To prevent the order of items from creating a contagion effect between answers, study-specific items were grouped with questions on other languages and groups, and arranged in thematic sequence. The questionnaires received by students, teachers and families were the same in all three of the schools.

All of the items were closed-answer, dichotomous (*yes/no*) questions. The *DK/NA* (*Don't Know/No Answer*) option was omitted to prevent lack of knowledge of SLs on the part of half of the sample group from increasing the number of neutral responses, which would then have to be excluded from our exploratory analysis. As an additional measure to dissuade respondents from ignoring items on SLs or deaf students, the instructions stressed that there was no right or wrong answer to the questions and that the study's only object was to assess their personal opinions on the statements presented.

In all of the questionnaires, a final section was included for any remarks, suggestions or clarifications respondents might wish to add in relation to their answers. Comments of the kind reproduced below confirmed the existence of a number of the clichés, stereotypes and prejudices typically associated with deaf students in the context of education (Burns et al., 2001; Hill, 2013; Krausneker, 2015):

(1) The more languages you learn the better. Both [oral] languages and signed languages. I think the deaf community is not very visible.
(Mother of a primary school pupil, A Coruña)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(2) I think deaf students should use non-signed language (wherever possible, according to their ability). (Pre-school teacher, A Coruña)

(3) The appearance of cochlear implants (in Spain in the 1990s) marks a turning point in the education of children with hearing impairment and the challenges they can now meet. (Education support teacher, Vigo)

(4) I liked that there were deaf people in the videos. (Primary school pupil, Vigo)

SPSS Statistics 21 software was used to process and analyze the exploratory data. Both analyses of variance (ANOVA) showed the influence of one or more independent variables on the dependent variables in relation to the existence or absence of significant differences between the views and evaluations expressed by each group or subgroup.

The analysis processes selected for this study from among the different techniques offered by the SPSS Statistics program were factorial analysis, repeated measures analysis of variance (rANOVA), and univariate and multivariate ANOVA. Factor analysis was performed first to reduce the data obtained from the hidden impressions experiment and opinion questionnaires. The dependent variables were grouped into scales and analyzed according to the statistical model best suited to each technique: repeated measures ANOVA for the data from the hidden impressions test, and univariate and multivariate ANOVA for the questionnaires.

In keeping with the pattern usually observed in social sciences, the level of statistical significance (sig.) in all of our analyses is less than or equal to 0.05 (sig. ≤ .05).

Results

The initial premise of the study (that the most unfavorable attitudes towards Spanish sign languages are found in schools with deaf pupils, in keeping with traditional resistance to the use of sign language as a medium of instruction) was borne out by the statistical analysis ($p = 0.046$). Attitudes towards SLs were found to be more unfavorable in the school with deaf pupils (CEIP EA) than in the sample schools with no deaf pupils and no SL on the language curriculum (CEIP VLS and CEIP CE).

The results also show the existence of significant differences between the evaluation of SLs by subjects from the school where deaf children are taught depending on whether they were familiar with ELP or not ($p = 0.018$): respondents who used the multimodal version of the ELP showed more favorable attitudes towards SLs than those who did not.

As Figure 4 shows, in indirect or *hidden* measurements of linguistic attitudes, respondents expressed positive attitudes towards both languages. Nevertheless, in the school for children with hearing loss (CEIP EA), attitudes were more favorable

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

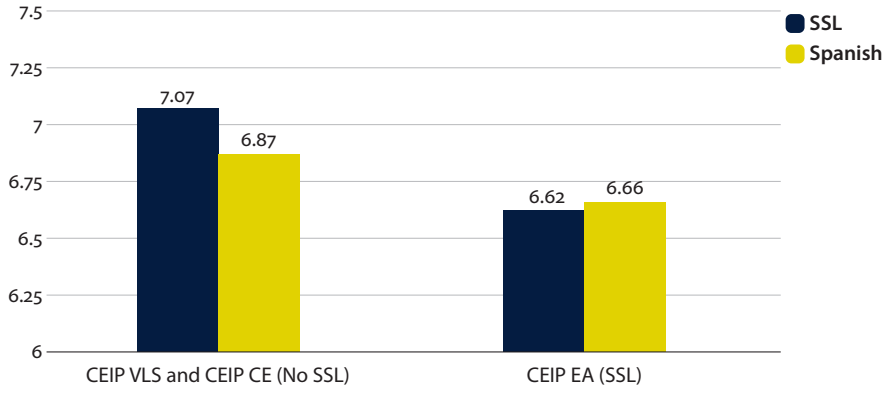


Figure 4. Differences between schools according to knowledge of SSL

towards Spanish ($\bar{x}$ = 6.66) than towards SSL ($\bar{x}$ = 6.62), while in the other two schools (CEIP VLS and CEIP CE), the opposite was true, with the signers evaluated more favorably ($\bar{x}$ = 7.07) than the Spanish speakers ($\bar{x}$ = 6.87).

The differences in the evaluations expressed by respondents from A Coruña (CEIP VLS and CEIP CE) with respect to those from the school for the deaf in Vigo (CEIP EA) indicate that the *imposed norm* hypothesis postulated by Giles, Bourhis and Davies in 1979 holds true, not just for oral languages, but for visual-spatial languages such as SSL as well. The *imposed norm* theory argues that the prestige of a language is derived from the status of the group that uses it, rather than the strictly linguistic-aesthetic criteria of the team's alternative *inherent value* hypothesis. Giles et al.'s research tested and confirmed the validity of the former as an explanation for why one variety may be valued differently by different groups (López, 2004, p. 287).

Additionally, just as Giles and his team analyzed the reaction of subjects to an unknown language in order to test the relative validity of their *inherent value* and *imposed norm* hypotheses, so too in this study the data from the two Coruña schools surveyed are based on value judgments by people with little or no knowledge of SL. The differences observed between the data from these two schools, as opposed to those from the deaf school, bear out the findings by previous studies that respondents do not usually differentiate or discriminate between languages and varieties unless they are familiar with them. Favorable or unfavorable evaluations usually occur among speakers within the same linguistic community since judgments concerning the status or prestige of a variety, and solidarity towards its speakers, depend mainly on knowledge and awareness of its social connotations for those familiar with it (Andersson, 2011, p. 31).

Most of the respondents from the school in Vigo (CEIP EA) are not native signed language users who are learning SSL as a result of being in contact with

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

its speakers. They are also familiar with the different linguistic functions of spoken and signed languages in the context of the school. Spanish is the most highly valued language at CEIP EA, and holds a clearly superior status to SSL, at both a linguistic and a social level. Respondents from the schools in A Coruña expressed more favorable attitudes towards SLs: because they are not in contact with this variety or familiar with any communities of deaf people, they do not associate its use with a group with lower social prestige. The higher valuation of SSL than Spanish at the two schools (CEIP VLS and CEIP CE) may be due to the fact that SSL is unfamiliar and therefore more interesting. Alternatively, it may be due to the influence of Spanish as a contrast language and/or the performance of the study in a school environment, since linguistic prestige and formality of surroundings can bias informant responses (Andersson, 2011; Fernández, 1984).

The positive evaluation of the signers by respondents from the school in Vigo ($\bar{x}$ = 6.62), and the differences between their assessments depending on whether the ELP was used or not (Figure 5), show that the increase in learning programs using both spoken and signed languages has led to an improvement in attitudes towards the use of SLs for the education of deaf children (Burns et al., 2001; Hill, 2013). Figure 5 also shows, however, that respondents using the multimodal version of the ELP at pre- and primary school level expressed more favorable attitudes, not only towards SSL, but also towards Spanish. Overall, respondents who did not use the portfolio as a teaching resource showed more favorable attitudes towards Spanish ($\bar{x}$ = 6.43) than towards SSL ($\bar{x}$ = 6.11), while those who did use it assessed SSL more favorably ($\bar{x}$ = 6.93) than Spanish ($\bar{x}$ = 6.79).

The qualitative and quantitative data indicate that the value of a multimodal portfolio for the teaching, learning and assessment of SSL lies, in particular, in improving the prestige of SSL in comparison to other spoken contact languages

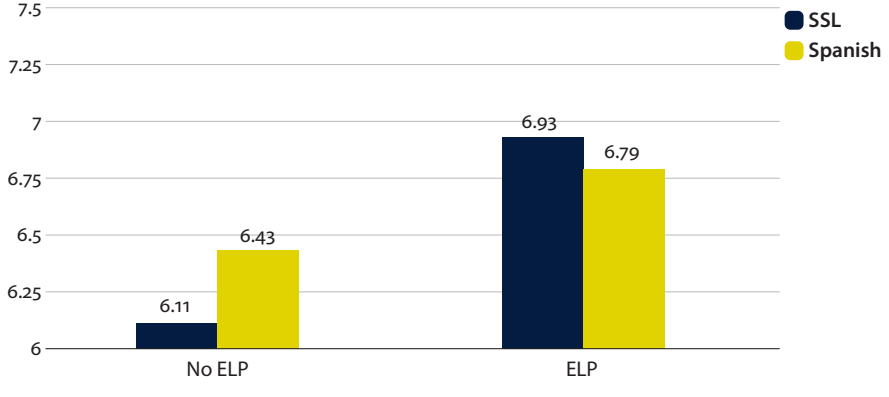


Figure 5. Differences between respondents according to experience of ELP

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and varieties (Bao, 2017), and, by extension, improving the social status or esteem of the speakers (or signers) with whom sign language is usually associated, that is, deaf people. At CEIP EA, for example, only one year after the introduction of the multimodal ELP, greater awareness of the linguistic attitudes towards SLs within the school has prompted official moves to include the teaching of SL on the curriculum. The very fact of describing the curriculum as a *plurilingual* educational project is, in itself, an important step towards the inclusion of SSL on the same terms as any other language at the school (Báez & Bao, 2015).

The use of the word *plurilingual* by the school in Vigo to emphasize the plural and inclusive approach of its curriculum is the main difference between it and other *bilingual* educational projects involving spoken and signed languages elsewhere in Spain for the teaching of deaf children. The indirect measurement data from the hidden impressions test show that the positive reception and dissemination of the multimodal ELP at the school are at least partially responsible for the universally positive attitudes expressed by respondents to SSL, whether they took part in the portfolio trial or not. Conversely, the findings from the direct measurement of linguistic attitudes using opinion questionnaires reveal the persistence of certain clichés, stereotypes and prejudices towards the use of SLs in the education of deaf pupils.

Our data show that the issue of the value of SLs in deaf education is still a bone of contention in schools. The results of the questionnaires offer statistical evidence of the difference between opinions in schools where deaf children are taught and the views of respondents in schools where they are not (sig. ≤ .05). Significant differences were even found between adult participants at the schools in A Coruña regarding the usefulness of learning a minority and minoritized language such as SSL by all students, whether deaf or hearing ($p = 0.005$): at CEIP VLS the assessments were positive ($\bar{x} = 0.65$), whereas at CEIP CE they were negative ($\bar{x} = 0.40$).

The results of our study also show greater motivation on the part of pupils from the school in Vigo regarding the prospect of having deaf classmates ($\bar{x} = 0.71$) than their counterparts in A Coruña ($\bar{x} = 0.31$). The association of signed languages with disability due to their use by deaf students, particularly in education, may account for the negative attitudes expressed by students in the schools in A Coruña towards the possibility of having deaf classmates (see Figure 6). Lack of contact with any members of the deaf community may result in pupils adopting the common view of deafness as a disease or impairment. Contact with deaf people is a common occurrence at the school in Vigo, however, which is why most students show a positive attitude to having classmates with hearing loss.

The differences expressed by pupils in relation to interaction with deaf people, according to knowledge of SL at the school and/or previous contact with people with hearing loss, are mirrored in the evaluations submitted by the teachers

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

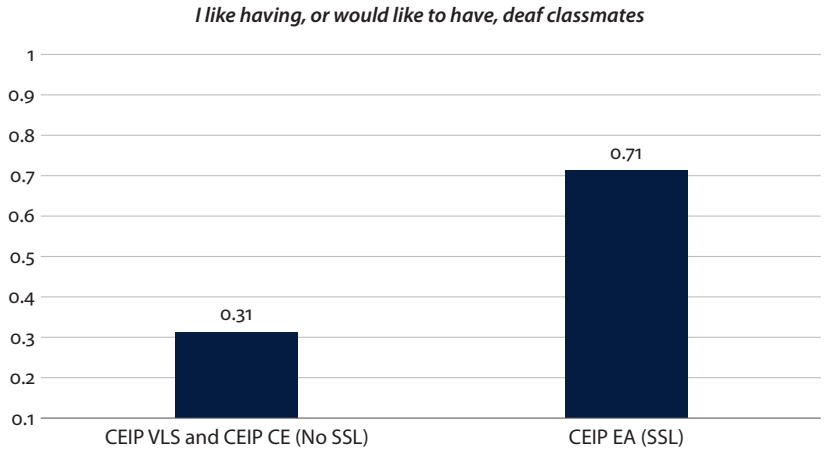


Figure 6. Differences between students according to knowledge of SL

surveyed. As Figure 7 illustrates, most teachers from the school in Vigo value diversity in the classroom positively, while assessments by teachers at the two schools in A Coruña were generally negative ($p = 0.005$). The findings suggest that lack of knowledge of an SL and/or the specific educational support needs of certain groups may account for the manifest concerns of teachers from A Coruña in relation to the possibility of having deaf students in their classroom.

The results show repeated references by teachers to the challenge of responding appropriately to the educational needs of pupils, whatever their circumstances. Similarly, they report that the way the curriculum is organized frequently

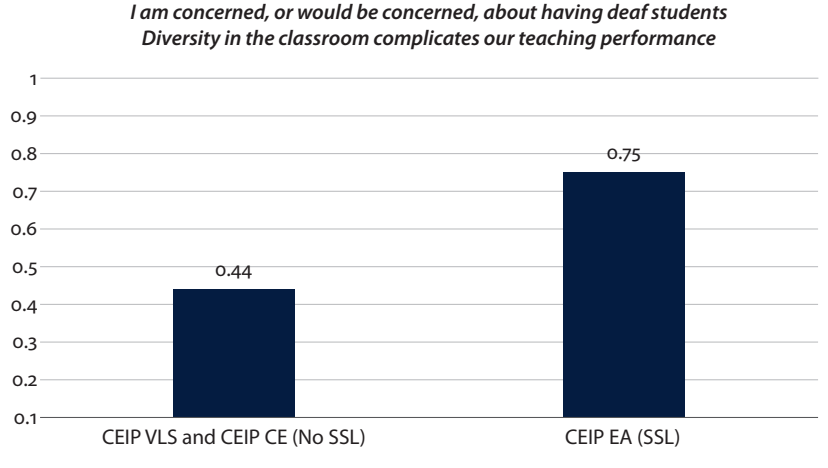


Figure 7. Differences between teachers according to knowledge of SL

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

complicates their ability to teach properly or attend fully to the diverse needs of the students (Sandoval, Simón, & Echeita, 2012, p. 121). The contrast in attitudes to diversity in the classroom between teachers from A Coruña ($\bar{x} = 0.44$) and teachers from Vigo ($\bar{x} = 0.75$) may also be due to specific endeavors by the school in Vigo to normalize the situation of SSLs and improve relations between deaf and hearing members of the school. The increased awareness of language promoted by the ELP lays particular emphasis on the need for greater understanding within plural linguistic environments as a way of fostering respect for diversity in all its forms. The steady movement towards greater inclusivity and plurilingualism at the school in Vigo represents the single most important contribution so far of the ELP to improving the educational experience of deaf pupils.

Finally, Figure 8 illustrates the divergence of attitudes between ELP users ($\bar{x} = 0.75$) and non-users ($\bar{x} = 0.53$), in response to direct questions concerning the promotion of SL as part of deaf children's education ($p = 0.032$). Most of the adult respondents who were not familiar with the multimodal version of the ELP were teachers ($n = 13$), with only four families reporting that their children had no experience of the tool. The favorable responses expressed by most ELP users suggest that the portfolio may also be an effective way of improving linguistic attitudes in relation to deaf education.

In this regard in particular, the modification of linguistic attitudes represents a necessary prior step towards improving teaching practices and the assessment system for deaf pupils. A plurilingual approach to the teaching of languages would not only improve relations within the school community, but also help to promote a more integrated assessment and development process, encompassing the

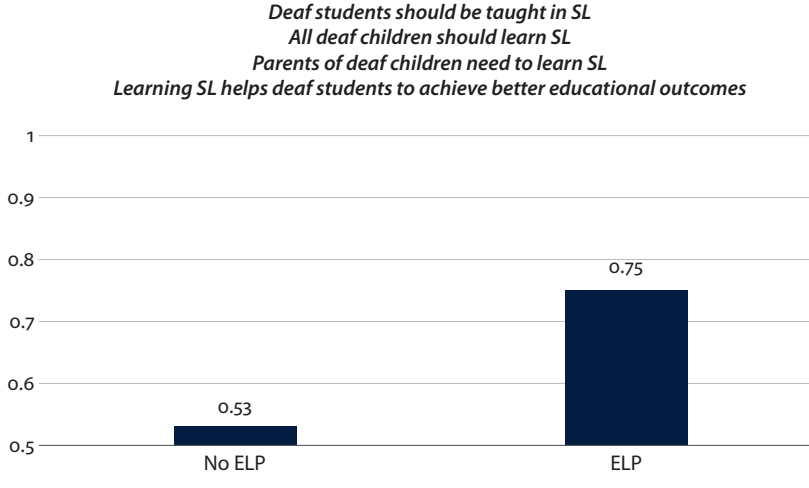


Figure 8. Differences between adult respondents according to experience of ELP

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

entire teaching-learning context. Language skills assessment should take into account both specific skills in spoken, signed and written languages, and the overall communicative ability of each student according to their individual traits and personality.

Conclusions

The findings of our study of three Galician pre- and primary schools show similarities and differences between the attitudes towards SLs expressed by pupils, teachers and family members, according to the sociolinguistic characteristics of each school.

Both the direct and indirect measurement instruments used indicate the influence of the independent variables of the study sample on respondent attitudes to SSLs and their speakers: inclusion of SSL in the curriculum, implementation of the multimodal ELP, gender, age and/or position of subjects within the school community (Bao, 2017).

The data obtained confirm the benefits of implementing innovative proposals such as the ELP in the teaching of SLs, particularly in the learning context of deaf students, based on the positive effect it has been shown to have on linguistic attitudes towards SLs within the school community. The effect of this variable on the opinions expressed by respondents indicate that knowledge of an SL and its inclusion in the curriculum are by themselves insufficient to alter certain ingrained linguistic attitudes concerning the use of SL as a primary teaching language, even after it has been incorporated into the school's language and educational curricula.

Changing preconceptions about a linguistic variety and its speakers can help to modify feelings and attitudes towards particular linguistic uses and behaviors. The results of our investigations confirm that the success or failure of plurilingual programs in spoken and signed languages is also largely dependent upon the linguistic attitudes of the learners and the opinions they encounter at home and at school.

For this study, informational texts relating to some aspect of life at the school proved an effective stimulus for measuring linguistic attitudes among hearing students (97%) to signed and spoken varieties of language by indirect (or *hidden*) means. This was true of both subjects who had no contact with SLs (48.12%) and those who have regular contact with signers (hearing or deaf), mainly through school (52.88%).

At this exploratory stage of the research, a degree of caution must be taken when interpreting all of these results. We do not suggest that the findings of this study apply to all schools with deaf pupils, or that value judgments may be attached to any of the linguistic attitudes expressed by our respondents, particularly in the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

absence of supporting evidence from research on other sign languages. As noted earlier, attitudes change depending on the sociolinguistic situation, and even within a particular sociolinguistic context.

There is a clear need for further empirical research in this area, to confirm the presence or absence of certain beliefs and attitudes about SLs, not just in education, but across all of society. By understanding better the direct and indirect impact of linguistic attitudes on the education of deaf children, we may also gain insight into how the rejection of a particular language or variety can bring about a negative opinion of and even social discrimination against its speakers (López, 2004, p. 287).

The single most important finding of this study is the interest in and favorable attitudes towards the inclusion of SSLs in the school curriculum shown by pupils, teachers and families alike. The impact of the ELP on changing negative social views and stereotypes about language teaching, learning and assessment shows that with more cross-disciplinary cooperation, the dream of innovative multilingual curriculum planning might soon become a reality.

Acknowledgements

This chapter is the result of work carried out as part of the Annotated Interuniversity Corpus of Spanish Sign Language (CORALSE) research project, supported by the Ministry of Economy and Competition grant programme for the promotion of scientific and technological research excellence (FFI2013-49664-P). CORALSE is an initiative of the University of Vigo Spanish and Sign Languages research group (GRILES).

The authors would like to thank the editors and anonymous reviewers for their work and help, and Prof. Mauro Fernández for his generous collaboration in obtaining and analysing the data for this study. We would also like to thank the students, teachers and families from the six schools in the provinces of A Coruña and Pontevedra who took part in the research for their help and cooperation, as well as the respondents from our professional and personal environment for their support and assistance in designing the measuring instruments. Special thanks to our SSL signers, Leticia Martinez and David Fernández, and speakers, Estela Mosqueira and Diego Castro, for their generous work on this study.

References

Andersson, P. (2011). Actitudes hacia la variedad caló. Un estudio sociolingüístico en adolescentes andaluces (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Gothenburg. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/25038> (22 October 2019).

Báez, I. C., & Bao, M. C. (2015). La implantación del Portafolio Europeo de las lenguas en lengua de signos: Desde Galicia hasta Europa. In I. C. Báez & H. Otero (Eds.), *Buscando respuestas en lengua de signos* (pp. 53–65). Lugo: Axac.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Báez, I. C., & Cabeza, C. (2005). Algunas reflexiones sobre el estatus de las lenguas de señas de los sordos en el contexto de la globalización. In G. Rio-Torto, O. Figueiredo & F. Silva (Eds.), *Dar a palavra à língua. Estudos em homenagem ao professor Doutor Mário Vilela* (pp. 277–289). Porto: FLUP. Retrieved from <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4565.pdf> (22 October 2019).

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bao, M. C. (2017). El portafolio europeo de todas las lenguas en la educación infantil y primaria: Un recurso plural para modificar y mejorar las actitudes lingüísticas hacia la lengua de signos española (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of A Coruña.

Burns, S., Matthews, P., & Nolan-Conroy, E. (2001). Language attitudes. In C. Lucas (Ed.), *The sociolinguistics of sign languages* (pp. 181–216). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511612824.009

Centro de Normalización Lingüística de la Lengua de Signos Española (CNLSE) (2014). Informe sobre la situación de la lengua de signos española. In CNLSE (Ed.), *La lengua de signos española hoy. Actas del Congreso CNLSE 2013 sobre la investigación de la lengua de signos española* (pp. 7–85). Madrid: Real Patronato de la Discapacidad. Retrieved from <https://www.siis.net/documentos/documentacion/INFLenguaSignos(online).pdf> (22 October 2019).

Council of Europe (2001). *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation Education Committee Language Policy Division.

Fasold, R. (1984). *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fernández, M. (1984). Conocimiento, uso y actitudes lingüísticas de los alumnos de E.G.B. del Municipio de Santiago (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Santiago de Compostela.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R., & Davies, A. (1979). Prestige speech styles: The imposed norm and inherent value hypotheses. In W. C. McCormack & S. A. Wurm (Eds.), *Language and society. Anthropological issues* (pp. 589–596). The Hague: Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110806489.589

González, J. (2008). Metodología para el estudio de las actitudes. In I. Olza, M. Casado, & R. González (Eds.), *Actas del XXXVII Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística (SEL)* (pp. 229–238). Pamplona: Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra.

Hill, J. (2013). Language ideologies, policies and attitudes towards signed languages. In R. Bayley, R. Cameron, & C. Lucas (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 680–697). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Iglesias, A. (1999). O poder explicativo e predictivo das actitudes lingüísticas. *Verba*, 26, 273–307.

Krausneker, V. (2015). Ideologies and attitudes towards sign languages: An approximation. *Sign Language Studies*, 15(4), 411–431. https://doi.org/10.1353/sls.2015.0014

Lambert, W. E., Hodgson, R. C., Gardner, R. C., & Fillenbaum, S. (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60(1), 44–51. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0044430

Lasagabaster, D., & Huguet, A. (2007). The linguistic issue in some European bilingual contexts: Some final considerations. In D. Lasagabaster & A. Huguet (Eds.), *Multilingualism in European bilingual contexts. Language use and attitudes* (pp. 234–251). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Ley 27/2007, de 23 de octubre, por la que se reconocen las lenguas de signos españolas y se regulan los medios de apoyo a la comunicación oral de las personas sordas, con discapacidad auditiva y sordociegas. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. Madrid, 24 de octubre de 2007, núm. 255, pp. 43251–43259.

Ley 17/2010, de 3 de junio, de la lengua de signos catalana. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. Madrid, 28 de junio de 2010, núm. 156, pp. 56468–56474.

Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. Madrid, 4 de mayo de 2006, núm. 106, pp. 17158–17207.

Ley Orgánica 8/2013, de 9 de diciembre, para la mejora de la calidad educativa. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. Madrid, 10 de diciembre de 2013, núm. 295, pp. 97858–97291.

López, H. (2004). *Sociolingüística* (3rd ed.). Madrid: Gredos.

Moreno, F. (2012). *Sociolingüística cognitiva: Proposiciones, escolios y debates*. Madrid/Franfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Sandoval, M., Simón, C., & Echeita, G. (2012). Análisis y valoración crítica de las funciones del profesorado de apoyo desde la educación inclusiva. *Revista de Educación (special issue)*, 117–137. Retrieved from <https://sede.educacion.gob.es/publiventa/descarga.action?f_codigo_agc=15386> (22 October 2019).

Funding information

Funded by: Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness
Award ID: FFI2013-49664-P

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The role of attitudes in the management of multilingualism in Brazilian schools located in the Brazil-Paraguay border region

Isis Ribeiro Berger
Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná

This chapter presents an interdisciplinary study held in two Brazilian schools located in the Brazil-Paraguay border region that participated in the Education on the Border Observatory Project. An action research was carried out in order to identify how teachers managed multilingualism in these schools. The results indicate that their management practices toward Paraguayan official languages were influenced by attitudes toward these languages and their speakers, as well as by ideologies that associate the languages with Brazilian and Paraguayan nations. We conclude there is a need to improve language-in-education for border areas so as to build more positive attitudes toward languages (and speakers) of the neighboring countries in these schools as a means for real social and cultural integration and understanding.

Keywords: school practices, management of multilingualism, Brazil-Paraguay border region, attitudes, language education policies

Introduction

Since the current Brazilian Federal Constitution, a milestone for Brazilian democracy, came into force in 1988, the country has faced a series of challenges regarding the protection of cultural and linguistic rights of indigenous people and of several communities that speak languages other than Portuguese as a first language in Brazil (Maher, 2013; Oliveira & Altenhofen, 2011). Despite the coexistence of various language communities within its territory, a variety of mechanisms (such as those explained in Shohamy, 2006) of homogenizing language policies developed since Brazil was a Portuguese colony have created the representation of a country monolingual in Portuguese. This has caused linguistic diversity apart from varieties

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.04ber
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

of Portuguese to be largely ignored by mainstream society (Maher, 2013; Oliveira, 2009; Thomaz, 2005).

Following a movement toward the protection of linguistic rights and the promotion of multilingualism as a resource for social development and defense of cultural democracy, Brazil has developed policies and conditions for protecting and maintaining languages, as well as valuing linguistic diversity as a means of social inclusion. As a result, in the last twenty years the language policy scenario in Brazil has changed significantly. Language laws, such as the co-officialization of around 20 languages in different municipalities, the regulation of the use of Brazilian Sign Language in education and government services, and the official decree that created the *National Inventory of Brazilian Linguistic Diversity* (INDL) have been enacted.[1]

Along with these policies, educational projects for bilingual communities and international border regions have also been developed to foster linguistic and cultural integration between the communities of neighboring countries and Brazil. Thus, the issue of the languages of education in international border regions has also been on the agenda of discussions and research (Castanho, 2016; Dalinghaus, 2009; Pereira, 2009; Pires-Santos, 1999, 2004) within the scope of the nation's language policy.

Concerning language policies for Brazilian international border areas, two initiatives must be mentioned: The Intercultural Schools on the Border Program (PEIF) and the Education on the Border Observatory Project (OBEDF).[2] Conceived as part of a bilateral political agreement between Argentina and Brazil in 2004, the first initiative aimed at developing a model of education for border areas based on programs of intercultural education and on the natural learning of Portuguese and Spanish. The program was at first a binational effort to construct a bilingual and intercultural regional identity, fostering peace and cooperation in border areas. Since 2009, the program has expanded, for municipalities bordering other South American countries have taken part in it (for instance, bordering cities of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay). The second initiative, the OBEDF, was developed from 2011 to 2013. It was conceived by a group of university researchers and the Language Policy Research and Development Institute (IPOL) to foster research and public policies on language in education for border regions.[3]

The present interdisciplinary study is part of doctoral research carried out in two schools located in Ponta Porã, a city in the Brazil-Paraguay border area (Berger,

1. INDL stands for *Inventário Nacional da Diversidade Linguística.*

2. PEIF stands for *Projeto Escolas Interculturais de Fronteira* and OBEDF stands for *Observatório da Educação na Fronteira.*

3. IPOL stands for *Instituto de Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Política Linguística.*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

2015). It was developed within a broader action-research program undertaken by the Education on the Border Observatory Project that involved university researchers, school teachers, and an IPOL team. The questions that led to the doctoral research were: How do teachers and educators who work in schools located in border regions manage multilingualism in everyday practices? More precisely, to what extent can the cross-border context influence their management practices? Few studies have been developed aiming at understanding how the coexistence of languages is managed in Brazilian schools in the Brazil-Paraguay border region from the perspective of language policy. As Carvalho (2014b, p. 184) states, "in communities where more than one language coexist, examination of people's perceptions about which spaces each language occupies sheds light on the underlying ideologies that associates languages with nations.". Therefore, this study aims at contributing to the fields of language policy and borderlands sociolinguistics providing accounts of what kinds of practices directed toward the coexistence of languages can be observed in schools located in border areas and what elements influence them.

In this chapter, I revisit this doctoral study to focus on the role of attitudes toward the management of multilingualism in schools located in this border region. Attitudes have not been studied directly in this research. Instead, they surfaced from data collected within OBEDF to answer the research questions on teachers' management of multilingualism. The first section of this chapter concerns the relation between multilingualism management and attitudes. Secondly, the description and discussion of the context of the study, as well as its methodology, are presented in the following section. Results and discussion are presented in the fourth section, in which multilingualism management practices and the role of attitudes are approached.

Multilingualism management and attitudes

Multilingualism in Brazil and in its international border regions has received much attention in recent years, arising from the many studies which have described and problematized several contexts of languages in contact in border areas (Carvalho, 2014a, 2014b; Day, 2016; Castanho, 2016; Dalinghaus, 2009; Pereira, 2009; Pires-Santos, 1999, 2004; among others) and how communities perceive the coexistence of (speakers of) languages. The study of multilingual contexts provides us with elements to understand, for example, the relation of people and languages, different patterns of language use, and reasons for language maintenance and language shift.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Because of historical, geographical, political, and cultural processes that result in encounters of different peoples and their languages, multilingual contexts also reveal hierarchies, social disputes, and conflicts. These can surface from attitudes toward languages and language communities. Thus, the presence or absence of a language (or languages) within a certain region or territory may be a consequence of different forms of language management that result in some languages (and speakers) gaining or losing prestige in various domains among the communities. Spolsky (2009, p. 4) has defined management as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over [others] […] to modify their practices or beliefs." Also, it is considered a multi-faceted social phenomenon that involves a variety of agents and is influenced by various mechanisms, for example rules, regulations, language education policies, and the way languages are displayed in public space (Shohamy, 2006, 2010; Spolsky, 2009).

Concerning the role of teachers in the management of multilingualism, it is assumed that in the school domain they can be agents of language management because they have or claim authority and exercise power in this domain over language use and the relations between the school community and its languages (García & Menken, 2010; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2009).

Following this assumption, the term *multilingualism management* is used here to refer to actions and practices directed toward the coexistence of languages that are developed by these agents influencing language interactions and attitudes. They reflect the power relations of the linguistic environment that surrounds them. Following García and Menken (2010, p. 256), "[e]ducator's external realities, driven by the social context in which they are educated, trained, supported, and [where they] teach, as well as their internal ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes, also have much to do with language education policies." As for the actions and school practices, they can be observable forms of dealing with the coexistence of languages within the "territory" of a national official language, as in the case of Brazilian schools.

In addition, it is considered that the management of multilingualism influences and is influenced by the attitudes toward the (speakers of) languages which are in contact. In other words, the disposition to react positively or negatively toward certain language(s) and language community(s) is influenced by contextual factors, such as the position a language occupies in a society (Baker, 1992; Calvet, 2002; Kauffman, 2011), as well as historically constructed power relations and language ideologies. For that reason, it is of utmost importance to understand how attitudes are built and shape the forms different agents adopt to manage multilingualism in the school domain. As for the role of teachers, Lasagabaster and Huguet (2007, p. 1) have pointed out that:

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Language attitudes are learnt and, therefore, educators play a paramount role in their formation, to such an extent that attitudes formed under educator influence may be extremely difficult to change. Students who face a situation in which languages are in contact realize in early schooling that society, family and school all place importance on these languages. The students' own assessment, together with the information and knowledge they gain, will lead to the establishment of their attitudes toward the different languages, the speakers of these languages and to the learning process itself.

As for the role of attitudes in language policy decisions, knowledge about language attitudes is regarded as an essential element to be considered when formulating and implementing language education policies so as to take into account the attitudes of those who will be affected (Baker, 1992; Kauffmann, 2011). Following Calvet (2002), language policy decisions should be made after completing a detailed description of the situation of language contact and what it implies about the attitudes and relation of the community with the languages that surround them.

According to Lasagabaster (2014, p. 29), every language policy to be implemented in bi- or multilingual educational contexts demands an exhaustive knowledge and description of such attitudinal tendencies, for information on the attitudes of the students may help to avoid such negative consequences as rejection of a certain policy by the students. Similarly, it is also essential in monolingual contexts which adopt foreign languages as part of the school curricula, as shown by Bugel and Santos (2010) in a research on the representations of and attitudes toward varieties of Spanish held by Brazilian learners of Spanish as a foreign language. Therefore, it is argued here that, as language attitudes may also be constructed within the learning process, projects that foster integration on the basis of the languages and cultures in border areas must consider that the management of multilingualism also implies strategies to change unfavorable attitudes among speakers of different languages.

Education on the border observatory project

As mentioned above, this study was conducted within the scope of OBEDF. This project, developed from 2011 to 2013, aimed to construct a sociolinguistic and socio-educational panorama of schools located in border areas to identify its effects on teaching and learning processes and procedures, carry out observations of language and cultural practices, and conduct investigations in order to foster public educational policies for the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity in border areas.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Grounded on a participant action-research approach (Lüdke & André, 1986; Thiollent, 2003), the wider project was developed collaboratively among university professors, researchers, and regular school teachers from three Brazilian cities located in national border areas: Epitaciolândia, in the state of Acre, and Guajará Mirim, in the state of Roraima, both in the Brazil-Bolivia border region; and Ponta Porã, in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso do Sul, neighboring Pedro Juan Caballero in Paraguay. This study concerns the last of these cities.

OBEDF practitioners took part in collective inquiry and experimentation which involved several procedures: the design of observation protocols, class observations, production of recordings, questionnaire surveys, seminars for reflecting upon and discussing the observations and actions, and study groups and meetings. The set of procedures aimed at understanding and reflecting upon the sociolinguistic and socio-educational realities of schools located in border areas and upon the critical issues that emerged in the school domain from language and cultural contact.

Concerning the schools and participants involved, after being contacted by the Coordinator of OBEDF, who explained all the procedures and conditions for participation, some of the school teachers regularly working in public schools agreed to engage in the project and the activities that were to be developed.[4]

This study was carried out in two regular public schools managed by the Ponta Porã government. They are referred to as School A, which offers both elementary and secondary education, and School B, which offers elementary school. As for the participants, six school teachers (three in each school) who were in charge of lessons for the first years of schooling participated in this study within the scope of OBEDF. Upon being apprised of ethical procedures, they informed their consent to participate.

Research design

The research questions and the overall design of this study were shaped by observations carried out in Ponta Porã schools (fieldwork) and participation in the set of procedures and actions within the scope of OBEDF. To meet the objectives outlined for the research, that is, identifying and analyzing the management of

4. The OBEDF Project was funded by CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior), a Brazilian federal research funding agency dependent of the Secretary of Education and devoted to the development of research by professionals in higher education. Each school indicated three teachers to participate in the project according to their availability to participate and engagement in the procedures to be adopted. These teachers who first engaged in the project were funded by a grant from CAPES for taking part in OBEDF. Later, other teachers engaged voluntarily, participating in the activities sporadically.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

multilingualism among teachers' school practices, data were generated from the combination of a range of interconnected methods described in the following paragraphs (Denzin & Lincoln, 2010; Gil, 2011; Lüdke & André, 1986).

Observations were carried out during fieldwork, focusing on how these teachers (re)acted to the use of languages other than Portuguese in different locales around their schools (classrooms, recreation and play areas). Participant observation (Lüdke & André, 1986) was also carried out during meetings, seminars, and study groups. Fieldwork notes containing both descriptive and reflective information were taken during the observations.

Besides observations carried out by the author, the participant teachers engaged in observing other teachers' lessons as part of OBEDF procedures designed to encourage reflexive thinking. Before observations were carried out, observation protocols and models for structured reports had been developed collaboratively to be used by the observers. These reports consisted of documents produced within the project. They were important sources of data since they provided elements that made possible to infer attitudes to Spanish and Guarani, as well as reactions toward some language interactions and the presence of Paraguayan descendants in Brazilian schools. The number of observation reports analyzed totaled 137 documents: 70 from School A and 67 from School B.

In addition to these reports, quantitative data from the sociolinguistic diagnoses carried out by the IPOL team in the schools were used to contextualize the sociolinguistic environment of each school.[5] The surveys carried out by the IPOL team aimed at identifying the student's first language(s), the languages used by students at home and outside, the student's place of residence, and the student's parents' and relatives' nationalities and languages, as well as the languages used by the school community.[6] The procedure was founded on the assumption that mapping languages used within the schools is also part of a language planning strategy to contribute to inclusion and the visibility of language diversity. As for the procedure adopted by the IPOL team, questionnaires were applied among students from the 1st to 3rd years of schooling, which their families helped fill out.[7] In school A, 305

5. The reports belong to the OBEDF archives and were accessible to the researchers and team involved in the project.

6. In bi- or multilingual environments one can develop a bi/plurilingual repertoire, so that the primary mode of communication can consist of more than one language (or elements of different languages).

7. As most of the students registered in the first three years of schooling could not read well enough to answer the questionnaires, students' parents were instructed to write the children's answers. This orientation was followed by meetings held with the community in the school as part of the procedures taken by the IPOL team within the scope of the project.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

out of 382 questionnaires applied were answered, for a response rate of 79%. In school B, 138 out of 158 questionnaires were answered, for a response rate of 87%. The quantitative data presented in this chapter derive from these diagnoses carried out within the scope of OBEDF.

Finally, a questionnaire was also designed to learn the participant teachers' linguistic backgrounds (refer to Table 1). Due to the fact that the sociolinguistic diagnoses conducted by IPOL did not present data related specifically to the teachers who engaged in the present study, it was important to design a specific questionnaire to survey this group. It was based on questions offered by García and Menken (2010) as a guide to help teachers conduct self-reflection on their understanding of their own sociolinguistic profile and practices. The main questions asked were about (a) the languages the teachers could understand (oral comprehension), speak, write, read, and sign; (b) how well they evaluated their level of knowledge in each of these languages and abilities; and (c) how the languages were learned and developed.

The context of the study: The Brazil-Paraguay border region

The national border between Brazil and Paraguay stretches over 1,290 kilometers, crossing rivers, regions of very low population density, towns, and cities. The territorial limits between the twin cities Ponta Porã and Pedro Juan Caballero are represented by a thirteen-kilometer avenue called International Avenue and by national symbols that create a visual representation of where Brazilian territory ends and Paraguayan territory starts. There are no fences, no walls, or border controls in this area, as shown in Figure 1 (photograph taken during the field work).

The Brazil-Paraguay border area has long been characterized as a troubled region. Firstly, this arose from territorial disputes and occupation resulting from the War of the Triple Alliance in the late 19th century, which devastated Paraguay and caused the loss of a great percentage of the population. Later, it became known for problems related to smuggling and drug trafficking, as well as for conflicts caused by asymmetric social and economic conditions affecting the population of the region. This influences the attitudes toward the people, as discussed in the following section.

Recently, however, twin cities like those where this study was conducted have become part of an agenda for regional development and integration. The geopolitical conditions of the border regions have been taken by successive Brazilian governments both as challenging and of immense potential for the provision of public services, as well as strategic to implementing innovative public policies aimed at integration with the other South American countries. These policies include

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Figure 1. International Avenue between Ponta Porã, Brazil, and Pedro Juan Caballero, Paraguay (Fieldwork photograph, 2012)

initiatives in the domain of education taking into account the cultural and social diversity that have influenced school practices, such as the presence of several bi- or multilingual students in Brazilian school classes.

In this context, there is large population movement that has been characterized as international cross-border circulation, for residents of this border cross it daily for various purposes without necessarily changing residence, which can be either in Brazil or in Paraguay (Marques, 2009). Because of this dynamic flow, the residents of this border region have been defined as *Braziguayan*, a term that emphasizes the interaction and mixed identity of those who live in this cross-border dynamic reality (Albuquerque, 2010; Marques, 2009; Pereira, 2009).

Among the reasons for the population cross-border movement in this border area are social relations which have long been maintained since even before the cities were founded, economic interdependence, commercial transactions, and asymmetrical social conditions, especially the asymmetries in access to public services (mainly health and education services).

Concerning public education, Machado (2005) explains that in twin cities it is very common to find parents who prefer to register their children in schools located in the country that they believe will offer better education and conditions. As an example, Pereira (2009), in a study of the cultural and linguistic diversity of schools in this border area, concluded that the number of students registered in the public elementary schools of Ponta Porã exceeds the number of children identified from the population census, which suggests that a significant percentage of the students

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

live in Pedro Juan Caballero. Also, in her study of cross-border movement, Marques (2009) stated that many families who live on the Paraguayan side prefer to register their children in Brazilian schools for several reasons, such as a belief that the educational system is better in Brazil and the possibility of benefiting from provisions offered by Brazilian schools (school meals, uniforms).

Despite such contact and daily cultural and linguistic interactions, which are favored by geographical conditions, historical events and deep-rooted conflicts involving the relations between Brazil and Paraguay emerge from representations, nationalist feelings, and attitudes toward the population, culture, and languages of both sides. Thus, even though physical borders are virtually unnoticeable in this area, boundaries surface from this interaction. Following Barth (1969, pp. 9–10), "boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them," or in other words, "differences persist despite contact and interdependence." Thus, borders are viewed as a demarcation or limit defined by power relations involving many elements and agents (Barth, 1969; Raffestin, 1993) and are "[…] conceived beyond its geopolitical meaning, to include social, ethnic and cultural boundaries (Carvalho, 2014a, p. 1). They divide political, cultural, social and linguistic territories.

Concerning the sociolinguistic environment, multilingualism is the objective reality of the Brazil-Paraguay border region, where several different languages are spoken. Portuguese (the Brazilian official national language) is spoken alongside Spanish, Guarani (both Paraguayan official languages), and Jopara, a language practice referred to by some scholars as a 'third Paraguayan language', which has been interpreted as a continuum of Spanish and Guarani, resulting from the contact of theses languages (Couto, 1994; Lusting, 1996; Meliá, 2010; Zajícová 2009).[8] In addition to these, other languages spoken by smaller groups are part of this scenario: Brazilian Sign Language (*Libras*), indigenous languages, and languages of immigrant communities that have settled in the region in search of opportunities and motivated by commercial transactions. Hence, different language practices are observable in various domains.

8. According to Zajícová (2009), various interpretations or definitions of Jopara have been proposed in the literature. One of them explains Jopara as an interlanguage resulting from the imperfect learning of Spanish by adult migrants in urban areas of Asunción. Others consider Jopara as a sociolect, a low variety of Paraguayan Guarani. The interpretation of Jopara as several phenomena in the speaking level, as for code switching, has been used in the *Atlas linguístico guaraní-románico*. Zajícová (2009) argues that Jopara encompasses the diverse ways the speakers use Guarani, influenced in low or high degrees by Spanish.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Also, the relation between the various languages and speakers is influenced by factors such as Brazilian and Paraguayan internal language policies, that is, the *de jure* and *de facto* language policies within the territory of each of these countries (Oliveira & Altenhofen, 2011; Shohamy, 2006), which entail language ideologies and knowledge of the languages (re)produced in various domains.

With respect to Paraguay, its population has developed a societal bilingualism. Both Spanish and Guarani are official languages, where Spanish is the language of the former European colonizers and Guarani is the native language of the peoples who inhabited the country before the Spanish arrived in the 16th century. Although the latter is regarded as one of the major symbols of Paraguayan national identity, only in 1992 was it made co-official with Spanish, which has long had higher prestige (Peres, 2001; Sandoval, 2012; Santos, 2012; Zajícová, 2009). However, status planning concerned with the position of Guarani in Paraguayan society has been developed. The most recent language legislation of the country, the *Ley de Lenguas* (2010), aims at promoting the use of Guarani alongside Spanish in domains such as education, legal procedures, and governmental documents. Therefore, efforts have been made to promote a balance and favorable attitudes toward the use of Guarani in several prestigious domains.

Unlike Paraguay, because of long-term homogenizing language policies oriented by a language-as-problem perspective (Ruiz, 1984), societal bi- or multilingualism had never been encouraged or fostered in Brazil. Portuguese has long constituted a central part of the national identity in Brazil, influencing practices in various domains and creating a monolingual *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2008; Hélot, 2010). Mechanisms toward the centralization of Portuguese as a national and official language, along with a series of other mechanisms which influenced both the replacement of languages spoken by communities within the country and the lack of status of foreign or additional language learning as a regular and continuing discipline in school curricula, have created the representation of a monolingual country.

In the border region, the consequences of these policies are felt by teachers who work in Brazilian schools because they deal with bi- or multilingual children whose linguistic repertoire might not include Portuguese. Because of the homogenizing language ideology which remains in the *de facto* policies and mechanisms in Brazil, the regular schools have not been prepared to deal with multilingual realities, such as that in the context of this study. Instead, the educational system and its mechanisms remain centered around Portuguese. It is an issue that generates some problems, especially when "the official or national language(s) are different than the home language(s) of some of the learners" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 76). According to Carvalho (2014a, p. 1), "the 'one nation, one language' ideology is challenged in spaces where linguistic borders do not coincide with national boundaries.".

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Also, besides the problems related to the Brazilian language policy history, the presence of Paraguayan children in Brazilian schools evokes nationalist feelings and unfavorable attitudes, which are founded on factors such as deep-rooted conflicts, socioeconomic inequalities, and movements to Brazil to benefit from public services. This has occasioned manifestations of discontent and conflict, most of them founded on unequal relations. Therefore, linguistic and cultural insecurity usually arises in these multilingual school environments as learners perceive they are not able to communicate in the dominant language or if their languages (or they themselves) are not welcome or valued in Brazilian schools.

Results and discussion

The sociolinguistic environment of schools A and B

The main objective of the research was to find out how the participant teachers managed multilingualism in everyday practices and the influence of this cross-border context on such management. Before turning to the main questions, the sociolinguistic environments of Schools A and B are presented. Studies conducted by Pereira (2009), Marques (2009), and Dalinghaus (2009) have suggested that there are many students in schools located in Ponta Porã whose home languages may not be Portuguese. Comparable results were found in Schools A and B.

Both School A and School B are located close to the International Avenue. The linguistic profile of the school community is greatly influenced by the cross-border flow. From the sociolinguistic diagnostic procedure, data on the number of students registered in the first three years of schooling show important results regarding students' place of residence. In School A, 61% lived in Paraguay, 36% in Brazil, and 5% did not answer the question. In School B, 30% lived in Paraguay and 70% in Brazil. Given the number of students who participated in the survey carried out by the IPOL team, this suggests that many students cross the border to attend lessons in Brazil. This could also be observed during participant observations. At the beginning and end of the school day, several families came from Pedro Juan Caballero on foot or by motorcycle (with Paraguayan license plates) to pick up their children.

Concerning the numbers related to how families were composed, the data show that students whose father or mother was originally from Paraguay totaled 66% in School A and 43% in School B. Students whose other relatives were Paraguayan totaled 23% in School A and 22% in School B. Students whose families were of Brazilian origin only totaled 8% in School A and 28% in School B. The other 3% of students in School A and 7% of School B did not answer the questions. These percentages suggest that a significant group of students were raised in Paraguayan

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

homes/families (89% from School A and 65% from School B). Given the multilingual region where they live and the intense contact of different languages, it is assumed that learners have developed a plural linguistic repertoire which may include (features of) different languages (Spanish, Guarani, Jopara, Portuguese, etc.). This was also reported by observation. The following extracts from observation reports provide some data:[9]

(1) By departure time, parents pick up their children speaking Spanish and Guarani.
(Observation report. School A)

(2) David's mother came to school to ask his teacher how well he was doing in lessons. The teacher informed his mother that the boy had to study a little more, so she started telling him off in Spanish and Guarani.
(Observation report. School B)

Data from sociolinguistic diagnoses also suggest that some students have developed bi/multilingual repertoires and speak two or more of the four languages in contact. When asked what languages the students used in different domains, 82% of the answers for School A and 34% for School B reported that Portuguese, Spanish, and Guarani were used both at home and in social situations. In School A, Jopara was also considered in the answers as part of the aforementioned percentage. As for the presence of monolinguals in the schools, the data suggest that 18% of the students in School A and 62% of the students in School B speak only Portuguese. In School B, Guarani was reported to be the only language spoken by 3% of the students. Although the data suggest a significant percentage of students who speak only Portuguese in School B, it is assumed that there are probably more students in this school who have developed some level of bi/multilingualism because of contact with these languages in society and in the school domain with their peers.

Data from the surveys, as well as fieldwork observation, make it possible to state that these schools reflect the bi/multilingual environment of this border region. There are many multilingual children and children who speak Spanish and/or Guarani as a primary mode of communication in their first years of schooling in Brazil, which implies that school agents must find solutions to cope with the imbalance between the community registered at school and *de facto* language education policies. This might include, for instance, provisions in teachers' education for multilingual and cross-border contexts, based on the fact that only in the last decade language policy and multilingual and pluricultural realities have been in the agenda of teacher education, as shown by Fraga (2014).

9. All the extracts cited in this paper were translated from Portuguese.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

With respect to the participant teachers, their linguistic profile was also identified. This aimed at understanding if and to what extent it influenced the way they managed multilingualism in their practices. The questionnaire was the source of the data provided in Table 1, which summarizes the languages that the teachers reportedly know and how well they claim to know these languages (very well, well, and not well) in different abilities (oral comprehension, speaking, writing, and reading).

Table 1. Language knowledge reported by the teachers

Teachers	Listening comprehension	Speaking	Writing	Reading comprehension
		School A		
Angela	Guarani (well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Guarani (well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Guarani (no well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Guarani (well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)
Rosa	Libras (not well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (not well)	Portuguese (very well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)
Luciana	Portuguese (very well)	Portuguese (very well)	Portuguese (very well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)
		School B		
Neide	Libras (not well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)	Portuguese (very well)	Portuguese (very well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)
Karen	Guarani (not well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)	Portuguese (very well) Spanish (well)
Helena	Guarani (very well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Guarani (very well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Guarani (not well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)	Guarani (well) Portuguese (very well) Spanish (very well)

As the teachers teach in Brazilian schools, they are expected to know Portuguese well enough to use it as a language of instruction. Therefore, the results reported in Table 1 of their knowing this language very well in all the specified abilities are only to be expected. It is important to mention that all of them reported being of Brazilian

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

nationality, although Angela, Karen, and Helena were raised in Paraguayan homes amid bi/multilingual language practices.

Knowledge in Libras was also reported in the questionnaire. Two teachers (Rosa and Neide) have a low level of knowledge of the language. They explained they took courses to learn how to communicate with deaf students in case one is registered in the schools, but they do not feel comfortable enough to communicate in this language.

Concerning their knowledge of Paraguayan official languages, all of them reported knowing Spanish in most of the specified abilities. Most of them reported understanding oral production and reading it well enough. As for speaking and writing, in general their self-evaluation on these productive skills was not that high.

With respect to Guarani, three teachers (one in School A and two in School B) reported knowledge in various abilities. During fieldwork, it was possible to observe both Angela and Helena using Guarani after their lessons. That was a very relevant observation, for neither of them used it as a language of instruction with Spanish and Guarani speakers in class, for they believed it could be harmful for the students' learning. With respect to Karen's knowledge, however, it could only be known from the questionnaire, as she consciously avoids using it. In further conversation, she offered the explanation that was registered in the fieldwork note below.

(3) According to Karen, Guarani is widely spread in the region; there is still a lot of prejudice toward this language because local people understand this is the language spoken by the poor, *língua de índio*. She says that in Paraguay, the rich and the elite tell people to speak Spanish. (Fieldwork note. March 2012)

Karen's avoidance of using Guarani, as well as the way she refers to it, reveal an unfavorable attitude toward this language. It is grounded on the status the language has had due to the diglossic relation between Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay, as well as the attitudes towards the speakers of Guarani. At the level of the relation between language communities, the languages seem to be worth what their speakers are worth (Bourdieu, 2008). This has also influenced this multilingual context and, consequently, the perception of those who live in this border region. Although Paraguayan language policies have promoted Guarani and implemented policies to enhance its *status* in the overall society, unfavorable attitudes toward this language may still be elicited among the community (Baker, 1992; Santos, 2012; Zajícová, 2009).

When the group was asked when and how they acquired and/or learned those languages, Angela, Karen, and Helena explained that because they were raised in *Braziguayan* homes (Brazilian and Paraguayan mixed families), Spanish and Guarani have always been used by family members alongside Portuguese. In addition, language experiences living in this cross-border reality were also mentioned

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

as part of their language development. As for Rosa, Luciana, and Neide, they reported that their knowledge of Spanish developed from social interactions in various domains and from the media (TV, radio, newspapers). Although they consider Spanish relatively easy to understand, considering its similarities with Portuguese, which unveils their attitude toward Spanish, they reported that they are not able to speak or write it.

The data show that for those who live in this border region, multilingual experiences are *inevitable,* as Sánchez (2002) defined some of the interactions and exchanges in the Brazil – Uruguay border region. Thus, the sociolinguistic profile of this community can be taken as plural. The intense language contact and multilingual interactions foster the development of a dynamic bilingualism, defined by García (2009, p. 144) as "varying degrees of abilities and uses of multiple language practices needed for people to cross physical or virtual borders." Therefore, given the fact that these teachers are members of this community, some of them have also developed degrees of abilities in Spanish, Guarani, or both.

Multilingualism management practices and the role of attitudes toward speakers and languages

The attitudes toward Spanish, Guarani, and their speakers were inferred from behaviors and comments of the teachers as the answers to the research questions were pursued. In this section I provide examples from data generated in observations carried out both by me (fieldwork notes and interviews) and the teachers' observations registered in the observation reports. Thus, the people mentioned in these reports are the participant teachers observed by one another, as well as their students.

Data suggested that in certain locales around those schools, the use of languages other than Portuguese was submitted to the teachers' approval or consent. It was verified that the use of Spanish, Guarani, and Jopara (or elements of those languages) could be forbidden, watched, approved, or promoted. Attitudes toward these languages, and especially toward those who spoke them, were central in these practices, which I have called *school practices of multilingualism management* (Berger, 2015). Practices are divided into four categories, as they were identified in these schools: *interdiction, vigilance, consent,* and *symbolic promotion*.

With respect to *interdiction*, the following extracts provide examples from both Schools A and B.

(4) She said she doesn't allow students to speak either Spanish or Guarani in her lessons. Once they have decided to study in Brazil, they must learn to communicate in Portuguese. (Observation report. School A)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(5) The school should help these students, but, in my opinion, it must be remembered that they are registered as Brazilian students and they must know our mother tongue. However, this awareness must come from their parents. If they want to be Brazilians as a family, they must provide their children with the language of the country where they were registered. Brazilian authorities must inspect this situation to reduce the number of students who do not know how to speak Portuguese in the Brazilian schools. These students who speak Spanish and Guarani must try to adapt to our language, our culture, and our school models. It is not we, Brazilians, who must adapt to them.
(Observation report. School B)

(6) When students are talking in a language I don't understand [Spanish and Guarani], I tell them to stop talking. (Observation report. School B)

Extracts 4 to 6 seem to echo the accounts of Spanish speakers studied by MacGregor-Mendoza (2000) in the US context. The first two extracts suggest teachers' predisposition to react unfavorably toward the presence of these languages and learners in both schools. Language policy mechanisms (Shohamy, 2006) aimed at centralizing Portuguese as a national language have created a representation of what Brazilian schools must foster in terms of linguistic and cultural identities. Teachers' affiliation with this ideology can be inferred from the extracts. Consequently, as contextual factors such as the multilingual reality contrast with the *ideal monolingual school*, dissatisfaction emerges. Following Hélot (2010, p. 53), "there is a reluctance to move away from ideological positions entrenched in the belief that one-language/one-nation model is the only viable one […]".

Extract 6 suggests that when teachers are *challenged* by students' use of languages they do not know, interdiction seems to them to be the best strategy to control language practices. The use of Spanish or Guarani by the students in class or as part of their learning process is regarded by several teachers as a problem to be solved. The difficulty arises from the fact that these languages *disturb* the *monolingual harmony* idealized by most of the teachers. Following Carvalho (2014a, p. 2), "political borders function as barriers that separate linguistic spaces in people's minds.". Extract 7 below supports this analysis:

(7) Sara did her homework. Her mother had helped her, explaining in Spanish. I have concluded that we teach her Portuguese, but her family cannot help her. When they try to help, they make it more confusing by using another language.
(Observation report. School B)

As mentioned before, although cultural and linguistic interactions and cross-border movement comprise the objective reality of this border-region, conflicts emerge from this contact. Besides the imbalance between the *de facto* language education

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

policies and the multilingual reality, which entails a significant effort by these schools to negotiate the use of languages in school, unfavorable attitudes to this language group entail a significant level of linguistic insecurity. This attitude surfaces from Extract 8 below:

(8) Leandro always disturbs classes. I believe it is because he lives in Paraguay and is the son of a Paraguayan family who speaks much Guarani and Spanish.
(Observation report. School B)

During fieldwork observations, it was possible to notice that much of the discontent related to the presence of Paraguayan children in these schools is grounded on unequal socioeconomic relations. As reported by the teachers from School B, this leads parents to register their children in Brazilian schools, so that they can have access to benefits provided by the government. This is in the core of manifestations of social and language prejudice.

With respect to the other practice identified, from Extracts 9 to 12 below, examples of *vigilance* are observable. This practice also relates to interdiction, for data suggest that they are based on a similar understanding of Brazilian schools as the territory of Portuguese. Again, the language-as-problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984) constitutes the framework within which unfavorable attitudes are formed.

(9) Students talk to each other in Spanish or Guarani, watching to see if the teachers are paying attention to them. Some students are instructed by their parents not to speak languages other than Portuguese in the Brazilian school.
(Observation report. School A)

(10) Students talk a lot in their mother languages, but they shut up when teachers start looking at them. (School B)

(11) When parents realize the teachers are watching them speaking with their kids in Spanish or Guarani, they immediately try to change to Portuguese.
(Observation report. School A)

(12) While the notes on the next project are being handed to the students, I see that some students are talking in Spanish and Guarani. They cannot notice I'm watching them. (Observation report. School B)

These extracts indicate that when students and their parents notice that teachers are watching their language practices, they interrupt or silence themselves. An unfavorable attitude of the community toward their own languages in relation to the language of the school also surfaces from the extracts. Their languages seem to be less valuable, since the Brazilian school agents do not consider them appropriate.

A study conducted by Hélot (2010) in the border region where Alsace (in France) is located has shown comparable results concerning the silencing of

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

bilingual students in normative monolingual schools. The reports in the present study suggest teachers' awareness of the effect their watching has on the speakers. The last sentence in Extract 11 is a significant example of the perception the teacher has of the power relations existing in the school and between languages. Given the fact that language education policies and planning have not yet been provided to deal with multilingual realities, multilingual practices involving Spanish and Guarani are viewed as a problematic issue in Brazilian schools. Also, as suggested in Extracts 4 to 6, using these languages seems to mean *crossing the school boundaries*. Therefore, it is assumed that the unfavorable attitudes most of these teachers have are toward the presence of these bi- or multilingual speakers in the schools rather than to the languages themselves. This also surfaces from the analysis on consent.

By contrasting the answers provided by the teachers in the questionnaires with observations during fieldwork, it was perceived that Helena, a teacher who had been brought up in a Braziguayan family and was able to communicate in Spanish and Guarani, seemed to have built more favorable attitudes toward these languages and the presence of speakers of these languages in the schools. Sympathizing with her students, Helena started reflecting upon these practices, trying to make efforts to value students' languages in her teaching approach.

(13) Helena decides to explain everything in Guarani and Spanish to Sarah. But the student pretends not to understand so her classmates won't notice she is from Paraguay. (Observation report. School B)

In Extract 13 the issue of linguistic and cultural insecurity also arises. Spolsky's (2009, p. 90) words summarize what has been shown so far: "a child whose home language is denied, ignored or punished by the school teacher is persuaded of his or her deficiencies and of his or her parents' disadvantaged status".

The following extracts aim to provide examples of *consent*. Except for the study of foreign languages regularly included in the school curricula (English as a foreign language from the fourth year of schooling on), other languages would be forbidden or watched, but also allowed under consent. It was observed that this practice takes place when certain areas around the school seem to be *temporarily open* to the use of other languages. Thus, the demarcation limits of the Portuguese language territory are not rigid, for Spanish and Guarani seem not to represent a *risk* to teachers' work or for the maintenance of border limits. Extracts 14 and 15 provide example of consents as school practices of multilingualism management.

(14) We had a meeting with children's parents to hand them their school reports. At certain moments I had to explain topics in Spanish or in Guarani, because if I explained in Portuguese they would not understand.
(Observation report. School A)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(15) During breaks, students can talk to each other in Guarani.
(Observation report. School B)

In Excerpt 14, a teacher from School A provides an explanation of the flexibility in using Spanish or Guarani. This practice seems to be shaped by two ideas: firstly, the idea that these languages can also be a resource for school agents to provide instructions for the community and to make communication effective; and secondly, the impossibility of watching and controlling language interactions the whole time that children are in school. Fieldwork observation has proven to be a valuable source for understanding this practice, for it was perceived that, given that in some locales controlling seemed to be unworthy and 'inevitable', teachers expressed an attitude of indifference, or rather started reflecting upon their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2008).

(16) Both Rosa and Luciana say that they have thought about the use of Spanish and Guarani in locales around the school, but they highlight that the language of instruction must be Portuguese because they are within the Brazilian educational system. Both forbid children from using Guarani in the classroom. So, Luciana states, "if teachers leave them free to express themselves in their own languages they will not learn Portuguese, which is our language, the Brazilian language". (Fieldwork note. March 2012)

With respect to *symbolic promotion*, this can be taken as a higher degree of what was identified as consent. It refers to cultural events and parties promoted by the schools in which the school agents encouraged the community to use both Spanish and Guarani alongside Portuguese, to show these languages as representative symbols of the linguistic and cultural identity of the border region.

In a contradictory relation to interdiction and vigilance, during these events an effort to demonstrate positive attitudes toward the languages was observable, as if the boundaries did not exist in daily practices. As suggested by the teachers, this practice is adopted because there was a concern that schools must show how much they value the experiences learners have outside school, given the fact that both Spanish and Guarani are languages spoken by the school community, and the fact that the schools' practice and actions must consider the context in which they are inserted. However, this kind of promotion was restricted to only these specific events or to extracurricular activities held outside classrooms and the school walls.

Alongside the observations of both teachers and the researcher, intensive work on teachers' reflection was carried out in OBEDF during 2011 to 2013: the teachers who participated in the project (all the teachers in Table 1) engaged in reading and discussing texts, meetings, planning activities, and collaborative strategies with the researchers, and presentations in seminars organized under the coordination of the project. This work aimed at encouraging their perception and awareness of the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

possible consequences of the monolingual *habitus* of Brazilian schools located in multilingual border areas, and the reflection upon practices that contributed to a continuous process of marginalization of several students' languages and cultures. Following Hornberger (2010, p. xiii) on the role teachers have: "It is their language policies, after all, that have the power to affirm or undermine the language and intellectual resources learners bring to the classroom, and thereby to empower or constrain them as future citizens of our global and gloriously multilingual world.".

In the last year of the project, satisfying results have been achieved in terms of teachers' critical thinking toward their own ways of dealing with the coexistence of different languages in the school setting, their awareness of how the *de facto* language policies have influenced their understanding of the places languages occupied in school practices, and their own attitudes toward the presence of speakers of Spanish and Guarani in the schools. In conclusion, I quote the participating teacher Helena's account of her experiences regarding the possibility of changing attitudes toward the presence of these language in the Brazilian school:

(17) After taking part in the OBEDF I have a different view. It has become easier for me because I learned that we can work with all three of the students' languages in the school. Before the Project I didn't work with them. It was only Portuguese. After the research, the class observations, I started interacting with them in Guarani and Spanish and I had very good results for their learning.
(Field work interview. School B. October, 2013)

As for the contributions to language in education policies, at the end of the project the team involved in OBEDF engaged in writing a document (*Carta do OBEDF*) to policy makers, which included agents from local, state and federal government. The document aimed at recommending policies and strategies to promote and value language diversity in diverse educational contexts, to foster language in education policies for multilingual border areas, as well as to provide better conditions and education for teachers who work in complex sociolinguistic environments.

Conclusion

This study has shown the challenges research and development of educational language policy meet within Brazilian borders: representations of the borders, provisions in education policies, and the issue of attitudes in multilingual contexts, especially in border regions such as that presented in this chapter. The study of attitudes towards languages and language communities bears particular relevance because it helps us to understand social issues involved in language policy matters.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Although multilingualism has become visible in Brazil due to the formulation of language policies and recent research conducted in multilingual areas, language education planning demands improvement. Results in this study have shown that a language-as-problem orientation still forms the core of school practices regarding multilingualism. In the Brazil-Paraguay border region, it is also critical due to attitudes to languages and speakers which relate to social issues (prejudice, socioeconomic inequalities), and consequently the schools have served as a state apparatus setting boundaries between people and their languages. Not only the teachers' self-reported low or average command of Spanish and Guarani, but also their attitudes towards the presence of Paraguayan children in the Brazilian schools shaped the way they managed multilingualism in their practices, either forbidding or consenting the students' languages to be used.

Linguistic and cultural integration has been on the agenda for the regional integration of neighboring South American countries. Concerning the role of education in this process, it is of utmost importance to create conditions in schools to promote mutual respect within the communities of border regions and build positive attitudes toward the languages spoken by them. In light of the results obtained in this study, recommendation for this border area should include valuing linguistic and cultural identities within the learning process. This implies respecting the community's languages by providing opportunities for them to use and develop these languages in schooling in order for these languages and speakers not to be marginalized. In addition, multi-faceted policies to meet these challenges must be developed, which includes teachers' continuing education, as well as language policies and planning for bordering areas.

Acknowledgements

The research presented in this paper has been made possible by funding from CAPES, within the OBEDF Project.

I wish to sincerely thank the reviewers of this chapter for their evaluation and suggestions, which greatly contributed to its quality.

References

Albuquerque, J. L. C. (2010). *A dinâmica das fronteiras: Os brasiguaios na fronteira entre o Brasil e o Paraguai*. São Paulo: AnnaBlume.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Barth, F. (1969). Ethnic groups and boundaries. <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic446176.files/Week_4/Barth_Introduction_Ethnic_Groups_and_Boundaries_.pdf> (20 January, 2014).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Berger, I. (2015). Gestão do multi/plurilinguismo em escolas brasileiras na fronteira Brasil-Paraguay: Um olhar a partir do Observatório da Educação na Fronteira (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC), Florianópolis, Brazil.

Bourdieu, P. (2008). *A economia das trocas linguísticas* (2nd ed.). São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo.

Bugel, T., & Santos, H. S. (2010). Attitudes and representations of Spanish and the spread of the language industries in Brazil. *Language Policy*, 9(2), 143–170. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-010-9166-3

Calvet, L. J. (2002). *Sociolinguística: Uma introdução crítica*. São Paulo: Parábola.

Carvalho, A. M. (2014a). Introduction: Towards a sociolinguistics of the border. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (227), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2013-0084

Carvalho, A. M. (2014b). Linguistic continuity along the Uruguayan-Brazilian border: Monolingual perceptions of a bilingual reality. In L. Callahan (Ed.), *Spanish and Portuguese across time, place and borders. Studies in honour of Milton M. Azevedo* (pp. 183–199). Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.

Castanho, E. G. (2016). Entre a tradição e a tradução: Representações sobre identidades e línguas da fronteira Brasil/Paraguai (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP), Campinas.

Couto, H. H. (1994). Jopará: A língua geral paraguaia. *Papia* 3(1), 118–123.

Dalinghaus, I. V. (2009). Alunos brasiguaios em escolas de fronteira: Um estudo lingüístico sobre aprendizagem do português em Ponta Porã-MS (Unpublished Master's thesis). Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná (UNIOESTE), Cascavel.

Day, K. C. N. (2016). Fronteiras linguísticas e fronteiras políticas: Relações linguísticas e socio-históricas na fronteira do Brasil com a Guiana Francesa. *Cadernos de Letras da UFF. Dossiê: Língua em Uso*, 47, 163–182.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2010). *O planejamento da pesquisa qualitativa: Teorias e abordagens*. Porto Alegre: Artmed.

Fraga, L. (2014). Políticas linguísticas na formação do licenciando em Letras: Uma discussão introdutória. In D. A. Correa (Ed.), *Política linguística e ensino de língua* (pp. 45–58). São Paulo: Pontes Editores.

García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 140–158). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691910-011

García, O., & Menken, K. (2010). Moving forward: Ten guiding principles for teachers. In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers* (pp. 262–268). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gil, A. C. (2011). *Métodos e técnicas de pesquisa social* (6th ed.). São Paulo: Editora Atlas.

Hélot, C. (2010). Tu sais bien parler Maitresse!: Negotiating languages other than French in the primary classroom in France. In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers* (pp. 52–71). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hornberger, N. H. (2010). Foreword. In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers*. (pp. xi–xiii). New York, NY: Routledge.

Kauffman, G. (2011). Atitudes na sociolinguística. In H. Mello, C. V. Althenhofen, & T. Raso (Eds.), *Os contatos lingüísticos no Brasil* (pp. 121–137). Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Lasagabaster, D. (2014). El español y las lenguas cooficiales en el estado español: Actitudes lingüísticas en un contexto multilíngue. *Revista Internacional de Língüística Iberoamericana*, 23(1), 25–40.

Lasagabaster, D., & Huguet, A. (2007). Introduction: A transactional study in European Bilingual contexts. In D. Lasagabaster & A. Huguet (Eds.), *Multilingualism in European bilingual contexts: Language use and attitudes* (pp. 1–6). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Lüdke, M., & André, M. E. A. (1986). *Pesquisa em educação: Abordagens qualitativas*. São Paulo: EPU.

Lusting, W. (1996). Mba'eichapaoikola guarani? Guaraní y jopara en el Paraguay. *Papia*, 4(2), 19–43.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2000). Aqui no se habla Español: Stories of linguistic repression in southwest schools. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), 355–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2000.10162772

Machado, L. O. (2005). Estado, territorialidade e redes: Cidades-gêmeas na zona de fronteira sul-americana. In M. L. Silveira (Ed.), *Continente em chamas: Globalização e território na América Latina*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

Maher, T. M. (2013). Ecos de resistência: Políticas linguísticas e línguas minoritárias no Brasil. In C. Nicholaides, K. A. Silva, R. Tílio, & A. C. Rocha (Eds.), *Política e Políticas linguísticas* (pp. 117–134). Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores.

Marques, D. H. F. (2009). A circularidade na fronteira do Paraguai e Brasil: O estudo de caso dos "brasiguaios" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG), Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

Meliá, B. (2010). Lenguas indígenas en el Paraguay y políticas linguísticas. *Currículo sem Fronteiras*, 10(1), 12–32.

Oliveira, G. M. (2009). Plurilinguismo no Brasil: Repressão e resistência linguística. *Synergies Brésil*. 1(1), 19–26.

Oliveira, G. M., & Altenhofen, C. V. (2011). O in vitro e o in vivo na política da diversidade linguística no Brasil: Inserção e exclusão do plurilinguismo na educação e na sociedade. In H. Mello, C. V. Althenhofen, & T. Raso (Eds.), *Os contatos lingüísticos no Brasil* (pp. 187–216). Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.

Pereira, J. H. V. (2009). Diversidade cultural nas escolas de fronteiras internacionais: O caso de Mato Grosso do Sul. *Revista Múltiplas Leituras*, 2(1), 51–63. https://doi.org/10.15603/1982-8993/ml.v2n1p51-63

Peres, S. (2001). Avañe'ê, Ñe'ê Tavy, Karai Ñe'e: Escolarização do guarani e diglossia no Paraguai. *História da Educação. ASPHE/FaE/UFPel, Pelotas* 5(9), 39–85.

Pires-Santos, M. E. (1999). Fatores de risco para o sucesso escolar de crianças brasiguaias nas escolas de Foz do Iguaçu: Uma abordagem sociolingüística (Unpublished MA thesis). Universidade Federal do Paraná (UFPR), Curitiba.

Pires-Santos, M. E. (2004). O cenário multilíngue/multidialetal/multicultural de fronteira e o processo identitário "brasiguaio" na escola e no entorno social (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP), Campinas.

Raffestin, C. (1993). *Por uma geografia do poder*. São Paulo: Editora Ática.

Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/08855072.1984.10668464

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Sánchez, A. Q. (2002). A fronteira inevitável: Um estudo sobre as cidades de fronteira e Riveira (Uruguai) e Santana do Livramento (Brasil) a partir de uma perspectiva antropológica (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Sandoval, L. O. (2012). Bilingüismo y Educación: La diferenciación social de la lengua escolar. *America Latina Hoy*, 1(60), 139–150.

Santos, L. M. (2012). Ñande Rekó/Nosso modo de ser: o Jopara no jornal Diário Popular (Unpublished MA thesis). Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná (UNIOESTE), Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203387962

Shohamy, E. (2010). Cases of language policy resistance in Israel's centralized educational system. In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers* (pp. 182–197). New York, NY: Routledge.

Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511626470

Thiollent, M. (2003). *Metodologia da pesquisa-ação*. São Paulo: Cortez Editora.

Thomaz, K. M. (2005). A língua portuguesa no Brasil: Uma política de homogeneização linguística (Unpublished MA thesis). Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC), Rio de Janeiro.

Zajícová, L. (2009). Diferentes formas del Jopara. In A. M. Escobar & W. Wölck (Eds.), *Contacto lingüístico y la emergencia de variantes y variedades lingüísticas* (pp. 23–38). Frankfurt/Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

PART II

Language policy

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Attitudes toward Portuguese in Uruguay in the nineteenth century

Virginia Bertolotti and Magdalena Coll
Universidad de la República

The Uruguay-Brazil border has been a porous geographical area since colonial times, giving rise to intense contact between Portuguese and Spanish, further fostered by a shared economic and demographic foundation. Here we analyze attitudes toward border Portuguese and that language in general in the Uruguayan territory during the Luso-Brazilian military occupation (1816–1828) and later in the century and identify two parallel realities: a predominant neutral attitude toward Portuguese, as the language was not an object of evaluation; and the existence of negative attitudes toward Portuguese promoted by the authorities in Montevideo. In absence of diachronic attitude studies, we developed an *ad hoc* methodology to document and describe this dual reality, drawing on legislative documents, government archives, press, and literary pieces.

Keywords: attitudes, Portuguese, Uruguay, 19th century

Presentation

The area that is currently on the Uruguay-Brazil border is a highly porous region that has seen intense contact between Portuguese and Spanish ever since colonial times. This contact has received the attention of many researchers who have worked mainly from a synchronic perspective, including Rona (1965), Hensey (1972, 1984), Elizaincín (1975, 1978, 1992), Behares (1984), Elizaincín, Barrios, & Behares (1987), and Carvalho (2003), among others. In the twenty-first century, this language contact has been addressed by a host of diachronic research projects (Bertolotti & Coll, 2010, 2014; Bertolotti, Caviglia, & Coll, 2003–2004; Bertolotti, Caviglia, Coll, & Fernández, 2005a, 2005b; Caviglia & Fernández, 2007; Coll, 2008, 2009; Groppi, 2007; Moyna & Coll, 2008; Ramírez Luengo, 2005). These works have been aimed at identifying documentary sources that evidence contact between the two languages throughout the nineteenth century, characterizing that contact, describing the displacement historically suffered by Portuguese in favor of Spanish, and showing the

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.05ber
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

original situation of bilingualism without diglossia. Efforts have also been made to historically identify and analyze the shared lexical heritage.[1]

However, thus far there have been no studies on the emergence of language attitudes toward the Portuguese language – that is, the explicit or indirect opinions regarding the presence of Lusophone language modalities – in nineteenth century Uruguayan society. In this sense, this chapter has a double aim. We begin by analyzing, for the first time and explicitly, the attitudes toward Portuguese in the territory of Uruguay from a historical perspective. We then propose a methodology for the study of attitudes, based primarily on information found in archival documents and combined with literary and legal texts.

With these aims in mind, after a brief overview of the historical and political situation of this region, in the following section we address the language attitude studies conducted in Uruguay. After presenting our methodology, we look at the attitudes toward the Portuguese language during the Luso-Brazilian occupation of the territory that is now Uruguay. Then we focus on the attitudes toward border Portuguese at a later time in the nineteenth century. We conclude with a discussion and a synthesis of our analysis.

Historical and political conditions

At both the regional and local level, there is a long history of contact between Portuguese and Spanish in Latin America. As pointed out by Bracco, throughout the first years of the European conquest, the border area formed on the Plata River basin was a vast territory without any significant natural barriers, and over which no one actor had the power to control the others. Spaniards, Portuguese and various Indigenous peoples, mainly Tupi-Guarani, all interacted there (Bracco, 2004, p. 40). With respect to the effective colonization of these lands, the first European settlement established in this present-day Spanish-speaking region was Colônia do Sacramento (1680), founded by the Portuguese on the eastern margin of the Plata River. This foundation materialized the strong Lusitanian threat to the Spanish Crown and was a concrete manifestation of a more general intention of connecting Brazil with the rest of South America.[2] The very history of the foundation of Montevideo (a process spanning from 1724 to 1730) can ultimately be seen as a response to the threat posed by the Portuguese Crown's settlement in the area.

---

1. The R&D research projects *Historia del portugués en el Uruguay* and *Lexicología bilingüe español-portugués. El caso de la región fronteriza uruguayo-brasileña*, conducted from 2002 to 2004 and 2005 to 2007, respectively, with funding from Comisión Sectorial de Investigación Científica at Universidad de la República, fostered some of these diachronic research initiatives about Portuguese in Uruguay.

2. The same intention was behind the Lusitanian occupation of the Jesuit Missions in 1801.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Much like the European territories called "marches" during the Middle Ages, the Banda Oriental (or Eastern Bank, as the territory located to the east of the Plata River was known during colonial times) functioned as a "boundary marker" between the Portuguese and Spanish empires (Reyes Abadie, Bruschera, & Melogno, 1974), as it was a border zone where conflicts and disputes were constantly arising. This term reflects the idea of the existence of a territory that had a defensive value, similarly to the medieval marches, because of its location on the frontier between two empires.

One of the consequences of the struggles between the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns in the Banda Oriental was that, from the beginning, Portuguese settlers and Spaniards lived side by side in close interaction, particularly in the area that is today northern Uruguay. There was also a brief Lusitanian occupation from 1811 to 1812, and later a Luso-Brazilian occupation that lasted from 1816 to 1828, known as the Cisplatine period. We will come back to this stage in section *Attitudes toward Portuguese at the time of the Luso-Brazilian occupation*.

Estimates provided by census calculations from the late nineteenth century put the number of Brazilians living in northern and eastern Uruguay at 40,000. That is, 20 percent of the country's total population, which at the time stood at 200,000. It has been pointed out that as of 1854 there were almost no inhabitants of Spanish origin in these areas (Mena Segarra, 2004, p. 7), as illustrated in the map below.

Figure 1. Current map of Uruguay showing the area occupied by Brazilian landowners in 1850 (shaded area). Adapted from the design by Palermo (2015).[3]

3. Permission to use granted by Eduardo Palermo, the autor and the publisher, August 5, 2019.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

In response to this predominance of Brazilian inhabitants, the Uruguayan nation-state (whose process of independence from Spain and Portugal ended in 1828) started to take a number of actions. Among these were a series of settlements (Cuareim, Treinta y Tres, Villa Artigas, and Villa Ceballos) founded in the northern region of the country between 1853 and 1862 at the proposal of Congress, with the goal of countering the advancing Brazilian presence.

A little over a decade later, in 1877, with the aim of making elementary education available to all, the Uruguayan government issued a decree regulating public instruction (*Decreto-Ley Reglamento de Instrucción Pública*), based on the Common Education Act (*Ley de Educación Común*) drafted by politician and educator José Pedro Varela. As we will see below, while it was not specifically stipulated in the decree, children would be schooled in Spanish. In this way, the Spanish language was imposed on the border population. With this action by the central government, who saw the presence of Portuguese at the border as a threat, the use of Spanish spread over the Portuguese linguistic base, resulting in the current situation where what is known as "Uruguayan Portuguese dialects" coexist diglossically with Spanish.

Studies on language attitudes in Uruguay

In this study we look at language attitudes in the sense of shared evaluations whereby a language (Portuguese, for example) or a situation of language contact (between Spanish and Portuguese, in this case) is associated with specific social values. As we will see, such values were linked to Uruguay's process of construction as a monolingual nation at the end of the nineteenth century. We will see the attitudes expressed in the writings of social actors (politicians, writers, educators) living in Montevideo, the country's capital city, in particular with respect to the bilingual context of the Uruguay-Brazil border.

While most existing studies on language attitudes are synchronic, analyzing language attitudes in diachrony is not necessarily new. Pioneering works in this sense include a 1982 study by St., who argues that to "understand fully how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation" (St. Clair, 1982, p. 164). In the section *Neutral Attitudes* we will come back to the manifestations of the social and political forces that formed the Uruguayan nation. While there are some diachronic studies on language attitudes in this region, they do not deal specifically with Portuguese. Bugel (2015) has studied the local representations of how the British spoke in Montevideo, thus allowing for a reflection on language attitudes in the nineteenth century. Bertolotti (2011) explains the historical reasons

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for the attitudes toward *tuteo* and *voseo* that give the system of singular forms of address in Uruguay its own peculiarity. Coll (2010, 2012) focuses on European and local representations of how African and Indigenous peoples spoke, a theme that is certainly linked to language attitudes.

As for previous synchronic studies on Uruguay, we have the pioneering analysis by Khül de Mones (1981) regarding the attitudes of Montevideo inhabitants toward the name of their language, toward the varieties of Spanish, and toward *voseo*. This author also examines the opinions of the Montevideo population regarding the influence of the media (press and TV) on language. Weyer (2013) studied the attitudes toward *tuteo* and *voseo*, while Weyer and Canale (2013) approached the same subject focusing on the classroom. García de los Santos (2014) researches current linguistic attitudes held by the people of Montevideo toward other language varieties inside and outside Uruguay, following a review of articles related to this subject. One of the conclusions she arrives at is that her survey respondents – who are from Montevideo, that is, inhabitants of the capital of the country, located in the south and far from the border – have a negative attitude both toward Portuguese and toward contact varieties.[4]

Bugel (2012) addresses the issue of attitudes toward the Rio de la Plata and peninsular varieties of Spanish, and in 2013 examines the attitudes toward Spanish and Portuguese varieties in the regional context, while also looking at such attitudes with respect to how these varieties are taught (Bugel, 2013). Waltermire (2014) focuses on the variety of Spanish spoken at the Uruguay-Brazil border and how the attitude its speakers have toward Portuguese affects changes at the phonological level.

Methodology

Although Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) provide a detailed review of the methodology that can be applied to the study of language attitudes, there is no reference to diachronic studies of attitudes. However, it is important to highlight these authors' insistence that "Validation of attitude studies is particularly problematic because of the very nature of attitudes as properties of the psychological or mental process" (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 150). We would like to add that validating attitude studies is even more complex when time is included as a variable, given that researchers cannot elicit the data they are interested in. Rather, they have to try to access such data by means of deduction, proceeding through wide range hermeneutics, drawing on different written testimonies that have been preserved.

4. This research is part of a larger project about attitudes toward Latin American Spanish, conducted by researchers whose work is guided by professors at the University of Bergen, Norway.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Given that we are focusing on the nineteenth century, we have to do without the more classical tools of language attitude analysis, such as those that aim at indirectly exploring attitudes through matched-guise or verbal-guise techniques (as described by Lambert, 1967 or Garrett, 2010). Neither is explicit exploration of attitudes possible, either by way of questionnaires or through interviews (as described by Garret, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). The studies that have looked at attitudes from a diachronic perspective cannot be replicated for our purposes.

Nevertheless, we consider two precedents similar to a study such as ours. The first one is by St. Clair (1982), who analyzes the attitudes in a past synchrony using standardized tests, teacher training courses, legislation, and government manuals. The second one is by Kramarae (1982), who in her work on attitudes toward how women speak, analyzes proverbs, protocol and etiquette books, cartoons, and commentaries regarding the relevance of feminine voices in the media. In our case, with the exception of legislation, none of the sources mentioned above are available for the time period and the region studied (either because these types of writing did not exist at the time or because they have not been preserved). For this reason, we applied a methodology designed by us especially for this study. We thus focus on language attitudes as constituent elements present in, or even absent from, discourse (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). We do this by considering the following types of written texts: legislative documents; documents found in judicial or government archives; pieces published in the press; and literary writings.

Legislative documents

The analysis and interpretation of legislation contributes to the understanding of how language attitudes mask attitudes toward those who use a language other than one's own (Garrett, 2010). Here we have analyzed the often referenced Common Education Act (1877) and its corresponding Decree-Law for the Regulation of Public Instruction, also adopted in 1877. We also consider the Organic Notarial Act (Decree-Law No. 1421) of 31 December 1878, Law No. 2152 of 30 April 1891, and a law from 28 June 1902. To the extent of our knowledge, ours is the first study to consider these last three regulations.

Documents found in judicial or government archives

The archival material that we analyzed is part of a corpus built with the goal of documenting and analyzing the presence of Portuguese in Uruguay throughout history. This corpus includes approximately one hundred documents published in Bertolotti, Caviglia, Coll, and Fernández (2005a and b). They were retrieved from the following document repositories: (1) *Archivo General de la Nación* (National

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

General Archive) – (a) in the Judiciary section, files 1 (1838–1854), 2 (1855–1856), 15 (1873–1874), and 94 (1892), corresponding to the department of Tacuarembó; boxes 3 (1826), 4 (1828) and 5 (1829), corresponding to the department of Cerro Largo; (b) in the Government and Economy Ministry Notary section, files 128, 129 and 140 (1822–1825); and (2) *Fondo Archivo Aparicio Saravia* (Aparicio Saravia Archive Collection), held by the Historical Studies Center of the Armed Forces (*Comando General del Ejército, Estado Mayor del Ejército, Centro de Estudios Históricos*) – all 21 boxes (1894–1900). Some documents were also gleaned from texts that were already published and that contain archival documents, such as *Archivo Artigas* (volumes 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 18, 28, and 31–33) and *Revista Histórica*, published by the National History Museum (volume 35).[5]

Pieces published in the press

The press reviewed included the following newspapers: *El deber cívico* (1896–1901), available at the National Library (Montevideo, Uruguay); *La verdad* (1897–1900) and *La France* (1908), available at the Artigas Library in the city of Rivera, located on the border with Brazil; *O canabarro* (1894–1896), *O cidadão* (1886), and *El Debate* (early twentieth century), all of them available at *Muséu da Folha Popular*, in the city of Livramento (Brazil), Rivera's twin city. Some issues of the daily newspapers *O Maragato* (1908) and *La Voz de Rivera* (February 1886), which are part of the private collection held by professor Selva Chirico, were also consulted.

Literary writings

In addition, our analysis includes some literary pieces by nineteenth century writers, where they illustrate the presence of Portuguese speakers in the city of Montevideo during the Lusitanian occupation. Moreover, we examined writings by educators and politicians that have been published by other researchers, indicating the source accordingly in each case.

In sum, based on the study of a variety of sources and considering them against their social, political, and cultural context, we have drawn a series of inferences with respect to attitudes toward modalities of Portuguese spoken in the nineteenth century in present-day Uruguay.

---

5. Uruguay is currently divided into 19 political-administrative sections called departments. Tacuarembó is one of them. It is located in northern Uruguay and originally covered more territory, extending to the border with Brazil. Cerro Largo is another department, located on the eastern part of Uruguay, and it borders with Brazil.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Attitudes toward Portuguese at the time of the Luso-Brazilian occupation

As noted above, the so-called Luso-Brazilian invasions that started in 1816 culminated with the annexation of the Banda Oriental to the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves, and later to the Empire of Brazil (until 1828). Such a situation obviously imposed an intense contact between the Spanish and Portuguese languages, mainly in Montevideo. Research regarding that period (historically known as the *Cisplatine*) confirms the presence of the Portuguese language in communications from the authorities to the inhabitants of the annexed area, although correspondence in Spanish between Portuguese officers has also been preserved (Bertolotti et al., 2005a; Caviglia, Bertolotti, & Coll, 2008). In that period, judicial records and proceedings were written in either Spanish or Portuguese, and even in both Spanish and Portuguese. That is, we found that the use of both languages was optional in this type of documents, with no mention whatsoever of the fact that more than one language was being used.

In 1821, during the Cisplatine Conference, the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves approved the annexation of the *Provincia Oriental*. The document stipulating the annexation states that the uses and customs of the land shall be respected, establishes the geographical borders of the province, declares that the province shall be different from the other states, and grants independence to its civilian and military authorities. There is, however, no mention of the language that will be used in the province, but it should be noted that the annexation document was written in Spanish (Bertolotti & Coll, 2014, p. 54).

There is also literature available from this period, with accounts that reveal a different reality from that evidenced in official documents. The poet Francisco Acuña de Figueroa sarcastically criticized what he observed in Montevideo society, using irony to describe the mixing of languages. This in turn allowed him to disguise, to a certain extent, his actual criticism of the ways in which the inhabitants of Montevideo had adopted foreign fashion and other cultural elements. In other words, with his negative attitude toward the Portuguese language he conveys his rejection of the invader. By resorting to poetry, he can also temper his criticism through rhyme and mockery. In a poem titled *Carta familiar en la que el autor refiere varios sucesos personales, y satiriza las locuciones portuguesas que se han pegado al idioma* ("Family letter in which the author relates some personal experiences and satirizes the Portuguese terms that have stuck to the language"), Acuña de Figueroa uses irony to address the Portuguese loanwords found in the speech of his fellow Uruguayans. He focuses first directly on the language when he says:

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(1) La larga dominación
De esta nación extranjera
Nuestras costumbres altera
Por contagiosa mixtión:
Cambia en una varia fusión
El carácter nacional:
Y hasta en el idioma mismo,
Ejerce el extranjerismo
Una influencia fatal (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 52)

The long domination
By this foreign nation
Our customs alters
Through a contagious medley:
Changing in a varying fusion
The national character:
And even in the language itself,
Foreignism wields
A fatal influence (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 52)

The poet then includes and explains Portuguese words and expressions that he considers to be commonly used in Montevideo at the time. As we can see in the following passage, he describes how speakers substitute *obrigado* ('obliged', in Portuguese) for *mil gracias* (Spanish for 'a thousand thanks') when thanking someone; he comments on how newcomers announce themselves using the formula *¿da licencia?* (literally 'Do I have a license', similar to saying 'May I?', which in Spanish would be *permiso*); he alludes to the use of the expression *dolor de dientes* instead of *dolor de muelas* ('tooth ache', instead of 'molar ache,' the more idiomatic expression in Spanish); and points to the use of the Portuguese *brincos* for 'earrings' instead of the Spanish terms *zarcillos* or *pendientes*. These and other examples are found in the following passage:

(2) Debe hoy cualquier peralvillo,
Si quiere darse importancia.
Vestir con rara elegancia
Y tomar rapé ó polvillo:
Al obsequio de contado
Mil gracias, que es anticuado,
Y dirán que es un patán,
Que ahora las gracias se dan
Con decir solo ***obrigado*** (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 52)[6]

6. The bold is ours, the italics were in the original.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

El llamar es indecencia
Cuando vaya á hacer visitas,
Pues dando tres palmaditas.
Debe decir ***"¿Da licencia?"*** (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 53)

Y á cualquier dolor de muelas
Llamará ***dolor de dientes***
Los zarcillos ó pendientes
Brincos se deben nombrar
Tomar sentido es cuidar
Un negro libre es un ***forro***
Un perro es ***can*** **ó** ***cachorro***
Y despacio es ***de vagar'*** (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 54)

Today any old *peralvillo*,
If he wants to show off
With rare elegance he must dress
And take snuff or powder:
Receiving a gift of cash with
A thousand thanks is old-fashioned,
Branding you a lout,
As to be thankful now
You are simply ***obrigado*** (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 52)

To call ahead is indecent
When going for a visit,
As clapping three times.
You must say **"Da licencia?"** (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 53)

And any tooth ache
Is now ***dolor de dientes***
Pendants or earrings
Are ***brincos***
Tomar sentido is to be careful
A free black man is a ***forro***
A dog is a ***can*** or ***cachorro***
And going slowly is ***de vagar'*** (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, p. 54)

As we can see, Acuña de Figueroa illustrates this situation of language contact with examples from everyday life in a society where the Spanish-speaking locals live side by side with the Portuguese-speaking occupying forces. Besides denouncing the loans from Portuguese used in their Spanish, the author warns of the consequences of mixing Spanish and Portuguese. As can be seen in the example below, Acuña de Figueroa predicts that a *patagorrillo* (a kind of stew) will result as a by-product of the coexistence of both languages:

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(3) Así en esta mezcolanza
De frases advenedizas
Con locuciones postizas
Mucho nuestra lengua alcanza
Pues si prosigue la danza
Llegará un tiempo tal vez
Que de nuestro idioma, que es
Rico, elegante y sencillo
Se forme un patagorrillo
Ni español ni portugués (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, pp. 54–55)

So in this hodgepodge
Of upstart phrases
With false idioms
Much our language reaches
As if this dance continues
There will come a time
When our language, that is
Rich, elegant and simple
Will become a *patagorrillo*
That is neither Spanish nor Portuguese (Acuña de Figueroa, 1890, pp. 54–55)

The poet, a man connected with the press and the most cultured circles of society, allows himself to be critical, and his criticism is expressed through the sarcastic language of the above poem.

Some years into the Luso-Brazilian occupation, the locals rose up against the Brazilian army, with a campaign that began with the arrival of pro-independence forces led by the *Treinta y Tres Orientales* (Thirty-Three Easterners) in April 1825 and continued with victories at the battles of Rincón and Sarandí later that year. The prevailing atmosphere of this period is recreated by writer Eduardo Acevedo Díaz in his novel *Grito de Gloria* (1893). Faithfully reflecting the historical circumstances, he portrays a significant influx of Portuguese speakers in Montevideo, where that language appears very much alive. One of the main characters, the slave Guadalupe, hears Portuguese spoken around her as she moves through the city (Rivero, 2014). When she goes by the military detachment recently arrived from São Paulo (Brazil), the soldiers call out to her and we learn, through the voice of the narrator, how the slave perceives the language spoken by the soldiers (Portuguese), which she likens to "the murmur of grumpy insects buzzing in her ears" (Acevedo Díaz, [1893]1964, p. 142). Her attitude toward their language is clearly negative, as is her judgment of the speakers, whom Guadalupe's master is combating.

While in the official documentation from the period of the Luso-Brazilian occupation, that stretched from 1816 until 1828, there are no explicit references to

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

language, the writings of Francisco Acuña de Figueroa and Eduardo Acevedo Díaz provide two examples of manifest opposition to the Portuguese language – and, naturally, toward its speakers, who represented the occupying forces. The type of accounts that enabled us to reach such considerations differs from the sources used to describe the attitudes toward the language situation at the border in the late nineteenth century, as we will see in the next section.

Attitudes toward Border Portuguese in Nineteenth Century Uruguay

Based on archival, journalistic, and legal documentation, as well as on speeches by politicians and educators, we infer the existence of two different types of attitudes toward the Portuguese spoken at the border in nineteenth century Uruguay. On the one hand, the Portuguese language was not an object of evaluation, and this might be seen as expressing a neutral attitude. On the other, there was a negative attitude toward that language stemming mainly from the country's capital and during what was known as the "civilizing" period of the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Neutral attitudes

In Bertolotti et al. (2005a) we contributed evidence of how the Portuguese language appears naturalized in official records and proceedings well into the nineteenth century. We have documented the extent to which, in the north of the country and without any explicit mention of it, officers of the Uruguayan justice system would write in Portuguese and include numerous loans from Portuguese in their writings in Spanish as well. It was also common to see a court case file written in both languages, as we will see below. The absence of objections to that linguistic fact was also common at that time.

The documents compiled in Bertolotti et al. (2005a and 2005b) evidence the use of Portuguese, in a way that would be striking today in a state where the only official language is Spanish. Officers recording cases would often alternate between writing in Portuguese and writing in Spanish in the same file. Such is the case, for example, of document P45 retrieved from file 1, department of Tacuarembó (*Archivo General de la Nación*, Judiciales-AGNJ), of the year 1854, where a notice written by a deputy mayor in Portuguese alternates with a notice written in Spanish by Martínez, the court's notary public:[7]

7. The examples are part of *Corpus para la Historia del Portugués en el Uruguay*, put together at Instituto de Lingüística, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de la República, Montevideo, and partially published in Bertolotti et al. (2005a and 2005b).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(4) [fol. 8r] Em o segundo destrito da 4ª seçao do Departamento / de Taçuarenbo a os catoreze de Junho de / mil e oito sin tos e cuarenta e cuatro Eu o Ten.te / Alcaldez me con testuiem caza morada de Don / Joaq.m Joze de Livr.ª / [5]y nao emcontreiem sua caza para notificar= lhe / emsuap.soa o es crito q.e ante sede do Senhor / Alc.de Ordinario o es crito q.e o motivado q.e / dou fe con dois vizinhos q.e se firmao commigo /[10] Como testemunha -------- Antonío Lopes Lenzinas / João Per.ª da S-ª Braga/ Amancio Vaz {rub} / [*An]te mi / Miguel S. Martinez {rub} /[15] Escribano Pub-co / En el dia veinte del mismo mes lo notorié á Don / Francisco Perez firma y doy fé. / Perez {rub} Martinez {rub}
[folio 8r] In the second district of the fourth section of the Department of Tacuarembó on 14 June 1844, I, the Deputy Mayor, went to the house where Mister Joaq.m Joze de Livr. resides and I did not find him there to notify him in person of the above document from the Mayor. I give faith thereof, along with two neighbors who sign these presents with me. Witnessed by, {signed:} Antonío Lopes Lenzinas / João Per.ª da S-ª Braga / Amancio Vaz. Before me, {signed:} Miguel S. Martinez, Notary Public. On this twentieth day of the same month, I have notarized the signature of Mister Francisco Perez and give faith. {Signed:} Perez; {signed:} Martinez.

Both languages also alternate in a file from 1854 in which the deputy mayor Felisberto de Vargas writes a text in Portuguese, informing the mayor that he is forwarding a summons to him, written in Spanish and signed by Miguel Martínez, notary public. Vicente Illa, the recipient of the summons, replies in Portuguese that he will not respond to said summons (see Caviglia et al., 2008):

(5) [fol. 3r] Snr Alcaide YOdinario D. Pascoal Pitaluva / Tres Sero 13 de Junho 1854 / Remeto a VSa Sitasão q' vejo para Visen / te Ylhao q' VSª Vera o q' hele dis sobre / [5]tal asunto e aSim VSª Rezolva o qaxar – / Mais covinnientes em mais aSunto doude VSª/ atento sirvirdore Suditoe Criado. / Felisberto de Vargas {rub} / Tén Alcaide
[folio 3r] Honorable Mayor, D. Pascoal Pitaluva, Tres Cerros, 13 June 1854. I refer to Your Honor the summons I have before me addressed to Visente Ylhao, so that Your Honor can see his response to such matter and decide what is to be done. Your faithful subject and servant, {signed:} Felisberto de Vargas, Deputy Mayor.

(6) [fol. 5r] Ante el Juzgado Ordinario de este Departa / mento,ha presentado demanda Don JoseVenan/ ciodeSousa Guerra, en representacion de Don Pe / droChucarro, contra Don Vicente Ylla ^por cobro decantidades de pesos, piden / [20]que el mencionadoYlla, se presente á estar á derecho ante el Juzgado. / (…) Al otro sí. hagase como se pide / insertándose / = Pascual Pittalgua – Ante mí. Mi / guel S- Martinez, Escribano publico / [25]Y en cumplimiento de lo mandado lo transcribe / al Teniente Alcalde respectivo Don Felizberto de /

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bargas, para que lo haga saber; / Miguel S. Martinez {rub} / Escríbano Pub.co y del Juzg.do

[folio 5r] An action has been filed by Mister Jose Venancio de Sousa Guerra with the Ordinary Court of this Department, on behalf of Mister Pedro Chucarro, against Mister Vicente Ylla, demanding payment of certain sums of pesos; the said Ylla is summoned to appear before the Court to make his defense. (…) Furthermore, let it be done as requested. Inserted: Pascual Pittalgua. Before me, Miguel S. Martinez, Notary Public. And in compliance with what has been ordered, it is conveyed to the respective Deputy Mayor, Mister Felizberto de Bargas, so that he may communicate it. {Signed:} Miguel S. Martinez, Notary Public and of the Court.

(7) [fol. 5v] (…)Snr˜ Alcaide Y Ordinario D Pascoal Pitaluva/ não aSeito a Sitasaon por Snr D Pedro Chucaro/ porq'e u não tenho pretado conta com hele / site ao meu Filho Manoel Ylha q' he o q' tem prestado hesas conta e demais la tenho hum/ [5]priendor q'Snr˜ Fransisco Esteve Deus Guarde aVS[a] / Tres Sero 11 de Junho 1854 / Vicente Ylha{rub}

[fol. 5v] (…) Honorable Mayor D Pascoal Pitaluva, I will not respond to the summons regarding Mister D Pedro Chucaro because I have not taken a loan from him. Summon my son Manoel Ylha, as it is he who has borrowed that money and the rest is with a lender, Mister Fransisco Esteve. God bless Your Honor. Tres Cerros, 11 June 1854. {Signed:} Vicente Ylha.

The above document reveals, as do other similar documents, that court officers of the government of Uruguay, by then firmly established as a nation, used Portuguese to communicate when performing their official duties. This attests to the depth and breath of the use of that language in the country's northern region. The 1830 Constitution required that in order to qualify as an officer of the court one had to "be a resident and have resided in the State for at least one year, uninterruptedly, before being appointed." The requirements, however, did not include being a Uruguayan citizen and, much less, knowing how to speak or write in Spanish.

Nonetheless, with the increasing use of Spanish, through efforts arising in Montevideo, the presence of Portuguese in judicial documents decreased, as will be shown in the next section.

At least until the end of the nineteenth century, there do not appear to be any opinions regarding the Portuguese language in the regional press. No letters, vignettes, or cartoons alluding to Portuguese or to the contact between Spanish and Portuguese were found in our review of the press published in the border area. However, we did find texts written in Portuguese featured in the press, mainly in advertisements, thus indicating Portuguese readers. In newspapers written in Spanish, in the border city of Rivera, we found advertisements for medicines, a shoe

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

store, a clothing store, and a doctor all written in Portuguese (or in Spanish and Portuguese). This would suggest that the vitality of the Portuguese language within Uruguay was not questioned by the users of that language in the north. As we will see, it was the ruling classes in Montevideo who viewed the Portuguese language as a threat to national unity.

In order to study the situation in the private sphere, we consulted records kept by the family of Aparicio Saravia, one of Uruguay's last great caudillos and leader of one of its two main political parties at the end of the nineteenth century. Given that the Saravia family was a prototypical border family in terms of its makeup, these documents are of great linguistic interest. The family's personal papers have been preserved because of the prominent role played by the Saravias in Uruguayan politics. This was obviously not the case with other border families, who did not have a hand in writing the country's history. Aparicio Saraiva (later Saravia) was the son of Francisco *Chico* Saraiva, who was originally from Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, and had settled in Uruguay in the mid nineteenth century, and of his wife, Pulpicia or Propicia Da Rosa, also Brazilian. Aparicio, in turn, married Cándida Díaz or Dias, who had a Brazilian father and a Uruguayan mother (Mena Segarra, 2004, p. 9–12). In the repository that is held by the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* at *Comando General del Ejército*, we found telegrams from Cándida Díaz to the caudillo (documents 66 and 67 in Bertolotti et al., 2005a) and letters addressed to military chiefs who were followers of Saravia, all of them written in Portuguese, whether the correspondence had to do with the war or family matters. Portuguese is also used in other items found in the Saravia archive, including some short notes, clothing distribution lists for Saravia's troops, a certificate for a gift of cow hides (documents 65, 69, 74, and 75 in Bertolotti et al., 2005a), an anonymous love poem, and a prayer asking God for protection against the plague (written entirely in Portuguese). However, most of the documentation is in Spanish. It is precisely this presence of Spanish that indicates that, by the end of the century, Spanish was being used for communication in the private sphere, even in families like the Saravias, whose members had been born at the border. That is because formal education was in Spanish even there, given the presence of schools on the Uruguayan side.

Negative attitudes

In this section we identify the existence of negative attitudes by interpreting other types of data, namely: (a) the increasing absence of the Portuguese language in judicial documents (as mentioned in the previous section); (b) the existence of legislation that, among a host of other consequences, resulted in Spanish spreading across the border region; and (c) accounts and explicit observations that originated

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in the political and educational circles of Montevideo and that censored the use of the Portuguese language in Uruguay.

In Bertolotti et al. (2005a, p. 20), the authors show the decreasing presence of the Portuguese language, as evidenced by the number of documents in Portuguese in the files from the border department of Tacuarembó (*Archivo General de la Nación, Judiciales*). While in file 1, encompassing the years 1833 to 1854, 33 percent of the documents are partially written in Portuguese or contain expressions that denote interference from Portuguese, in file 94, corresponding to the year 1892, the only presence of Portuguese is in a receipt written in that language and included as part of another document. Such a decrease in the use of the Portuguese language in administrative and judicial documents does not automatically indicate the disappearance of Portuguese in the north, but it certainly points to a deliberate decision not to write judicial case files in a language other than Spanish.

We have not found any legislation explicitly banning the use of Portuguese in written judicial documents. There is, however, legislation that allows us to infer how much ground Spanish had gained in that sphere. Law No. 1421, the Notarial Organic Act (*Ley Orgánica Notarial*), of 31 December 1878, includes stipulations, for example, regarding the need for bilingual witnesses in the drafting of wills. Article 44, section two, "Regarding the protocols and obligations of notaries," stipulated as follows:

> Art. 44.- Cuando el que quiere testar no conozca el idioma castellano, pero se exprese claramente y escriba otro idioma, podrá hacer testamento cerrado o abierto en esta forma:
>
> En el primer caso lo presentará al Escribano, cerrado y lacrado, escribiendo en el sobre delante de aquel funcionario y de cinco testigos de los cuales tres, cuando menos, deben conocer el idioma del testador y el castellano a la vez, que dicho pliego "contiene su última voluntad", escrita por él o por otro (nombrándolo), a su pedido y firmado por él […]
>
> En el segundo caso, el testador presentará al Escribano el pliego que contenga su testamento, en el papel de la clase que corresponda al protocolo, firmado de su puño y letra, cuya presentación la hará ante dos intérpretes y tres testigos que conozcan su idioma. Los intérpretes harán su traducción fiel y trasmitida al testador en presencia de los testigos y del Escribano, si aquél no tuviese observación que hacer, la suscribirá juntamente con los traductores y testigos. (Ley Orgánica Notarial)
>
> Article 44. If the person intending to make a will does not speak Spanish, but can communicate clearly and write in another language, he may make a sealed or open will in the following way:
>
> In the first case, the person will submit the will to the Notary, in a closed and sealed envelope, writing on the envelope in front of that Officer and of five witnesses – at least three of whom must know both the language of the person making the will and

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Spanish – that said document "contains his last will," written by him or by another person (providing the name of that person), at his request and signed by him […]
>
> In the second case, the person making the will shall submit to the Notary a document containing his will, in the type of paper corresponding to the protocol, signed by him in his own handwriting, and such submission shall be done in the presence of two interpreters and three witnesses who understand his language. The interpreters shall give a faithful translation and convey it to the will maker in the presence of the witnesses and the Notary, and if there are no observations to be made by the Notary, he shall sign it together with the translators and witnesses.
>
> (Notarial Organic Act)

This shows how the situation started to change, accompanying a process of linguistic adjustment, which we will also see when we examine the changes in the field of education. According to Tellechea (2005, p. 126), Article 65, paragraph 7, of the above law, which established the rules for notarial work in Uruguay, stipulated that notaries could not authorize deeds based on powers of attorney issued outside of Uruguay, if such powers were not properly translated into Spanish. Article 43 of Law No. 2152, of 30 April 1891, also established as a general rule that any documents executed abroad, if issued in a foreign language, had to be accompanied by a duly authorized translation. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a law of 28 June 1902 also indicated that translations had to be done by sworn translators licensed in the country.

Another type of data that has allowed us to document the negative attitudes toward the presence of varieties of Portuguese are, as we have mentioned before, the accounts and explicit observations made in the sphere of education and politics that, from Montevideo, censored the presence of the Portuguese language in Uruguay.

In his writings regarding government work during the years 1877–78 (*Memoria correspondiente a la gestión 1877–1878*), José Pedro Varela, the proponent of the Common Education Act (1877), notes the need to impose the "Castilian language" with the aim of fostering the national spirit and enabling full citizenship. The following excerpts illustrate his thinking in this sense:[8]

> El idioma es el más poderoso vínculo de la nacionalidad; es por medio de él que se unifican las ideas, las aspiraciones y los sentimientos de las nacionalidades, en tanto que la diferencia de idioma entre los súbditos levanta una barrera casi insalvable para la constitución permanente de los estados. (folio 45, lines 1–5)[9]

8. The importance of such legislation has been highlighted by researchers in the field of language policy, at least by Barrios, Gabbiani, Behares, Elizaincín and Mazzolini (1993).

9. The text reproduced here was taken from the typescript transcription by historian Juan Pivel Devoto and was located in the archives by Cecilia Bértola, to whom we thank for having brought

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Language is the most powerful bond of nationality; it is through language that the ideas, aspirations, and feelings of nationalities are connected, while the difference in language among a nation's subjects erects an almost insurmountable barrier against the permanent establishment of states. (Folio 45, lines 1–5)

According to Varela, such a barrier is mainly caused by the use of Portuguese. Thus, he points out:

> La República Oriental [del Uruguay] tiene una grande amenaza y un gran peligro para el porvenir, en lo difundido que se hallaba el idioma brasilero en los Departamentos que son limítrofes del Imperio [Brasil]. No es solo que en esa importante zona de la República, una gran parte del suelo sea propiedad de ciudadanos brasileros: no es solo que estos se encuentren allí en gran número, es que por la natural influencia que ejercen en su riqueza y por el amor que profesan naturalmente al idioma nativo, los hijos de brasileros que nacen en la República solo hablan el idioma de sus padres, y comparten con ellos las ideas, las aspiraciones y los sentimientos. (fol. 46, lines 14–24).[10]
>
> The Eastern Republic [of Uruguay] faces a great threat and a great danger for the future posed by the extent to which the Brazilian language has spread in the Departments that limit with the Empire [of Brazil]. It is not just that in that important area of the Republic, much of the land is owned by Brazilian citizens; it is not just that they are there in great numbers; rather it is because of the natural influence they have due to their wealth and the love they naturally have for their mother tongue, that the sons and daughters of Brazilians who are born in the Republic only speak the language of their parents, and share their ideas, aspirations, and feelings. (Folio 46, lines 14–24)

In response to those questioning the state's right to impose on parents the language in which their children should be schooled, Varela argued that citizenship cannot be complete without knowledge of the language of the state:

> La Constitución de la República establece que la ignorancia de la ley no exime de responsabilidad en los casos en que à ella se falte y para que esto no sea monstruoso, es necesario admitir que se parte del supuesto que todos los ciudadanos están en aptitud de conocer la que la ley manda – pero ¿cómo puede hacerse una suposición semejante, cuando se trata de ciudadanos que no conocen el idioma, es decir, el vehículo indispensable para la transmisión del pensamiento? Además, la ciudadanía impone cargas que no son renunciables: todo ciudadano tiene que servir en la guardia nacional, que ser jurado, etc. Ahora bien, ¿puede ser jurado el

it to our attention (*Archivo General de la Nación* (Uruguay), *Archivo Pivel Devoto*, Box 53, Folder 136, Years 1878–1962, Press clips, folios 45, 46, 47, 48).

10. *Archivo General de la Nación* (Uruguay), *Archivo Pivel Devoto*, Box 53, Folder 136, Years 1878–1962.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> que no conoce el idioma nacional? ¿se puede cumplir con el servicio de la guardia nacional no conociendo el idioma pátrio? (fol. 47, line 29 to fol. 48, line 9)[11]
>
> The Constitution of the Republic stipulates that ignorance of the law is no excuse for breaking it, and the only way this can be considered anything but outrageous is if we accept that it is based on the assumption that all citizens are capable of understanding what the law orders – but how is such an assumption possible in the case of citizens who do not know the language, that is, the indispensable vehicle for conveying thought? Also, citizenship imposes obligations that cannot be waived: all citizens must serve in the National Guard, they must be jurors, etc. Now then, can someone who does not speak the national language be on a jury? Can they serve in the National Guard if they do not know the language of the nation?
>
> (Folio 47, line 29, to folio 48, line 9)

These ideas are reflected in a later communication addressed to the chiefs of police of the border departments (Maldonado, Cerro Largo, Tacuarembó, and Salto), which would later evolve into regulations enforced at the national level. On 20 October 1878, Interior Minister José M. Montero (II) issued a document stating that police chiefs had the obligation of ensuring that Spanish was taught in all private schools. The basis for this was very similar to what was expressed earlier by Varela (with whom Montero had collaborated closely). The document states as follows:

> Es basado en los precedentes fundamentos que la Superioridad ordena a V. S. obligue á los maestros que se hallen en el caso precitado, á que den preferencia en la enseñanza al idioma castellano haciéndole saber al mismo tiempo que de lo contrario la autoridad procederá á clausurar sus establecimientos.
>
> (fol. 38 línea 19–23)[12]
>
> Based on the stated grounds, the Superior Authority hereby instructs You to order teachers in situations such as the above to give preference to the Spanish language in their teaching, while informing them that if they fail to do so, their establishments will be closed down by the authorities.

This text was later turned into a national decree, signed by the head of the executive branch, Lorenzo Latorre, on 30 October 1878, and stating:

> Art. 1º. En todas las escuelas ó colegios de enseñanza elemental, superior y científica, se dará preferencia al idioma castellano, sin que esto importe excluir el estudio de los demás.

---

11. *Archivo General de la Nación* (Uruguay), *Archivo Pivel Devoto*, Box 53, Folder 136, Years 1878–1962.

12. *Archivo General de la Nación* (Uruguay), *Archivo Pivel Devoto*, Box 53, Folder 136, Years 1878–1962.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Art. 2º. La Dirección de Instrucción Pública reglamentará el presente Decreto cuidando que se hagan efectivas las disposiciones representativas contenidas en la citada circular. (fol. 49 lines 9–14)[13]
>
> Article 1. In all schools and institutes of elementary, higher, and scientific education, preference shall be given to the Spanish language, without this entailing the exclusion of the study of other languages.
>
> Article 2. The Board of Public Instruction shall regulate the present Decree, ensuring that the representative provisions contained in the aforesaid communication are effectively implemented. (Folio 49 lines 9–14)

The above decree, which went into effect on 20 January 1879, focused on the need for private schools to teach in Spanish, and thus we can infer that Spanish was already compulsory in public schools. The General Board of Public Instruction (*Dirección General de Instrucción Pública*) established that the enforcement of this decree would lie with the departmental school inspectors, who were to visit schools twice a year to verify compliance. Schools that failed to comply with the decree would incur increasingly higher fines and could be shut down if they continued to teach in a language other than Spanish.[14]

This educational policy was supported by the country's patrician class, its commercial bourgeoisie, and by the members of the Rural Association of Uruguay (*Asociación Rural del Uruguay*), who demanded nationwide education (see Bralich, 2011, pp. 49–51.) As St. Clair (1982) notes, such demands confirm the connection between certain socially-influential circles (such as these, who promoted the above regulations) and certain long-held attitudes toward specific languages. The political leaders of the young Uruguayan nation saw in the "Lusophone threat" in the northern region of the country an element that could negatively affect the prospects of success of the "one nation = one language" formula.[15]

Outside the spheres of politics and education, we have no documents or accounts explicitly showing negative attitudes toward Portuguese. Nevertheless, the opinion of an author of the Criollismo literary movement, Benjamín Fernández y Medina, can be surmised through his judgment (highlight in bold below) of the word "*quitandera*":

---

13. *Archivo General de la Nación* (Uruguay), *Archivo Pivel Devoto*, Box 53, Folder 136, Years 1878–1962.

14. *Archivo General de la Nación* (Uruguay), *Archivo Pivel Devoto*, Box 53, Folder 136, Years 1878–1962, f. 43 and 44.

15. Still, this was certainly not the country's only language "problem" at the time. The many languages brought by European immigrants coming to Uruguay were also considered problematic and this became one more factor to push for education in Spanish.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Quitandera es vocablo brasilero. Con él designan nuestros vecinos a las mujeres que ambulando venden confituras o fruta. La proximidad, y más que todo, la lamentable promiscuidad del idioma portugués con el castellano en los departamentos del Norte, ha hecho adoptar la palabra "quitandera" para nombrar a las mujeres que van a las reuniones de paisanos – ya sean carreras o corridas de sortija, con las colas de jugadas de taba y naipes – para cebar mate, vender tortas fritas y pasteles y hacer comidas como "restaurants" ambulantes.
>
> (Fernández y Medina, 1892, p. 63, footnote taken from Coll, 2015, p. 57)

> Quitandera is a Brazilian word. It is used by our neighbors to refer to the women who go around the streets selling preserves or fruits. The proximity, and, especially, the deplorable promiscuity of the Portuguese language with the Spanish language in the departments of the North, has led to the adoption of the word "quitandera" to denote women who attend meetings of country folk – whether races or corridas de sortija [a Gaucho sport], with lines of knucklebone matches and card games – to serve mate, sell tortas fritas [fried bread] and pies, and prepare meals as traveling "restaurants".
>
> (Fernández y Medina, 1892, p. 63, footnote taken from Coll, 2015, p. 57)

As we have shown in this section, there have been neutral and negative attitudes in Uruguay toward the Portuguese language. When we focus on the border area, it seems clear that the negative attitudes became stronger as Spanish was imposed in the region. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the neutral and negative attitudes did not follow one after another in time; rather they coexisted simultaneously at different levels of society.

Discussion

From our analysis we can conclude that in the nineteenth century there were two types of attitudes toward the Portuguese language: neutral attitudes and negative attitudes. The neutral attitudes were present throughout most of the nineteenth century, at the border area, where the presence of Portuguese was seen as natural both by locals and, apparently, by those groups that consented to the Luso-Brazilian invasion (1816–1828).

The negative attitudes were clearly developed in the south, originating in the capital, as the nation's ruling classes, in their efforts to build the nation-state, faced the challenge posed by the presence of Portuguese in the north of the country. The opinions gleaned from our analysis of the two literary descriptive or evocative texts cited can also be considered negative attitudes toward the Portuguese language.

The use of archival documentation and the analysis of the press allowed us to confirm that Portuguese and Spanish coexisted in the public and private spheres throughout the nineteenth century in the Uruguay-Brazil border. Our present work strengthens the finding by Coll (2009) in the sense that neither of these two

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

languages seems to have been excluded from any specific sphere in the nineteenth century. At that time, texts could be written in Portuguese and Spanish both in a register as formal as that of the judiciary and in contexts as intimate as those of correspondence between relatives. This situation is connected with the fact that speaking and writing in Portuguese in the nineteenth century did not have, at the border, the stigma that began to be attached to it in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after Spanish was imposed by Montevideo as the language used in education.

This absence of diglossia at the end of the nineteenth century is also telling of the "indifference" toward Portuguese or the absence of negative attitudes toward the language. The evolution toward *bilingualism with diglossia*, in the classical sense put forward by Fishman (1972), generated a scenario conducive to negative attitudes toward Portuguese. We have documented this from the perspective of Montevideo, but it has not been possible to document it at the border itself for the century studied.

Fostered by social actors in Montevideo, at the end of the nineteenth century the young Uruguayan nation developed negative attitudes toward the Portuguese language spoken at the border. These were channeled through the effort to establish Spanish as the nation's sole language, which resulted in them spreading to speakers at the border region.

Synthesis

The study of attitudes toward Portuguese in nineteenth century Uruguay demanded that we begin by considering the issue of the methodology required to work with language attitudes from a diachronic perspective. We have proposed here some paths that can bring us closer to the study of attitudes in past synchronies. This in many cases entails determining attitudes by interpreting the presence, absence, or coexistence of Spanish and Portuguese in the pool of available documents. In other cases, it is necessary to interpret the content of explicit legislative or political discourses, or of value judgments expressed by some authors of the time, as we did with the lexicographic note that we commented on above. We have also resorted to examples of satire and comments embedded in literary works in order to interpret attitudes toward the Portuguese language.

Second, our research has allowed us to refine the diachronic approach that can explain the historic sociolinguistic situation of the northern region of Uruguay. This diachronic perspective will undoubtedly have a positive impact on the synchronic perspective regarding such a complex linguistic reality. This is especially relevant given the process currently underway, which reveals new attitudes furthered from

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the Portuguese-speaking region by some of the very same Portuguese varieties formerly stigmatized.[16]

In summary, with respect to attitudes, we have seen two different scenarios unfolding throughout the nineteenth century: that of the Portuguese invasions (at the beginning of the century) and that of the border with Brazil. We have resorted, in the first scenario, to analyzing some literary pieces in order to investigate the attitudes present in creative works that reveal discomfort as a response to the contact between Spanish and Portuguese. In the second scenario, we have drawn on different types of resources, which enabled us to combine the analysis of the corpus of documents in Portuguese from the Uruguay-Brazil border in the nineteenth century with the analysis of press and of accounts by social actors of the time. This resulted in a triangulation process that has proved fruitful, given that it allowed us to record the attitudes toward the Portuguese language in the territory of Uruguay in the nineteenth century.

This chapter has thus fulfilled its two main goals: explicitly analyzing, for the first time, the attitudes toward Portuguese in the Uruguayan territory from a historic perspective and testing a methodology for the diachronic study of attitudes – based mainly on archival documents combined with legal and literary pieces.

References

Acevedo Díaz, E. (1964 [1893]). *Grito de gloria*. Montevideo: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Previsión Social. Biblioteca Artigas. Colección de Clásicos Uruguayos (Vol. 54). [Prologue by Emir Rodríguez Monegal].

Acuña de Figueroa, F. (1890). Carta familiar en la que el autor refiere varios sucesos personales, y satiriza las locuciones portuguesas que se han pegado al idioma. In F. Acuña de Figueroa, *Obras completas de Francisco Acuña de Figueroa. Poesías diversas* (Vol. 5, rev. ed. by –M. Bernárdez, pp. 42–56). Montevideo: Dornelechey Reyes.

Agheyisi, R., & Fishman, J. (1970). Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12(5), 137–157.

Barrios, G., Gabbiani, B., Behares, L., Elizaincín, A., & Mazzolini, S. (1993). Planificación y políticas lingüísticas en Uruguay. In R. E. Hamel (Ed.), *Políticas del lenguaje en América Latina. Iztapalapa*, 29, 177–190.

Behares, L. (1984). *Planificación lingüística y educación en la frontera uruguaya con Brasil*. Montevideo: Instituto Interamericano del Niño, OAS.

Bertolotti, V. (2011). La peculiaridad del sistema alocutivo singular en Uruguay. In Á. Di Tullio & R. Kailuweits (Eds.), *El español rioplatense: Lengua, literatura, expresiones culturales* (pp. 23–47). Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

16. In an article dated 28 October 2015, Venancio Acosta describes a proposal from the Education and Culture Ministry of the border city of Rivera (department of Rivera) to have the Spanish-Portuguese variety *portuñol* declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Uruguay: <http://www.revistaajena.com/la-primavera-del-bagazo/> (2 March, 2019).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bertolotti, V., & Coll, M. (2010). La historia lingüística del Uruguay: Fuentes, resultados y perspectivas. In C. Píppolo & A. Uribarrí (Eds.), *Español en cambio* (pp. 47–71). Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública.

Bertolotti, V., & Coll, M. (2014). *Retrato lingüístico del Uruguay. Un enfoque histórico sobre las lenguas en la región*. Montevideo: Facultad de Información y Comunicación / Comisión Sectorial de Educación Permanente, Universidad de la República.

Bertolotti, V., Caviglia, S., & Coll, M. (2003–2004). Testimonios para el estudio histórico de la lengua portuguesa en el Uruguay. *Lingüística*, 15/16, 99–122.

Bertolotti, V., Caviglia, S., Coll, M., & Fernández, M. (2005a). *Documentos para la historia del portugués en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de la República.

Bertolotti, V., Caviglia, S., Coll, M., & Fernández, M. (2005b). *Documentos para la historia del portugués en el Uruguay: Transcripciones y facsimilares*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de la República. CD.

Bracco, D. (2004). *Charrúas, guenoas y guaraníes. Interacción y destrucción: Indígenas en el Río de la Plata*. Montevideo: Linardi y Risso-Fundación Bank Boston.

Bralich, J. (2011). José Pedro Varela y la gestación de la escuela uruguaya. *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana*, 13(17), 43–70.

Bugel, T. (2012). Buenas y no tan buenas variedades del español: Opiniones y actitudes en Montevideo y Buenos Aires. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*, 10, 1(19), 83–107.

Bugel, T. (2013). El impacto de la integración regional Mercosur en la posición de variedades de español y portugués en el continuum no-dominante/dominante. In R. Muhr, C. Amorós Negre, C. Fernández Juncal, K. Zimmermann, E. Prieto, & N. Hernández (Eds.), *Exploring linguistic standards in non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages / Explorando estándares lingüísticos en variedades no dominantes de lenguas pluricéntricas* (pp. 407–42). Bern: Peter Lang.

Bugel, T. (2015). *Actitudes antes los ingleses a través de su uso del español: Caracterizaciones en el semanario El Aguacero*, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1823. *Signo y Seña*, 28, 9–36.

Carvalho, A. M. (2003). Rumo a uma definiçao do portugués uruguaio. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*, 2, 125–149.

Caviglia, S., & Fernández, M. (2007). Léxico y contacto: Una muestra del acervo léxico compartido entre el portugués de Río Grande del Sur y el español del Uruguay. *Revista de la Academia Nacional de Letras*, 3, 157–179.

Caviglia, S., Bertolotti, V., & Coll, M. (2008). La frontera Uruguay-Brasil. Análisis lingüístico de un corpus del siglo XIX. *Spanish in Context*, 5(1), 20–39. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.5.1.03cav

Coll, M. (2008). Estudios sobre la historia del portugués en el Uruguay: Estado de la cuestión. In J. Espiga & A. Elizaincín (Eds.), *Español y Portugués: Um (velho) Novo Mundo de fronteiras e contatos* (pp. 23–64). Pelotas, Río Grande del Sur: Educat.

Coll, M. (2009). Bilingüismo sin diglosia: el portugués y el español en el norte del Uruguay en el siglo XIX. In A. M. Carvalho (Ed.), *Portugués em contato* (pp. 237–257). Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Coll, M. (2010). *El habla de los esclavos africanos y sus descendientes en Montevideo en los siglos XVIII y XIX: representación y realidad*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.

Coll, M. (2012). Derroteros de la lengua bozal en Montevideo en el siglo XIX: el "Canto patriótico de los negros…" de F. Acuña de Figueroa y otros escritos. *Encuentros Uruguayos*, 11, 251–277.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Coll, M. (2015). Prácticas lexicográficas e ideas lingüísticas en Benjamín Fernández y Medina. *Anuario de Letras*, 53–85.

Elizaincín, A. (1975). El bilingüismo de la frontera uruguayo-brasileña. *Letras de Hoje*, 20, 65–75.

Elizaincín, A. (1978). Bilingüismo y problemas educativos en la zona fronteriza uruguayo-brasileña. *Actas del Congreso de la Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina* (pp. 301–310). Lima.

Elizaincín, A. (1992). *Dialectos en contacto. Español y portugués en España y América*. Montevideo: Arca.

Elizaincín, A., Barrios, G., & Behares, L. (1987). *Nos falemo brasilero. Dialectos portugueses del Uruguay*. Montevideo: Amesur.

Fernández y Medina, B. (1892). *Charamuscas*. Montevideo: Barreiro y Ramos [Prologue by Francisco Bauzá].

Fishman, J. (1972). *The sociology of language. An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

García de los Santos, E. (2014). Actitudes lingüísticas en Uruguay. Tensiones sobre la variedad y la identidad. In A. B. Chiquito & M. Á. Quesada Pacheco (Eds.), *Actitudes lingüísticas de los hispanohablantes hacia el idioma español y sus variantes* (pp. 1346–1406). *Bergen Language and Linguistic Studies (BeLLS)*, 5.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511844713

Garrett, P., Coupland, N., & Williams, A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes, social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Groppi, M. (2007). Espanhol e Portugués no Sul da America Latina (Unpublished post doctoral dissertation). Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil.

Hensey, F. (1972). *The sociolinguistics of the Brazilian-Uruguayan border*. The Hague: Mouton.

Hensey, F. (1984). Uruguayan Portuguese as an interlanguage and an interlect. In *Language in the Americas. Proceedings of the 9th PILEI Symposium* (pp. 148–160). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kramarae, C. (1982). Gender: How she speaks. In E. Bouchard Ryan & H. Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes towards language variation* (pp. 84–98). London: Arnold.

Kühl de Mones, Ú. (1981). Actitudes lingüísticas frente al español de Montevideo (Uruguay). *Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias*, 1(3), 37–60.

Lambert, W. (1967). A social psychology of bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23(2), 91–109. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1967.tb00578.x

Ley Orgánica Notarial. <www.aeu.org.uy/andocasociado.aspx?991,7980> (2 March 2019).

Mena Segarra, E. (2004). *Aparicio Saravia. Las últimas patriadas*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.

Moyna, I., & Coll, M. (2008). A tale of two borders: 19th Century language contact in Southern California and Northern Uruguay. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 1(1), 105–141. https://doi.org/10.1515/shll-2008-1007

Palermo, E. (2015). Censo de propiedades sulriograndenses en la frontera con el Estado Oriental en 1850. *Estudios Históricos*, 7(15). <http://www.estudioshistoricos.org/15/eh%201519.pdf> (2 March 2019).

Ramírez Luengo, J. L. (2005). Contacto hispano-portugués en la Romania Nova: Aproximación a la influencia portuguesa en el español uruguayo del siglo XIX. *Res Diachronicae*, 4, 115–132.

Reyes Abadie, W., Bruschera, O., & Melogno, T. (1974). *La Banda Oriental: Pradera, frontera, puerto*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Rivero, A. (2014). Palabras y personajes de origen africano en la narrativa de Eduardo Acevedo Díaz (Unpublished MA thesis). Universidad de la República, Montevideo.

Rona, J. P. (1965). *El dialecto "fronterizo" del norte del Uruguay*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Universidad de la República.

St. Clair, R. (1982). From social history to language attitudes. In E. Bouchard Ryan & H. Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes towards language variation* (pp. 164–174). London: Arnold.

Tellechea, E. (2005). Documentos extranjeros. Legalización y traducción. *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho*, 2, 118–127.

Waltermire, M. (2014). Language use and attitudes as stimuli for phonological change in Border Uruguayan Spanish. In D. Watt & C. Llamas (Eds.), *Language, borders and identity* (pp. 70–89). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Weyers, J. R. (2013). Linguistic attitudes toward the *tuteo* and *voseo* in Montevideo, Uruguay. *Spanish in Context*, 10(2), 175–198. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.10.2.01wey

Weyers, J. R., & Canale, G. (2013). *Tuteo* and *voseo* in the classroom. Linguistic attitudes among Montevidean educators. *Spanish in Context*, 10(3), 371–389. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.10.3.03wey

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Patterns of linguistic vitality

Intergenerational transmission in indigenous and immigrant bilingual communities

Lenka Zajícová
Palacký University Olomouc

Language use among different generations of speakers related to an informant is a frequent query in surveys about the vitality of heritage languages. This chapter shows how self-reporting is influenced by attitudes in favor of the dominant language. I identify patterns of reported use comparing immigrant and indigenous languages, especially language use with siblings. I then analyze these patterns within family members according to the generation of informants. The patterns of reported use with children and with parents show radical disagreement, which points to the significant influence of language attitudes especially when reporting on language use with children. I conclude that reported use does not accurately reflect the actual process of losing minority languages, which is slower than reported.

Keywords: minority languages, indigenous languages, intergenerational language loss, self-report

Introduction

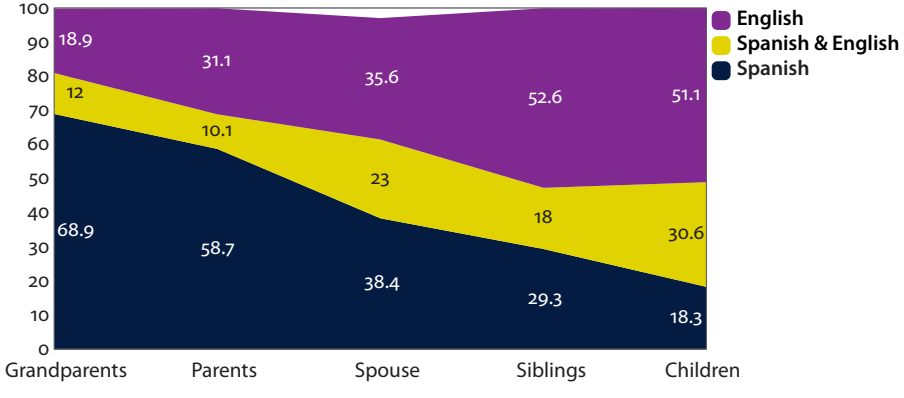
The problems with validity and accuracy of self-reported data are generally known. In this study, I would like to address the problem of interpreting self-reported data about language choices of bilingual speakers in situations of social bilingualism when communicating with different family members. Questions about language use with different generations of informants' relatives (most typically grandparents, parents, siblings, spouses and children) are a frequent part of questionnaires and interviews in studies about bilingual situations and the vitality of minority languages. It is obvious that language use within the family, especially with the children, is crucial for intergenerational transmission, the most important factor

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.06zaj
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

for language maintenance (Fishman, 1991). As direct observation of the linguistic behavior of speakers cannot be done on a large scale, in order to obtain data of a significant number of speakers the self-report method is frequently used, which is less sophisticated, but makes collecting data from a large sample of speakers in a relatively short time easier. Besides that, this apparent time technique (see, for example, Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias, 2017, p. 270) (multiplied in fact, as we collect data about language choices of not only different age groups of speakers, but also data related to different generations of interlocutors) makes possible a projection in time and an evaluation of the diachronic variation of language choices (Porcel, 2011, p. 626).

As an example, two sets of data of this kind are presented in Graphs 1 and 2, the first one illustrating language use in the community of Hispanics in Indiana, while the second one illustrates language use in the indigenous Awa community in Ecuador. Both present a pattern considered as characteristic of language shift: the decrease of heritage language use according to the generation of the interlocutor.

The data obtained through this inquiry are usually presented as such, without real questioning of how exactly they reflect actual language use within the family. The answer to this question would be possible, if at all, only by means of carefully executed participant observation, which is not devoid of methodological problems of other sorts (see Labov's observer's paradox). Nevertheless, I would like to show that a detailed analysis of these data may give a more accurate image about the real language choices, and thus about the future prospects of language maintenance or language shift.



Graph 1. Language use with different generations of family members: Hispanics in Indiana (percentages, Mendieta, 1996)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Graph 2. Language use with different generations of family members: Awa in Ecuador (raw numbers, Haboud & Mayorga, 2014)

Additional remarks

1. We present data from two different types of situations of social bilingualism involving minoritized heritage languages: native (indigenous) languages and immigrant languages, both in coexistence with a national (sometimes originally colonial) language. These two situations have many similarities, but also important differences.[1]
2. For social bilingualism to be stable, there must be functional differentiation of the languages in question. Otherwise, such a situation would go against the principle of linguistic economy and one of the coexisting languages would disappear. However, if there are different functions, there is a difference of prestige between the languages, since there are functions that the majority of speakers consider more prestigious than others. That is, a social bilingualism situation is stable because it is diglossic – otherwise, it is not stable. If it is not

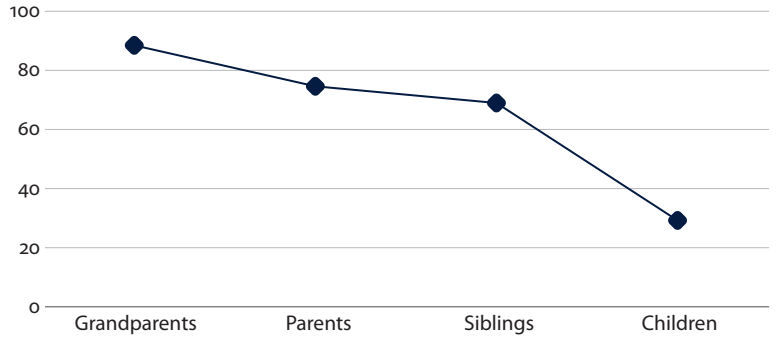
1. See Porcel, 2011, pp. 628–629: "If the original occupants end up absorbed into the power structure of the newcomers, this group becomes a *national minority*. If the newcomers integrate into the existing social structure, they emerge as an immigrant minority. In either case, the minority language suffers devaluation, as one of many consequences of becoming minoritized (Safran, 1999, p. 84). […] However, in terms of LM [language maintenance] and other cultural institutions, national minorities have material and psychological advantages over immigrants. On the one hand, their institutions are already in place and at work; they do not have to transplant them and build them from scratch, as immigrants must do. More importantly, national minorities feel a sense of legitimacy and entitlement, which plays an important role in LM, and which immigrant groups lack."

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

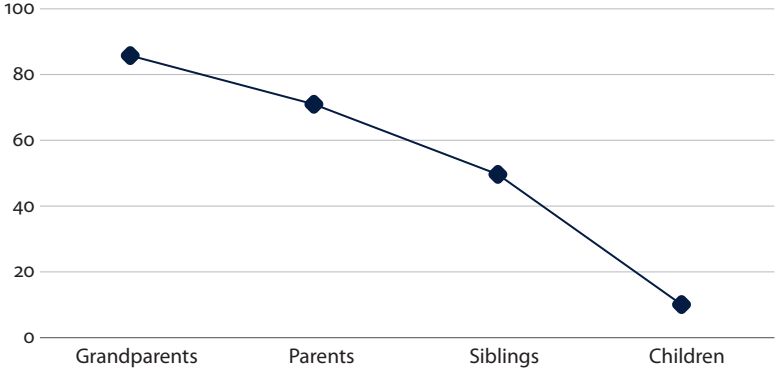
constructed as diglossic from the beginning, it becomes such over time. If there is a difference in prestige, one language is a minority language threatened in some measure, which may lead to language shift.

3. As it was already pointed out, the condition *sine qua non* for intergenerational transmission is, of course, the use of the language in nuclear family relations. However, in a situation where the use of the minority language is still relatively extensive, the children also have other possibilities of learning or perfecting the language, such as using it with members of a larger family or in communication with friends and fellows. Here is an anecdotal answer from one of my Paraguayan informants to the question of when he started to speak Guarani: "Cuando comencé a juntarme más para jugar fudbol [sic]" [When I started to hang out more to play football]. In fact, this communication context may be decisive at a certain stage of language acquisition, as was pointed out by Labov: in the second phase, between 5 and 12 years old, when the vernacular dialect is acquired, a decisive influence is performed by friends and companions (cited in Blas Arroyo, 2005, p. 205).
4. If we compare the self-reported data about the use of the minority language, shown in Graphs 3 to 6, they present a very similar pattern: a relatively regular decrease through generations of grandparents, parents and siblings, and a sudden fall in the generation of children. However, there may be some variation in the degree of decrease in use with relatives of the same generation (siblings), which is sometimes closer to the generation of parents, sometimes closer to the generation of children. It seems that the first one is the pattern rather typical of the indigenous languages (Graphs 3 and 4), while the second one is rather typical of the immigrant languages (Graphs 5 and 6). What interests us, however, is the extreme fall of the minority language use in the last generation. Does it mean that in the last decades, when these research studies were carried out, all the minority languages suffer more accelerated processes of displacement?
5. The problem with these data is that they do not tell how particular languages are actually used in family relations, but rather how speakers think they use them (and want to report to the researcher). That is, the answers to these questions do not accurately reflect real use, but rather linguistic beliefs and attitudes of the speakers. How do we know? Even without being able to perform direct observations in the families we can see it thanks to a more detailed analysis of the data, presented below.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use



Graph 3. Use of Guarani with different family members in Paraguay (percentages, interview survey, Zajícová, 2009)[2]

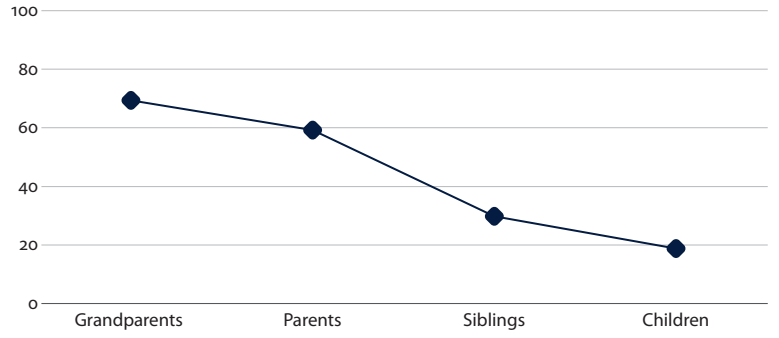


Graph 4. Use of Guarani with different family members in Paraguay (percentages, questionnaire survey, Zajícová, 2009)[3]

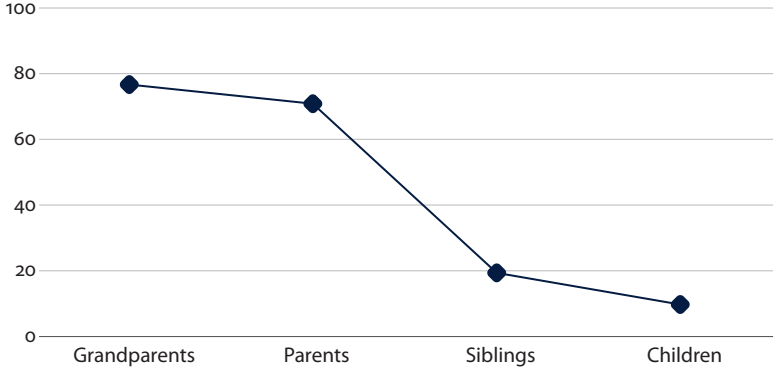
2. The interview survey worked with a sample of 108 informants from three different Paraguayan regions (departments), Itapúa, Concepción and Guairá (a third of the sample from each one), with regular distribution according to four social variables considered in the survey: sex (half male, half female), age (three generations, a third of each), residence (urban, semi-urban, rural, a third of each) and sociocultural level (based primarily on level of education: half upper, half lower). The data were collected in 2001 and 2003.

3. The questionnaire survey worked with a sample of 1753 informants, almost all of them college students, from two different Paraguayan regions (departments), Concepción and Guairá (not exact halves), with irregular distribution according to four social variables considered in the survey: sex (two thirds female), age (most of them young generation, some second generation), residence (most of them urban and semi-urban) and sociocultural level (based primarily on level of education: all from the upper category). The data were collected in 2001 and 2003.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use



Graph 5. Use of Spanish with different family members: Hispanics in Indiana (percentages, Mendieta, 1996)



Graph 6. Use of Czech with different family members: Czechs in Paraguay (percentages, Zajícová, 2010)

Language use with different family members in Paraguay

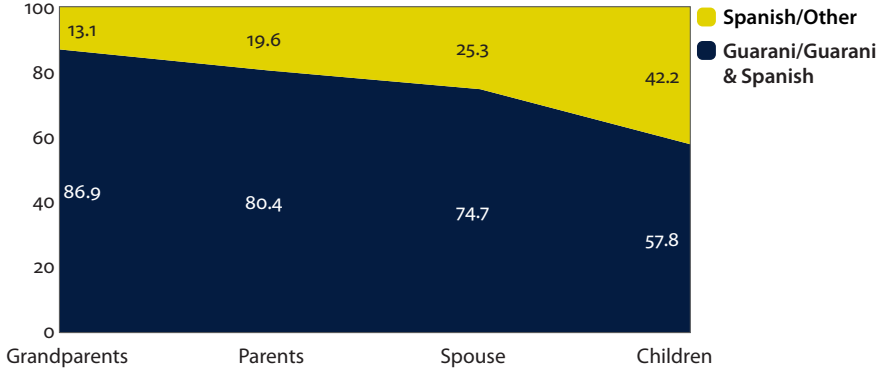
Throughout the analysis, I will focus on the data referring to the well-known situation of social bilingualism in Paraguay. The long tradition of a stable coexistence of Guarani and Spanish, general knowledge of Guarani language among Paraguayans and at least half of the population being bilingual in both national languages have been proved by a long series of studies and by official census data since the 1950s. The last official Census (2012) shows that 46.3% of households communicate in Spanish and Guarani, 34% in Guarani only, 15.2% in Spanish only and 4.5% in other languages (Paraguay, 2016, pp. 33–34). It also shows a persistent division between urban and rural areas: while urban areas tend to be bilingual and Spanish

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

monolingual, rural areas maintain a high percentage of Guarani monolingualism: 59.9% Spanish-Guarani, 22.1% Spanish only and 15.4% Guarani only in urban households compared to 25.7% Spanish-Guarani, 62.2% Guarani only and just 4.9% Spanish only in rural households.[4] It has also been proved that in spite of highly positive overt attitudes and national pride declared by most of the population, Guarani is also identified as the language of non-educated and poor sectors of the population, generating negative, mostly covert attitudes. In my study, I first compare data about language use with different family members available in different studies, and then proceed with a more detailed analysis.

Language use according to the ALGR

I will start with the self-reported data presented in the *Atlas lingüístico guaraní-románico* (*ALGR, Guarani-Romance Linguistic Atlas*, Thun, 2002), summarized in Graph 7. This survey had about 700 informants and the data show the characteristic pattern of language shift. However, the percentage of the use of Guarani with children is not as low as in other studies, because the *ALGR* reflects the sums of the use of Guarani only and Guarani together with Spanish.



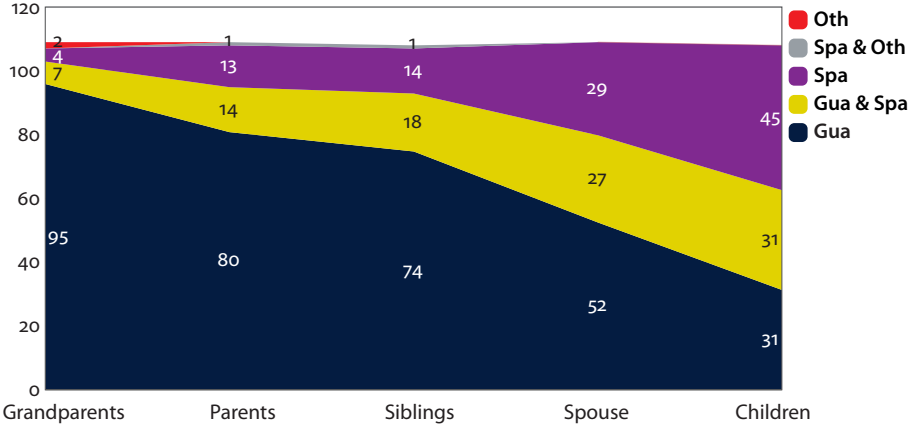
Graph 7. Language use with different family members in Paraguay (percentages, *ALGR* 2002)

4. According to the preliminary results of the 2012 Census, Guarani is spoken by 77.1% of the population and about 7.9% is monolingual ("Censo muestra lenta pero progresiva disminución del uso del guaraní", *E'a*, 19 Dec 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130328225357/http://ea.com.py/censo-muestra-lenta-pero-progresiva-disminucion-del-uso-del-guarani> (7 April, 2019)). However, the 2012 Census covered only 74.4% of the total population (Paraguay, 2015, p. 13), and it seems like the Guarani monolingual sector was significantly omitted.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Language use in the interview survey sample (Zajícová, 2009)

The complete data from my research on the group of informants that participated in interviews can be found in Graph 8 (the use of Guarani only in this group was presented in Graph 3). It seems to indicate the same language shift pattern: a gradual and relatively slow decrease of the use of Guarani across generations of grandparents, parents and siblings, and a more abrupt change in the last step, communication with children, where it falls by 40% in comparison with the communication with siblings.



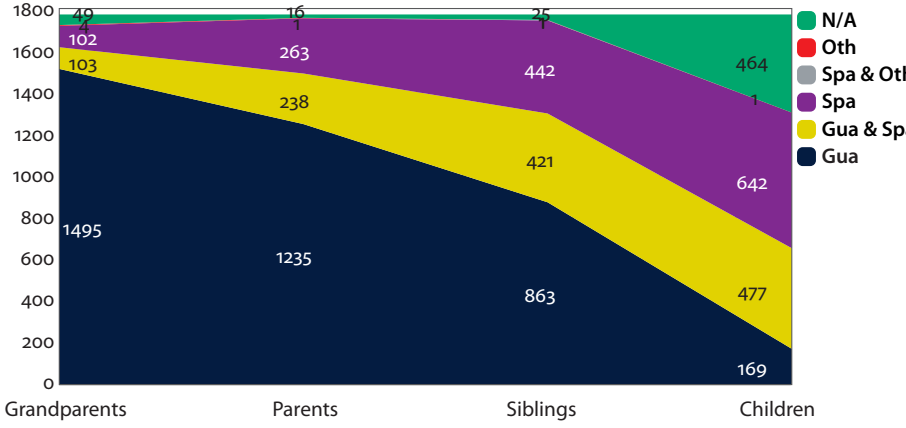
Graph 8. Language use with different family members in Paraguay (raw numbers, interview survey, Zajícová, 2009)

Language use in questionnaire survey sample (Zajícová, 2009)

The results of the interviews may be compared with the results of the questionnaire survey. Graph 9 presents data from 1753 informants, college and university students. The same trends, even more marked, may be seen here: a gradual and relatively regular decrease in the use of Guarani and an increase in the use of Spanish across generations of grandparents, parents and siblings, and a sudden drop in the use with children.

All these data seem to indicate that we are facing an escalating decrease of the use of Guarani within families, and that its intergenerational transmission may be seriously threatened in the youngest generation. These data give the impression that in the last two decades, when these surveys were carried out, a radical change in linguistic behavior has occurred and the relatively slow process of language shift has critically accelerated.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use



Graph 9. Language use with different family members in Paraguay (raw numbers, questionnaire survey, Zajícová, 2009)

This impression seems to be confirmed by Gynan's (2003) data comparing language use with spouses and children. His 526 informants were mainly from Asunción and the Central Department and the percentages of the use of Guarani that were obtained could be considered alarming. Gynan concludes: "These data demonstrate the phenomenon of language shift, since Guarani is used less with children than with spouses" (2003, p. 63).

Graph 10. Language use with different family members in Paraguay (percentages, Gynan, 2003)[5]

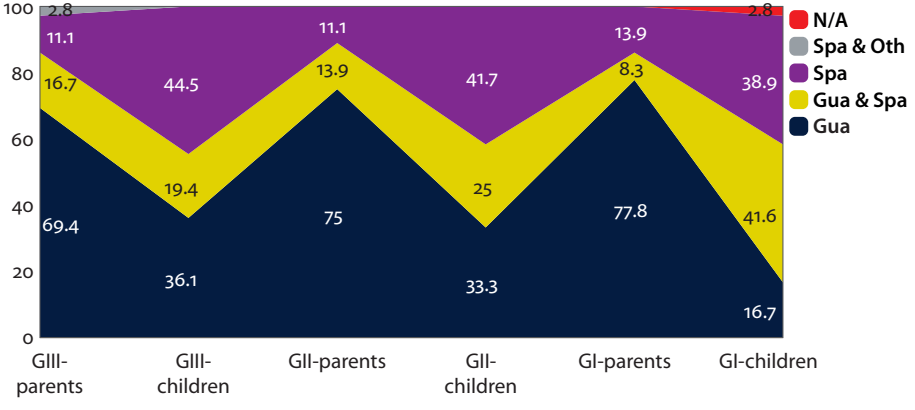
5. The category "Children" represents an average of the categories "elder child" and "younger child", given separately by Gynan.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

But is that really so? Is there an abrupt change going on here that contrasts so markedly with previous generations? Are we really facing an imminent language shift from Guarani to Spanish? This phenomenon deserves further reflection.

Communication between parents and children

If we examine the data from our interview survey not only according to the generation of the interlocutor (language use with parents vs. with children), but also according to the generation of the informant, a clear and important asymmetry appears in the communication, which – and this is crucial – is repeated generation after generation (Graph 11).[6]



Graph 11. Language use with parents and children according to generation of informant (percentages, interview survey, Zajícová, 2009)

While only a little over a third of the older adults (GIII) claim to use Guarani with their children (who would belong to the same age group as our GII informants), adult informants (GII) use Guarani with their parents (who would belong to the

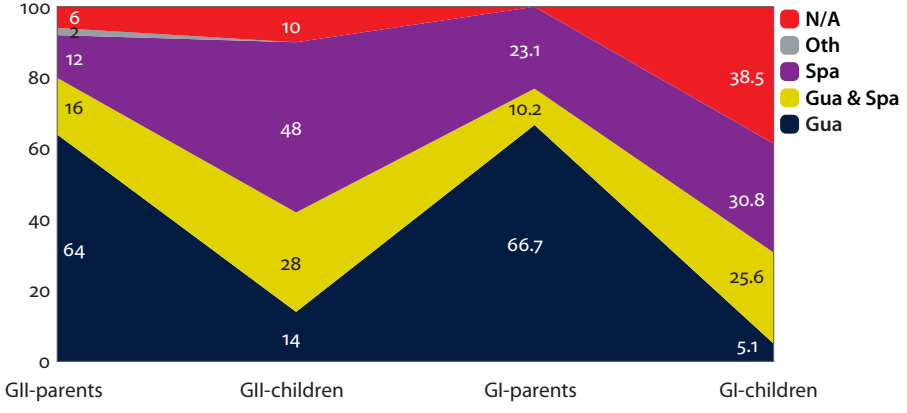
6. As for the generation, our sample was divided in the following categories:

	Range of years of age	Average age	Difference in average age between groups
Generation I	18–25	22.3	
Generation II	28–55	38.5	16.2
Generation III	55–91	64.7	26.2

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

same age group as our GIII informants) – that is, in the "same" conversation – in 75 percent of cases. The same thing happens in the conversation of adults (GII) with their children (equivalent to our GI informants): only one third claims to use Guarani, while 77.8 percent of the young people (GI) use Guarani with their parents (equivalent to our GII informants). As for language use with parents, there is no significant difference among the three generations. Regarding language use with children, there is a noteworthy difference in the last generation (GI) in a smaller use of Guarani and greater bilingual use in comparison with the two previous generations, whereas the reported use of Spanish continues to be more or less equal, about 40 percent.

The same pattern is found in our questionnaire survey (Guairá group)[7] and in the *ALGR* data.[8]

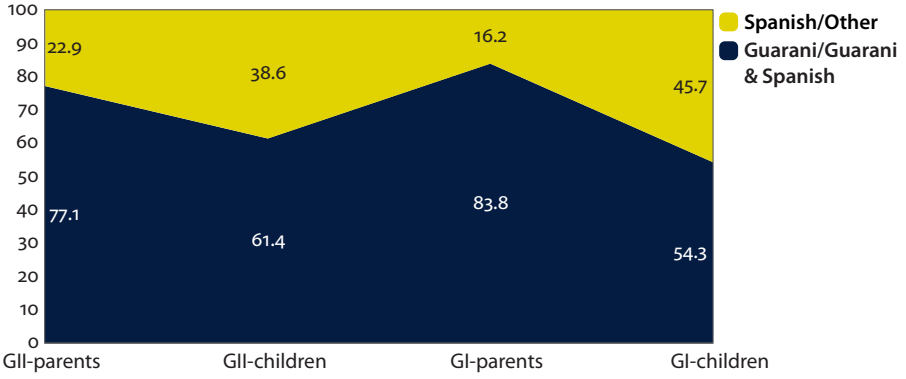


Graph 12. Language use with parents and children according to generation of informant (percentages, Guairá, questionnaire survey, Zajícová, 2009)

7. We divided the questionnaire survey sample into two parts according to the department (Guairá and Concepción). As all but 50 informants from Guairá, who belong to the second generation, were members of the first generation, we selected data from only the 39 youngest informants, that is, all informants 15–18 years old, to obtain two generation groups similar in size. The Concepción group will be analyzed later.

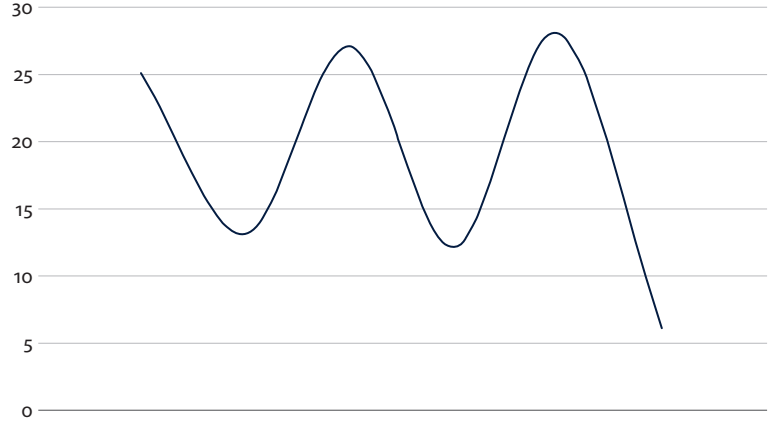
8. Other studies about the Paraguayan linguistic situation, which also include data about language use within the family (Fasoli-Wörmann, 2002; Rubin, 1968; Russinovich Solé, 2001), unfortunately do not present them in such detail to allow for the same analysis according to the generation of the informants.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use



Graph 13. Language use with parents and children according to generation of informant (percentages, ALGR 2002)

The cyclical pattern (Graph 14) revealed in the analysis according to the generation of the informant disproves the sudden change in language behavior and the rapid shift from Guarani to Spanish in recent times, as well as the imminent disruption of its transmission. If these data had reflected reality accurately, Guarani would have disappeared long ago. It actually does confirm a displacement tendency, but much slower than the data may suggest at first glance. What is the reason for this discrepancy?



Graph 14. Cyclical pattern of reported minority language use (summary)

The data express how parents wish to speak with their children rather than how they really speak. That is, they reflect partially negative attitudes towards Guarani as a language not so useful to be taught to children, in comparison with Spanish.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Spanish is considered a "better" and "more useful" language for school and social success, confirming its persistent prestige.

Additionally, the answers may reflect a real communication behavior, which is, nevertheless, only temporary: bilingual parents frequently begin to speak with their children in Spanish when the start of schooling approaches and while they go to school in order to facilitate their learning, but when they finish school, they return to Guarani. When asking the informants about language use with their children, they may refer to this stage as the one better remembered or the one they most easily imagine.

This effort to teach Spanish to their children can lead to situations as curious as the one reflected in the following commentary made by one of the third-generation informants, whose mother, probably with a rather passive knowledge of Spanish, forced her to maintain a heterogeneous communication Spanish-Guarani (Zajícová, 2009, p. 120):

> [¿Qué lengua hablaba con sus padres?] Con mi padre, las veces que me encontraba, no hablaba yo en guaraní. [¿Y en qué hablaba?] En castellano, porque él entendía castellano, entonces en castellano nos manejábamos. [¿Y con su mamá?] ¿Con mi mamá? No, en guaraní nomás con ella hablaba. Es decir, después de grande, porque cuando era chica, no. Ella no me dejaba hablar en guaraní, entonces le hablaba en castellano y ella me respondía en guaraní. Así nos manejábamos. Ella no quería que yo hable en guaraní.
>
> '[What language did you speak with your parents?] With my father, the times I met him, I did not speak Guarani.
> [And what were you speaking?] Spanish, because he understood Spanish, then in Spanish we handled each other.
> [What about your mom?] With my mom? No, I spoke with her in Guarani. I mean, when I grew up, because when I was a girl, no. She would not let me speak Guarani, so I would speak to her in Spanish and she would answer me in Guarani. That's how we handled each other. She did not want me to speak Guarani.'

The cyclical, or spiral, pattern of language shift also means that it is not an irreversible process (at least up to a certain extent). When people's life circumstances change, they may change their language use, not only to the dominant language, as we have seen in the case of Paraguay and the beginning of the schooling of children but sometimes to the non-dominant one: a shift to Spanish was observed among Hispanics in the U.S. when starting a family (Mendieta, 1996 in Indiana; Zentella, 1997 among New York Puerto Ricans).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Guarani and Spanish acquisition

To better understand the process of language transmission in Paraguay, it is useful to compare the self-reported data about language use in the family with another set of self-reported data on the acquisition of both languages (the age when they started to speak each language). This set of data may help to understand how – if parents declare such little use of Guarani with their children generation after generation – Guarani continues to be a language spoken by almost 90% of the Paraguayan population.

Overall, 88.9% of the informants (the interview sample) stated that they learned Guarani before entering school, that is, before reaching the age of six. That is more than double of what they stated for Spanish, which is 42.6%. The percentage of early acquisition of Guarani far exceeds the reported use of Guarani with the children in the same sample, which reaches an average of 57.4%, if we add the use of Guarani only and that of Guarani and Spanish.

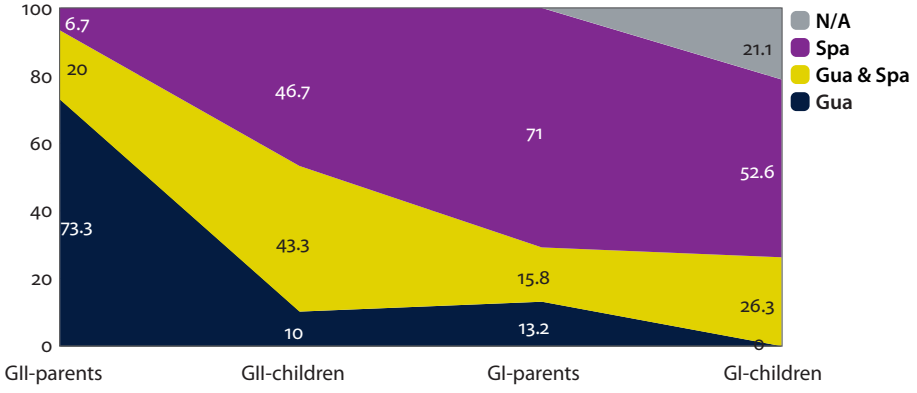
Though these two percentages obviously do not refer to the same period of time, the difference of more than 30% seems too big to reflect the real decrease of Guarani use in the present time. The main cause of such a difference seems to be that self-reported data on language acquisition are less biased and influenced by negative language attitudes than the answers about the language spoken with children.

A pattern that does indicate an imminent shift

However, we actually may find situations where an analysis of language use with parents and children according to generation of informant will not provide the same cyclical pattern that we have seen before. The peak of use of the minority language with parents in the younger generation will be considerably lower (in the examples below, more than three and five times, respectively). In these cases, an imminent shift is under way and it is likely that this generation (or the next one, at most) will completely cease to transmit the minority language. This situation may affect both indigenous and immigrant languages, or it can affect only a sector of the population, as shown in the first example reflected in Graph 15, which represents data from part of the questionnaire sample from the town of Concepción.[9] While

9. The younger generation is represented by 38 students of a private high school, age range from 15 to 17 years, average age 16.4 years, from middle- and upper-class families. The older generation is represented by 30 college and university students, age range from 30 to 42, average age 33.1 years, mostly from middle class families. That means that it is not representative of the whole population, but only of the social group represented by the sample: young generation of middle and upper class.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use



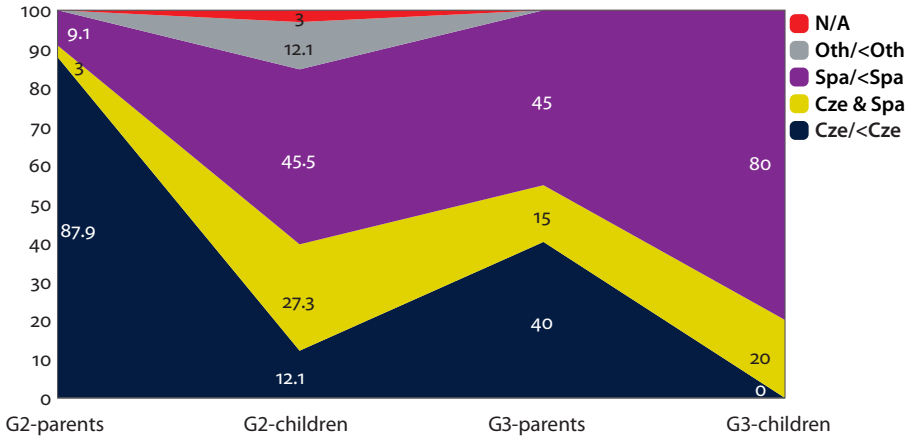
Graph 15. Language use with parents and children according to generation of informant (percentages, Concepción, questionnaire survey, Zajícová, 2009)

73.3% of the older generation declares to speak only Guarani with their parents, no more than 10% of the same generation speaks only Guarani with their children. As for the younger generation, just 13.2% reports to speak only Guarani with their parents, but no one plans to speak it with their children.

As for the immigrant language in a similar situation, there is an example of the Czech community in Paraguay. This community was established mainly in the late 1920s and in the 1930s.[10] In immigrant communities, being a member of a particular immigrant generation according to arrival time is usually a more important factor for language usage than age, which is why the sample is divided according to this variable. Thus, the older generation consists of 33 members of the second generation of immigrants (G2, age range at the moment of survey: 50–84 years) and the younger generation consists of 20 members of the third generation of immigrants (G3, age range at the moment of survey: 26–63 years). 87.9% of the older generation used the heritage language with their parents, but only 12.1% used just Czech with their children. 40.0% of the younger generation used Czech with their parents, but none used exclusively Czech with their children. And, effectively, we did not find any member of the fourth generation of immigrants who would be able to communicate in Czech.

10. More about the past and the present of this community may be found in Zajícová, 2010, 2012 and 2017. The data were collected in 2007 and 2008 through semi-structured interviews with 53 members of the community, 33 belonging to the second generation (G2) and 20 to the third generation (G3).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use



Graph 16. Language use with parents and children according to generation of informant (percentages, Czechs in Paraguay, Zajícová, 2010)

Conclusions

The detailed analysis of self-reported data about language use with different family members shows the influence of language attitudes favorable to the dominant language. This is especially so in the communication with children. Given the educational subtext underlying most parent-child communication, this context is somehow more dedicated than elsewhere in the family. This means that data about this communication are exaggerated in favor of the dominant language and the rapid language shift they seem to insinuate is usually a much slower process. Parents usually communicate with their children in the minority language (in this case Guarani) more than they say (or even more than they think). However, the data does reflect some negative attitudes that actually endanger the use of these languages. The good news is that there is usually more time to take measures to save the endangered language than it would seem at first glance. The bad news is that in the situation of social bilingualism, native and heritage languages are always endangered, even the largest ones, such as Guarani with its strong tradition of language loyalty and positive attitudes.

The inconsistencies in self-reported data are due to the fact that speakers have both positive and negative attitudes towards the same language, since each language can be valued from different perspectives, depending on the possibilities it offers, feelings that are related with it, communities it represents, etc. It depends on what prevails and it is always a cost-benefit decision in the most general sense. The key problem is that while positive attitudes are not enough to keep a language

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

alive – let's recall one of Joshua Fishman's emblematic comments: "The road to societal language death is paved with the good intentions called 'positive attitudes'" (1991, p. 91) – negative attitudes are capable of repressing it. Furthermore, positive attitudes are able to keep speakers convinced that the language is safe without being aware of the conflict between their explicit positive attitudes and the lack of linguistic loyalty in their language use. On the other hand, negative attitudes usually do not have an immediate effect and language use has a certain inertia that gives enough time for speakers to be able to reflect and, eventually, to change their linguistic behavior.

References

Blas Arroyo, J. L. (2005). *Sociolingüística del español*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Fasoli-Wörmann, D. (2002). *Sprachkontakt und Sprachkonflikt in Paraguay: Mythos und Realität der Bilinguismussituation*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gynan, S. N. (1998). Attitudinal dimensions of Guaraní-Spanish bilingualism in Paraguay. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 17(2), 35–59.

Gynan, S. N. (2003). *El bilingüismo paraguayo: Aspectos sociolingüísticos* (2nd ed.). Asunción: Universidad Evangélica del Paraguay-Facultad de Lenguas Vivas.

Haboud, M., & Mayorga, O. (2014). Vulnerabilidad lingüística en Ecuador: La lengua awapit. In L. Zajícová & R. Zámec (Eds.), *Lengua y política en América Latina: Perspectivas actuales* (pp. 119–147). Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.

Mendieta, E. (1996). Lengua y etnicidad en la comunidad hispana del noroeste de Indiana. *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 20(1–3), 92–115.

Paraguay, Secretaría Técnica de Planificación, Dirección General de Estadística, Encuestas y Censos. (2015). *Paraguay: Proyección de la población nacional, áreas urbana y rural por sexo y edad, 2000–2025. Revisión 2015*. Fernando de la Mora: DGEEC.

Paraguay, Tetã Rekuái-Gobierno Nacional, Secretaría Técnica de Planificación del Desarrollo Económico y Social, Dirección General de Estadística, Encuestas y Censos. (2016). *Paraguay: Principales indicadores de viviendas, 2012; Total país, área urbana-rural; Censo nacional de población y viviendas 2012*. Fernando de la Mora: DGEEC. <http://www.dgeec.gov.py/Publicaciones/Biblioteca/indicadores/Principales%20indicadores%20vivienda.pdf> (22 October, 2019).

Porcel, J. (2011). Language maintenance and language shift among US Latinos. In M. Díaz-Campos (Ed.), *The handbook of Hispanic sociolinguistics* (pp. 623–645). Chichester: Wiley Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444393446.ch29

Rubin, J. (1968). *National bilingualism in Paraguay*. The Hague: Mouton.

Russinovich Solé, Y. (2001). *Valores comunicativos y emblemáticos del español y del guaraní*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Safran, W. (1999). Nationalism. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Handbook of language and ethnic identity* (pp. 77–93). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Silva-Corvalán, C., & Enrique-Arias, A. (2017). *Sociolingüística y pragmática del español* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Thun, H. (Ed.). (2002). *Atlas lingüístico guaraní-románico: Sociología. T. 1, Comentarios. T. 2, Mapas*. With collaboration of M. G. Pereira Jacquet, A. Harder, M. Ramírez Machuca & J. Peemöller. Kiel: Westensee-Verlag.

Zajícová, L. (2009). *El bilingüismo paraguayo: Usos y actitudes hacia el guaraní y el castellano*. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Zajícová, L. (2010). *Český jazyk v Paraguayi: Studie o jazykovém kontaktu a zániku*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.

Zajícová, L. (2012). Language contact, language decay and morphological change: Evidence from the speech of Czech immigrants in Paraguay. In M. Vanhove, T. Stolz, A. Urdze, & H. Ots (Eds.), *Morphologies in contact* (pp. 283–307). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Zajícová, L. (2017). Czech immigrants in Paraguay: An overview of their history and language. In V. V. Hingarová & E. M. Jen (Eds.), *Trans-Atlantic migration: Czech and Scandinavian perspective on history, literature and language* (pp. 76–96). Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.

Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Funding information

Award recipient: Palacký University Olomouc.
Statement: The text was prepared with the support of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic awarded to Palacký University Olomouc (project IGA_FF_2019_029).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Language use, language attitudes and identity in Curaçao

Ellen-Petra Kester
Utrecht University

This chapter presents the results of 471 questionnaires distributed in Curaçao in order to investigate patterns of language use, language attitudes and identity among participants belonging to different age groups and with different parental birthplaces. The results pointed out that the speech community of Curaçao is rather homogeneous. Papiamentu, the mother tongue of the majority of the population, is widely used and attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity are overall very positive. A statistical analysis of the results indicated that the use of Papiamentu by informants with foreign-born parents correlated with positive attitudes toward the language and toward Curaçaoan identity. These findings provide important insights for language policy and planning, particularly in relation to the education system.

Keywords: identity, Curaçao, Papiamentu, language policy, education

Introduction

This chapter reports on the results of a survey that was carried out in 2012 on the island of Curaçao. Curaçao constitutes, together with Aruba and Bonaire, the Leeward islands of the Dutch Caribbean that are situated some 20 to 80 km north of the coast of Venezuela. The majority of the population speak Papiamentu, referred to as Papiamento in Aruba, as their mother tongue.[1] Papiamentu is a Creole language that was formed during the early phase of colonial settlement, as witnessed by its first written document dating from 1775. The origin of the language is an issue

1. The differences between the two varieties are mainly prominent in their spelling conventions: the orthography of Papiament*u* (adopted in Curaçao and Bonaire) is phoneme-based, whereas the spelling of Aruban Papiamento is based on etymology. The varieties are mutually intelligible and differences have been ignored in publications (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994, pp. 4–5). As this chapter is about Curaçao we will generally refer to the language as Papiament*u*.

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.07kes
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

of extensive scholarly debate, concerning specifically the identification of its main lexifier, Portuguese or Spanish. In the lack of compelling evidence the language is often referred to as an Iberian Creole.[2] Since the Dutch took possession of Curaçao from Spain in 1634 and after repeated invasions by the British, the island has remained continuously in Dutch hands since 1816, belonging to the Netherlands Antilles (together with Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba) since 1954.[3] In 2010 the Netherlands Antilles were dissolved and Curaçao became an autonomous country under the Dutch crown.

Dutch has been the only officially recognized language for centuries on the ABC-islands, dominating the administrative and educational systems, as well as other formal domains of the public sphere. The islands share a long tradition of *diglossia*, a multilingual situation in which Dutch was used in formal domains for "higher" functions, whereas the role of Papiamentu was reduced to "lower" functions of informal communication. This functional distinction correlated with a difference in prestige between the two languages. However, the sociolinguistic situation on the ABC-islands strongly differs from that of other *diglossic* societies where Creole languages are spoken (Winford, 1985) because Papiamentu is not part of a continuum derived from Dutch.[4] As Winford (1994, p. 45) points out about creoles that co-exist with unrelated official languages, "….while they do not stand in an egalitarian relationship with the official language, they generally enjoy more prestige than those creoles that are part of a continuum". In the case of Papiamentu this prestige was further promoted by its recognition as an official language (besides Dutch) in 2003 (in Aruba) and 2007 (in the Netherlands Antilles) and by increasing use of the language in formal domains, such as the government, the media and the education system. Papiamentu has played a prominent role in the Curaçaoan education system since its introduction as a language of instruction in Foundation

2. The influence of Portuguese is explained by the potential presence of a Creole language spoken in the coastal areas of Africa during the slave trade, in which Curaçao played a major role as one of the most important centers of trade for the Dutch West India Company, and to the immigration of Portuguese-speaking Jews from Brazil (after the Dutch lost their territories in 1654). The influence of Spanish can be attributed to intensive language contact in the Caribbean region and massive migration by speakers of Spanish over the course of the past centuries. See Jacobs (2012) for an extensive literature overview.

3. In 1986 Aruba obtained *status aparte*, providing the island with autonomy within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

4. The absence of a Creole language derived from Dutch may be explained by the strong segregation between the different communities in Curaçao: Dutch Protestants, Sephardic Jews from Brazil and (former) African slaves. Papiamentu probably obtained a strong position as a fairly neutral *lingua franca* to facilitate mutual communication between the members of the three groups (Carroll, 2015, p. 119).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Based Education (*Enseñansa di Fundeshi*) in 2001 (Severing & Weijer, 2008, p. 251) and as a compulsory subject in secondary education in 1998 (Severing & Weijer, 2010, p. 21).[5]

Few studies have been concerned with the sociolinguistic situation of the ABC-islands so far, in spite of the rather unique status of Papiamentu. The investigation reported on in this chapter presents a detailed quantitative study of language use and attitudes toward language and identity in Curaçao, including a statistical analysis of the data in order to study potential correlations between these phenomena as well as potential differences between informants who belong to different age groups with different parental birthplaces. In the next section we will demonstrate why the study of language use and attitudes toward language and identity on these islands is not only interesting, but also urgent from a societal perspective.

Ideologies and language attitudes in the Dutch Caribbean

Although Papiamentu differs from other Creole languages with respect to its prestige and its use in formal domains, many speakers are ambivalent or negative about its use as a language of instruction in the education system (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010, pp. 240, 244) and strongly prefer students to be submerged in a Dutch-speaking system under the assumption that this policy promotes their proficiency in the language. Knowledge of Dutch is considered important for the local and international job market, as well as for tertiary studies (on the ABC-islands and in the European Netherlands). Notice, however, that for most of the students Dutch is a foreign language they do not encounter outside the classroom and its use as a language of instruction is often argued to be one of the causes of the high failure rates among students throughout the Dutch Caribbean islands. The language of instruction has been an issue of fierce political and societal debate for decades. An in-depth study concerning the actual language use in the communities, as well as attitudes toward language and identity can make a significant contribution to recasting these debates in more scientifically grounded and less polemical terms, which would facilitate the development of a system to better meet the educational needs of Caribbean students (see Faraclas, Kester, & Mijts, 2019 for a case study on the language of instruction in St. Eustatius).

In this chapter we adopt the theoretical framework of Baker (1992) in the footsteps of Garrett (2008) who developed a questionnaire that served as a starting point for the survey reported on in this chapter. Baker (1992, p. 11) adopted one

5. In Aruba Papiamento is used as a language of instruction in Kindergarten and in special needs education. It is taught as a subject in secondary education (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of his working definitions from Ajzen (1988, p. 4), who defined an attitude as "a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event". Research on language attitudes is concerned with dispositions to specific language varieties. In the case of Garrett's questionnaire language attitudes are measured by evaluating the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities. These activities are related to *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation, a terminology Baker (1992, p. 31) adopted from Gardner and Lambert's (1972) model to study the role of language attitudes in second language acquisition. In this model instrumental motivation is defined as "a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language", whereas integrative motivation corresponds to "a desire to be like representative members of the other language community" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 14).

Garrett (2008) adopted the notion of identity from Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory, assuming that social identity is not straightforwardly determined by group membership, as "individuals must first internalize their group membership as an aspect of their self-concept" (p. 28). The self-concept produced by this process of self-identification can be measured as a function of the strength of one's identity in a certain situation (p. 28). Garrett focused on the dual identity of her Curaçaoan informants as Antilleans and citizens of the Netherlands in relation to their language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu, as her central goal was to investigate how identity, language attitudes and language use are interrelated (p. 32).[6]

Literature overview

Garrett's (2008) survey was carried out in 2002 among 125 participants. The results indicated that the population of Curaçao was pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural. Garrett's informants adopted multiple identities, feeling equally comfortable with their identity as Antilleans and as citizens of the Netherlands, the younger generations in particular. The informants expressed a high valorization of Papiamentu and an extended use of the language at school, at work and with strangers, especially younger generations and informants of lower levels of education. Garrett concluded from these survey results that Curaçao was in a transition from a diglossic society to a pluri-lingual society.

Kester (2011) presented the results of the second survey, which was realized in February of 2010 in Curaçao, among high school students. The analysis of the

6. As Curaçao was part of the Netherlands Antilles at the time (until October 10, 2010), Garrett referred to the *Antillean* identity of the participants in her survey.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

results from the 365 questionnaires showed that the tendencies observed by Garrett (2008) had been preserved or further increased. Students were very happy with their Antillean identity and the use of Papiamentu had increased over the years, particularly in formal domains (at school, at work, with strangers). In particular students of lower levels of education used Papiamentu more frequently and considered the language more important for instrumental purposes such as education and the job market. As observed in Kester (2011), the slightly lower importance attributed to Papiamentu by students of higher levels of education may be explained by a more international orientation, as well as their intention to study abroad.

An important study that was carried out in Aruba focusing on Papiamento from the perspective of language maintenance, language shift and language death was reported on in Carroll (2009, 2015). The language situation on the two islands is different, however, as English and Spanish are more prominent in Aruba compared to Curaçao due to extensive immigration over the course of the last century.[7]

Interviews with Aruban education stakeholders revealed that "Papiamento is a stable language not in danger of language shift" (Carroll, 2015, p. 120). According to Carroll's informants Papiamento has been a marker of national identity, as it served to distinguish the local population from foreigners (pp. 120–127). Moreover, the role of the language as a marker of identity was reinforced after each immigration wave, in response to resistance against immigrants and the languages they spoke (p. 128). Nevertheless Carroll mentions "….an undercurrent of unease and anxiety and even inferiority concerning Spanish, English and Dutch in relation to Papiamento" (p. 120), concluding from his investigation that English and Spanish are a more significant threat to Papiamento than Dutch in present-day Aruba (p. 130). These results illustrate the complexity of the local language situation and the strong position of Papiamento, tendencies that were also signaled by Garrett (2008) and Kester (2011) with respect to Papiamentu in Curaçao.

7.

	Aruba, 2000	Curaçao, 2001
Papiamento	69.4	80.3
Spanish	13.2	4.6
Dutch	6.1	9.3
English	8.1	3.5

Languages most spoken in the household in percentages (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba and Curaçao).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Research questions and hypotheses

The survey discussed in this chapter aims at studying the correlation between language use and attitudes toward language and identity more closely in the context of Curaçao, by means of a statistical analysis of quantitative data and taking into account potential differences between age groups and groups of different descent (defined in terms of parental birthplace). The central research questions were formulated as follows:

1. What are the patterns of language use, language attitudes and identity among speakers of Papiamentu in Curaçao?
2. Are potential differences related to different characteristics concerning the age and parental birthplaces of the participants?
3. Are there statistical correlations between the patterns of language use and attitudes toward language and identity in accordance with characteristics of age and parental birthplace?

The following hypotheses were formulated based on previous findings of Garrett (2008) and Kester (2011):

1. Young adults speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language as compared to mature adults;
2. Informants with native-born parents speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language and toward their Curaçaoan identity as compared to informants with foreign-born parents;
3. Frequent use of Papiamentu correlates with positive attitudes toward the language and Curaçaoan identity.

Methodology

The questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of four parts, involving (i) statements about the Curaçaoan and Dutch identity of the informants; (ii) statements about the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities; (iii) questions concerning the use of Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch in different domains and with different interlocutors; (iv) questions about demographic characteristics of the informants (see Appendix C).

The questionnaire was distributed in 2012 by students in the Master's program of Education at the University of Curaçao, in order to realize a course assignment

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for the author. As the MA-students work as teachers of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish in secondary education, they all distributed the questionnaires in one of their classes and, additionally, among 10 individual informants aged over 40. In order to respect the privacy of the informants and facilitate data processing, the questionnaire only addressed whether the informant and his/her parents were born in Curaçao or elsewhere, without further request to specify particular birthplaces. The questionnaire was translated from English into Papiamentu, in order to avoid potential comprehension problems among the elderly. The part of the questionnaire that addressed language use was expanded to include English and Spanish and questions were added concerning the frequency of language use with specific interlocutors. Data from the paper copies of the questionnaires were entered into an electronic database.

The statistical analysis

The data were analyzed with SPSS. A principal component analysis (PCA), with Varimax rotation abstracting factors with Eigen value higher than 1, was conducted on each part of the questionnaire, except for part (iii) about language use. A reliability test, the Cronbach's Alpha, was executed for each cluster of items in a component. In addition to the factor scores, the average scores of the cluster of items were computed. The factor scores were analyzed for statistical differences with a GLM univariate ANOVA comparing groups of age, birthplace and the interaction of age x birthplace. The GLM univariate ANOVA was carried out by means of a bootstrapping method because of unequal group sizes and because the homogeneity assumptions regarding the variances were not always met. The results reported on in the following sections are based on the bootstrapped Parameter Estimates (z-scores) and their significances.[8] The results of the questions addressing language use (part (iii) of the questionnaire) were analyzed by grouping speech partners together and computing an average score on these domains per language. Subsequently, the scores were compared using a bootstrapped multivariate ANOVA with age and birthplace as fixed factors. The effect size (η_p^2) of the non-bootstrapped version is provided in Figure 1, as effect size cannot be bootstrapped. Single items corresponding to nominal data were analyzed by means of a Kruskal-Wallis test in the case of the interlocutor 'stranger' for all languages and 'friends' in the case of Papiamentu.

8. Parameter estimates were used instead of the F-test results because the F-test results cannot be bootstrapped by SPSS.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Results

Informants

The questionnaire was filled-out by 592 informants. A sample of 471 questionnaires was selected for the analysis, as we excluded the copies of the informants who were not born in Curaçao ($N = 54$) and those that were incomplete with respect to the birthplaces of the informant and/or his/her parents ($N = 7$). We also excluded the questionnaires that contained over 10% missing values in the results of parts 1–3 ($N = 22$) and those containing ambiguous results in part 4 ($N = 38$). Table 1 illustrates the remaining number of participants according to their different age groups and parental birthplaces.

Table 1. Number of participants belonging to different categories of age groups and parental birthplaces, including Means, Standard Deviations and totals

Age	Parental birthplace					
	Curaçao			Elsewhere		
	n	$mean_{age}$	sd_{age}	*n*	$mean_{age}$	sd_{age}
Young adults	*253*	18	2	*56*	18	3
Mature adults	*106*	54	10	*56*	55	11
Total	***359***	**29**	**17**	***112***	**36**	**20**

The category of young adults consists of informants who were born after 1987 (< 25 years old); the mature adults were born before 1980 (>32 years old).[9] Notice that the mature adults finished secondary education (long) before 2001, the year when Papiamentu was integrated into the education system, whereas the young adults (mean age = 18) were mainly educated in the renewed system. As education levels were very diverse across the sample, this variable was not included in the analysis.

Language use

The questionnaire addressed language use in Curaçao in two ways. First, participants indicated their use of Dutch and Papiamentu in various domains (e.g., at home with family, at work with colleagues). Second, they indicated the frequency

9. Originally the students were instructed to consult participants of different age groups, facilitating a comparison between high school students (< 20 years old, born after 1992) and adults (> 40 years old, born before 1972). As some of the informants ($N = 29$) were born between 1972 and 1989, we decided to include their questionnaires for further analysis, categorizing the ones born before 1981 as mature adults and those born after 1986 as young adults. No participants were born in the years 1981–1986.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of speaking Papiamentu, Dutch, English, Spanish or another language with different interlocutors (e.g., father, friends).[10]

The use of Dutch and Papiamentu

Tables 2 and 3 present the use of Papiamentu and Dutch in different domains by both age groups.[11] Overall, Papiamentu is very frequently used -much more frequently than Dutch- especially at home, with friends and (among young adults) with fellow students. Dutch is only used frequently at school to communicate with teachers, but in combination with Papiamentu, as indicated by the category 'both equally'. This result is rather surprising in view of the fact that Dutch is the dominant language of instruction in the school system, especially in secondary education.

Table 2. The use of Dutch versus Papiamentu in different domains by *young adults* whose parents were born in Curaçao (CB) or elsewhere (EB) (in valid percentages excluding missing values)

	Young adults	(Mostly) Dutch		Both equally		(Mostly) Papiamentu	
		CB	EB	CB	EB	CB	EB
1	at home with your family	0.4%	7.6%	13.4%	13.2%	86.2%	79.3%
2	at work with colleagues	3.6%	5.1%	34.0%	46.2%	62.3%	48.7%
3	at work with your boss	6.7%	21.6%	40.8%	35.1%	52.6%	43.2%
4	at school with your fellow students	0.8%	1.8%	24.5%	20.0%	74.7%	78.2%
5	at school with your teachers	11.1%	10.9%	67.6%	65.5%	21.4%	23.7%
6	with your friends	0.4%	0.0%	21.1%	23.6%	78.5%	76.3%
7	with strangers	2.4%	3.6%	42.0%	29.1%	55.6%	67.3%

10. For the ease of exposition the results of the analysis concerning the use of 'another language' are not included in this chapter, but as a general observation we point out that the results in this category were much lower than those corresponding to the use of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish.

11. Tables 2 and 3 are based on a five-point scale, ranging from 'only Dutch' to 'only Papiamentu'. For the ease of exposition the categories 'only Dutch' and 'mostly Dutch' were combined, as well as 'mostly Papiamentu' and 'only Papiamentu', resulting in the three-point scales presented in Tables 2 and 3.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 3. The use of Dutch versus Papiamentu in different domains by *mature adults* whose parents were born in Curaçao (CB) or elsewhere (EB) (in valid percentages excluding missing values)

	Mature adults	(Mostly) Dutch		Both equally		(Mostly) Papiamentu	
		CB	EB	CB	EB	CB	EB
1	at home with your family	3.8%	5.6%	14.3%	22.2%	81.9%	72.2%
2	at work with colleagues	2.9%	1.8%	39.4%	58.2%	57.7%	40.0%
3	at work with your boss	10.9%	11.0%	40.6%	45.5%	48.5%	43.7%
4	at school with your fellow students	4.2%	4.2%	36.5%	46.8%	59.4%	48.9%
5	at school with your teachers	14.1%	20.9%	48.9%	58.3%	37.0%	20.9%
6	with your friends	0.9%	5.4%	26.4%	37.5%	72.7%	57.1%
7	with strangers	2.9%	3.7%	41.0%	46.3%	56.2%	50.0%

A Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was performed to prepare these data for further analysis. The PCA found one component that was abstracted for analysis, with a high reliability as measured with the Cronbach's Alpha (.809). An average score on all seven situations was computed for each participant, as presented in Table 4. The univariate ANOVA test found no statistically significant differences in the factor scores comparing differences in age ($z = 0.927$, $p = .344$), or origin (measured by parental birthplace: $z = 1.117$, $p = .269$) nor interaction effects between characteristics of age and parental birthplace ($z = 0.374$, $p = .696$). These results indicate that the speech community of Curaçao is very homogeneous.

Table 4. Average scores on seven items regarding the use of Dutch versus Papiamentu among groups of different ages and descent. The scores were based on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = only Dutch and 5 = only Papiamentu

Component Dutch versus Papiamentu									
	Parental birthplace								
Age	**Curaçao**			**Elsewhere**			**Total**		
	n	**mean**	**sd**	***n***	**mean**	**sd**	***n***	**mean**	**sd**
Young adults	*253*	3.93	0.57	*56*	3.84	0.66	*309*	3.91	0.59
Mature adults	*106*	3.75	0.59	*56*	3.55	0.65	*162*	3.68	0.62
Total	***359***	**3.88**	**0.58**	***112***	**3.70**	**0.67**			

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Proportion of language use

In order to investigate language use and potential correlations with the age and descent of the participants more closely, the questionnaire also contained questions to investigate *if* and *to what extent* the informants speak Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch with different interlocutors on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = little use, 5 = frequent use). The absence of a score was interpreted as the absence of language use, encoded in the dataset as 0.

The results in Table 5 illustrate that Papiamentu was used by a large part of the informants (up to 94%) with their parents, friends, fellow students and strangers, whereas the use of Dutch was especially frequent in contact with teachers (63%). The percentages of the use of English and Spanish were generally much lower than those corresponding to the use of Papiamentu. The relatively low percentages in the categories of language use with children were due to the fact that not all of the informants had children.

Table 5. Percentages regarding the use of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish with different interlocutors

	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish
Mother	91%	21%	20%	14%
Father	87%	18%	16%	13%
Sister	75%	17%	14%	10%
Brother	76%	15%	13%	9%
Children	39%	13%	7%	6%
Friends	94%	35%	30%	21%
Fellow students	88%	30%	20%	16%
Teacher	74%	63%	30%	23%
Colleagues	71%	29%	17%	13%
Boss	55%	29%	14%	11%
Strangers	88%	45%	38%	23%

Table 6 presents the results with respect to the frequency of the use of Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch. Due to the low scores in the use of Dutch, English and Spanish, the results of different categories of interlocutors were combined in order to facilitate the statistical analysis. The domain 'within the family', corresponds to mother, father, brother, sister. The category 'children' was excluded from the analysis, because not all participants had children. The domain 'outside the family' includes friends, fellow students, teacher, colleagues and boss.[12]

12. Notice that certain questionnaires ($N = 34$) were excluded from the analysis corresponding to Table 6, due to misinterpretation of the question, as the respondents marked the use of certain languages by means of a cross, without specifying the proportion of its use by numbers 1–5.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 6. Average scores for language use in different domains by informants of different age groups and with different parental birthplaces, including Means and Standard Deviations (0 = no use, 5 = frequent use)

	Parental birthplace				Age groups			
	Curaçao (*n* = 341)		Elsewhere (*n* = 96)		Young adults (*n* = 290)		Mature adults (*n* = 147)	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Papiamentu								
Within family	4.14	1.11	3.29	1.73	3.85	1.22	4.17	1.48
Boss/teacher	2.92	1.66	2.77	1.64	2.79	1.55	3.07	1.83
Colleagues/fellow students	3.82	1.43	3.60	1.68	3.76	1.41	3.80	1.64
Friends	4.51	1.23	4.13	1.64	4.44	1.30	4.41	1.42
Strangers	3.99	1.75	3.64	1.93	3.88	1.80	3.98	1.78
Dutch								
Within the family	0.48	0.92	0.60	1.20	0.63	1.07	0.26	0.76
Outside the family	1.26	1.28	1.31	1.32	1.21	1.24	1.38	1.37
Strangers	1.54	1.91	1.29	1.86	1.34	1.87	1.77	1.94
English								
Within the family	0.37	0.78	0.56	1.19	0.57	1.00	0.11	0.49
Outside the family	0.68	1.04	0.49	0.87	0.81	1.11	0.28	0.65
Strangers	1.15	1.69	1.14	1.92	1.19	1.79	1.05	1.64
Spanish								
Within the family	0.22	0.60	0.30	0.91	0.30	0.73	0.13	0.57
Outside the family	0.43	0.81	0.22	0.52	0.50	0.86	0.14	0.41
Strangers	0.98	1.59	0.50	1.18	0.86	1.56	0.89	1.44

A statistical analysis of the data provides the following results concerning the frequency of the use of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish based on a comparison between groups of different age and descent.

Use of Papiamentu

The frequency of the use of Papiamentu varied in accordance with parental birthplaces, as participants whose parents were born in Curaçao spoke Papiamentu more often. The differences were statistically significant for talking within the family ($z = 4.0623$, $p = .001$), with friends ($H(1) = 5.63$, $p = .018$) and with strangers ($H(1) = 1.98$, $p = .046$). The difference measured in the use of Papiamentu within the family had a medium effect size ($\eta_p^2 = 0{,}096$). There were no statistically significant differences between the two age groups with respect to their use of Papiamentu.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Use of Dutch

A statistically significant difference was found between participants whose parents were born in Curaçao and those with at least one foreign-born parent concerning their use of Dutch within the family ($z = 2.6393$, $p = .011$), as the second group spoke Dutch more frequently at home, although the effect size was rather small ($\eta_p^2 = 0{,}010$). A potential explanation for this is that these results may have been obtained from members of migrant families from the European Netherlands. Additionally, a statistically significant difference was found between age groups: mature adults used Dutch more often with strangers than young adults ($H(1) = 4.86$, $p = .027$). Presumably, these differences between the two age groups reflect the traditional *diglossic* language situation of the past, when Dutch played a much more prominent role in formal domains.

Use of English

A statistically significant difference was found between the two age groups with respect to the use of English, within the family ($z = 3.4427$, $p = .002$) as well as outside the family ($z = 3.0078$, $p = .005$). In both cases, young adults speak English slightly more often than mature adults. The first domain (within the family) corresponds to a medium effect size ($\eta_p^2 = 0{,}084$) and the second domain (outside the family) to a medium to small effect size ($\eta_p^2 = 0{,}046$). The difference between the two age groups may be explained by the increasing importance of English as a global phenomenon, promoted by its massive use on the Internet and social media. A similar explanation may account for the more frequent use of English at home by young adults. It is unlikely that these results come from members of migrant families, as the contrast is not related to differences in parental birthplaces and all of our informants were born in Curaçao. Hence, future research should investigate the use of English at home more closely, especially among younger generations.

Use of Spanish

A statistically significant difference was found between the two age groups in the domain 'outside the family' ($z = 2.4708$, $p = .016$), as young adults used Spanish more often than mature adults, although the difference was very small ($\eta_p^2 = 0{,}028$). Furthermore, a statistically significant difference was found between informants of different descent, as participants whose parents were born in Curaçao used Spanish more often with strangers ($H(1) = 8.35$, $p = .004$). Both findings may point at the importance of Spanish as a second language, as some young informants employed Spanish outside the family and not at home. Informants of local origin used Spanish more often with strangers, as compared to informants with at least one foreign-born parent, suggesting that they had acquired the language as a second language by mere exposure to it on the island and/or in the school system.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Language attitudes: The importance of Papiamentu

The second part of the questionnaire was designed to investigate language attitudes toward Papiamentu by evaluating its importance in carrying out 20 different activities. The PCA resulted in four components that were abstracted for analysis. All components had a high reliability as measured with the Cronbach's Alpha (see Appendix A). The first component, referred to as 'achievements' included items such as 'getting a job', 'becoming smarter' and 'passing exams'. The second component, termed 'socializing', contained items such as 'talking to friends in school' and 'being accepted in the community'. The third component, represented by 'leisure', comprised items such as 'making friends', 'singing' and 'going shopping'. The fourth component referred to as 'literacy' included 'reading' and 'writing'. Table 7 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 7. Average scores on clusters of items regarding the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out different activities, according to age and descent, including Standard Deviations. The results correspond to a scale from 1 to 4 (1 = important, 4 = unimportant)

		Parental birthplace				Age groups			
		Curaçao (*n* = 359)		Elsewhere (*n* = 112)		Young adults (*n* = 309)		Mature adults (*n* = 162)	
		mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
1	Achievements	1.99	0.75	2.10	0.88	1.88	0.67	2.27	0.92
2	Socializing	1.82	0.65	1.89	0.80	1.79	0.57	1.91	0.88
3	Leisure	2.13	0.69	2.24	0.79	2.10	0.59	2.28	0.90
4	Literacy	1.67	0.84	1.83	1.00	1.60	0.72	1.90	1.11

Age

A statistically significant difference between the age groups was attested in the results of the first component ($z = 2.136$, $p = .042$), as young adults found Papiamentu more important than mature adults in carrying out activities related to achievements. Another statistically significant difference was found between the age groups with respect to the results of component 4 ($z = 2.535$, $p = .017$) indicating that young adults found Papiamentu more important for reading and writing than mature adults. No statistically significant difference was found between young adults and mature adults concerning component 2 ($z = 0.115$, $p = .902$) and component 3 ($z = 0.327$, $p = .746$), that is, Papiamentu was considered equally (un)important by speakers of different age groups for activities related to socializing and leisure. Hence, the different evaluations corresponding to different age groups with respect to the importance of Papiamentu were limited to instrumental functions

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(C1) and literacy (C4). Presumably this contrast is related to the increasing role of Papiamentu in formal domains, particularly in the school system.

Parental birthplace

A statistically significant difference between the two groups of different descent was found in the results for component 4 ('literacy', $z = 2.116$, $p = .035$), as participants with native-born parents found Papiamentu more important for reading and writing than participants with at least one parent who was born elsewhere. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups regarding the results of component 1 ('achievements', $z = 0.255$, $p = .797$), component 2 ('socializing', $z = 0.347$, $p = .902$) and component 3 ('leisure', $z = 0.602$, $p = .546$). These results corroborate the overall importance attributed to Papiamentu as well as the homogeneity of the community in this respect. The lower importance assigned to Papiamentu for reading and writing by informants of (partially) foreign descent may be explained by the fact that they are probably more internationally oriented. Future research should take a closer look at the use and importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing, as literacy may be relevant for instrumental purposes (studies, job market) as well as for integrative purposes related to leisure activities and socializing (Internet, social media). Yet, the statistically significant contrast is not reflected by the results of these other components (C2, C3).

Interaction effect age and descent

An interaction effect was found in the results of component 4 ('literacy') when age and descent were compared ($z = 2.353$, $p = .025$). As shown in Figure 1, participants with at least one foreign-born parent belonging to the older age group found Papiamentu less important for reading and writing, whereas participants of local descent belonging to the older age group found Papiamentu slightly more important for reading and writing.

Again, we point out that the importance and use of Papiamentu for reading and writing should be investigated more closely in future studies. We hypothesize that older informants who have at least one foreign-born parent evaluated Papiamentu as less important for reading and writing due to their personal experiences, as they were raised in a *diglossic* community in which Papiamentu played a marginal role in formal domains. Moreover, in their current situation the importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing may be limited because their professional field is international. These circumstances may be different for local families.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

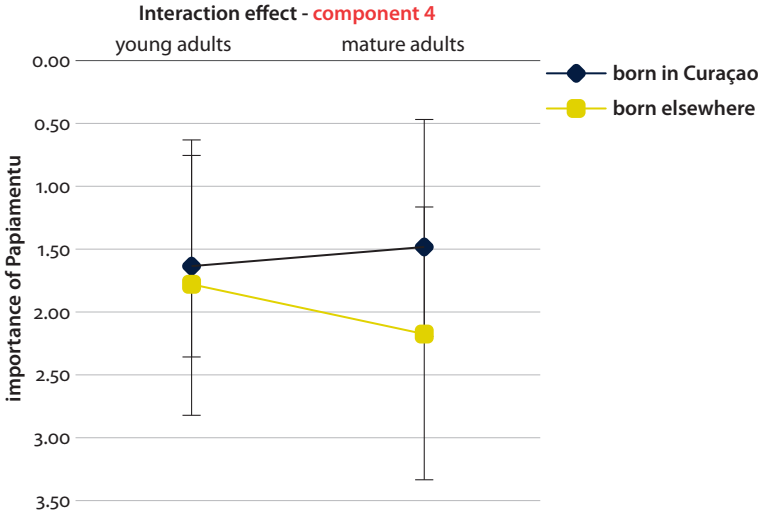


Figure 1. Interaction effect in the results evaluating the importance of Papiamentu (1 = important, 4 = unimportant) for reading and writing (component 4) comparing characteristics of age x descent

Attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity

The third part of the questionnaire contained 5 items concerning attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity.[13] The scores of the two items that were formulated negatively were reversed in order to facilitate the comparison of all the items based on one single scale. The PCA found two components that were abstracted for analysis (see Appendix B). The first component was submitted to statistical analysis, based on its reliability (Cronbach's Alpha: .624). The second component was not submitted to further statistical analysis due to a low reliability score on Cronbach's Alpha test (.428). As average scores were lower than 2, the different groups were generally rather positive about their Curaçaoan identity, as illustrated in Table 8.

13. For reasons of space we will not analyze the results concerning Dutch citizenship and potential correlations with language use and language attitudes in this chapter.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 8. Average scores on clusters of items regarding attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity, according to age and parental birthplace, including Standard Deviations. The results correspond to a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = strongly agree=positive, 5 = strongly disagree=negative)

	Parental birthplace				Age			
	Curaçao (*n* = 359)		Elsewhere (*n* = 112)		Young adults (*n* = 309)		Mature adults (*n* = 162)	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity	1,56	0,60	1,89	0,80	1,63	0,68	1,66	0,67

Further statistical comparisons were made between groups of different ages and descent.

Age

No statistically significant differences were attested between the age groups concerning their attitudes toward their Curaçaoan identity ($z = 1.039$, $p = .292$), which indicates that the community is homogeneous in this respect.

Parental birthplace

A statistically significant difference was found between the groups with different parental birthplaces and their attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity ($z = 2.277$, $p = .024$). Participants with native-born parents were more positive or outspoken toward their Curaçaoan identity than those with at least one foreign-born parent. Presumably, this result can be explained by the interpretation of the scores, as two of the three statements actually measured to what extent the informants considered themselves to be Curaçaoan and identify with other Curaçaoans. It is not surprising that informants with at least one foreign-born parent evaluated their identity differently from the ones with two native-born parents.

Interaction effects: Parental birthplace, the use of Papiamentu and attitudes regarding language and Curaçaoan identity

Finally, a statistical analysis was conducted in order to investigate potential interaction effects between language use, language attitudes, identity and parental birthplace. More precisely, the ultimate goal was to investigate whether the results concerning the use of Papiamentu and parental birthplace correlated with positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity. A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to investigate potential correlations.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The multivariate test showed that the combination of language use and parental birthplace were related to attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity and Papiamentu (Wilk's Lambda $p = 0.010$). More specifically, the ANOVA test revealed an interaction effect of the use of Papiamentu and parental birthplace on attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity ($F(16, 365) = 3.058$, $p = 0.000$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.129$) and on opinions concerning the importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing ($F(16, 365) = 1.826$, $p = 0.027$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.081$)), but not concerning the importance of Papiamentu for the other three components presented in the previous section ('achievements', 'socializing' and 'leisure').

The interaction effect between the use of Papiamentu, parental birthplace and Curaçaoan identity is illustrated in Figure 2. More use of Papiamentu correlated with increasingly positive attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity. This effect was stronger among participants with at least one foreign-born parent, than among those with native-born parents, presumably because the use of Papiamentu and positive evaluations with respect to Curaçaoan identity were widely shared among native-born families, whereas they develop over time among migrant families.

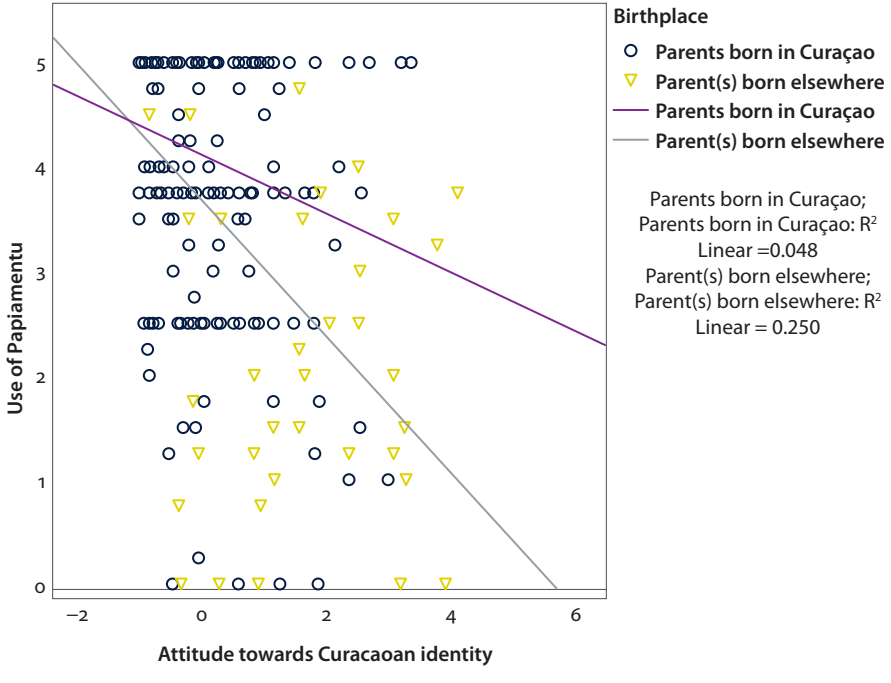


Figure 2. Interaction effect between use of Papiamentu (0 = no use, 5 = frequent use), attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity (1 = positive, 4 = negative) and parental birthplace based on average *factor* scores (not average scores)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Figure 3 illustrates the interaction effect between the use of Papiamentu, parental birthplace and the importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing. There was no effect between the importance attributed to Papiamentu for reading and writing and the use of Papiamentu for participants with native-born parents. For the participants with at least one foreign-born parent, however, a more frequent use of Papiamentu was related to evaluating Papiamentu as more important for reading and writing. Again, the difference may be explained by the fact that informants of native-born parents shared a frequent use of Papiamentu and considered the language important for literacy, whereas these two aspects develop over time in the attitudes of migrants.

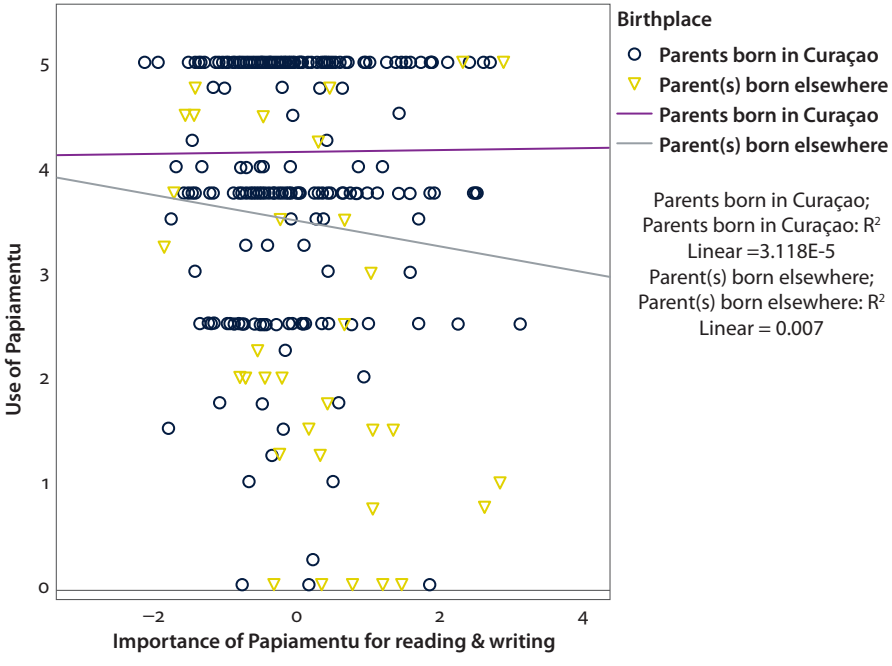


Figure 3. Interaction effect between use of Papiamentu (0 = no use, 5 = frequent use), importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing (1 = important, 4 = unimportant) and parental birthplace based on average *factor* scores (not average scores)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Discussion

As the results of the survey pointed out, patterns of language use and attitudes toward language and identity were rather homogeneous among the informants. Differences in language use and attitudes were related to differences in parental birthplace (native-born as opposed to foreign-born) rather than to different age groups.

For the sake of convenience, the hypotheses formulated previously are repeated below, in connection to the findings.

1. Young adults speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language as compared to mature adults. The first hypothesis was not fully corroborated, as we found no statistically significant differences between the age groups and their use of Papiamentu (Tables 5 and 6). Notice, however, that young informants found Papiamentu more important for activities related to achievements, as well as for reading and writing (components 1 and 4 in Table 7). These results may be explained by the increasing importance of Papiamentu in the education system (since its introduction as a language of instruction in the *Enseñansa di Fundeshi* in 2001) and for the local job market.
2. Informants with native-born parents speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language and toward their Curaçaoan identity as compared to informants with foreign-born parents. The second hypothesis was corroborated to a certain extent, as informants with native-born parents spoke Papiamentu more frequently (Table 6), considered Papiamentu more important for reading and writing (component 4 in Table 7) and were more positive with respect to their Curaçaoan identity (Table 8) than informants with at least one foreign-born parent. It is remarkable that no other statistically significant differences were found between the informants of different descent with respect to the importance of Papiamentu for activities corresponding to the other components of achievements (component 1), socializing (component 2) and leisure activities (component 3). These findings corroborate the overall importance attributed to Papiamentu within the Curaçaoan society. An interaction effect was found when age and descent were compared, because participants belonging to the older age group with at least one foreign-born parent found Papiamentu less important for reading and writing, whereas participants belonging to the older age group of local descent found Papiamentu slightly more important for reading and writing. We assume that older informants who have at least one foreign-born parent evaluated Papiamentu as less important for reading and writing due to their upbringing in a *diglossic* community and the limited importance of Papiamentu in their current professional lives.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

3. Frequent use of Papiamentu correlates with positive attitudes toward the language and Curaçaoan identity. The third hypothesis was corroborated, as frequent use of Papiamentu correlated with positive attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity (Figure 2) and with considering Papiamentu important for reading and writing (Figure 3). These interaction effects were stronger among informants with at least one foreign-born parent, as compared to informants with native-born parents, suggesting that an increasing use of Papiamentu as well as positive attitudes toward the language may develop among migrants over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented and analyzed the results of 471 questionnaires which were distributed in 2012 on the island of Curaçao in order to study its language situation. More specifically, the goal of the survey was to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the patterns of language use, language attitudes and identity among speakers of Papiamentu in Curaçao?
2. Are potential differences related to different characteristics concerning the age and parental birthplaces of the participants?
3. Are there statistical correlations between the patterns of language use and attitudes toward language and identity in accordance with characteristics of age and parental birthplace?

As a general conclusion the results pointed out that the speech community of Curaçao is rather homogeneous. Papiamentu is widely used by the different groups of informants and the use of Dutch, English and Spanish is very limited. Attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity are overall very positive. Younger informants tend to evaluate Papiamentu as more important in carrying out activities related to achievements (education, job market) and reading and writing, probably due to the fact that they were educated in a system that uses Papiamentu partially as a language of instruction. Informants of local descent use Papiamentu more frequently and evaluate the language as more important, but only for reading and writing. A statistical analysis of the data indicated a correlation between the use of Papiamentu, positive attitudes toward the language and Curaçaoan identity among informants with foreign-born parents. This correlation suggests that Papiamentu is a strong identity marker that develops among migrants over time.

These findings corroborate the vitality of the language observed in Severing and Weijer (2010), its exceptional prestige in comparison to other Creole languages

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(Winford, 1994) and its important role as an identity marker, as signaled in work by Carroll (2009, 2015) about Aruban Papiamento. The results of this study can make an important contribution to activities related to language policy and planning in the Dutch Caribbean. The frequent use of Papiamentu and specifically its importance for 'achievements' in education and the job market in connection to its status as a marker of local identity among informants of different descent strongly argue in favor of expanding the role of Papiamentu in the education system.

Acknowledgements

I express my gratitude to Professor Dr. R. Severing, Dr. E. Echteld and Drs. A. Jessurun for inviting me as a guest lecturer at the University of Curaçao in March, 2012. I also thank Professor Dr. R. Severing for fruitful discussion and translation of the questionnaire. I gratefully mention the students of the Master's program of Education, who distributed the questionnaire among their students, relatives and friends and wrote excellent papers for my course. I am grateful to the Central Board of Catholic Schools ('Rooms-Katholiek Central Schoolbestuur') and to the Board of Public Schools ('Dienst Openbare Scholen') for their permission to distribute the questionnaires at the schools. I also thank Dr. Hans van de Velde for his useful suggestions and my student assistants Samantha Buijink and Iris van der Meulen at Utrecht University who stored the results of the questionnaires in an electronic data base. I want to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to Samantha who provided the statistical analysis of the data. Finally, I thank Florianne Sollie, Robbert van Sluis, and the anonymous reviewers, for their useful comments on previous versions of this chapter. Needless to say, I take full responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations of the data.

References

Ajzen, I. (1988). *Attitudes, personality and behaviour*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Carroll, K. S. (2009). Language maintenance in Aruba and Puerto Rico: Understanding perceptions of language threat (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

Carroll, K. S. (2015). Language maintenance in the Caribbean: Examining perceptions of threat in Aruba and Puerto Rico. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 39(2), 115–135. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.39.2.01car

Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba, June 2012. <http://www.cbs.aw> (22 October, 2019).

Central Bureau of Statistics, Curaçao, June 2012. <http://www.cbs.cw> (22 October, 2019).

Dijkhoff, M., & Pereira, J. (2010). Language and education in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. In B. Migge, I. Léglise, & A. Bartens (Eds.), *Creoles in education: An appraisal of current programs and projects* (pp. 237–272). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/cll.36.10dij

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Faraclas, N., Kester, E.-P., & Mijts, E. (2019). *Community Based Research in Language Policy and Planning. The Language of Instruction in Education in Sint Eustatius*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Garrett, H. (2008). Language use, language attitudes and identity among Papiamentu speakers. In N. Faraclas, R. Severing, & C. Weijer (Eds.), *Linguistic studies on Papiamentu* (pp. 27–45). Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.

Jacobs, B. (2012). *Origins of a creole: The history of Papiamentu and its African ties*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614511076

Kester, E.-P. (2011). Language use, language attitudes and identity among Curaçaoan high school students. In N. Faraclas, R. Severing, C. Weijer, & L. Echteld (Eds.), *Iguana's new-found voices: Continuity, divergence and convergence in language, culture and society on the ABC-islands* (pp. 25–38). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/University of Curaçao/University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras.

Kouwenberg, S., & Murray, E. (1994). *Papiamentu*. Munich: Lincom.

Severing, R., & C. Weijer. (2008). The Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma: Language planning and language policy in Curaçao. In N. Faraclas, R. Severing, & C. Weijer (Eds.), *Linguistic studies on Papiamentu* (pp. 247–261). Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.

Severing, R., & Weijer, C. (2010). Gaining perspective on Papiamentu: Milestones and achievements. In N. Faraclas, R. Severing, C. Weijer, & E. Echteld (Eds.), *Crossing shifting boundaries. Language and changing political status in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao* (pp. 13–28). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/University of the Netherlands Antilles/University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel, & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Winford, D. (1985). The concept of "diglossia" in Caribbean creole situations. *Language in Society*, 14, 345–356. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500011301

Winford, D. (1994). Sociolinguistic approaches to language use in the Anglophone Caribbean. In M. Morgan (Ed.), *Language and the social construction of identity in Creole situations* (pp. 43–62). Los Angeles, LA: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Appendix A. Importance of Papiamentu

Table A. The components concerning the importance of Papiamentu, their factor loadings and percentages of the variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component

Label	Question: How important is Papiamentu to…	C1	C2	C3	C4
	become smarter	0.761	0.164	0.304	0.169
	get a job	0.755	0.256	0.143	0.188
	pass exams	0.746	0.168	0.060	0.257
	earn plenty of money	0.573	−0.056	0.522	0.046
	play sports	0.546	0.224	0.379	0.023
	raise children*	0.493	0.472	0.094	0.332
	talk to people out of school	0.126	0.772	0.316	−0.05
	talk to friends in school	0.147	0.772	0.338	−0.012
	talk to teachers in school	0.370	0.585	0.177	0.234
	be accepted in the community*	0.429	0.583	0.176	0.139
	live in Curaçao	0.035	0.536	−0.098	0.312
	make phone calls	0.106	0.499	0.445	0.241
	sing	0.007	0.233	0.702	0.192
	be liked	0.444	0.132	0.582	0.013
	watch television/video	0.246	0.084	0.552	0.386
	make friends	0.269	0.319	0.531	0.132
	go to church/chapel	0.388	0.269	0.494	0.107
	go shopping*	0.246	0.425	0.435	0.134
	read	0.212	0.145	0.212	0.866
	write	0.235	0.168	0.228	0.852
	Percentage of variance explained	18%	16%	15%	11%
	Cronbach's alpha	.840	.814	.780	.892

* This item loads reasonably high on more than one component. This will be considered in the factor scores abstracted for each participant.

Appendix B. Attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity

Table B. The components concerning Curaçaoan identity, their factor loadings and percentages of the variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component

Label	Question	C1	C2
	I'm happy to be a Curaçaoan	0.862	0.208
	I identify with other Curaçaoans	0.665	−0.298
	I consider myself to be Curaçaoan	0.840	0.210
	I tend to hide the fact that I'm Curaçaoan (reversed)	0.154	0.777
	I feel held back because I'm Curaçaoan (reversed)	−0.030	0.763
	Percentage of variance explained	38%	27%
	Cronbach's alpha	.624	.428

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Appendix C. Questionnaire

Kuestionario

E kuestionario akí ta relashoná ku e programa di Master of Education di Universidat di Kòrsou. E studiantenan tin ku prepará un ensayo ku ta forma parti di un kurso riba kontakto entre diferente idioma ku e studiante ta sigui serka señora dr. Ellen-Petra Kester di Universidat di Utrecht.

E kuestionario ta trata bo opinion riba importansia i uso di papiamentu i e identidat dòbel komo yu di Kòrsou i siudadano hulandes. Nos ta pidi pa kontestá tur pregunta sinseramente. No tin kontesta korekto òf inkorekto; ta trata únikamente di bo opinion personal. E kuestionario ta anónimo i lo trata tur informashon konfidensialmente. Si tin interes pa e temanan di e kuestionario òf e resultadonan di e investigashon por tuma kontakto ku señora Kester atraves di ellenpetrakester@gmail.com.

Masha danki pa bo kooperashon!

Parti 1

Aki bou ta presentá ponensia tokante identidat komo yu di Kòrsou i siudadano hulandes. Por fabor, indiká si bo ta di akuerdo òf na desakuerdo ku e ponensianan, markando bo kontesta ku un sírkulo.

KA	= Kompletamente di akuerdo	(marka KA)
DA	= Di akuerdo	(marka DA)
NE	= Neutral, ni di akuerdo, ni na desakuerdo	(marka NE)
ND	= Na desakuerdo	(marka ND)
KD	= Kompletamente na desakuerdo	(marka KD)

Mi ta un persona ku….

1.	tin difikultat pa bisa ku mi ta un siudadano hulandes.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
2.	ta sinti lasonan fuerte ku Hulanda.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
3.	tin e tendensia di skonde e echo ku mi ta un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
4.	ta kontentu di ta un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
5.	ta identifiká su mes ku otro yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
6.	ta konsiderá tin e echo di ta siudadano hulandes importante.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
7.	tin bèrgwensa pa e echo ku mi ta un siudadano hulandes.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
8.	ta konsiderá mi mes un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
9.	ta sinti ku ta tene mi abou pasó mi ta un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
10.	ta krítiko relashoná ku Hulanda.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Parti 2

Kon importante òf no importante papiamentu ta pa e siguiente situashonnan? Por fabor, marka bo kontesta ku un krus den e hòki.

	PA HENDE:	Importante	Basta importante	Poko importante	No importante
1	sera amistat				
2	gana hopi plaka				
3	lesa				
4	skibi				
5	wak televishon/video				
6	haña trabou				
7	bira mas sabí				
8	gusta bo				
9	biba na Kòrsou				
10	bai misa				
11	kanta				
12	hasi deporte				
13	eduká mucha				
14	hasi kompra				
15	hasi yamada telefóniko				
16	pasa èksamen				
17	keda aseptá den komunidat				
18	papia ku amigu na skol				
19	papia ku dosente na skol				
20	papia ku otro pafó di skol.				

Parti 3

Kua idioma bo ta usa den e siguiente situashonnan?

SH = Solamente hulandes
PH = Prinsipalmente hulandes
TD = Tur dos meskos
PP = Prinsipalmente papiamentu
SP = Solamente papiamentu

1.	Na bo kas ku bo famia	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
2.	Na trabou ku bo koleganan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
3.	Na trabou ku e hefe	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
4.	Na skol ku bo kompañeronan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
5.	Na skol ku bo dosentenan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
6.	Ku bo amigunan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
7.	Ku hende deskonosí	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Kua idioma bo ta usa diariamente ora bo ta papia ku …

(Pone un sifra entre 1 i 5 den e hòki ku bo skohe. 5 ke men hopi. 1 ke men tiki. Ta posibel pa usa e mes sifra mas ku un biaha.)

	Papiamentu	**Hulandes**	**Ingles**	**Spañó**	**Otro idioma**
bo mama					
bo tata					
bo ruman muhénan					
bo ruman hòmbernan					
bo yunan					
bo amigunan					
bo kompañeronan di klas					
bo dosente					
bo koleganan					
bo hefe di trabou					
hende deskonosí					

Parti 4

Por fabor, kontestá e preguntanan akí òf marka e kontesta korekto ku un sírkulo.

1. Aña di nasimentu: _____
2. Sekso: hòmber muhé
3. Bo a nase na Kòrsou? Sí Nò
4. Bo mama a nase na Kòrsou? Sí Nò
5. Bo tata a nase na Kòrsou? Sí Nò

Pa studiante

6. Edukashon: VSBO SBO HAVO VWO
7. Klas: _____

Pa hende grandi

8. Nivel edukativo: BO VSBO HAVO SBO VWO HBO WO

Masha danki pa bo kooperashon!

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

PART III

Language maintenance

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Parental language attitudes and language use among Brazilian families in Japan

Mineko Shirakawa
University of Canterbury

This chapter presents the results of a survey and interviews administered to Brazilian families living in Japan aiming to capture the use of Brazilian-Portuguese (BP) and Japanese and explore this community's attitude toward bilingualism. Most of these families come from second or third generations of Japanese emigrants to Brazil who are not familiar with the Japanese language or culture. Their children need special assistance with Japanese at school and do not communicate easily in BP at home. Parents have high expectations for their children to acquire advanced oral and literacy skills in both languages. However, the use of BP at home does not necessarily lead children to use it as much as their parents partly because of assimilative pressures at school.

Keywords: Japanese-Brazilians, bilingualism, home language use, heritage languages

Introduction

Around 175,000 Brazilian-Portuguese (henceforth BP or Portuguese) speakers reside in Japan (Ministry of Justice of Japan, 2016), and, in common with many immigrant groups, face significant challenges in raising their children bilingually. Parents may wish for their children to acquire the majority language, because fluency in that language may enhance their future prospects in terms of academic advantages and better career opportunities in the country where they reside. At the same time, parents may also aspire to transmit their heritage language to their children, not only because it is the main communication tool at home, but also because it serves as an important key to identity and bonding within the family (De Houwer, 2013). As for children who are born to immigrant parents, research has shown that, while parental language use patterns at home correlate with children's heritage language use frequency, children do not necessarily use the heritage language as much as their parents do (De Houwer, 2007).

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.08shi
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

This paper focuses on Brazilian immigrant families in Japan and reports the results of a questionnaire survey and parental interviews, conducted as part of a longitudinal study on the language development of children who are being raised bilingually in Japanese and Portuguese. Both the survey and interviews focus on the links between parental attitudes and the child's acquisition of both languages. Brazilian immigrants in Japan constitute an interesting bilingual community, because most members are themselves descendants of Japanese emigrants to Brazil; that is, they are ethnically Japanese, but are not fluent in the Japanese language or familiar with Japanese culture, and they raise their children in Portuguese at home. Outside the home, however, children spend most of the day at local day-care centers or schools where caregivers, teachers, and peers speak only Japanese. The longer the families stay in Japan, the more fluent the children become in Japanese, because they are being exposed to an effective amount of Japanese input. The children, in consequence, tend to use Japanese more frequently than Portuguese, even inside the home. As a result, it becomes more difficult for the parents, who are not fluent in Japanese, to communicate with their children, as they must rely on Portuguese (Ishikawa, 2009; Tsuda, 2003). This chain reaction challenges Japanese-Brazilian parents and children, and influences both bilingual language acquisition and parental attitudes towards bilingualism.

The questionnaire was designed to capture the characteristics of Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families in terms of their use of, and attitude towards, language: families were asked about language use patterns at home, as well as their views about the two languages in relation to their aspirations for their children. Japanese-Brazilians have been the subject of studies in social sciences such as anthropology and sociology (Higuchi, 2006; Ishikawa, 2009; McKenzie & Salcedo, 2014; Tsuda, 2003), and education (Green, 2013; Shimizu, Yamamoto, Kaji, & Hayashizaki, 2013; Sugino, 2007; Takenoshita, Chitose, Ikegami, & Ishikawa, 2014). However, there have been very few studies on the sociolinguistic aspects of this population; and even fewer on bilingual first language acquisition (Hisano, 2010; Ishii, 2000; Taguchi, 2001). It is important to understand the linguistic environment and challenges faced by such immigrant families (see de Araújo, 2008 for the Portuguese language and education in Portuguese available in Japan), in order to assist the settlement of bilingual populations, and promote the contributions they can make to their host country. This study will contribute to a better understanding of the linguistic situation surrounding Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Background

According to Ministry of Justice of Japan (2016), the population of registered Brazilians as of the 30th of June, 2016, is 176,284, making them the fourth largest expatriate group in Japan after Chinese, Korean and Filipino people. What makes the Brazilian group different from the other three groups is that most members are ethnically Japanese. The majority of the population comes from the second or third generation of Japanese emigrants to Brazil, who originally moved for economic reasons, and have now returned to Japan for similar reasons (Ishikawa, 2009). The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act of Japan allows Japanese descendants up to the third generation, along with their spouses and children, to live and work in Japan. In this paper, the second generation refers to those born in Brazil to a Japanese national residing in Brazil, and the third generation is those who are the grandchildren of a Japanese national residing in Brazil but whose parents are not Japanese citizens (see The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act).[1]

Japanese emigration to Brazil began in 1908, based on an agreement between the Japanese and the Brazilian governments. At that time, a labor shortage in Brazilian coffee plantations provided a solution to the Japanese government, which at that time was troubled by overpopulation and poverty in rural areas. Although the emigration program was suspended during World War II, large numbers of Japanese people moved to Brazil following its reopening at the end of the war. As reported by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2008), there were approximately 1,400,000 Japanese-Brazilians living in Brazil in 2000, which is the largest population of Japanese descendants outside of Japan.[2] According to Tsuda (2003), although Japanese immigrants in Brazil tended to retain Japanese culture and traditions, Brazilian-born second and subsequent generations integrated themselves into the Brazilian community. In the late 1980s, Japanese-Brazilians began to return to Japan, prompted by a Brazilian economic crisis which coincided with an economic boom in Japan (Higuchi, 2006).

---

1. Definitions of status of residence are in 'Appended Table 2' in 'The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act', and 'Defining the Status of Long-Term Residents as Listed in the Lower Column of Appendix Table 2 of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in accordance with Article 7, Paragraph 1, Item 2 of the same Act, MOJ Notification No. 132 of 1990, amended by MOJ Notification No. 357 of 2015'.

2. The population stated in Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2008) is the latest reliable information based on the census conducted in 2000. With regard to the most recent population of Japanese descendants in Brazil, there are two numbers from different sources: The National Diet Library Japan (2014) states that there were approximately 1,500,000 Japanese descendants in Brazil, whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2016) estimates 1,900,000 in 2014.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Most Japanese-Brazilians are production-process laborers, employed in the car, electronics or food-manufacturing sectors. Japanese manufacturers, however, do not recruit these Japanese-Brazilians directly, but instead use subcontractors. The subcontractors contact a recruiting agency to hire a temporary workforce. The recruiting agencies advertise job offers in Brazil, then send Japanese-Brazilians hired as manual workers to labor contractors in Japan, who in turn dispatch them to factories run by the manufacturers (Higuchi, 2006). This indirect employment system provides little employment security, and concentrates the workforce in those cities where the giant car or electronics companies, such as Toyota and Sony, have set up their production bases (Sugino, 2007).

Although most Japanese-Brazilian immigrants initially intend to return to Brazil with their savings after a few years' work in Japan, many extend their stay for several reasons (Tsuda, 2003): some cannot save sufficient money due to high living costs in Japan (Sugino, 2007); some, who do return to Brazil after saving a considerable amount of money, decide to come back to Japan because of the continuing recession in Brazil (Takenoshita et al., 2014). Even after a long-term stay, most Japanese-Brazilians continue to identify themselves as temporary migrants (Takenoshita et al., 2014). They see themselves as immigrant minorities in Japan, even though they are ethnically Japanese (Sugino, 2007). Most of the returned migrants are Brazilian-born, do not speak Japanese fluently, and were integrated into Brazilian society before they came to Japan. The complications they face in adapting to their ethnic homeland causes many Japanese-Brazilians to experience an identity conflict (Tsuda, 2003). Moreover, they often work and live within the Japanese-Brazilian communities forced on them by their working conditions. Considering all of these factors, there is little incentive for Japanese-Brazilian immigrants to learn the Japanese language.

While the parents work all day for the purpose of earning money and returning to Brazil as soon as possible, the children in these immigrant families spend much of their time in local day-care centers immersed in the Japanese language (Ishikawa, 2009) and culture. These children do, however, tend to need special assistance with learning Japanese at school (Takenoshita et al., 2014). According to Tsuda (2003), one reason for this is that few parents are able to help them study reading and writing Japanese, because most of them cannot read, write, or even speak Japanese. The more fluent a child becomes in Japanese, the more the child tends to speak Japanese at home. Consequently, for the parents who are not fluent in Japanese, it becomes harder to communicate with their child in Portuguese at home. Pearson (2007, p. 401) calls this "the input-proficiency-use cycle": that is, the more the child gets input in Language A, the more the child becomes proficient in Language A, which encourages the child to use that language more often, which results in more input in Language A. It is also possible that the cycle goes in the other direction,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for example, if a Japanese-Brazilian child does not use Portuguese, the child gets less input in Portuguese, which means that the child gets less opportunity to learn Portuguese, and that in turn, leads to using Portuguese even less. The parental input at home is, therefore, an important key to encouraging the Japanese-Brazilian children to use Portuguese more often.

De Houwer's (2007) questionnaire study looked at the relation between parental language use patterns at home and child language use, based on a sample collected in Flanders, Belgium. The sample included information on 1,899 families where one or more family members spoke one or more languages other than Dutch (which is the majority language in Flanders). The study found that variation in the parents' language choice patterns has an impact on children's home language use. The most successful patterns of transmitting heritage languages from parent to child were: (1) when both parents spoke only the heritage language, and; (2) when one spoke only the heritage language and the other spoke both the majority and heritage languages. The study also found that parental heritage language use at home did not necessarily lead children to become active bilingual speakers. De Houwer identified the importance of frequency, discourse strategies and engagement on heritage language acquisition, and the possibility of societal influences that can negatively affect the parents' intention to raise a bilingual child.

Turning to previous studies on home language use by Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families, there is one study by Ishii (2000), the purpose of which was to investigate parental decisions about, and attitudes toward their children's language education. The study was based on 369 responses to a questionnaire survey from parents who have one or more children who speak Portuguese, including information on language use at home (Table 1). The responses indicate that parents use more Portuguese than their children. However, Ishii did not clarify the relationship between parental language use patterns and the children's Portuguese use.

Ishii reported parents' positive attitudes toward bilingualism: 91% of the parents responded 'YES' to the question item: 'I am trying to speak my mother tongue as much as possible at home'. At the same time, however, 70% of the parents also responded 'YES' to 'I am trying to speak Japanese as much as possible at home'. Ishii analyzed these parental responses to opposing questions as indicating that

Table 1. Language use at home in Portuguese (BP) speaking families (n = 369) based on data from Ishii (2000)

	Only BP	Mainly BP	Fifty-fifty	Mainly Japanese	Only Japanese
Parental language to the child	109 (30%)	120 (33%)	111 (31%)	15 (4%)	6 (2%)
Child's language to the parent	86 (24%)	98 (27%)	97 (27%)	44 (12%)	34 (10%)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the immigrant parents believe that parents should use both languages as much as possible at home in order to raise a bilingual child. The questionnaire used in Ishii's study did not ask the participants to provide information on their ethnicity or nationality, so the respondents are not necessarily all Japanese-Brazilians. Even if it is the case that all respondents are Japanese-Brazilians, it is not clear in these responses whether there is a relationship between parental language use patterns, parental attitudes toward bilingualism, and the children's heritage language use at home in Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families.

Research questions and methodology

The study reported here was designed to address the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families in terms of parental and children's language use patterns at home?
2. What are the Japanese-Brazilian parents' expectations for their children's bilingual acquisition?
3. Do parental language use patterns and expectations for their children affect the children's home language use?

In order to address these three research questions, a questionnaire survey was conducted. Participants were Japanese-Brazilian parents living in Japan. Two versions of the questionnaire were created: a printed hardcopy and an online version. Both versions of the questionnaire were available to participants in their choice of either Japanese or Portuguese. The questionnaires were distributed through three non-profit organizations and personal contacts of the author. The three non-profit organizations are located in Shizuoka, Gunma, and Kanagawa prefectures, which are known to contain high populations of Japanese-Brazilian families.

The questionnaire asked participants to provide: (a) demographic information including date of birth, place of birth, date of migration, academic background, and occupation of each family member living in the same house; (b) the language(s) spoken inside and outside of the home by each family member, and; (c) their views about the Portuguese and Japanese languages in relation to their aspirations for their children. With regard to (b), the approach to asking about language use patterns was informed by the studies of De Houwer (2007) and Ishii (2000). In De Houwer (2007), participants were asked to provide only the languages spoken at home, and not the frequency of use of each home language and those spoken outside the home. In Ishii (2000), many parents responded YES to the opposing items: 'I am trying to speak my mother tongue as much as possible at home' and 'I am

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

trying to speak Japanese as much as possible at home'. To avoid similar conflicting responses, participants in the current study were asked to estimate the percentage of the time each family member speaks Portuguese and Japanese inside and outside the home. The percentages should add up to 100%. If the family member spoke more than two languages, the participant listed all the languages, for example Portuguese-60%, Japanese-30%, Spanish-10%. In respect to (c), participants chose one from five choices exemplified in Table 2. The same four questions were asked about oral ability and literacy skills in Portuguese and in Japanese.

Table 2. Five choices for oral ability in Portuguese
(P: Portuguese, J: Japanese, E; English translation)

	(P) Capacidade Oral em Português: Que nível de capacidade oral você deseja que seu filho tenha? Escolha a resposta que melhor reflete a sua forma de pensar. (J) ポルトガル語の会話力:どの位のレベルまで習得して欲しいと考えていますか? ご自身の考えに一番近いものをひとつ選んで下さい。 (E) Oral ability in Portuguese: Which level of oral ability do you want your child to acquire? Please choose the answer that most closely reflects your thoughts.
i	(P) A capacidade oral em Português não é necessária para meu filho. (J) 自分の子供にはポルトガル語の会話力は必要ない (E) Oral ability in Brazilian-Portuguese is not necessary for my child.
ii	(P) Nível bem básico suficiente para comunicar-se entre nossa família. (J) 家族間で意思疎通ができるくらいのとても初歩的な会話力 (E) Very basic level that is enough to communicate within our family.
iii	(P) Nível básico apropriado para comunicar-se com crianças da mesma idade nativas em Português. (J) ポルトガル語を母語とする同年代の子供達と同じくらいの基本的な会話力 (E) Basic level appropriate to communicate with native Brazilian-Portuguese/Japanese speaking peers.
iv	(P) Nível intermediário suficiente para comunicar-se com a comunidade em geral quando adultos. (J) 大人になった時に社会生活する上で十分な中級レベルの会話力 (E) Intermediate level that will be enough to communicate with the wider community when they are adults.
v	(P) Nível avançado que seja útil para sua carreira. (J) 将来キャリアに役立つような高度な会話力 (E) Advanced level that will be useful for a career.

In the results below, participants' responses to the questionnaire are supplemented with feedback obtained as part of a related study of the grammatical development of children who are acquiring Japanese and Portuguese as first languages. Children

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

from five of the families in Gunma prefecture participated in a longitudinal study, which also included semi-structured parental interviews. While the results of the longitudinal study will not be reported in this paper, comments obtained in the parental interviews were taken into account in the analysis and interpretation of the results of the current study. The interviews took about 45 minutes and were conducted in Japanese and in most cases also Portuguese, by the author and a collaborator from the NPO in Gunma who is a native speaker of Portuguese. The content of the interviews included (1) the family's linguistic background, (2) the quantity of input (that is, the amount of time the child is exposed to Portuguese and Japanese) and (3) parental attitudes towards bilingualism and views on education and career prospects of the children in Japan.

Results

Demographic information

More than 700 questionnaires were distributed: one form for each family. Each questionnaire was completed by one parent (mother or father), who provided information about the whole family. The total number of collected responses was 73. Of these, 23 were excluded from the analysis because of blanks and errors, leaving 50 valid responses, from 33 mothers and 17 fathers. There were 17 respondents who used the online version, and 33 who completed the paper hardcopy. The residential areas were 6 prefectures: Shizuoka (24 respondents), Gunma (12), Kanagawa (10), Aichi (2), Fukui (1), and Mie (1). There were 9 single-parent families, 31 dual-parent families, and 10 extended families including 17 grandparents, one stepfather and one aunt. Table 3 delineates these family types by the number of children in each family.

Table 3. Numbers by family make-up

Number of children	1	2	3	4	Total
Single-parent families	4	5	–	–	9
Dual-parent families	9	14	6	2	31
Extended families	1	6	3	–	10
					50

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Profiles of the parents

Detailed information regarding the make-up of the participating families is listed in Table 4. There were 47 mothers and 39 fathers in the 50 families completing the questionnaire. Most parents were educated in Brazil, and after graduation, they immigrated to Japan, which can be estimated from 'Age' and 'Years in Japan'. 'Academic record' shows that their level of education is relatively high compared to the proportion of university graduates in Brazil (7.9% in 2010).[3] Current compulsory education in Brazil is nine years from six to 14 years old, but was eight years from seven to 14 years old before 2006. So, it appears that all of the parents received eight years of compulsory education. Approximately 40% of the parents work as production process laborers.

Table 4. Parents' age, years in Japan, academic record, and occupations

Parents	Age Average Median SD	Years in Japan Average Median SD	Academic record	Occupations
Mother *N* = 47	40.5 41.0 7.2	18.2 19.5 6.2	Compulsory 11% Secondary 51% Tertiary 38%	Production process laborers 38% Clerical worker 9% Service 7% Others 46%
Father *N* = 39	40.0 40.0 6.3	16.8 19.0 6.4	Compulsory 28% Secondary 49% Tertiary 23%	Production process laborers 41% Clerical worker 15% Professional/technical 5% Others 39%

Profiles of the children

The 50 respondents' families included 99 children: 47 boys and 52 girls. The age range is shown in Table 5. In Japan, compulsory education consists of six years of elementary school from the ages of 6–12, and, following that, three years of junior high school. Sixty-six out of 99 children were in this compulsory education age range, while 77 out of 99 children were born in Japan.

Table 5. Number of children by age range

Age range	0–2	3–5	6–8	9–11	12–14	15–18	19–
99 children (47 boys, 52 girls)	8	10	18	26	22	10	5

3. The data was retrieved from the webpage of Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2012).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Profiles of the adults other than the parents

There were 19 adults other than the parents within the 50 families: nine grandfathers, eight grandmothers, one stepfather, and one aunt. The average age was 65, with a median of 64 and a standard deviation of 12.7. The average years living in Japan is 20, with a median of 20 and a standard deviation of 4.8. As for academic achievement, three finished compulsory education, nine completed secondary, and seven completed tertiary education. Concerning occupations, four persons were production process laborers, 11 have retired, and the last four were classified as 'other'; a driver, an electrician, and two farmers.

Parental views about the two languages

The results of the question regarding parental views about the two languages in relation to their aspirations for their children are shown in Table 6. We can see that the parents gave very positive responses in relation to both languages. These responses indicate that the parents considered literacy skills to be more important than oral ability and placed slightly higher value on Japanese than Portuguese.

Table 6. Parents' expectations for their child's bilingual development

		Portuguese				Japanese			
		Oral ability		Literacy skills		Oral ability		Literacy skills	
i.	Not necessary	2	(4%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	1	(2%)
ii.	Very basic	1	(2%)	1	(2%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
iii.	Basic	3	(6%)	4	(8%)	1	(2%)	1	(2%)
iv.	Intermediate	11	(22%)	12	(24%)	6	(12%)	3	(6%)
v.	Advanced	33	(66%)	33	(66%)	43	(86%)	45	(90%)

As Ishikawa (2009) pointed out, Japanese-Brazilian children learn to speak the Japanese language far more quickly than their parents. However, this does not necessarily mean that these children learn to read and write Japanese easily. When they reach school age, most children need special assistance with learning Japanese to keep pace with their monolingual peers, even if they speak Japanese with fluency similar to Japanese children. This might be one reason for the parents to regard literacy skills as important. According to Sugino (2007), Brazilian parents in Japan are concerned about their children's language maintenance in anticipation of their return to Brazil. However, the longer they remain in Japan, the more the parents become concerned about their children's future careers and whether their children should be educated for permanent settlement in Japan (Sugino, 2007). This

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

reasoning explains Japanese-Brazilian parents' positive views on bilingualism and their mindset of putting slightly more importance on learning Japanese compared to Portuguese.

Language use patterns at home

The questionnaire asked participants to provide the percentage of the time each family member speaks Portuguese and Japanese both at and outside the home. The results were analyzed from two perspectives: Portuguese use frequency at home and outside the home, and the relationship between parental language use patterns and reported child language use.

Portuguese use at home and outside the home

The frequency of use of Portuguese at home and outside the home is shown in Table 7. Compared to their children, parents reported that they speak Portuguese more often. Four fathers and two mothers do not speak Portuguese at home, whereas there are fourteen children who do not speak Portuguese at all at home. Eleven fathers and nine mothers speak Portuguese 100% of the time at home, while seven children do so at home. Outside the home, differences between parents and children are more conspicuous. Even though parents speak less Portuguese outside than inside the home, they still use Portuguese more frequently than children, likely because most parents work within the Brazilian community. Thirty-one

Table 7. Portuguese use frequency inside and outside the home

% of the time spoken	Portuguese at home						Portuguese outside the home					
	Father		Mother		Child		Father		Mother		Child	
0%	4	10.26%	2	4.26%	14	14.14%	4	10.26%	2	4.26%	31	31.31%
1~9%	0	0.00%	2	4.26%	7	7.07%	0	0.00%	1	2.13%	4	4.04%
10~19%	2	5.13%	2	4.26%	13	13.13%	2	5.13%	8	17.02%	22	22.22%
20~29%	0	0.00%	1	2.13%	2	2.02%	3	7.69%	3	6.38%	7	7.07%
30~39%	2	5.13%	0	0.00%	5	5.05%	3	7.69%	2	4.26%	8	8.08%
40~49%	0	0.00%	2	4.26%	6	6.06%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
50~59%	1	2.56%	7	14.89%	11	11.11%	6	15.38%	10	21.28%	17	17.17%
60~69%	2	5.13%	3	6.38%	2	2.02%	2	5.13%	3	6.38%	2	2.02%
70~79%	4	10.26%	3	6.38%	11	11.11%	8	20.51%	9	19.15%	6	6.06%
80~89%	4	10.26%	5	10.64%	10	10.10%	5	12.82%	4	8.51%	1	1.01%
90~99%	9	23.08%	11	23.40%	11	11.11%	4	10.26%	4	8.51%	0	0.00%
100%	11	28.21%	9	19.15%	7	7.07%	2	5.13%	1	2.13%	1	1.01%
Total	**39**		**47**		**99**		**39**		**47**		**99**	

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

children were reported not to speak Portuguese at all outside the home, and another twenty-six children were reported to speak Portuguese less than 20% of the time outside the home. This is to be expected, because most children spend the time outside the home at a day-care center or a school where Japanese is the primary language spoken. Even though some children still have a chance to speak Portuguese outside the home (for example, to native Portuguese speaking friends, and to special assistant teachers at Japanese schools who translate instructions into Portuguese), children have less opportunity to use Portuguese outside the home than their parents, unless they attend one of the few private Brazilian schools where the whole education is in Portuguese.

Relationship between parental language use patterns and child language use at home

With regard to the relation between the adults' language use pattern and the children's language use, the 50 families were classified into seven categories. Each family was assigned to one category based on the language use reported for adults and children in the family. The results are given in Table 8. The definitions of the categories are as follows.

Category A: All the adults in the family speak Portuguese (BP) 70% or more of the time at home. All the children speak BP 70% or more of the time at home.

Category B: All the adults in the family speak BP 70% or more of the time at home. One or more children speak BP less than 70% of the time at home.

Category C: At least one adult in the family speaks BP 70% or more of the time at home. All the children speak BP 70% or more of the time at home.

Category D: At least one adult in the family speaks BP 70% or more of the time at home. One or more children speak BP less than 70% of the time at home.

Category E: All the adults in the family speak BP at least 30% but less than 70% of the time at home. Differences between the adults and children in terms of BP use frequency are 10% or less.

Category F: All the adults in the family speak BP at least 30% but less than 70% of the time at home. Differences between the adults and children in terms of BP use frequency are more than 10%.

Category G: All the family members including the adults and children speak BP less than 30% of the time at home.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 8 also provides information about parental expectations for the acquisition of Portuguese (see Table 2 and Table 6): the responses (i) Not necessary, (ii) Very basic level, or (iii) Basic level are grouped together under "low expectations", and (iv) Intermediate level or (v) Advanced level are grouped together under "high expectations".

Table 8. Japanese-Brazilian families' language use patterns at home

Category	Adults	Children	Low expectations (i, ii, iii for BP)	High expectations (iv, v for BP)	Total
A	All the adults 70%–100%	All the children 70%–100%	0	15	15 families 30%
B		One or more children less than 70%	0	15	15 families 30%
C	At least one adult 70%–100%	All the children 70%–100%	1	2	3 families 6%
D		One or more children less than 70%	1	1	2 families 4%
E	All the adults 30%–69%	Differences between the adults and children 10% or less	1	4	5 families 10%
F		Differences between the adults and children more than 10%	0	5	5 families 10%
G	All the adults 0–29%	All the children 0–29%	3	2	5 families 10%
Total			**6**	**44**	**50**

There are six families whose responses placed them in the low expectation group in terms of their aspirations for their child's attainment level of Portuguese language development. These parents reported they are less likely to use Portuguese at home than parents whose responses placed them in the high expectations group. In 30 out of the 44 families who have high expectations, all the family members use Portuguese 70% or more of the time (Category A and B), whereas in three out of six families in the other low expectations group, all the family members speak Portuguese less than 30% of the time at home (Category G). Overall, it is therefore appropriate to say that the higher the parental expectations for their children's acquisition of Portuguese, the more the parents use Portuguese at home. It is important to note, however, that the adults in 11 families, who expect their child to acquire (iv) Intermediate or (v) Advanced level of Portuguese, reported less than

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

70% Portuguese use at home (four of these families were in Category E, five in Category F, and two in Category G).

With regard to the distribution of language use between children and parents, in 28 families in Categories A, C, E, and G, children are reported to use a similar distribution of Portuguese and Japanese as their parents. These results suggest that, for these families, parental use patterns may influence the child's language use. The more frequently the parents speak Portuguese at home, the more the child uses Portuguese at home (Category A, C), whereas if the parents use Portuguese less, the child does, too (Category E, G). However, for the 22 remaining families in Categories B, D, and F, one or more children do not speak Portuguese as much as their parents do, suggesting that in these families, heritage language use at home does not necessarily lead the children to use that language as much as their parents.

The influence of parental language use patterns on the child's language use at home is clearer when we focus on the children who speak Portuguese more than 50% of the time at home (Table 9).

Table 9. The relationship between language use patterns in the parental pair and the child's Portuguese use (BP: Portuguese, J: Japanese)

Parent pairs' language use pattern	BP 100% BP 100%	BP 100% BP + J	BP 70%~ + J BP 70%~ + J	BP 70%~ + J BP ~69% + J	BP ~69% + J BP ~69% + J
Ratio of the children who use BP more than 50%	100%	67%	67%	50%	21%

When both parents speak only Portuguese (BP 100%, BP 100%), 100% of their children speak Portuguese more than 50% of the time at home. Where one parent speaks only Portuguese (BP 100%), and the other parent speaks both Portuguese and Japanese (BP + J), 67% of the children use Portuguese more than 50% of the time at home. These results are in line with De Houwer (2007), whose study found that the chance of success in heritage language transmission is highest when both parents speak only the heritage language, or when one speaks only the heritage language and the other speaks both the majority and heritage languages. Similar results were found where both parents speak both Portuguese and Japanese (+ J) but use Portuguese more than 70% of the time (BP 70%~ + J) at home. However, when one parent speaks Portuguese less than 70% (BP ~69% + J) of the time, the proportion of the children who use Portuguese more than 50% of the time decreases to 50%. When both parents speak Portuguese less than 70% (BP ~69% + J), then only 21% of their children use Portuguese more than 50% of the time at home.

Based on these results, in terms of transmission of a heritage language, children are most likely to be reported to use that language when both parents speak only the heritage language at home. Even if both parents use both the minority and the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

majority languages at home, the possibility that their child will use the heritage language more than 50% of the time at home is high, as long as both parents speak the heritage language more than 70% of the time at home.

Discussion

Expectations vs. reality

As is reported above, most respondents expressed very high expectations for their child to acquire high levels of oral ability and literacy skills in both Portuguese and Japanese. On this point, several comments were obtained from the interviews with the parents who also participated in the longitudinal study. One mother said that she would never rule out the option of returning to Brazil, but could not say when. Another parent said, "We understand that the economic situation and political conditions in Brazil will not get better soon, but we are here [in Japan] temporarily." These comments reveal that the parents' positive attitudes toward their child's heritage language maintenance stem at least partially from their anticipation of a return to Brazil, even though they realize that this may not eventuate. The parents want their children to be prepared for a future education and career in Brazil. At the same time, they place a high value on acquiring Japanese in case they settle down in Japan, instead. It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which the attitudes and language use patterns reported in this study resemble those of Brazilian immigrants in the USA. Carvalho (2010) states that Brazilians in the USA, many of whom immigrated for economic reasons, prefer Portuguese for intragroup communication, and have a desire to maintain Portuguese, which arises from their wish to return to Brazil someday.

In terms of intergenerational language transmission, parental language use patterns at home play an important role. As Table 7 shows, there is an asymmetry in the linguistic environment surrounding Japanese-Brazilian children inside vs. outside the home. For these children, their home is the place to maintain the heritage language. Parental language use patterns have an impact on children's heritage language use at home. In most cases, the more often parents speak the heritage language at home, the more likely and more often their children will speak it at home, too.

The heritage language use at home, however, does not necessarily lead children to use that language as much as their parents. Although there were families who reported that their children used similar distributions of Portuguese and Japanese as their parents (Category A, C, and E in Table 8), there were also families who reported less use of Portuguese by the child than by the parents (Category B, D,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and F in Table 8). Table 7 also suggests that children do not speak Portuguese at home as much as their parents do. From the interviews with the parents who also participated in the longitudinal study, two issues emerged: difference in vocabulary between the two languages, and assimilative pressure faced by the children outside the home. On the first issue, one mother says, "Portuguese used in everyday conversation at home is limited. In contrast, my child's Japanese vocabulary steadily increases because she learns new things in Japanese outside the home. It seems that sometimes it is easier for her to convey what she wants to say in Japanese". A similar comment from another parent is, "My children often have difficulty finding the right words in Portuguese and start speaking Japanese". This phenomenon could be labelled "compartmentalization", that is, "each language will more and more be heard and used in different circumstances" (De Houwer, 2009, p. 243).

For the parents to ensure their child's vocabulary size in Portuguese keeps pace with their Japanese vocabulary, vast effort and not inconsiderable expense are likely. For example, they would need to spend more time with their child and teach them Portuguese words that have equivalent lexical concepts of Japanese words the child learned outside the home. They might want to buy Portuguese books and digital media such as music CDs, DVDs, or TV programs and movies suitable for instruction. Travel to Brazil might also help the child with enriching their Portuguese vocabulary size and learning Brazilian culture. However, many Brazilian parents are manual workers who are unlikely to be able to invest their time and money in those activities and materials (Ishikawa, 2009). Consequently, the linguistic environment surrounding the Japanese-Brazilian children becomes more "compartmentalized", and those children will be less likely to use Portuguese as much as their parents do at home.

The second issue is assimilative pressure faced by the children outside the home. One comment from the parental interviews was as follows: "My daughter wants to do everything in the same way as her classmates do. She wants to act the same as the classmates. She wants to speak the same as the classmates." In the classroom, the children face strong assimilative pressures to speak Japanese, and also face pressure from their peers to conform to Japanese thinking and behavior (Tsuda, 2003). Many Japanese-Brazilian children grow up assimilating into Japanese culture in a Japanese-medium day-care center or a school, while their parents work long hours. As is reported above, 77 out of 99 children in this study were born in Japan. It is very likely that many of these children have integrated themselves into Japanese society without difficulty even though they may need extra help with school. This may lead the children to use more Japanese than Portuguese at home. As Carvalho (2010) points out, similar trends are found in the USA, where prejudice against heritage varieties of Portuguese leads to insecurity in Portuguese speakers in the USA.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

These two issues could affect communication between the parents and their children in Portuguese at home. As discussed above, despite high expectations for their child to acquire an intermediate or higher level of oral and literacy skills in Portuguese, parents in 11 out of 50 families (Category E, F, and G in Table 8) do not report using the heritage language very much at home. Although the parents wish to speak Portuguese at home in order to transmit the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture to their child, the child may not be able to express what they intend to say in Portuguese as a consequence of "compartmentalization" and assimilation to Japanese culture. In this case, the parents may have to try to communicate to their child using both Portuguese and Japanese so that the parents and the child can interact. This in turn drives the child to use more Japanese and less Portuguese at home. The more the child becomes fluent in Japanese, the more the child loses the opportunity to receive parental input in Portuguese. The child therefore gets stuck in a negative version of "the input-proficiency-use cycle" (Pearson, 2007) for Portuguese.

Another factor that pushes the parents to use Japanese at home is the need to communicate to teachers and caregivers at their children's Japanese-medium school and/or day-care center. Most of the parents who completed the questionnaire are not fluent in Japanese. They do not need to speak Japanese as long as they work and live in a Brazilian community, and do not have time to learn Japanese, even if they wanted to, due to their long work hours. However, once their child starts attending school, communication between the school and the parents must be done in Japanese, since that is the language of instruction and the language spoken by teachers and caregivers. Parents who want to discuss various issues concerning their child become conscious of the need to learn Japanese. Even though parents anticipate transmitting Portuguese, necessity drives parents to learn and use Japanese at home. The assimilative pressures also have an effect on the parents as the children influence their parents' learning of Japanese, which makes it even harder for the children to learn Portuguese.

Limitations

It is important to point out that there are certain limitations to the current study. Firstly, this study is based on self-reported data, so the results must be interpreted with care because of possible bias or misunderstanding. Secondly, the number of valid responses is small: more than 700 questionnaires were distributed, but the response rate was only 10%. Some of the responses included errors and blanks, leaving only 50 valid completed questionnaires that could be included in the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

analysis. A possible reason for the low response rate is that this population has been over-surveyed by various researchers, institutions, and both national and local governments in an effort to understand the circumstances of Brazilian communities in Japan from all angles. Therefore, many Japanese Brazilians may be tired of surveys and reluctant to cooperate. Unfortunately, the current study did not yield enough valid responses to give insights into the different circumstances of Brazilian communities in Shizuoka, Gunma, and Kanagawa, as well as Aichi, which is well known as the prefecture with the largest Brazilian community. It would be interesting to compare the attitudes and language use patterns of Brazilian families in these four areas in more detail in further research.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the results of a questionnaire survey administered to Japanese-Brazilian immigrant families in Japan, which demonstrated that most Japanese-Brazilian immigrant parents have very high expectations for their children to acquire an intermediate or higher level of oral ability and literacy skills in both Portuguese and Japanese. The parents' positive attitudes toward their children's language maintenance stemmed from their anticipation of a return to Brazil, even though they realized that this might not eventuate. At the same time, the parents placed high value on acquiring Japanese for their children's future careers in Japan, on the premise that the family might settle down in Japan permanently. In terms of intergenerational language transmission, parental language use patterns at home appeared to play an important role on the children's use of the heritage language. When the adults spoke Portuguese more than 70% of the time at home, the chance that children were also reported to speak Portuguese more frequently than Japanese at home increased. Conversely, if the adults used Portuguese less than 70% of the time at home, the children were likely to use Japanese more of the time than Portuguese. Moreover, in the case of two-parent families where both parents spoke only Portuguese, all their children used more Portuguese than Japanese at home. The results also revealed that parents' heritage language use at home did not necessarily lead a child to use that language as much as their parents, because of assimilative pressures faced by their children at school (Tsuda, 2003) and differences in the children's vocabulary between the two languages (De Houwer, 2009). These factors might lead some children to use Japanese more at home. Moreover, the assimilative pressures faced by the children also have an effect on the parents, as the children's language use influenced their parents' learning of Japanese, which makes it even harder for the children to learn Portuguese.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

To gain a better understanding of the factors influencing language maintenance and language shift in this population, it would be fruitful to compare the linguistic context in Japan with language contact situations in other countries in future research – see Fishman (1964) for a possible theoretical framework, and Carvalho (2010) for an examination of Portuguese speaking immigrants in the USA. It is also important to examine the linguistic evidence of assimilation to Japanese in the syntactic constructions and vocabulary of the Portuguese used by Brazilian families in Japan (see Otheguy's, 2011 work regarding the assimilation of Spanish to English). As attitudes toward language use must be related to psychological, social and cultural factors, and habitual language use in language contact situations (see Fishman, 1964), future research along these lines may allow us to build further on the insights provided the current study.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all families who participated in my study, and the collaborators and interpreter who assisted with recruitment and interviewing of participants. I thank Dr Heidi Quinn, Dr Susan Foster-Cohen and Jacq Jones for comments that greatly improved the manuscript. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments. Any errors are entirely my own. This research was partially supported by a University of Canterbury Doctoral Scholarship and School of Language, Social and Political Sciences PhD Research-Related Funding.

References

Carvalho, A. M. (2010). Portuguese in the USA. In K. Potowski (Ed.), *Language diversity in the USA* (pp. 223–237). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511779855.015

de Araújo, G. A. (2008). A língua portuguesa no Japão. Retrieved from <http://dlcv.fflch.usp.br/sites/dlcv.fflch.usp.br/files/01_19.pdf> (22 October 2019).

De Houwer, A. (2007). Parental language input patterns and children's bilingual use. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 28, 411–424. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716407070221

De Houwer, A. (2009). *Bilingual first language acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

De Houwer, A. (2013). Harmonious bilingual development: Young families' well-being in language contact situations. *International Journal of Bilingualism, OnlineFirst* (11 June, 2013).

Defining the status of long-term residents as listed in the lower column of Appendix Table 2 of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in accordance with Article 7, Paragraph 1, Item 2 of the same Act, MOJ Notification No. 132 of 1990, amended by MOJ Notification No. 357 of 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyukan_hourei_h07-01-01.html> (22 October, 2019).

Fishman, J. A. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: A definition of the field and suggestions for its further development. *Linguistics*, 2(9), 32–70. https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1964.2.9.32

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Green, P. (2013). Education, employment and household dynamics: Brazilian migrants in Japan. *Ethnography and Education*, 8(3), 273–285. https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2013.792680

Higuchi, N. (2006). *Brazilian migration to Japan trends, modalities and impact*. Paper presented at the United Nations – Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean-UN/POP/EGM-MIG/2005/11.

Hisano, M. (2010). Brazil jin yoji niyoru V-teoku kozo shutoku ni kansuru jirei kenkyu: Bogowasha tono hikaku o tsujite (A case study of the acquisition of the "Verb-teoku" structure by Brazilian children – through comparison with Japanese native speakers). *Shizuoka Daigaku Kokusai Koryu Center Kiyo (Bulletin of Shizuoka University International Center)*, 4, 23–37.

The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. Law number: Cabinet Order No. 319 of 1951, Amendment: Act No. 113 of 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail/?id=2647&vm=&re=&new=1> (22 October, 2019)

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. (2008). *Resistência & integração: 100 anos de imigração japonesa no Brasil (Resistance & integration: 100 years of Japanese immigration in Brazil)*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). Retrieved from <http://www.japao100.com.br/arquivo/nipo-brasileiros-estao-mais-presentes/> (22 October, 2019).

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. (2012). Censo 2010: Escolaridade e rendimento aumentam e cai mortalidade infantil. Retrieved from <http://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/noticias-censo.html?view=noticia&id=3&idnoticia=2125&busca=1&t=censo-2010-escolaridade-rendimento-aumentam-cai-mortalidade-infantil> (22 October 2019).

Ishii, E. (2000). Porutogarugo o bogo tosuru zainichi gaikokujin jido seito no gengo kyoiku ni kansuru hubo no ishiki (Parent's attitudes/beliefs toward language education for Portuguese-speaking children in Japan). In *Nikkei Burajirujin no bairingarizumu (Bilingualism of Japanese Brazilians)* (pp. 116–136). Tokyo: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo (The National Language Research Institute).

Ishikawa, E. A. (2009). Return of Japanese-Brazilian next generations: Their post-1980s experiences in Japan. In D. Conway & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Return migration of the next generations: 21st century transnational mobility* (pp. 59–78). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

McKenzie, D., & Salcedo, A. (2014). Japanese-Brazilians and the future of Brazilian migration to Japan. *International Migration*, 52(2), 66–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00571.x

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2016). Federative Republic of Brazil: Basic data. Retrieved from <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/brazil/data.html> (22 October, 2019).

Ministry of Justice of Japan. (2016). Zairyu gaikokujin toukei (The statistics of registered foreign nationals). Retrieved from <http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html> (22 October, 2019).

National Diet Library Japan. (2014). 100 years of Japanese emigration to Brazil. Retrieved from <http://www.ndl.go.jp/brasil/e/index.html> (22 October, 2019).

Otheguy, R. (2011). Functional adaptation and conceptual convergence in the analysis of language contact in the Spanish of bilingual communities in New York. In M. Díaz-Campos (Ed.), *The handbook of Hispanic sociolinguistics* (pp. 504–529). Malden, MA: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444393446.ch24

Pearson, B. Z. (2007). Social factors in childhood bilingualism in the United States. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 28(3), 399–410. https://doi.org/10.1017/S014271640707021X

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Shimizu, K., Yamamoto, B., Kaji, I., & Hayashizaki, K. (Eds.). (2013). *"Ōkan suru hitobito" no kyōiku senryaku: Gurōbaru shakai o ikiru kazoku to kōkyōiku no kadai*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.

Sugino, T. (2007). Nikkei Brazilians at a Brazilian school in Japan: Factors affecting language decisions and education (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Temple University, Philadelphia, PA.

Taguchi, K. (2001). Brazil jin jido no ukemi shieki hyogen no shutoku ni kansuru jireikenkyu -nihonjin jido yoji tono hikaku o tooshite- (A case study: Brazilian children and their acquisition of Japanese passive and causative expressions – A comparison with Japanese children). *Daini Gengo to Shiteno Nihongo no Syutoku Kenkyu*, 4, 116–133.

Takenoshita, H., Chitose, Y., Ikegami, S., & Ishikawa, E. A. (2014). Segmented assimilation, transnationalism, and educational attainment of Brazilian migrant children in Japan. *International Migration*, 52(2), 84–99. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12057

Tsuda, T. (2003). *Strangers in the ethnic homeland: Japanese Brazilian return migration in transnational perspective*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.7312/tsud12838

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Portuguese in Massachusetts

Linguistic attitudes, social networks and language maintenance

Patricia Gubitosi and Judy de Oliveira
University of Massachusetts Amherst / University of Rhode Island

In the state of Massachusetts, Portuguese is the second most spoken foreign language after Spanish and the dense population of Portuguese speakers gives this community vitality. This paper analyzes the linguistic attitudes of a group of twenty Portuguese men and women, from the island of Saint Michael, Azores, who have lived on the eastern coast of Massachusetts for more than fifteen years. Some important factors that have been linked to language maintenance and the prevention of language attrition are positive attitudes, socio-cultural factors and social networks. Using the social networks framework, we further discuss the implications that language attitudes may have on language maintenance within this community. We conclude that linguistic attitudes continue to be a key factor in preventing language loss and promoting ethnic pride, which ultimately benefit language maintenance.

Keywords: language attitudes, Portuguese in Massachusetts, language maintenance, social networks

Introduction

In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a state located in New England at the northeastern corner of the United States, 21% of the total population declares that they speak a language other than English at home, a number slightly above the average for the whole nation (20%). According to the American Community Survey 2009–2013, Portuguese is spoken by 2.9% of the total population in the state. This number makes Portuguese the second most spoken foreign language in Massachusetts, preceded only by Spanish (Carvalho, 2010).

A positive attitude towards one's minority language has been considered one of the most important factors to prevent linguistic attrition and promote ethnic pride of language use (Anderson-Mejías, Mejías, & Carlson, 2002, 2003; Preston, 1999,

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.09gub
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

among others). However, some scholars did not find clear links between measures of attitude and L1 attrition (Yağmur, 1997) and others showed that pragmatic and ideological motivation to emigrate along with ensuing attitudes were clearly linked to L1 attrition (Ben-Rafael & Schmid, 2007). Cherciov (2013, p. 730) establishes that "a positive attitude is not in and of itself a guarantee against language attrition," but "a positive attitude is the prime factor in determining the motivation necessary to engage in language maintenance efforts." Moreover, Winford (2003) affirms that socio-cultural factors, such as speakers' ideologies and attitudes towards their varieties are also relevant because they can supersede any internal resistance to linguistic change and/or attrition.

This paper analyzes the attitude toward the minority language of a group of twenty Portuguese speakers and the importance that their social networks can have in language maintenance. The participants represent first and second-generation speakers who are from the island of São Miguel, Azores. Those who are first-generation speakers have lived on the eastern coast of Massachusetts for more than fifteen years. The participants who represent second-generation speakers are those who were born and raised in the United States but have at least one parent who is from São Miguel. The main goal of this paper is threefold as it examines (i) the attitudes and use towards language and language use of both English and Portuguese, (ii) how social networks of immigrants can render positive attitudes concerning the ethnic language, and (iii) what impact these attitudes and social networks may have in maintaining the Portuguese language in the area. The data collected from each participant reflect a combination of written questions that were used to convey the attitudes of participants towards language and language use (more than 80 questions), and a one-hour semi-structured sociolinguistic interview. Given the fact that each methodology has certain limitations and advantages (Cherciov, 2013; González Martínez, 2008), a combination of both questionnaires and interviews was used as the most appropriate procedure to uncover linguistic practices that serve to predict language maintenance within the group. This study serves to contribute to the general discussion about the importance of language attitudes on language maintenance and patterns of language use.

The organization of this study is as follows: first, we briefly describe the history of Portuguese immigration in Massachusetts and explore the main social and linguistic characteristics of these immigrants. We then present a review of previous studies with respect to language attitudes, acculturation, and language maintenance. The research questions considered in this study are later discussed along with the main hypothesis and methodology used to collect the data. We later present the results of this study, which leads to the discussion of the issue of language maintenance within the Portuguese community in eastern Massachusetts. Finally, we present the conclusions that summarize our findings.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Portuguese in Eastern Massachusetts

Portuguese speakers in Eastern Massachusetts are mainly from the Azorean archipelago and mainland Portugal.[1] Initially, migration to the United States was attributed to religious purposes and work opportunities, particularly in the whaling and fishing industries and later the textile industries. During the last half of the nineteenth century, the textile industries superseded other jobs and as a result the Portuguese created social networks that later benefited the Portuguese newcomers. According to Williams (1982, p. 13)

> Few in number in the 1850s, Azorean mill workers gradually increased in the '60s and '70s and paved the way for their countrymen who poured into this area in subsequent decades. When the young immigrant from the Azores stepped ashore in New England in the early 1870s, his compatriots had already established themselves in a number of occupational niches and were, in effect, holding the doors open to their fellow countrymen.

The arrival of the Azorean Portuguese immigrants to New England intensified in the late twentieth century. The industrial development in America stirred hopes, and possibilities, which resulted in the first wave of Portuguese immigration. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the second and largest wave of immigration reached its highest peak in 1970. Furthermore, De Sá, Pacheco and Farrar (2011, p. 3) explain,

> It began with the passage of the Azorean Refugee Acts of 1958, which allowed families affected by the eruption of the Capelinhos volcano to settle in the United States, but its major cause was the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which abolished the national quotas and introduced a system based on family reunification.

According to Mira (1998) and Amaral (1978), Portuguese immigrants densely settled in the states of New England. The record of the first US census dates to 1790, and the data retrieved indicates that the Portuguese represented an estimated 24,000 people. In the city of New Bedford alone, there was a prominent rise in terms of immigration within a mere century. Vermette (1998) alludes to this increase of population and states that it "went from 2,213 in 1790 to 33,293 in 1885 in part reflecting the presence of these Portuguese newcomers" (p. 216). New Bedford represented one of the seven New England Azorean Portuguese communities that were established in Massachusetts. The documentary *Saudade*, known as *Nostalgia*, by

1. For more information about Portuguese immigration data please see Ribeiro, 1982; Silva, 1969, and Williams, 2005.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bela Feldman Bianco was made in 1991 to document the strong presence, experience and culture of the Portuguese in the United States, particularly in the city of New Bedford. In the documentary, Professor Frank F. Sousa states, "Today 60% of New Bedford's 110,000 inhabitants are Portuguese descent. Portuguese language, commerce, and culture dominate." Despite New Bedford's dense population of Portuguese communities, its neighboring city of Fall River also received a positive influx of Portuguese immigration. According to Dion (2003, p. 19),

> In 1970, the city received 700 Portuguese. For an aging industrial city whose population had been declining for much of the century, the effect of new immigration was positive, immediate, and immense. Fall River would never be the same… The new immigrants revitalized a Portuguese community that hadn't received a great number of new immigrants since the early part of the century. Portuguese restaurants, bars, churches, social clubs, civic and cultural organizations and the great religious feasts were all revived by the newcomers.

The influx of Portuguese immigrants who settled in New England during the last two centuries, preserved and formed tight knit Portuguese communities. This resulted in their unwavering strong presence in the state of Massachusetts. Of the total number of Portuguese in the United States, 31% of this population resides in the state of Massachusetts (Carvalho, 2010). The most recent information obtained from the US Census indicates that 12.4% of the Portuguese population of Bristol County (Figure 1) uses and maintains the Portuguese language at home.[2] And while the percentage of people who claim to speak another language in the state of Massachusetts is slightly above the nation average (22.1 and 21% respectively), this percentage rises to 33.4% in the city of Fall River, one of Bristol County (Census Bureau).

Figure 2 represents the 2011 Language Mapper for the state of Massachusetts, which shows information that was retrieved from the 2010 US census. The dots in the figure are representative of one hundred people and show the densely-populated areas where the Portuguese settled.[3]

2. Bristol County includes cities such as Taunton, Attleboro, Fall River and New Bedford. It is also part of the Providence-Warwick, RI-MA Metropolitan Statistical Area, as well as the Boston-Worcester-Providence, MA-RI-NH-CT combined statistical area.

3. The demographics can be accessed at <https://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/language_map.html>

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

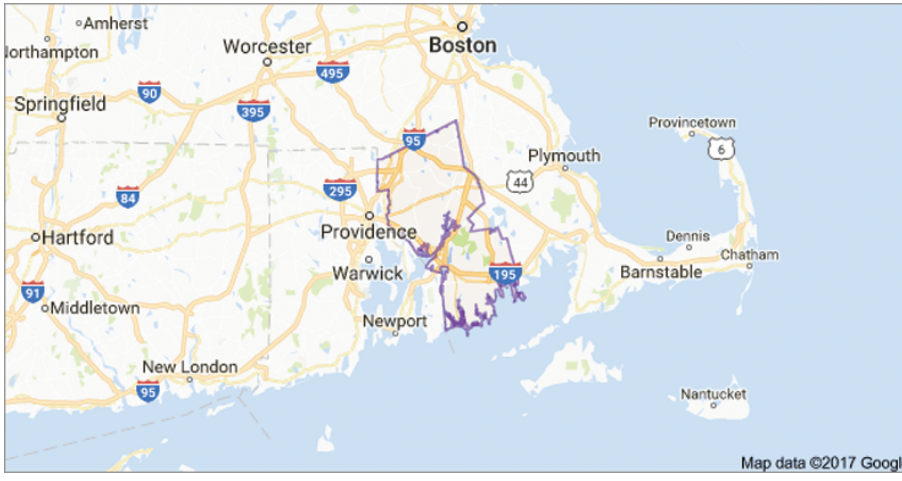


Figure 1. Bristol County, MA. Source: Google Maps

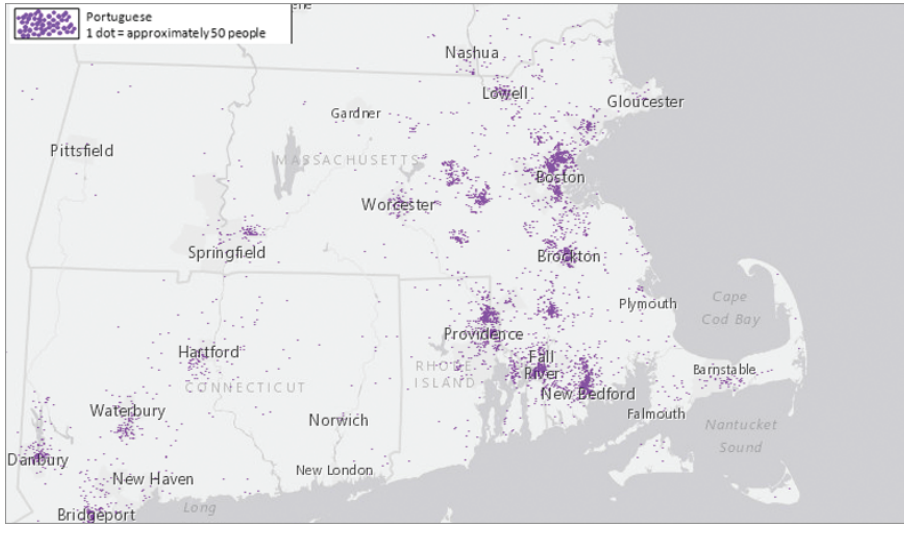


Figure 2. 2011 Language Mapper of Massachusetts. Source: US Census

Table 1 presents the demographics of Bristol county which shows its linguistic diversity and predominance of the Portuguese language.[4]

4. The source of this information can be retrieved at <http://www.census.gov/data/tables/2013/demo/2009-2013-lang-tables.html>

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 1. Languages Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over for Bristol County, MA: 2009–2013

	Number of speakers	Speak English less than "Very Well"
Population 5 years and over	**519,447**	**41,848**
Speak only English at home	**412,567**	**(X)**
Speak a language other than English at home	**106,880**	**41,848**
Portuguese and Portuguese Creole	**62,323**	**25,401**
Portuguese	62,325	25,400
Spanish and Spanish Creole	**22,451**	**8,994**
Spanish	22,450	8,995
Other Indo-European languages	**12,822**	**3,782**
Asian and Pacific Island languages	**6,742**	**3,117**
All other languages	**2,540**	**554**

The second wave of Portuguese migration in 1961 was the result of economic reasons as people pursued employment opportunities to improve their economic situation and to also reunite with other members of their family who had already immigrated to the United States.

In a multicultural setting such as those we encounter in the cities of Fall River and New Bedford, "choice and use of language are determined by a multitude of factors that are difficult to discern and to group, as each individual comes with a different set of idiosyncratic likes and dislikes based on yet another multitude of factors" (Stoessel, 2002, p. 94). Indeed, language maintenance or loss depend on a mix of factors that drives immigrants to use or reject their mother tongue and adopt the language of the host country. Therefore, the existence of ethnic social networks that support the immigrants' language maintenance is of vital importance.

Fall River and New Bedford

Several businesses in Fall River and New Bedford contribute to a Portuguese atmosphere such as *Portugalia Marketplace*, *Mello's Chouriço and Linguiça*, *Amaral's Central Market*, *Chaves Market*, *Seabra*, and *New Bedford Salchicharia*. Restaurants and bakeries that have also prospered in Fall River and New Bedford include, *Estoril*, *Caldeiras*, *Clipper*, *Academica*, *Cinderella*, *Sagres*, *Afonso's Bakery*, *Modern Pontes*, *Rose Bakery*, *Tony's Bakery*, *Cunha's Bakery*, *Cotali Mar*, and *Café Mimo* just to name a few. The sense of Portuguese customs and habits has been noticed by Almeida (2008, p. 358) who states,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> It was possible to eat in various Portuguese restaurants; buy from Portuguese bakeries, markets, furniture stores and automobile stands; every weekend it was possible to attend events in the Portuguese associations; mark your calendar with celebrations throughout the entire year, attend masses celebrated in Portuguese, in Portuguese churches; it was easy to participate in social organizations; attend concerts by Portuguese artists; see television and read Portuguese newspapers, from local to Lisbon or Azorean sources; attend soccer games of local Portuguese teams; consult a Portuguese doctor, go to stores, hospitals and government offices, including police, where it is possible to be served by employees who speak Portuguese. Island life was recreated with vitality, flexibility, enthusiasm, nostalgia, and cooperation. Thousands of volunteers dedicated hours to maintain Portuguese associations and help the church.[5]

Catholic churches have also been of vital importance in the lives of the northeastern Portuguese communities. Portuguese people have preserved their religious beliefs and are known to have built several Portuguese Catholic churches in New Bedford, Fall River and Providence since the second half of the nineteenth century. Catholic churches in these communities not only provide spiritual comfort to their members, but also play an important role in ethnic education. The *Igreja do Espírito Santo* was initially opened as a mission in 1904 and became a church in 1910; in this same year, the "First Portuguese Catholic grammar school in America" was inaugurated on the second floor of the building.[6] According to the school's current website, 70% of the students are bilingual and 90% are of Portuguese descent. Moreover, "children are instructed in the Portuguese language in order to help them function and serve the Portuguese-American community." According to Lasagabaster (2014), the use of the regional, co-official languages as means of instruction in multilingual contexts fosters positive attitudes towards these languages as he observed in Spain.

In the cities considered in this paper, education in the ethnic language is not only available at private schools but also in the public schools. B.M.C. Durfee High School in Fall River states on its website

> Language is our connector to the world and to our community. As the world becomes more interdependent, and as American citizenship means world citizenship, our students will need to communicate across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Five years of French, Spanish, and Portuguese are offered.
>
> In addition, there are also courses offered for heritage speakers in Portuguese and Spanish.[7]

---

5. Translation of the original text written in Portuguese.

6. Data available at <https://www.espiritosantoschool.org/history-mission-2/>

7. Data available at <https://resources.finalsite.net/images/v1537546195/fallriverschoolsorg/hjicouzcgly7rzp6irlu/2018-2019_Program_of_Studies_2-27-18.pdf>

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Also, New Bedford public high school offers four years of Spanish and Portuguese language courses. However, only Spanish offers advanced placement (AP) classes. Nevertheless, the school also has courses for heritage speakers in Portuguese and school calendars are also offered in the Portuguese language.[8]

Besides churches and schools, the Portuguese also remained connected through social media. Two newspapers, *The Portuguese Times* and *O Jornal* were published in order to disseminate Portuguese news, culture and events to the Portuguese communities. The Portuguese also established radio stations such as *Rádio Voz do Emigrante* 1400 amplitude modulation (AM) and WJFD 97.3, a Portuguese radio station that is transmitted from New Bedford in a frequency modulation broadcasting (FM). Moreover, *RTP,* the *International Portuguese Radio Television,* and *Channel 20* are two Portuguese television channels that are aired in New Bedford and Fall River. In addition to informing the community of current news, Portuguese mass media allows the Portuguese diaspora to maintain a spirit of solidarity, reinforcing ethnic identity and group membership.

Literature review

Although Portuguese speakers constitute the second largest linguistic minority group within the state of Massachusetts following Spanish, very few studies have been conducted on this particular group and none have focused on language attitudes.

The term attitude refers to "an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort" such as language (Garrett, 2010, p. 20); or in other words, it can be "briefly defined as a construct underlying the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others" (Cherciov, 2013, p. 717). Linguistic attitudes have been considered to be among the most influential in terms of first language loss, attrition and/or language maintenance. However, studies have found dissimilar results when studying linguistic loss and attrition. Some researchers could not find strong connections between attitude and L1 attrition (Yağmur, 1997), while others revealed that attitudes resulting from life events sturdily influenced attrition and loss (Schmid, 2002). Moreover, pragmatic vs. ideological motivation can generate attitudes that are linked to L1 maintenance or attrition (Ben-Rafael & Schmid, 2007. Nevertheless, Cherciov (2013) points out,

8. School calendars can be downloaded at: <http://www.newbedfordschools.org/parents___students/school_calendars__hours/2019_-_2020_school_calendars>

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> A closer examination of these studies yields a noteworthy pattern: those studies that relied on questionnaires (Hulsen, 2000; Yağmur, 1997) seemed to find no straight correlations between attitude and L1 performance, while the studies that used interviews (Ben-Rafael & Schmid, 2007; Schmid, 2002) established a clearer link between the two. (p. 717)

For that reason, Cherciov (2013) claims that a combination of methodological approaches in the study of language attrition is better suited to capture the nonlinearity of attitude and its impact on language attrition and loss.

Pascual y Cabo's (2015) study of Cuban-American attitudes toward the Spanish language, conducted in the Miami-Dade area, analyzes the attitudes of 41 Cuban-origin migrants of three different generations. The study reveals that despite the fact that the groups are homogenous, there are latent differences among them. Such differences are "a consequence of the materialization of prejudice and negative attitudes towards the newcomers" (2015, p. 373). The reduced communication between the groups "seems to point in the direction of a cultural shift towards mainstream American monoculturalism and consequently to a plausible language loss" (Pascual y Cabo, 2015, p. 400).

In a multivariate analysis exploring language attrition among German bilinguals in Canada and the Netherlands, Schmid and Dusseldorp (2010) found that

> While the predictor variables, measured through questionnaires and the Attitude and Motivation Test Battery, fall into several factor groups – such as identification and affiliation with the L1, attitude towards the L1, and exposure to the L1 – the predictive power of these factor groups plays no significant role for the outcome of the first language attrition process. (Cherciov, 2013, p. 719)

Similar conclusions were reached by Yağmur's (1997, 2004) study of language attrition and shift among Turkish bilinguals in Australia. Yağmur's research is based on the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) introduced by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), and its accompanying instrument, the Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire.

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) is a method by which sociocultural factors impacting the strength of minority languages within and across various contexts can be examined (Rubinstein-Avila, 2005). Linguistic vitality is dependent on factors such as demographics, status of the minority language within and outside the community, institutional support and a combination of control factors, such as English-only legislations (Barker et al., 2001). Measures of strengths

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and weaknesses in each of these areas allow us to classify ethnolinguistic groups as having low, medium, or high vitality. Low vitality groups are more susceptible to change and as a result assimilate linguistically and may not be considered a distinctive collective group (Bourhis et al., 1981). Conversely, high vitality groups are likely to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings. Studies done on the ethnolinguistic vitality of immigrant communities in a variety of contexts reveal that stable bilingualism is rare beyond the third generation (Garcia, 2003; Portes & Hao, 1998). Nevertheless, even when communities may hold oral maintenance of their ethnic language in high regard, print literacy in the minority language may not be viewed as particularly useful (Garcia, 2003). According to Rubinstein-Avila (2005), Tse's (2001) study of heritage language maintenance and literacy development among young adults in the U.S. from a variety of linguistic backgrounds reveals that native oral bilinguals do not necessarily develop print-literacy skills in their heritage language.

Recent studies on attitudes and language maintenance using the EVT, however, have documented the possible limitations of this framework (Yağmur, 2011; Yağmur & Ehala, 2011), given its inability to account for the actual dynamics in language maintenance. One of the most serious criticisms is that EVT only focuses on mainstream institutions while ethnic minority institutions are ignored, which results in underestimation of the actual vitality of ethnic groups (Yağmur, 2011). Nevertheless, despite these methodological and theoretical issues, "the notion of EVT has great heuristic value and it has been used as a reference point in several related fields" (Yağmur & Ehala, 2011, p. 106).

Social networks

Another framework that has been useful to analyze the relationship between attitudes and language maintenance is the social network theory. A social network can be defined as "informal relationships contracted by an individual" (Milroy, 1987, p. 78). Furthermore, it is an abstract concept introduced by Milroy (1987 [1980], p. 78) which refers to the person of a community that engages with other individuals within the same group and as a result creates a social connection. Hence, the group consists of a primary person who is considered the leader and has particular ties to different people from different domains of life.

Moreover, Milroy (2001, p. 5) explains that, "variation in the structure of different individuals' personal social networks will systematically affect both the vitality of the community language and the speech community's vulnerability to language shift." Following this line of research, Zentella (1994) shows that code-switching among Puerto Ricans living in New York is social-network related.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Given that in multilingual language-contact situations choice and use of language are determined by a multitude of factors (Stoessel, 2002), social networks of minority language speakers become relevant as they provide a safe linguistic environment where minority language users can practice their ethnic language. Research by Montes-Alcalá and Sweetnich (2014), suggests that positive attitudes towards one's own minority language as well as having supportive social networks help to provide ample opportunities for people to practice their ethnic language. Furthermore, these useful strategies can also serve to stop or prevent the process of a linguistic shift towards the majority language. This is seen in Velázquez's (2012) study of fifteen Mexican American families in El Paso, Texas. Velazquez uses a Social Network analysis and finds that Spanish transmission is highly influenced by the linguistic competence of the mother and her participation in networks where Spanish shares a sense of identity.

The cities of Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts, have a long history of Portuguese settlements that has allowed migrants to create an atmosphere that reproduces the life of the Azorean archipelago where immigrants are able to speak their native language, indulge in the Portuguese gastronomy, study, practice their faith, listen to the radio and socialize in Portuguese. Almeida (1987) uses the term, L(USA)land to refer to the visibility of the Portuguese diaspora. According to Almeida, Portuguese communities have recreated the Azores in their new home in the United States, particularly in the cities of Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts. Hence, social networks play an important role in the community and have an impact on its ethnolinguistic vitality "and therefore the likelihood to which the community will succumb to language shift" (Rubinstein-Avila, 2005, p. 878).

Hulsen, de Bot, and Weltens's study (2002) examines language maintenance and loss among Dutch migrants in New Zealand and concludes that those migrants with more language contacts in familial and friendship networks had a greater maintenance of the ethnic language than did those with fewer contacts in that sphere, concluding that "language use in these migrant networks relates to language shift and language processing" (2002, p. 28). In a study with ten isolated migrant women, Stoessel (2002, p. 124) concludes that a social network group is essential in language maintenance.

Social networks are, therefore, of particular relevance in studying language maintenance, and the social network analysis (SNA) serves as a tool to study "the social structure that individuals and entities construct through interaction" (Velázquez, 2012, p. 2).

The sections that follow are dedicated to the research questions, methodology, and discussion of the results of this study.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Methodology

Goals and hypotheses

The main goal of this study is to analyze the role of language attitudes and social networks of language use and language maintenance as currently portrayed by a group of twenty Portuguese men and women, including first and second-generation speakers, from the island of São Miguel, Azores.

The present study originated from previous studies (Ben-Rafael & Schmid, 2007; Cherciov, 2013; Crochran et al., 1990; Hulsen et al., 2002; Stoessel, 1998; Yağmur, 1997) regarding language attitudes and social networks. The attitudes and language usage of second-generation speakers of Portuguese are also examined to determine if they correspond with those of first-generation migrants regarding their social networks, and if otherwise, to what extent first and second-generation speakers of Portuguese differ from each other. Results of a weaker social network system would suggest assimilation to the mainstream society and would show signs of language shift. In relation to this, examining the correlation between linguistic attitudes and language use in the different domains of language use would also serve to evaluate what impact they have (if any) on language maintenance in regards to first and second-generation speakers of Portuguese.

Our hypotheses are the following:

A. *First and second-generation social networks*. If participants are able to speak Portuguese, and both groups show high proficiency in their use of the language we will corroborate which of the following is at the base of high proficiency in both groups:
   H_0: First and second-generation participants share the same social networks;
   H_1: First and second-generation participants do not share the same social networks
B. *Language attitudes*. Positive language attitudes are correlated with the use of the Portuguese language in different domains. Therefore, we assume the following:
   H_0: Positive linguistic attitudes towards one's language are related to the use of Portuguese within all social domains.
   H_1: Positive linguistic attitudes towards one's language are not related to the use of Portuguese within any social domain.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Procedure

The results we present here came from the analysis of data collected through the use of interviews, surveys and questionnaires from twenty participants, eleven first-generation Portuguese immigrants (five women and six men from the island of St. Michael) and nine second-generation Portuguese American speakers (five women and four men). They were recruited from the metropolitan areas of Fall River and New Bedford, in eastern Massachusetts via snowball sampling. Their age ranges between eighteen and eighty-two years old. The median for the second-generation participants was twenty years old and for the first-generation participants it was sixty-one. The coding and age of both first and second-generation speakers can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Codification and age of the participants in this study

First-generation participants				Second-generation participants			
Females		Males		Females		Males	
Code	Age	Code	Age	Code	Age	Code	Age
PF2	63	PM1	67	PF7	18	PM2	18
PF5	53	PM3	66	PF9	21	PM6	20
PF6	50	PM4	42	PF10	20	PM9	26
PF8	61	PM5	61	PF12	27	PM10	19
PF11	48	PM7	53	PF13	23	–	–
–	–	PM8	82	–	–	–	–

To be eligible for participation in this study, participants had to identify themselves as being of "Portuguese origin." Some researchers have pointed out the importance of ethnic support within a group as an essential factor for language maintenance (Conklin & Lourie, 1983; Giles et al., 1977; Stoessel, 2002). On the contrary, a lack of unity and encouragement from minority communities ultimately results in a shift toward the language of the majority group, which will supersede as a result of the pressure from the main society. Consequently, participants in this study answered a demographic survey which included information regarding how they establish their social networks and their use of the language. They were then prompted to fill an attitudinal questionnaire and, finally, a one-hour interview was conducted with each participant. To better understand the ties that bind participants to their social network each participant was asked his/her primary language of exchange in each particular domain he/she uses and what language he/she recalls using in the past.

Based on previous research (Crochran et al., 1990; Hulsen et al., 2002; Stoessel, 1998), three dimensions of migrants' social networks were analyzed: relational

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

characteristics, structural properties and location in space and time. Relational characteristics included questions regarding the nature of the relationship (family, friends, colleagues) and the intensity of the interaction (always, frequently, seldom, never). Based on this information, the network was divided into a primary network (most influential contacts) and a non-primary network. Structural properties took into account the size of the total network and the size of both primary and non-primary networks. Location in space and time referred to the geographical and temporal characteristics of the network (Hulsen et al., 2002), such as relatives in Portugal, trips to the Azores, etc.

The questions provided information from the participants and included the following: the language or languages that the participants currently speak at home, with friends, at work and outside the house. The language or languages that the participants spoke at home as a child, and among their friends. Their language preference when using an ATM machine, reading instructions to assemble something recently bought, or when seeking assistance was also important information to obtain. Furthermore, information regarding previous studies in Portuguese and trips taken to Portuguese speaking countries were also questions included in the survey. Each participant also specified when he or she learned English and Portuguese by indicating at birth, early childhood or during his/her adolescent or adult years.

The interview was followed by a questionnaire and a survey. The collection of oral data represented the spontaneous and natural speech of this Portuguese community and the observer's paradox was avoided for the interviewer was also a member of the community. Collected data allowed us to gather information regarding the use of language among friends at work, at school, at church and outside the home.[9] Furthermore, language choices and attitudes regarding the Portuguese and English languages, as well as knowledge of any other languages were also considered. Results discussed in this paper are limited and related to the attitudinal survey and the participants' social networks. Some excerpts from the interviews will be presented to exemplify the discussion when necessary.

9. Labov states "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation" (1972, p. 209). The purpose of linguistic research is to observe the linguistic phenomenon under scrutiny in order to maintain objectivity and avoid bias with data analysis.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Results and discussion

Social networks play an important role in an individual's linguistic and cultural socialization (Stoessel, 2002) as they may influence language maintenance and shift. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the kind of ties that bind participants of each generation to their social network and determine the strength of these ties. If both groups have similar behaviors, it is assumed that the social networks that have helped to maintain ethnic language use among first-generation immigrants will also provide second-generation Portuguese Americans an environment where they can practice and maintain their ethnic language.

To test whether the social network of both groups is equivalent or not, a one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was performed and generation was considered the single factor. Results presented in Table 3 show that the F critical value is smaller than the F value; hence, the hypothesis that social networks are equal in both groups must be rejected. The difference between the two generational groups is significant as *p* is smaller than 0.005.

Table 3. ANOVA analysis, comparison of social networks between generations

Social network comparison			
	1 Generation	**2 Generation**	
Family	4.6	3	
Friends	4.5	3	
Work	3.5	3	
Church	4	3	
School	3.5	3	
Std. deviation	0.52631	0	
df: 8 *p-level* 0.0025			
	F	*F crit*	ω^2
Variation between groups	18.77978	5.31766	0.64003

To control for type I errors (that is the incorrect rejection of a true hypothesis), a Tukey's post-hoc test was performed maintaining alpha at the .005 level. Results from this test are illustrated in Table 4 below and confirm that differentiation between both generations is significant.

Table 4. Tukey's Honest Significant Difference (HSD) test

Groups	**Difference**	**Test statistics**	**p-level**	**Significant**
1 Generation vs. 2 Generation	1.02	6.12859	0.00261	*Yes*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

From the results displayed above we must conclude that first and second-generation participants are not connected with social networks in the same way, and second-generation speakers seem to have a weaker bond with the community than their parents, as the mean for their social network is three, while the mean for the first generation is four. However, the question that arises is whether second-generation speakers are eventually prone to suffer language loss and cultural accommodation since they do not have social networks strongly tied to their ethnic community. Moreover, we must also inquire about the temporal characteristics of second-generation participants' social networks and ask how they perceive their social networks with respect to the past and whether this difference has a correlation with their current linguistic attitude and language use practices.

Second-generation Portuguese migrants

Social networks not only provide a safe environment for speakers to practice their language, but also require people to respond to them as individuals, reacting to the pressures of a social environment, and also interacting with it (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stoessel, 2002). Second-generation participants have all answered that language is important for them to express their identity, and have shown positive attitudes towards their minority language. Further analysis is needed to determine if their Portuguese social networks are weakened with respect to the past and if so, there is a need to scrutinize how and at what level. Table 5 shows a summary of the results in terms of the past and current use of Portuguese for each participant in different social settings.[10]

Results confirm, as many studies have stated, that there is disparity among second-generation speakers. However, and most importantly, Table 5 shows that the mean of all of the categories has increased in terms of the importance of language use with the exception of family. According to Stoessel (1998, 2002), people who frequently use their minority language in non-primary networks and have a strong connection with their home country show a high ratio of language maintenance and are, therefore, "strong maintainers" (Hulsen et al., 2002, p. 31). In our data, every social network domain among second-generation members shows an increasing number that coincides with the participants' willingness to practice their language.

Family is the only domain that shows a lower mean in the present times and is attributed to the following reasons: (a) some of the grandparents of the participants are deceased, and (b) some of the participants have partners who do not speak Portuguese.

10. The category family includes mother, father, grandparents, siblings, partner and children.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 5. Past and present Portuguese social networks in 2nd generation participants

Participants	Family		Friends		Church		Work		School	
	Past	Pres	Past	Pres	Past	Pres	Past	Pres	Past	Pres
PF7	3.5	3	2	3	4	4	–	–	2	3
PF9	4.6	3.7	3	4	2	1	–	4	3	–
PF10	3.2	2.3	1	1	1	3	–	1	1	3
PF12	4.8	4.4	4	4	4	4	–	4	4	–
PF13	4.8	4.3	4	4	4	4	–	4	4	4
PM2	3	2.1	1	2	3	3	–	3	1	3
PM6	2.8	2.4	1	1f	1	1	–	1	1	2
PM9	1.6	3	2	4	1	4	–	4	2	4
PM10	3	2.6	2	3	1	3	–	4	1	1
MEAN	**3.4**	**3.1**	**2.2**	**2.8**	**2.3**	**2.8**	–	**3**	**2.1**	**2.8**
SD	**1.07**	**0.91**	**1.2**	**1.35**	**1.41**	**1.24**	–	**1.41**	**1.26**	**1.16**
Variance	**1.15**	**0.84**	**1.44**	**1.83**	**2**	**1.55**	–	**2**	**1.61**	**1.36**

Second-generation participants also have a strong connection with the Portuguese culture and community as they participate in the social life of the city. They identify themselves as teachers, students, and businessmen who took over their parents' business; others are responsible to broadcast about their culture as this participant's excerpt shows:

> **I:** *Bem, tenho dois empregos. De manhã, faço rádio a minha responsabilidade é apresentar seis programas por semana e tenho, tenho que me dar ao trabalho de estar ao par das notícias porque eu faço alguns programas de música e outros programas são de, de* talk *por tanto faço uma abordagem de assuntos de atualidade, incorporo opiniões, isto na rádio porque não faço notícias.*
>
> I: Well, I have two jobs. In the morning, I do radio, my responsibility is to present six programs per week and I have, I have to dedicate myself to the job, to be aware of the news because I do some music programs, and other programs are talk shows therefore I do an overview of the current news, I incorporate opinions, this is a radio talk show because I don't broadcast news.

The second part of our hypothesis is related to possible correlations between language attitudes and social networks. Do positive linguistic attitudes towards the minority language correlate positively to all the social network domains in the same way? In order to investigate this part of our hypothesis, which assumes that positive attitudes towards one's own language are positively correlated to social network domains, Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated between language attitudes and each of the domains: family, friends, work, church and school. Table 6 shows the different correlations between the variables.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Table 6. Pearson's correlation coefficients between language attitudes and social networks

Participants	Attitudes to Portuguese	Family	Friends	Work	Church	School
PF7	4	3	3		4	3
PF10	4	3.7	4	4	1	
PF12	5	2.3	1	1	3	3
PF13	5	4.4	4	4	4	
PM9	5	4.3	4	4	4	4
PF9	4	2.1	2	3	3	3
PM10	4	2.4	1	1	1	2
PM6	4	3	4	4	4	4
PM2	4	2.6	3	4	3	1
Pearson correlation r α% 5		**0.505**	**0.065**	−0.076	**0.402**	**0.410**

Results presented in Table 6 show that not all social network domains correlate in the same way with the positive attitudes that participants declare toward their minority language. Following Evans's (1996) guide for the absolute value of r, we conclude that none of them show a strong correlation.[11] Family, church and school have moderate correlation; friends have very weak correlation while work has a negative correlation.

Family domain is indeed one of the most important environments for language maintenance as it provides the necessary interactions to learn the language and the culture of a minority group. Moreover, family can help foster positive attitudes towards language. These positive attitudes can lead to linguistic maintenance and can avoid attrition and shift toward the majority language as can be seen in the following example of a second-generation speaker of Portuguese.

> I: *A pregunta que me fazem com mais frequência mas uhh foi em casa, sempre falei português em casa, os meus avós foram um grande fator nesse sentido mas para além disso o gosto de falar e querer aperfeiçoar e aprender sempre, não é. Escrever, uhh, eu, eu gostava por exemplo eu gostava de pegar no jornal português e tentar ler o que estava ali ….quando eu era mais novinho e no conhecimento da língua e tentava a ler o que estava ali. A partir dali eu também, pus-me a escrever, pronto quase que me obriguei a aprender mas não contra à vontade …*
>
> I: It's the question that I'm asked quite often but uhh, it was at home, I always spoke Portuguese at home, my grandparents were a big influence in that respect but besides this, I liked to talk, and I wanted to perfect and learn always. To write,

11. According to Evans (1996) a range between .00 and .19 shows a very weak correlation; a range of .20 to .39 has a weak correlation; .40 to .59 is moderate; .60 to .70 is strong, and .80 to 1.00 is very strong.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> uhh, I, I used to like for example, I liked to take the Portuguese newspaper and try to read what was there…when I was younger and I had a better understanding of the language I would attempt to read what was there. From then on I also began to write, I pretty much forced myself to learn but not against my will….

When we take a closer look at the correlation between the family domain and linguistic attitudes we observe different correlation patterns with each family member.

Table 7. Pearson's correlation coefficients between language attitudes and family members

Attitudes toward Portuguese	Mother	Father	Both	Grandparents	Siblings	Relatives
Pearson correlation r α% 5	0	**0.628**	**0.492**	0.082	**0.755**	**0.585**

The data in Table 7 suggests different correlation patterns; however, these results are not exhaustive due to the limited data. Additionally, we must remember that correlation does not mean causation. A positive correlation between two variables *X* and *Y* means that the variable *Y* increases as *X* increases. The correlation coefficient is negative if *X* and *Y* tend to lie on opposite sides: as one increases the other decreases; and the stronger the tendency, the larger is the absolute value of the correlation coefficient. A value of *zero* or close to *zero* implies that there is no linear correlation between the variables.

While positive linguistic attitudes are important to encourage ethnic language use and foster linguistic socialization, the results of our data do not demonstrate any correlation between positive attitudes and relationship with the mothers and grandparents of the participants: they are independent of each other. Mothers and grandparents show almost absolute values since all of our participants claimed that they were very important in helping them to maintain their Portuguese language and rated them 5 out of 5. As the covariance between the variables is 0 or close to 0, the Pearson correlation coefficient – obtained by dividing the covariance by the product of their standard deviation – is also close to 0, evidencing the independence of both variables: positive language attitudes and use of Portuguese with mothers and grandparents.

Our analysis suggests the strongest correlation exits between language attitudes and fathers rather than mothers and grandparents. There is also a moderate correlation with both parents when they are both present in a conversation. Many studies have highlighted the influence that mothers have in language maintenance; and have suggested "the gendered nature of intergenerational transmission" of language (Velázquez, 2012, p. 199). Okita (2001) also found that the responsibility to encourage children's bilingualism fell upon mothers rather than fathers. While

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

our study does not contradict these findings (our results simply do not show any correlations between language attitudes and the importance of speaking Portuguese with mothers), our study does highlight the importance that fathers also have on the formation of positive linguistic attitudes that will ultimately benefit language maintenance. Moreover, as Kroskrity (2000) states, identity construction is complete through the use of both particular language choices as well as communicative practices. Our results also confirm that language practices at home when involving the ethnic language have a positive correlation in forming favorable linguistic attitudes toward the minority language.

This study also demonstrates that there is a positive correlation between favorable language attitudes and the use of Portuguese with relatives. According to Hulsen et al. (2002), relatives are an important factor that influences linguistic maintenance. Language practices and choosing Portuguese as the primary language to talk with siblings are also significant factors and show a strong correlation with positive language attitudes. Families who live in the home country allow immigrants the opportunity to frequently connect with the culture while simultaneously offering them the opportunity to speak with native speakers of their language.

Conclusions

The goal of this paper was to examine the relationship among language attitudes, social networks and language maintenance. A combination of questionnaires, the ethnolinguistic vitality method and the social network theory along with sociolinguistic interviews were used to determine speakers' attitudes and their impact on language maintenance. The study included first and second-generation speakers of Portuguese living in New England who have maintained their common traditions and language.

The results of our data show that both positive attitudes as well as supportive social networks have contributed to language maintenance and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Portuguese language among first and second-generation speakers. In the Portuguese diaspora of New England, it is seen that first-generation Portuguese speakers have reconstructed their sense of belonging by supporting traditions, Portuguese businesses, and building places of worship. Thus, in this effortless way, first-generation speakers convey the importance of language maintenance to those speakers of second-generation. As a result, Portuguese has been considered a high vitality language which means that speakers are capable of maintaining their language and culture in a multilingual setting.

An analysis of the data indicates that first and second-generation speakers have positive attitudes in regards to their minority language and claim to

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

be highly-proficient in Portuguese and as a result they were able to maintain a one-hour interview in Portuguese, regardless of their level of language proficiency. Moreover, the same social networks that have helped to maintain the ethnic language among first-generation immigrants are not the same for second-generation speakers, and therefore, the first null hypothesis that led this study must be rejected. First-generation speakers maintain strong bonds with the community differently than second-generation speakers. Despite this distinction, second-generation speakers of Portuguese have a high usage of Portuguese in almost all of the domains for education has permitted them to hold oral maintenance and print literacy in the minority language. Although first generation speakers have decreased in terms of language use in some domains, it slightly increased amongst second-generation speakers.

Regarding the second hypothesis of this research (positive linguistic attitudes towards one's language are related to the use of Portuguese within all social domains), the null hypothesis must also be rejected. While a positive correlation was observed between favorable language attitudes and the social domains of family, church and school, the correlation was weak within the domain of friends and a negative correlation was observed between language attitudes and work. Furthermore, when analyzing the strong correlation displayed between family and linguistic attitudes, we perceive different patterns among different family members.

Although the sample of the corpora under scrutiny is limited, we have observed that there is a correlation between positive attitudes towards one's own minority language and language use in some domains. Thus, we conclude that linguistic attitudes continue to be a key factor in preventing language loss and promoting ethnic pride, which will ultimately benefit language maintenance.

Despite the difficulties that this community experienced, their members were able to maintain their language, and all of the participants in this research recognized the importance of the Portuguese language as a key role in maintaining their identity.

References

Almeida, O. (1987). *L(USA)lândia- a Décima Ilha*. Secretária Regional dos Assuntos Sociais, Direcção de Serviços de Emigração: Angra do Heroísmo.

Almeida, O. (2008). Comunidades portuguesas nos Estados Unidos: Identidade, assimilação, aculturação. In M. Ferreira Lages & A. T. de Matos (Eds.), *Portugal: Percursos de interculturalidade* (pp. 339–422). Lisboa, Portugal: Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural.

Amaral, P. (1978). *They ploughed the seas: Profiles of Azorean master mariners*. St. Petersburg, FL: Valkyrie Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Anderson-Mejías, P., Mejías, H., & Carlson, R. (2002). Attitude toward Spanish language maintenance or shift (LMLS) in the lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas. *The International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 158, 121–140.

Anderson-Mejías, P., Mejías, H., & Carlson, R. (2003). Attitude update: Spanish on the South Texas Border. *Hispania*, 86(1), 138–150. https://doi.org/10.2307/20062822

Barker, V., Giles, H., Noels, K., Duck, J., Hecht, M., & Clément, R. (2001). The English only movement: A communication analysis of changing perceptions of language vitality. *Journal of Communication*, 51(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2001.tb02870.x

Ben-Rafael, M., & Schmid, M. (2007). Language attrition and ideology: Two groups of immigrants in Israel. In B. Köpke, M. Schmid, M. Keijzer, & S. Dostert (Eds.), *Language attrition: Theoretical perspectives* (pp. 205–226). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.33.14ben

Bourhis, R., Giles, H., & Rosenthal, D. (1981). Notes on the construction of a 'subjective vitality questionnaire' for ethnolinguistic groups. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 2(2), 145–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.1981.9994047

Carvalho, A. M. (2010). Portuguese in the USA. In K. Potowski (Ed.), *Language diversity in the USA* (pp. 223–237). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511779855.015

Cherciov, M. (2013). Investigating the impact of attitude on first language attrition and second language acquisition from a Dynamic Systems Theory perspective. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 17(6), 716–733. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006912454622

Conklin, N., & Lourie, M. (1983). *A host of tongues: Language communities in the United States*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Crochran, M., Larner, M., Riley, D., Gunnarson, L., & Henderson, Jr., C. R. (Eds.). (1990). *Extending families: The social networks of parents and children*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Sá, G. M., Pacheco, S., & Farrar, J. (2011). Preserving and promoting ethnic heritage, identity and representation in the U.S.: The Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese-American Archives. In *World Library and Information Congress: 77th IFLA General Conference and Assembly*. Retrieved from <http://www.ifla.org/past-wlic/2011/107-sa-en.pdf> (23 October, 2019).

Dion, M. (2003, Feb. 26). Portuguese a great force in Fall River. *The Herald News*. Retrieved from <https://www.sailsinc.org/durfee/portugueseagreat.pdf> (23 October, 2019).

Espirito Santo School. (n.d.). Espirito Santo history. Retrieved from <https://www.espiritosantoschool.org/history-mission-2/> (23 October, 2019).

Evans, J. D. (1996). *Straightforward statistics for the behavioral sciences*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.

Garcia, M. (2003). Recent research on language maintenance. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23, 22–43. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190503000175

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511844713

Giles, H., Bourhis, R., & Taylor, D. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations* (pp. 307–348). London: Academic Press.

González Martínez, J. (2008). Metodología para el estudio de las actitudes lingüísticas. In I. Olza Moreno, M. Casado Velarde, & R. González Ruiz (Eds.), *Actas del XXXVII simposio internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística (SEL)*. Pamplona: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Hulsen, M. (2000). Language loss and language processing. Three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305397435_Language_shift_language_loss_and_language_processing_An_investigation_of_three_generations_of_Dutch_immigrants_in_New_Zealand> (23 October, 2019).

Hulsen, M., Kees de Bot, & Weltens, B. (2002). Between two worlds: Social networks, language shift, and language processing in three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 153, 27–52.

Kroskrity, P. (2000). Identity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1–2), 111–114.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Lasagabaster, D. (2014). El español y las lenguas cooficiales en el estado español: Actitudes lingüísticas en un contexto multilingüe. In T. Bugel (Ed.), *Nuevos estudios sobre actitudes lingüísticas RILI, XII*, No. 1(23), 25–40.

McCall, G. & Simmons, J. (1978). *Identities and interaction. An examination of human association in everyday life*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Milroy, L. (1987 [1980]). *Language and social networks* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L. (2001). Bridging the micro-macro gap: Social change, social networks and bilingual repertoires. In J. Klatter-Folmer & P. van Avermaet (Eds.), *Theories on maintenance and loss of minority languages: Towards a more integrated explanatory framework* (pp. 39–64). Muenster: Waxmann.

Mira, M. (1998). *The forgotten Portuguese*. Franklin, NC: The Portuguese-American Historical Research Foundation.

Montes-Alcalá, C., & Sweetnich, L. (2014). Español en el sureste de EE. UU.: El papel de las actitudes lingüísticas en el mantenimiento o pérdida de la lengua. In T. Bugel (Ed.), *Nuevos estudios sobre actitudes lingüísticas RILI*, XII, No. 1(23), 77–92.

Okita, T. (2001). *Invisible work: Bilingualism, language choices and childrearing in intermarried families*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pascual y Cabo, D. (2015). Language attitudes and linguistic Identities in Miami. In S. Sessarego & M. González Rivera (Eds.), *New perspectives on Hispanic contact linguistics in the Americas* (pp. 373–404). Madrid/Franfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Portes, A., & Hao, L. (1998). E pluribus unum. Bilingualism and loss of language in the second generation. *Sociology of Education*, 71(4), 269–94. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673171

Preston, D. (1999). A language attitude approach to the perception of regional variety. In D. Preston (Ed.), *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. 1, pp. 359–373). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.hpd1.30pre

Ribeiro, J. (1982). *Portuguese immigrants and education*. Bristol, RI: Portuguese-American Federation.

Rubinstein-Avila, E. (2005). Brazilian Portuguese in Massachusetts's linguistic landscape: A prevalent yet understudied phenomenon. *Hispania* 88(4), 873–880. https://doi.org/10.2307/20063216

Schmid, M. (2002). *First language attrition, use and maintenance: The case of German Jews in Anglophone countries*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.24

Schmid, M., & Dusseldorp, E. (2010). Quantitative analyses in a multivariate study of language attrition: The impact of extralinguistic factors. *Second Language Research*, 26(1), 125–160. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267658309337641

Silva, John , Jr. (1969). *Azoreans in America and Americans in the Azores*. Bristol, RI: Portuguese-American Federation.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Stoessel, S. (1998). The investigation of social networks as a factor in language maintenance and shift (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Boston University.

Stoessel, S. (2002). Investigation the role of social networks in language maintenance and shift. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 153, 93–131.

Tse, L. (2001). Resisting and reversing language shift: Heritage-language resilience among U.S. native biliterates. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71, 676–708. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.71.4.ku752mj536413336

Velázquez, I. (2012). Mother's social network and family language maintenance. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34(2), 189–202. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.720984

Vermette, M. (1998). Azoreans in American whaling. In M. McCabe & J. Thomas (Eds.), *Portuguese spinner. An American story: Stories of history, culture and life from Portuguese Americans in Southeastern New England* (pp. 216–221). New Bedford, MA: Spinner.

Williams, J. (1982). *And yet they come. Portuguese immigration from the Azores to the United States*. New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies.

Williams, J. (2005). *In pursuit of their dreams: A history of Azorean immigration to the United States*. Dartmouth, MA: UMASS Dartmouth Center for Portuguese Study and Culture.

Winford, D. (2003). *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Yağmur, K. (1997). *First language attrition among Turkish speakers in Sydney*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.

Yağmur, K. (2004). Language maintenance patterns of Turkish immigrant communities in Australia and Western Europe: The impact of majority attitudes on ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 165, 121–142.

Yağmur, K. (2011). Does ethnolinguistic vitality theory account for the actual vitality of ethnic groups? A critical evaluation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(2), 111–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2010.541914

Yağmur, K., & Martin Ehala, M. (2011). Tradition and innovation in the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(2), 101–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2010.541913

Zentella, A. (1994). *Growing up bilingual. Puerto Rican children in New York*. New York: Blackwell.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Spanish-speaking immigrants in Indiana

A quantitative exploration of their attitudes towards Spanish

Mara Barbosa
Texas A&M University Corpus Christi

This study investigated the language attitudes of Spanish-speaking immigrants in Indiana. One hundred participants completed sociodemographic and language attitudes questionnaires. The results from the questionnaires were statistically analyzed to establish the participants' attitudes towards each of the four analyzed components (Spanish in general, Spanish in the U.S., Spanish language maintenance, and Spanish/English bilingualism) and the relationships between participants' attitudes and sociodemographic factors. The analysis revealed positive attitudes towards Spanish in general (M = 4.41, SD = 0.5) and Spanish in the U.S. (M = 4.05, SD = 0.84) and moderately positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance (M = 3.64, SD = 1.08) and Spanish/English bilingualism (M = 3.67, SD = 0.9). The data also indicated that education is a powerful predictor of positive attitudes towards three of the four language attitude components among this population.

Keywords: attitudes, Spanish in the U.S., education, maintenance, bilingualism

Introduction

All languages are created equal and there is nothing in a language that makes it superior or inferior to other languages (Bagno, 1999; Bauer & Trudgill, 1998). However, certain languages are often preferred over others in certain environments and situations (Abondiga, 2014; Aceves, Abeyta, & Feldman, 2012; Achugar & Oteíza, 2009; Billings, 2005; Bugel, 2009, 2012). People may even be punished for using certain languages (Aceves, et al., 2012). Language attitudes, the evaluative reactions that associate particular language varieties with particular values, can cause one language to be seen as better or more appropriate than another language (Woolard, 1989). These evaluative reactions are learned practices that guide how we see language varieties and their users (Bourdieu, 1984). The present study is part of a larger

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.10bar
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

project that investigated language attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. among Spanish-speaking immigrants in Indiana. In this paper, quantitative data regarding the language attitudes of the Spanish-speaking immigrants towards (1) Spanish in general, (2) Spanish in the United States, (3) Spanish language maintenance, and (4) Spanish/English bilingualism were given emphasis. The data revealed that education is a powerful predictor of attitudes towards three of the four attitude components analyzed here: (2) Spanish in the United States, (3) Spanish language maintenance, and (4) Spanish/English bilingualism. However, no uniformity was found in the direction of the influence over each of the components. While higher levels of formal education were linked to more positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance and Spanish/English bilingualism, lower levels of education were linked to more positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S.

The United States is an interesting environment for the study of language attitudes due to the presence and interaction of English with different languages, especially Spanish. Spanish is the most widely spoken minority language in the U.S., with more than 37 million speakers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). A country like the U.S., where English-only ideologies are present daily in the media and other social spheres and are competing with multilingual ideologies (Achugar & Oteíza, 2009; Pavlenko, 2002, 2003), is a good laboratory to investigate whether minority language speakers develop negative or positive language attitudes in face of those ideologies. These attitudes are influenced by the ideologies to which speakers are exposed in their environments (Happer & Philo, 2013). However, speakers may either accept or resist the ideologies to which they are exposed (van Dijk, 2005). Research like the present study informs the field about how language attitudes towards a minority language may vary in an environment with conflicting language ideologies.

It is important to investigate language attitudes because they influence how interlocutors receive and judge a message (Krauss & Chiu, 1998). They also influence behavior to some extent, as speakers who hold negative attitudes towards a language are less likely to use it and pass it along to the following generations (Rivera-Mills, 2000). Moreover, being conscious of negative language attitudes is necessary for one to promote their change (Abondiga, 2014). Language attitudes have a larger role in accounting for language variation than traditional linguistics previously predicted (Kristiansen, Garret, & Coupland, 2005). Positive and negative attitudes towards a language have the power to influence not only which words and language structures are used or abandoned, but also which languages are kept or abandoned in a community.

Another motivating factor in the study of language attitudes is that the attitudes connected to diverse ways of speaking help us understand not only language itself, but also the evaluative, moral, and political priorities that together define the fabric of social life (Woolard, 1998). This is the case since, according to Abongdia and

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Willans (2013), ideologies about language are not only about language, but also about identity, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology. Even more relevant to minority language speakers, a speaker's identity is closely tied to his/her language(s). A negative image of the language may result in a negative view of the speaker, causing major implications for the speaker's personal identity (Aceves, et al., 2012). As language is such a large part of a speaker's identity, speakers who are constantly discriminated against because of the way they speak may have their self-esteem affected by how their language is seen in the community.

Language attitudes components

According to Baker (1992), "[l]anguage attitude is an umbrella term, under which resides a variety of specific attitudes". Those specific attitudes include, for example, attitudes towards learning a language, attitudes towards language maintenance, and attitudes towards language groups, communities, and minorities. The most commonly investigated types of attitudes, or attitudes components, are: (1) attitudes towards the language in general, (2) attitudes towards the language in the U.S., (3) attitudes towards language maintenance in the U.S., and (4) attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism. This study is unique in uniting these components since, although these are the most studied components of language attitudes, they have never been studied jointly before.

The first component encompasses speakers' attitudes towards Spanish in general (e.g., how it sounds, how they feel about speaking it, the importance of the language). These are those language attitudes that neither regard the language in a specific environment or geographical region nor analyze any one specific aspect of the language (e.g., language maintenance). Research has shown that Spanish speakers generally express very positive attitudes towards the language in the geographical areas where attitudes have been studied, such as in Texas (Achugar & Pessoa, 2009; Galindo, 1995), Arizona (Aceves et al., 2012; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005), and California (Rivera-Mills, 2000). Attitudes towards Spanish have also been studied outside of the United States, but in geographical areas where it is either the most spoken language of the region (Bugel, 2012; Canalis & Gassio, 1995; Lopez-Rodriguez, Navas, Cuadrado, Coutant, & Worchel, 2014; Newman, 2011) or the most prestigious language in a border region (Bullock & Toríbio, 2014), which is not the case in the present study.

The second component, attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S., is geographically situated and is different from attitudes towards the Spanish language in general. This component addresses how Spanish speakers feel about their language in the context of a country where Spanish is not the most spoken language and whether Spanish speakers think it is important to speak Spanish in this context at

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

all. Attitudes towards different Spanish language varieties were not included in the study since the focus was Spanish-speaking immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish as a minority language in the U.S. It is possible for a speaker to have very positive attitudes towards Spanish, think that the language sounds beautiful, and feel comfortable about using it in his/her country of origin, but, at the same time, not feel comfortable using it in the U.S. or believe that only English should be spoken in the U.S. Therefore, since context influences attitudes towards Spanish, attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. have generally been addressed separately from more overarching attitudes towards Spanish in previous research.

Speakers may also hold positive attitudes towards Spanish, but think that there is no room for it as an official language or as a language to discuss official issues. That is the case of the small isolated community of Fortuna, California. Rivera-Mills (2000) analyzed the social and attitudinal varieties that contributed to and are associated with the Spanish language maintenance and shift in the Hispanic community of Fortuna. It was found that, although the Spanish-speaking group in the community expressed very positive attitudes towards the language, 50% of the interviewees defended that English should be the official language of the U.S. Similarly, when comparing the attitudes of college student learners of Spanish in Miami, Florida and Minneapolis, Minnesota, Lynch and Klee (2005) found that both those with Anglo heritage and those with Hispanic heritage believed that only English should be used in the U.S. for public issues, including those related to government.

As seen in this discussion about attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S., it is important to look at these attitudes specifically because they may vary from the attitudes in general that speakers hold towards the language. Although some speakers present positive attitudes towards the language in general, these same speakers may have negative or less than positive attitudes towards the language when it holds minority status (Galindo, 1995; Lynch & Klee, 2005; Rivera-Mills, 2000).

Since language attitudes may influence language use and even lead to language shift (Rivera-Mills, 2000), studies have investigated the third component mentioned, Spanish speakers' attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance, in different contexts and among different groups in the U.S. In a region geographically close to the one investigated in the present study, La Villita in Chicago, IL, Velazquez (2008) investigated the impact of attitudes, motivation, and linguistic practices in intergenerational Spanish language transmission. The author found that mothers whose attitudes towards language maintenance were linked to their children's identity and who saw Spanish as an important instrument to access future economic opportunities were the ones who provided their children with more opportunities for oral and written language development.

Spanish can also be a symbol of social isolation, or a reason to be subject to prejudice (Aceves et al., 2012; Galindo, 1995). In both cases, people who have been

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

victims of prejudice claimed they did not want to pass the language along to the next generation to prevent their children from undergoing the same prejudice of which they had been targets. Galindo (1995) investigated attitudes towards Spanish maintenance in two areas, East Austin and Montopolis, Texas. She interviewed 30 adolescents and their parents and reported that the group was "cognizant of the negative perceptions many outsiders (primarily Anglos) had of their [Mexican] neighbors" (p. 96). Most of the participants showed positive attitudes towards Spanish. Ninety-three percent of the participants said they wanted to pass the language on to their children for reasons including communicating with grandparents, maintaining the heritage culture, and being more marketable for jobs. However, some parents claimed to not want to pass the language along to their children because they had been victims of prejudice for speaking it and did not want their children to have the same experiences.

In a study with similar results to that of Galindo (1995), Aceves et al. (2012) found that some Spanish speakers in the South Valley of Albuquerque, New Mexico did not want to pass the language along to their children. Eighteen percent of the participants presented negative attitudes towards Spanish. This percentage of participants tended to highlight the prejudice they had experienced from people who did not understand or respect the language and culture. The participants who reported feeling ashamed and being punished for speaking Spanish at school were the ones who did not want to pass the language along.

Rivera-Mils (2000) also analyzed attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance in Fortuna, CA. The author considered such a component to be relevant for the study of language attitudes because it may be associated with the Spanish language shift taking place in the Hispanic community. In interviews with the researcher, participants demonstrated favorable attitudes towards maintaining Spanish, but some of them believed English to be the language that would give their children the best opportunities. According to the author, attitudes towards Spanish in the community were positive, but not positive enough to promote actions in support of language maintenance.

Positive attitudes towards language maintenance have also been found in some communities of Texas. In El Paso, a corpus composed of articles from different print media was analyzed in an attempt to explain how competing language ideologies are constructed and negotiated through lexico-grammatical and discursive choices (Achugar & Oteiza, 2009). The data showed how printed media reproduces the dominant monolingual English-only ideology at the same time that it gives room to multilingual language ideologies. Special attention was given in the media to the issue of the loss of languages in the community. There was concern from certain Spanish-speaking parents in the community who were afraid that their children would not be able to speak Spanish because they were increasingly using

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

English. As research has shown that attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance vary in different states, the present study investigates whether the same applies to Spanish-speaking groups in Indiana in the United States. In this state, this attitude component has not been investigated before. Moreover, the increasing presence of bilingualism in the area presents us with a novel and interesting context for research.

There are more than 282,000 Spanish speakers in Indiana, which represent 4.6% of the population. According to the U.S. Census (2015), almost half of that group (120,062 people) speaks English less than "very well". This means that there is a large group in the state for whom Spanish is the language with which they are more comfortable. Because of the presence of Spanish speakers in the state, it is important to investigate attitudes towards the language. Moreover, it is important to investigate attitudes towards Spanish because language is closely related to identity and a negative view of the language may reflect an equally negative view of its speakers (Aceves, Abeyta, & Feldman, 2012).

Although monolingualism is far from being the norm, the consolidation of modern European national states has succeeded in spreading the idea that a monolingual state is natural and that monolingual societies are superior to bilingual and multilingual ones (Porcel, 2011). For Spanish speakers in the U.S., monolingualism is definitely not the norm. Historically, immigrant groups, including Hispanic groups, were expected to accommodate to the U.S. cultural norms (Camarillo & Bonilla, 2001), including by assimilating to the language. It generally takes three generations for the Spanish language to be erased from an immigrant family (Hasson, 2005; Porcel, 2011; Suarez, 2007).

When studying Spanish speakers' attitudes towards Spanish in the context of the U.S., we must include attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism, the fourth investigated component, because it represents a natural outcome of immigration among this group of speakers in the country. Bilingualism is a reality in the U.S. According to the U.S. Department of Education and the National Center for Education Statistics, 9.4% of the students enrolled in public schools in the United States are English Language Learners (ELLs), and 7.6% of the students enrolled in public schools speak Spanish at home. The numbers are not as high for Indiana, but Spanish-speaking students enrolled in public education still constitute a sizable group in the state. As much as 5.6% of the students enrolled in public schools in Indiana are ELLs, and 4.4% of the students enrolled in public schools in the state speak Spanish at home. Attitudes towards bilingualism are an important variable because they inform the field about whether Spanish speakers in the U.S. believe that one can easily be bilingual and whether they believe that Spanish speakers in the U.S. must abandon their language to adopt English or deny the language of the new home country to be loyal to their heritage language.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Positive attitudes towards bilingualism are present when the speaker believes that the two languages can coexist without presenting a threat to each other. As Baker (1992, p. 78) explained, "rather than the image of a balance, the picture suggested is of building together. Addition rather than subtraction. Multiplication rather than division". The positive view of bilingualism could be represented by a statement like "Everybody in the U.S. should speak both English and Spanish." The negative view could be expressed in a statement such as, "Children get confused when learning English and Spanish" (Baker, 1992, p. 178).

Language attitudes and sociodemographic factors

Previous studies have shown that several factors may play a role in language attitudes, such as gender, age, social class, skin color, and experience as a speaker of the minority language. Gender has shown to influence language attitudes in different contexts. In an experiment in Denmark in which the relationship between speakers' attitudes towards urban and rural language varieties and sociolinguistic behavior was studied, it was found that male speakers used more vernacular varieties and held more positive attitudes towards those varieties (Ladergaard, 2000). In Israel, Kraemer and Birenbaum (1993), investigated the attitudes of ninth-grade Jewish and Arab students towards Hebrew, Arabic, and English and also found gender to play a role. In this study, female students evaluated English more positively than male participants independently of their ethnicity. Dornyei and Csizer (2002) reported that, in Hungary, whereas male students demonstrated greater preference for German, female students expressed more positive attitudes towards French and Italian. Finally, in East Austin and Montopolis, Texas, in the U.S., Spanish-speaking women showed more positive attitudes towards Spanish than men in the same group (Galindo, 1995). In summary, gender has been shown to play a role in language attitudes in different contexts, but it is still to be determined if gender plays a role in Spanish-speaking immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S.

Language attitudes have also been shown to vary according to the age of the speakers. In Nigeria, where English is the official language but not the most spoken one, Ihemere (2006) investigated speakers' attitudes towards English and Ikwerre, a language spoken by the Ikwerre people. Participants were asked to classify speakers based on their oral discourse only and then complete a short language attitudes questionnaire. Results showed that older speakers preferred hearing and speaking Ikwerre, whereas young people preferred English.

In addition to the factors that have been revealed to play a role in language attitudes, length of stay in the U.S. and education have also been somewhat investigated as factors influencing language attitudes. We can expect length of stay to play a role in language attitudes since the longer Spanish speakers stay in the U.S., the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

more experience they have as Spanish speakers in this context, and, as discussed earlier, experience plays a role in such attitudes. Regarding education, more positive attitudes were found among Spanish instructors, who have received linguistics training, than among other groups of speakers with no training in linguistics (Bugel, 2007). Similarly, other studies have also found more positive attitudes towards other elements representing diversity and social inclusion among participants with higher levels of formal education (Farley, Steech, Krysan, Jackson, & Reeves, 1994; Federico, 2004; Phelan, Stueve, Link, & Moore, 1995). It would not be a surprise if education also played a role in attitudes towards Spanish as a minority language in the U.S. since it has been shown to play a role in developing more tolerant attitudes towards commitment to democratic norms of equality and tolerance of racial out-groups.

Investigating language attitudes is not a simple task. There are several components into which language attitudes are divided. Additionally, several factors may influence language attitudes, which further complicates the matter. The field of language attitudes has included studies in different states, but no studies in small cities in the Midwest. Few other studies have considered Spanish speakers' language attitudes in areas with a low but increasing density of Spanish speakers, like in Indiana, where the Spanish-speaking population in the state grew from 4.1 to 4.6 from 2009 to 2015. The present study investigated Spanish speakers' attitudes towards Spanish, as well as the interactions among those components and sociodemographic factors. The present study is especially interested in filling gaps that remain in the field, such as the attitudes of Spanish speakers towards Spanish in places with a low but increasing presence of Spanish and the possible effect of sociodemographic factors on language attitudes.

Methods

This study aimed at investigating Spanish-speaking immigrants' language attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. through data from a sociodemographic questionnaire and a language attitude questionnaire. The study attempted to answer two research questions related to Spanish-speaking immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S.:

1. Do Spanish-speaking immigrants in Indiana carry positive or negative attitudes towards Spanish in regards to: (1) Spanish in general, (2) Spanish in the U.S., (3) Spanish language maintenance in the U.S., and (4) Spanish/English bilingualism?
2. Which factors influence language attitudes towards Spanish (sex, age, educational level, and length of stay in the U.S.)?

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Participants

One hundred first-generation Spanish-speaking immigrants living in the Lafayette, Indiana area of the Unites States participated in this study. Generation was an exclusion criterion in this study because first-generation Spanish-speaking immigrants are more likely to use the language and are expected to have experience as Spanish speakers in the new country. Fifty-eight of the participants were women and 42 were men. The age of the participants varied from 18 to 62 years old with a mean of 36.4 years old (*SD* = 10.9). The participants' educational level ranged from no formal education to PhD level. Of the 100 participants, three declared having no formal education. Six participants had completed some elementary education while 15 had finished elementary education. Twenty-nine participants had completed high school, and 13 had some college education. Another 13 had graduated from college. Fifteen had completed master's degrees or were in the process of completing a master's degree. Six participants had completed or were in the process of completing a PhD. The participants' time in the U.S. ranged from 0.4 to 34 years, with a mean of 11.59 years (*SD* = 7.8).

The participants were all native speakers from 16 different Spanish-speaking countries: Argentina (2), Chile (1), Colombia (13), Costa Rica (1), Ecuador (2), El Salvador (7), Spain (1), Guatemala (2), Honduras (2), Mexico (61), Nicaragua (1), Panama (1), Peru (1), Puerto Rico (3), Uruguay (1), and Venezuela (1). When recruiting participants for the present study, there were no restrictions in terms of the participants' nationality, age, length of stay in the U.S., occupation, level of formal education, or English proficiency. This method resulted in a diverse group regarding each of these factors. The reasoning for not restricting participation in the present study according to those factors was the goal of having a sample of participants that would represent the diverse Spanish-speaking immigrant population in the target communities.

Materials

This study was part of a larger project in which participants completed three tasks: a sociodemographic questionnaire, a language attitudes questionnaire, and an interview guide. Only the results for the sociodemographic and the language attitudes questionnaires are analyzed in this chapter. The purpose of the sociodemographic questionnaire was to elicit information about different aspects of the participants' sociodemographic information. Specifically, the questionnaire asked about the participants' gender, age, education, length of residence in the U.S., self-reported English language proficiency, nationality, occupation, and perceptions of prejudice

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in the U.S. The questionnaire was adapted from the Bilingual Language Profile (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012).

The language attitudes questionnaire elicited participants' attitudes towards each of the four language attitude components developed from the operational definition of language attitudes towards Spanish adopted in this study. According to that operational definition, attitudes towards Spanish are the social evaluations of (1) the Spanish language in general, (2) the Spanish language in the U.S., (3) the maintenance of Spanish in the U.S., and (4) Spanish/English bilingualism. The questionnaire was initially composed of 31 items in which the participants' attitudes towards the four different language attitudes components were elicited. For each question, participants were given a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning 'strongly agree', 2 – 'agree', 3 – 'neither agree nor disagree', 4 – 'disagree', and 5 – 'strongly disagree'. Items were also divided into positively and negatively keyed items. Several items in the language attitudes questionnaire were adapted from Gardner (1985), Gardner, Tremblay and Masgoret (1997), and Jang (2012). The other items were created specifically for this study and its unique participant population.

The questionnaire was validated using Principal Components Analysis (PCA) in the SAS software. The key concept of factor analysis is that multiple observed variables represented in the questionnaire items (e.g., attitudes towards the use of Spanish in public places, attitudes towards teaching Spanish in middle school) have similar patterns of responses because they are all associated with a latent or covert variable. The results of the factor analysis indicated which of the observed variables align to form one latent variable. In the present study, some questions had to be excluded because, according to the PCA results, they did not align with the tested components. Each answer to the items kept was multiplied by the weighted value that those items were found to have in the PCA. This step led to a more accurate idea of the participants' attitudes since the analysis showed that each item contributed in a different way, thus having a different weight in the model. After this procedure, each of the participants' scores was represented on a scale from 1 to 5 for ease of interpreting and for comparing the scores among the components.

Results

This section is organized around the two research questions. Each of the next two subsections will present analyses corresponding to one of the research questions.

> *Do Spanish-speaking immigrants in Indiana carry positive or negative attitudes towards Spanish in regards to (1) Spanish in general, (2) Spanish in the U.S., (3) Spanish maintenance in the U.S., and (4) Spanish/English bilingualism?*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Overall, the participants displayed positive attitudes towards Spanish. The average attitude ratings for each of the four factors are presented in Figure 1.

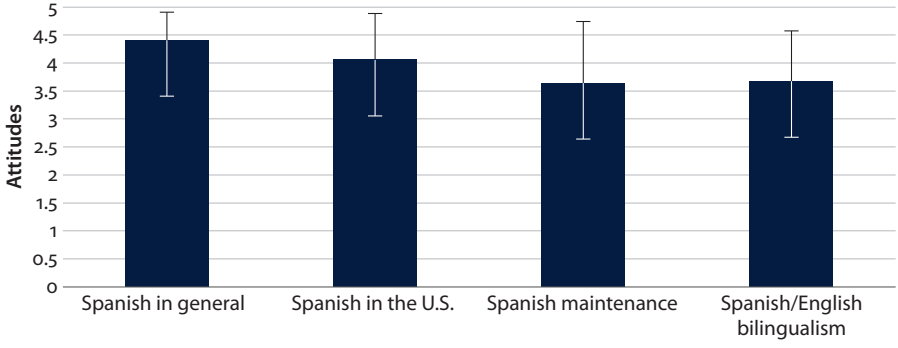


Figure 1. Spanish-speaking immigrants' attitudes towards each factor

As shown in Figure 1, the participants' attitudes towards Spanish in general averaged 4.41 (*SD* = 0.50). This shows that the participants' attitudes towards their first language when not connected to a particular context were very positive. Their attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. had a mean of 4.05 (*SD* = 0.84). The component to which the lowest ratings were associated was Spanish language maintenance, which averaged 3.64 (*SD* = 1.08), meaning the participants did not strongly believe that keeping the language alive in the U.S. was important. For the last component measured, Spanish/English bilingualism, the mean was 3.67 (*SD* = 0.9), which is also considerably low on the five-point scale.

How do language attitudes towards Spanish vary according to sociodemographic factors (gender, age, length of stay in the U.S., and educational level)?

Gender

ANOVA tests did not reveal an effect of gender on Spanish-speaking immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish. In the ANOVA test, gender did not significantly influence either participants' attitudes towards Spanish in general ($F(1, 98) = 1.72$, $p = 0.19$) or participants' attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. ($F(1, 98) = 0.40$, $p = 0.53$). Attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance ($F(1, 98) = 0.12$, $p = 0.73$) and attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism ($F(1, 98) = 0.20$, $p = 0.66$) also were not shown to be influenced by gender.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Age

No apparent age effect was found in the data either. As is traditionally done in social science research, participants were divided into age groups: Group (1) with participants from 15 to 24 years old, Group (2) with participants from 25 to 44 years old, Group (3) with participants from 45 to 64 years old, and Group (4) with participants 65 years old and older. In the ANOVA test, age did not play a significant role ($F(1, 97) = 0.212$, $p = 0.65$) in component 1, which represented the participants' attitudes towards Spanish in general, component 2, attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S., ($F(1, 97) = 0.97$), $p = 0.33$), component 3, attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance ($F(1, 97) = 0.01$, $p = 0.92$) or component 4, attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism ($F(1, 97) = 1.13$, $p = 0.29$).

Length of stay in the U.S.

Length of stay in the U.S. was another factor that did not exhibit a significant effect on any of the four attitudes components studied. Participants were divided into three groups according to their length of stay in the country: Group (1) with participants who had lived in the country for less than 5 years, Group (2) with participants who had lived in the country from 5 to 10 years, and Group (3) with participants who had lived in the country for more than 10 years. In the ANOVA test, length of stay did not exhibit a significant role ($F(1, 95) = 1.87$, $p = 0.18$) in component 1, which represented the participants' attitudes towards Spanish in general. Length of stay did not play a significant role in component 2, attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S., according to the ANOVA test ($F(1, 95) = 0.7$), $p = 0.80$) either. Attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance ($F(1, 95) = 0.37$, $p = 0.54$) and attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism ($F(1, 95) = 0.05$, $p = 0.82$) also did not reveal to be affected by length of stay.

Education

ANOVA tests found that education is a powerful predictor of positive attitudes towards three of the four language attitudes components. For these ANOVA tests, participants were divided into three groups. Group A ($N = 25$) was composed of participants who had no formal education, those who had some elementary education, some middle school education, and those who had completed middle school. Group B ($N = 28$) was composed of participants with some high school education and participants who had completed high school studies. Group C ($N = 47$) included participants with some years of college, those who had graduated from college, and those with graduate degrees. This group division was motivated by

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

two facts: (1) there were not enough participants per group to justify having as many groups as there were levels of formal education, and (2) research has shown that is high school education, not college education, that has an effect on attitudes (Makowski & Miller, 2014).

The relationship between education and language attitudes has been the focus of a limited number of investigations. In the field of language attitudes, Bugel (2007) found that Spanish instructors who have received linguistic training in Brazil are more tolerant of different Spanish varieties. Similarly, studies in other fields have found education to be correlated with higher intergroup tolerance (Federico, 2004; Wodtke, 2012) and to increase democratic awareness (Campbell, 2006). In other words, more formally educated groups were also more willing to grant freedom of speech to non-prestigious minorities. With some evidence that education may have an effect on language attitudes and with greater evidence that education is associated with intergroup tolerance, it was predicted that participants with higher levels of formal education would display more tolerance of and positive attitudes towards the largest minority language in the U.S., Spanish. However, these predictions did not hold true for all of the four attitude components. Although a relationship was found between education and three of the language attitude components investigated, the results in the present study did not point all in the same direction. While positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. decreased with educational level, positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance in the U.S. and positive attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism increased with higher levels of educational attainment.

Although more positive attitudes towards Spanish in general were found among participants in Group C, the group with the highest educational levels, no significant difference was found among the three education groups concerning their attitudes towards Spanish in general ($F(2, 97) = 2.59$, $p = 0.08$). Participants in Group A ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 0.64$), B ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 0.46$), and C ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 0.40$) did not vary significantly from each other according to their educational level concerning their attitudes towards Spanish in general.

However, education was found to be a significant factor regarding the participants' attitudes towards Spanish in the United States ($F(2, 97) = 4.14$, $p = 0.02^*$). Unexpectedly, the correlation between the factors was revealed to be an inverse one. As seen in Figure 2, Group A ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 0.84$) showed more positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. than did Group B ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 0.77$) and Group C ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.82$). However, the only significant difference was seen between Group A, the group with the lowest level of formal education, and Group C, the group with the highest level of formal education ($F(2, 97) = -2{,}68$, $p = 0.02^*$). Therefore, according to the sample, higher levels of formal education were found to be correlated with more negative attitudes towards Spanish in the United States.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

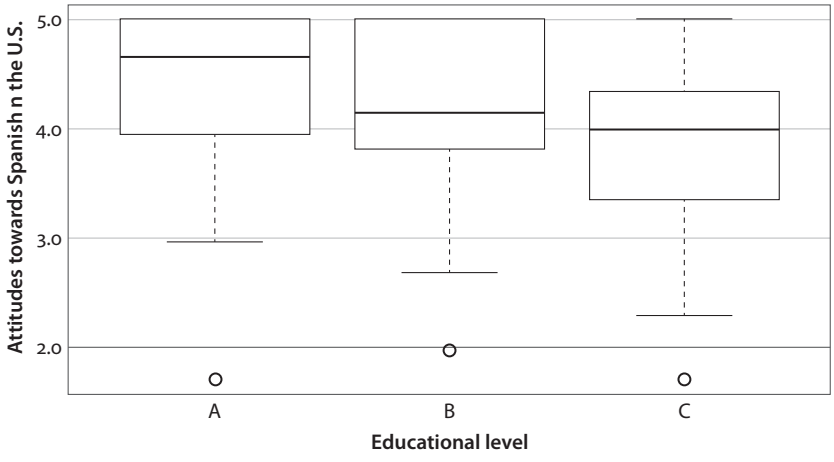


Figure 2. Attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. according to educational level

Concerning attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance in the U.S., participants with higher levels of formal education displayed more positive attitudes (Figure 3). Whereas Group C (highest formal education, $M = 4.01$, $SD = 0.82$) showed more positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance than Group B (mid formal education, $M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.21$), Group B showed more positive attitudes than Group A (lowest formal education, $M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.20$). The differences between Groups A and B and between Groups B and C were not significant. However, Group C displayed significantly more positive attitudes than Group A ($F(2, 97) = 3.81$, $p < 0.001$***). In sum, higher levels of formal education were found to be correlated with more positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance.

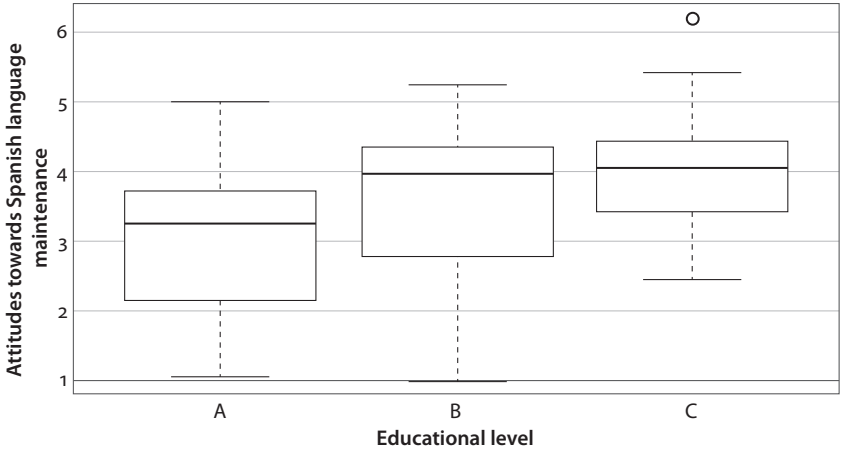


Figure 3. Attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance according to educational level

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Education was also a predictor of more positive attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism (Figure 4). Group C (highest formal education, $M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.63$) displayed significantly more positive attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism than Group B (mid formal education, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.79$): ($F(2, 97) = 2.92$, $p = 0.01$*). Group C also showed significantly more positive attitudes than Group A (lowest formal education, $M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.04$): ($F(2, 97) = 5.45$, $p < 0.001$***). The only pairing of groups that did not exhibit a significant difference was Groups A and B ($F(2, 97) = 2.36$, $p < 0.051$).

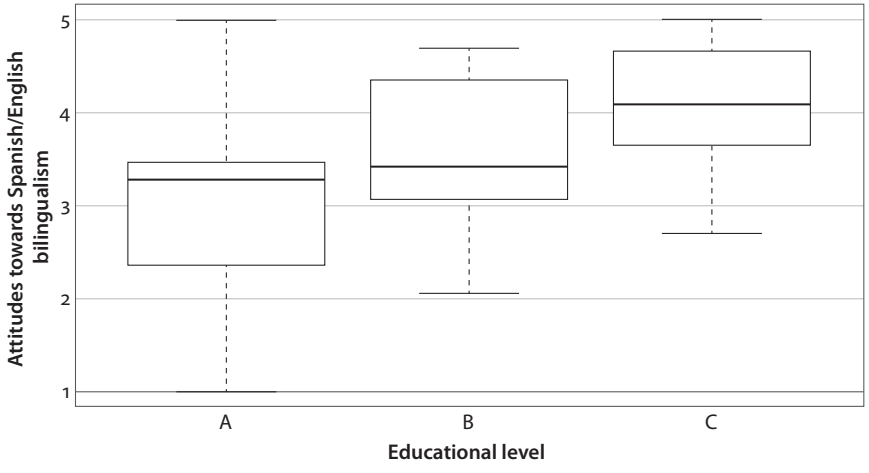


Figure 4. Attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism according to educational level

Discussion and conclusion

As data from the present study has shown, language attitudes are not simply either positive or negative, but are quite complex and heterogeneous. Attitudes towards Spanish in general were found to be quite positive among this sample. Participants' attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. also followed the patterns of results found in studies in states like California (Beckstead & Toribio, 2003; Rivera-Mills, 2000), Arizona (Aceves et al., 2012; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005), and Texas (Achugar & Oteíza, 2009; Galindo, 1995), in which positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. among Spanish speakers were found. However, the results of the present study regarding attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. contrast with the results of the study by Lynch and Klee (2005) in Miami, FL and Minneapolis, MN. In this study, it was found that undergraduate students taking Spanish in college, as a whole, had the idea that only English must be used for official and public issues. The population in Lynch and Klee's study did not seem to believe that Spanish has the same

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

status as English in the U.S., an idea that also seems to be present among some Spanish-speaking immigrants in Indiana. Although holding moderately positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S., the sample in the present study demonstrated the belief that Spanish is not as appropriate as English in the U.S. This phenomenon in which speakers believe a certain language is more appropriate than others has been abundantly explained and discussed by Bourdieu (1984). Such belief, however, does not appear to have yet substantially affected the population of the present study. The participants in the present study may not have been taught to think of English as more legitimate than Spanish because they are first-generation immigrants and most did not attend school in the United States. A comparative analysis of this generation with other generations that have attended school in the U.S. could shed some light on this matter.

Among the four components tested, Spanish language maintenance was associated with the least positive attitude. Although positive attitudes have been found towards Spanish language maintenance in Texas (Mejías, Anderson, & Carlson, 2003), more similar results to the ones found in the present study have also been seen in Texas (Galindo, 1995) and New Mexico (Aceves et al., 2012). In both places, the main reason for negative attitudes towards maintaining Spanish was that respondents had been victims of prejudice for being speakers of Spanish and believed that their children would also be victims of the same prejudice if they learned and used the language. The present study did not investigate the reasoning behind the participants' negative attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance in the United States. Therefore, it is recommended that future studies investigate the reason behind such low levels of positive attitudes among this population.

Studies have found that motivation to pass the Spanish language along to the next generations in the U.S. is frequently associated with communication with family members and maintenance of the heritage culture (Galindo, 1995). Studies have also shown that language maintenance is seen to be the parents' responsibility, rather than a task to which the school system and community should contribute (Achugar & Oteíza, 2009). This association of Spanish with the home and private environments may prevent Spanish from being seen as a tool its speakers may use outside of their homes, or with people other than their family members. These ideas may be the root of the less positive attitudes the participants in this study showed towards Spanish language maintenance. If speakers do not see the language as a tool they can use outside of their home, they may not have enough motivation to pass the language along to the next generation, which may be evidenced in their attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance.

Participants also showed moderately positive attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism. These results also indicated that, despite the social pressure for language assimilation under which minority speakers live (Camarillo & Bonilla, 2001;

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Tharani, 2011), the participants still seemed to believe that there may be room in the U.S. for bilingualism. However, the attitudes towards bilingualism were not found to be strongly positive. Similar results were found in the print media in Texas (Achugar & Oteíza, 2009). The analysis of a corpus of newspapers showed that, while attitudes towards bilingualism are somewhat positive in the region, bilingualism is not seen to be a school responsibility, but an individual one. The field of language attitudes could benefit from future studies investigating whether such beliefs also guide Spanish speakers and their practices of teaching the language to their children in Indiana. If this population also believes that teaching Spanish in the U.S. is not the responsibility of the school system, it is unlikely that they would demand this service from schools. As a result, bilingualism will continue to depend mainly on parents passing the language along to their children.

Data analyzed in the present study did not find correlations between language attitudes and gender, age, or length of stay in the U.S. However, the present study did suggest a positive relationship between education and attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance and attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism. Conversely, speakers with lower levels of formal education were found to hold more positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. Although there is some research regarding the role of education in influencing language attitudes, the role of education in influencing elements like racial attitudes and attitudes towards minority groups' integration has not displayed a uniform pattern (Ember & Frazer, 1999; Federico, 2004; Phelan, Stueve, Link, & Moore, 1995; Wodtke, 2012). Education has shown to be correlated with more positive racial attitudes and more positive attitudes towards minority groups in some studies (Federico, 2004; Phelan et al., 1995). This phenomenon is called *educational enlightenment*, the correlation between education and positive attitudes towards commitment to democratic norms of equality and tolerance of racial out-groups (Farley et al., 1994; Kluegel, & Smith, 1986).

Although the present study has not found a uniform pattern concerning the relationship between education and language attitudes, attitudes towards two of the four analyzed components were found to correlate with higher levels of formal education. These results partially support the *educational enlightenment* view. Speakers with higher levels of formal education may show more positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance and Spanish/English bilingualism because they are more tolerant of minority groups and their cultures and ideas in general. As discussed earlier, hegemonic and English-only ideologies are constantly reinforced in the U.S. (Achugar & Oteíza, 2009; Pavlenko, 2002, 2003). As a result, groups with lower levels of formal education may not be very tolerant of minority groups, even when they are part of the minority group themselves, due to the influence of mainstream ideologies that are not very open to diversity.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

On the other hand, more positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. correlated with lower levels of formal education, not higher levels. These more positive attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. among the participants in the group with lower levels of education may be a result of the participants' desire to have more services provided for them in Spanish. Immigrants with lower levels of education are also less likely to be proficient in English. Therefore, while groups with lower levels of formal education may reproduce the status quo and defend the idea of the U.S. as a monolingual English-speaking country, they may also hold more positive attitudes towards the use of Spanish in the U.S. if this would result in public services being more accessible to them.

As the present study has not found a single pattern of correlation between education and different attitude components, more studies are needed to determine how other populations behave. Besides the practical implications of knowing Spanish-speaking immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish in the U.S. and knowing the relationships between the language attitude components and speaker's sociodemographic factors, the findings of the present study shed light on the functioning of attitudes. As the present study showed, two of the four language attitude components investigated, positive attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance and positive attitudes towards Spanish/English bilingualism, were found to be associated with higher levels of education. This knowledge is new and will hopefully contribute to the way language attitudes and their components are thought about moving forward.

References

Abondiga, J. A. (2014). Ideologies and attitudes of foundation students at a multilingual university. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(4), 415–422.

Abongdia, A. J., & Willans, F. (2013). The position of English globally and nationally: A comparison of Cameroon and Vanuatu. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 15(1), 57–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2013.801062

Aceves, D., Abeyta, D., & Feldman, A. (2012). Español descompuesto: Attitudes towards English and Spanish in the South Valley. *Divergencias. Revista de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios*, 10(1), 78–89.

Achugar, M., & Oteiza, T. (2009). ''In whatever language people feel comfortable'': Conflicting language ideologies in the US Southwest border. *Text & Talk*, 29(4), 371–391. https://doi.org/10.1515/TEXT.2009.020

Achugar, M., & Pessoa, S. (2009). Power and place. Language attitudes towards Spanish in a bilingual academic community in Southwest Texas. *Spanish in Context*, 6(2), 199–223. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.6.2.03ach

Bagno, M. (1999). *Preconceito lingüístico*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bauer, L., & Trudgill, P. (1998). *Language myths*. London: Penguin Books.

Beaudrie, S., & Ducar, C. (2005). Beginning level university heritage programs: Creating a space for all heritage language learners. *Heritage Language Journal*, 3(1), 1–26.

Beckstead, K., & Toribio, A. J. (2003). Minority perspectives on language: Mexican and Mexican-American adolescents' attitudes toward Spanish and English. In A. Roca & C. Colombi (Eds.), *Mi lengua: Spanish as a heritage language in the United States* (pp. 154–170). Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Billings, A. C. (2005). Beyond the ebonics debate: Attitudes about Black and Standard American English. *Journal of Black Studies*, 36(1), 68–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934704271448

Birdsong, D., Gertken, L. M., & Amengual, M. (2012, January 20). *Bilingual Language Profile: An easy-to-use instrument to assess bilingualism*. Retrieved from COERLL, University of Texas at Austin <https://sites.la.utexas.edu/bilingual/> (23 October, 2019).

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bugel, T. (2007). A macro- and micro-sociolinguistic study of language and contact: Mercosur and the teaching of Spanish in Brazil (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Bugel, T. (2009). Explicit attitudes in Brazil towards varieties of Portuguese. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 2(2), 275–304. https://doi.org/10.1515/shll-2009-1053

Bugel, T. (2012). Buenas y no tan buenas variedades del español: Opiniones y actitudes en Montevideo y Buenos Aires. *Revista Internacional de Linguística Iberoamericana*, 1(19), 83–117.

Bullock, B. E., & Toribio, A. J. (2014). From Trujillo to the *terremoto*: The effect of language ideologies on the language attitudes and behaviors of the rural youth of the northern Dominican border. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 227, 83–100. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2013-0089

Camarillo, A., & Bonilla, F. (2001). Hispanics in a multicultural society: A new American dilemma? In N. J. Smelser, W. J. Wilson, & F. Mitchell (Eds.), *America becoming: Racial trends and other consequences* (pp. 103–119). Washington DC: National Academy Press.

Canalis, A. H., & Gassio, J. B. (1995). Actitudes linguísticas de los escolares en el "Baix Cinca": Incidencia de algunos factores. *Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado*, 23, 163–175.

Dornyei, Z., & Csizer, K. (2002). Motivational dynamics in second language acquisition: Results of a longitudinal nationwide survey. *Applied Linguistics*, 23, 421–462. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/23.4.421

Emler, N., & Frazer, E. (1999). Politics: The education effect. *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1–2), 251–273. https://doi.org/10.1080/030549899104242

Farley, R., Steeh, C., Krysan, M., Jackson, T., & Reeves, K. (1994). Stereotypes and segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit area. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(3), 750–80. https://doi.org/10.1086/230580

Federico, C. M. (2004). When do welfare attitudes become racialized? The paradoxical effects of education. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2), 374–391. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2004.00076.x

Galindo, D. (1995). Language attitudes toward Spanish and English varieties: A Chicano perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17(77), 77–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863950171005

Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning. The role of attitudes and motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Gardner, R. C., Tremblay, P. F., & Masgoret, A. (1997). Towards a full model of second language learning: An empirical investigation. *The Modern Language Journal*, 81(3), 344–362. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.1997.tb05495.x

Happer, C., & Philo, G. (2013). The role of the media in the construction of public belief and social change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), 321–336. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96

Hasson, D. (2005). Language maintenance in Hispanic university students: Analyzing written competence. In J. Cohen, K. T. McAlister, K. Rolstad, & J. MacSwan (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism* (pp. 978–1000). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Ihemere, K. (2006). An integrated approach to the study of language attitudes and change in Nigeria: The case of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt City. In O. F. Arasanyin & M. A. Pemberton (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (pp. 194–207). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Jang, B. (2012). Korean parents' attitudes, motivations, and home literacy practices toward bilingualism between Korean and English in Korea (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Louisiana State University.

Kluegel, J. R., & Smith, E. R. (1986). *Beliefs about inequality: Americans' views about what is and what ought to be*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Kraemer, R., & Birenbaum, M. (1993). Language attitudes and social group membership. *International Journal of Intercultural Relationships*, 17, 437–449. https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(93)90003-Q

Krauss, R. M., & Chiu, C. (1998). Language and social behavior, In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske & G. Lindsey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 41–88). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Kristiansen, T., Garrett, P., & Coupland, N. (2005). Introducing subjectivities in language variation and change. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 37(1) 9–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/03740463.2005.10416081

Ladegaard, H. (2000). Language attitudes and sociolinguistic behavior: Exploring attitude-behavior relations in language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(2), 214–233. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00112

López-Rodríguez, L., Navasa, M., Cuadrado, I., Coutant, D., & Worchel, D. (2014). The majority's perceptions about adaptation to the host society of different immigrant groups: The distinct role of warmth and threat. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 40, 34–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.02.001

Lynch, A., & Klee, C. (2005). Estudio comparativo de actitudes hacia el español en los Estados Unidos: Educación, política y entorno social. *Lingüística Española Actual*, 27(2), 273–300.

Makowski, M. D., & Miller, S. C. (2014). Education, intelligence, and attitude extremity. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 78(4), 832–858. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfu041

Mejías, H., Anderson, P., & Carlson, R. (2003). Attitude update: Spanish on the South Texas border. *Hispania*, 86(1), 138–150. https://doi.org/10.2307/20062822

Newman, M. (2011). Different ways to hate a language in Catalonia: Interpreting low solidarity scores in language attitude studies. In J. Michnowicz & R. Dodsworth (Eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 5th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics* (pp. 40–49). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). 'We have room for but one language here': Language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century. *Multilingual*, 21, 163–196.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Pavlenko, A. (2003). Language of the enemy: Foreign language education and national identity. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(5), 313–331. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050308667789

Phelan, J. C., Link, B. G., Stueve, A., & Moore, R. E. (1995). Education, social liberalism and economic conservatism: the case of attitudes toward homeless people. *American Sociological Review*, 60, 126–140. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096349

Porcel, J. (2011). Language maintenance and language shift among U.S. latinos. In M. Díaz-Campos (Ed.), *The handbook of Hispanic sociolinguistics* (pp. 623–645). Malden, MA: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444393446.ch29

Rivera-Mills, S. (2000). Intraethnic attitudes among Hispanics in a Northern California Community. In A. Roca (Ed.), *Research in Spanish in the U.S.* (pp. 377–389). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Suarez, D. (2007). Second and third generation heritage language speakers: HL scholarship's relevance to the research needs and future directions of TESOL. *Heritage Language Journal*, 5(1), 27–49.

Tharani, S. (2011). Immigration, security and the public debate on US language policy: A critical discourse analysis of language attitudes in the United States of America (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Luleå tekniska universitet, Luleå, Sweden.

U.S. Census Bureau (2015). *Detailed languages spoken at home and ability to speak English for the population 5 years and over for United States: 2009–2013*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2013/demo/2009-2013-lang-tables.html> (23 October, 2019).

van Dijk, T. (2005). *Discourse and racism in Spain and Latin America*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.14

Velazquez, M. I. (2008). Intergenerational Spanish language transmission: Attitudes, motivations and linguistic practices in two Mexican American communities (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Wodtke, G. T. (2012). The impact of education on intergroup attitudes: A multiracial analysis. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 75(1), 80–106. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272511430234

Woolard, K. (1989). *Double talk: Bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Woolard, K. (1998). Language ideologies as a field of inquiry. In B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, & P. V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory* (pp. 3–47). New York NY: Oxford University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

PART IV

Closing reflections

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The study of language attitudes

Our foundation, our future

Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza
New Mexico State University

As an area of inquiry, the study of language attitudes has been developed over the last 70 years. Central to the field has been the work of Joshua A. Fishman, who provided not only the theoretical underpinning of the field, but also contributed a variety of techniques and approaches that are still in use by today's scholars. In the present paper I take the opportunity to examine some of Fishman's and others' groundwork that provided the foundation of this field of inquiry. Subsequently, I add to this foundation with the results of some of the studies of my own in the past and present to provide a vision of where sociolinguists can continue to extend the horizons of our field.

Keywords: language attitudes, theory, techniques, approaches, Spanish in the U.S.

Introduction

The study of language attitudes has a long and rich history, one which cannot be done justice in a limited space. Nonetheless, given the number of decades dedicated to the examination of attitudes toward language and the progress made, it is worthwhile to briefly highlight some of the foundations of this particular field of study. Taking the work of Joshua A. Fishman,[1] a prolific and influential scholar whose work planted the foundations of the field as a point of departure, this paper offers insight into how the topics and themes of Fishman's work have influenced my own inquiries as well as a look to how sociolinguists can continue to move the field forward. The focus on Fishman's work in no way diminishes or overlooks the

1. Dr. Joshua A. Fishman passed away on March 1, 2015 at the age of 88. An internationally recognized scholar and founder of the field of study originally named the sociology of language as well as the founder and general editor of the leading journal in the field, *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. His scholarly legacy includes more than 1,000 articles and in excess of 80 books.

https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.25.11mac
EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use
© 2020 John Benjamins Publishing Company

works of other scholars, instead, the breadth, depth, and profundity of his work in the field of sociolinguistics in general and specifically in the area of language attitudes allow us to reflect purposefully on the field's past and future.

Our foundation

While a clear definition of the concept of what a language attitude is eludes most studies in the field, scholars work even implicitly with the general definition of attitude to be "a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects" (Sarnoff, 1970 as cited in Bradac, Castelan Cargile, & Hallett, 2001, p. 147). Fishbein and Ajzen (2010) amplify this notion noting that attitudes are evaluative in nature and that that evaluation is reflective of the "hypothetical disposition". That is to say, that individuals provide a judgement to a stimulus such as language reflecting on their affect (comprised of a sense of positive or negative feelings and the strength or activation of those sentiments). This affect is influenced by the individual's estimation and assumption of the language and/or those who speak it. Neither the individual's feelings nor the degree to which they are expressed need be rational or grounded in facts, nor do they need to be in any way predictable in nature. Indeed, Fishbein and Ajzen, providing an overview of attitudes from the field of social psychology, claim that the beliefs that inform and sustain attitudes

> …need not be veridical; they may be inaccurate, biased, or even irrational. However, once a set of beliefs is formed it provides the cognitive foundation from which attitudes, perceived norms, and perceptions of control – and ultimately intentions and behaviors are assumed to follow in a reasonable and consistent fashion. Moreover, the formation of attitudes, perceived norms and perceptions of control – and the intentions they produce – do not have to involve a great deal of deliberation but can follow spontaneously and automatically from the underlying cognitive foundation of beliefs. As a general rule, people are likely to engage in careful deliberation when they are confronted with a novel situation or when they confront an important decision. Under these conditions they may well evaluate the likely consequences of the behavioral options, imagine what other people would want them to do or what important others would do themselves and consider the factors that may make it easy or difficult for them to perform the behavior in question. Such elaborate information processing is much less likely when people are confronted with performing a familiar behavior or when they make a relatively unimportant behavioral decision. (p. 24)

Thus, much research on language attitudes stems from the desire to identify and understand what an individual's underlying set of beliefs are regarding a language or its speakers, and what aspects of the language (either real or imagined) trigger these beliefs (e.g., Preston, 2002).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The roots that ground the study of language attitudes were seeded toward the end of the 1950s with the introduction of the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). Although the research technique has been applied across many different disciplines, it found a prominent place in many of the works of Fishman who, since the 1960's, made significant advances in the discipline of sociolinguistics laying the groundwork for a number of foundational concepts such as domain and extending Ferguson's notion to diglossia to bilingual communities.[2]

Even from his early works, Fishman recognized that to speak of a language within a community setting does not identify an isolated monolithic entity, but rather a complex tapestry of social and linguistic patterns of behavior woven together to achieve a variety of both non-linguistic and communicative goals in diverse contexts. As Fishman Cooper, & Ma Newman (1971 as cited in García, Peltz & Schiffman, 2006, p. 13) expressed,

> Any speech community is characterized by definite norms of language and behavior, which not only encompass the speech varieties (or languages) that exist within the speech community for its own internal communicative needs but also relate them to the types of other-than-speech behaviors – the interactions, the mutual rights and obligations, the roles and statuses, the purposes and identifications – in which various networks within the community are engaged.

His contributions to research methods of sociolinguistics are also significant and many of his contributions are still being used in contemporary studies (García & Schiffman with Zakharia, 2006). The use of census data, self-report language use measures, language attitude questionnaires using semantic differentials, interview guides and word association tests are among his most notable innovations. Nonetheless although he laid these critical foundations to facilitate the collection of large quantities of data in bilingual communities, Fishman never lost sight of the fact that numbers can only provide us with an approximation of the sociolinguistic reality of a community and by summarizing and simplifying these data from various individuals in a community we lose minute but important details about the factors that guide the daily interaction of individuals in their authentic contexts (Fishman, 1972 as cited in García & Schiffman with Zakharia, 2006).

Fishman also recognized that in many cases the coexistence of various languages in a community did not imply that they held equal value or power within the community and that the vitality of languages with less power was threatened by forces that originated both inside and outside of the minority language communities

2. Ferguson's (1959) original concept of diglossia outlined the concept in terms of a stable relationship of two separate codes co-existing within a community each supported by a set of behaviors, values and beliefs. Fishman (1967) extended this term to illustrate that the concept may not be stable and may not be limited to separate codes, but rather may also include different varieties of the same language that speakers employ for different purposes and/or in different contexts.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

themselves (Fishman, 1991). He further noted that while positive attitudes toward a minority language are not sufficient to avoid its shift toward the majority language, negative attitudes are capable of repressing it. Consequently, Fishman pointed to the home and interactions between family members that retained the use of a minority language as the first line of defense against the intrusion of a majority language that could limit its transmission to other generations.

Throughout the 1970s Fishman encouraged sociolinguists to not be content with simply documenting the elements that characterized the interactions of a speech community, rather he inspired them to take the passion that motivated their research and apply it to fuel efforts to help those same community members to preserve their language and culture. The great diverse nature of themes and contexts of his collected works, spanning more than eight decades, as well as those of the multitude of others that have followed in his path testify to the prosperousness of this rich and varied legacy.

A rich source of language attitude studies in the US has been and continues to be the border region of the US and Mexico. Many of the states of the American Southwest espoused many generations of Spanish-speaking communities that existed some three hundred years prior to becoming part of US. For more than a century, cycles of migration and settlement have added to the already established communities in this broad region and have influenced the growth of Spanish-speaking communities and the retention of the Spanish language (Stoney & Batalova, 2013). As a result, during the 1960s through the 1980s a significant increase in studies of language attitudes in Spanish-speaking communities was observed.

While we speak of borderland communities between the US and Mexico we must recognize that we're speaking of a national boundary that covers more than 1,950 miles. Along this great distance reside diverse communities, peoples and cultures, every one of which contributes to the multi-layered profile that comprises the Spanish-speaking population within the United States. By extension this diversity only increases as communities increase their distance from the border, as groups with and without a similarity in heritage, but drawn together through a common language, unite to share resources, signal their solidarity, and shield themselves from external social forces that in many cases look to neutralize them, and even erase them (Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004).

In very broad terms previous research in bilingual communities regarding the Southwest United States has found evidence of differing attitudes regarding Spanish and English. Early research into the sociolinguistic fabric in Spanish-speaking communities of the Southwest revealed that Spanish was associated with affective attitudes (e.g., Adorno, 1973; Hannum, 1978), that is that they contributed to the personal satisfaction of speaking a language. Similarly Spanish has been seen to reflect an integrative factor, seen as a means of expressing unity and solidarity (e.g., Ayer, 1969; Solé, 1976; Weller, 1983) and cultural identity (e.g., Carranza &

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Ryan, 1975; Elías-Olivares, 1976a, 1976b; Galindo, 1995; LaTouche, 1976; Ramírez, 1974; Ryan & Carranza, 1977), and has been used as a vehicle for a community to revitalize lost roots (Cisneros & Leone, 1983). Linguistic loyalty has also been observed associated with Spanish, that is to say that there is an expressed desire to maintain the language and perpetuate the connection between language, culture and community beyond one generation (Hannum, 1978; Hidalgo, 1986; López, 1982; Mejías & Anderson, 1988; Solé, 1976; Thompson, 1974).[3]

In contrast to the studies regarding Spanish, the attitudes expressed toward English in the 1970s and 1980s found little association between English and affective and integrative attitudes or expressions of language loyalty. English was more frequently associated with a high instrumental value meaning the language was associated with social and economic benefits (e.g., Grebler, Moore & Guzman, 1970; Elías-Olivares, 1976a; Hidalgo, 1986).

Studies carried out in the 1990s noted the representation of different voices within Spanish speaking communities, but also illustrated the conflict and conflicted feelings that surrounded both Spanish and English. Galindo (1995) found that the use of Spanish and even English pronounced with a Spanish inflected accent carried with it a stigma of "stranger" or "foreigner", and as a result many young Chicanos in Austin avoided providing any evidence that would point to their Spanish-speaking linguistic heritage. Other studies documented the perceptions that parents had towards Spanish and English and their efforts in teaching Spanish or not to their children. Given the strong association between "being American" and English which is reinforced in schools, in the media, and in work (e.g., Shannon & Escamilla, 1999), English in the eyes of working-class parents came to signify an agent of transformation, that is, a way to "become American" (e.g., Pavlenko, 2002; Warriner, 2007). Although parents would acknowledge that Spanish was important, an ambiguity persisted over the desire to promote the retention of Spanish and what they viewed as the necessity of acquiring English in order to improve their level of education, their social status and access to employment (Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 1998; Schecter, Sharken-Taboada, & Bayley, 1996; Valdés, 1996). Census-based studies such as those carried out by Bills, Hernández-Chávez, & Hudson (1995) and Hudson, Hernández-Chávez, & Bills (1995) appeared to confirm what these working-class parents had already concluded, that the retention of Spanish across generations not only diminished the farther away one lived from the border, rather Spanish maintenance was correlated with higher levels of poverty and lower levels of education and employment.

---

3. The examination of attitudes and identities of second language learners of Spanish will not be belabored here, but excellent reviews of how L2 learners' beliefs about the language, their conceptualizations of "self" when developing and speaking their L2 can be found in Block (2007), Dörnyei (2009), and Ushioda & Dörnyei (2009).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

My own interest in the study of language attitudes in bilingual communities was initiated more than twenty years ago while I still resided in Illinois. During the 1990s several newspaper articles reported on the high rate of school dropouts among Mexican-American youth (e.g., "Escuelas latinas" 1994, "Language woes" 1994). By adding data and quotes from school officials regarding the high rate of Spanish use and low rate of English use among students, the articles sought to infer that Spanish language use prevented students from acquiring language skills in English and therefore was the primary cause for the high dropout rate. These claims were completely incongruous with my own academic experience given that I worked and interacted on a daily basis with people who spoke a variety of languages and who were pursuing advanced academic degrees. From my own perspective it was inconceivable that the multilingual academically successful individuals I was familiar with would represent an exception to the norm, and that the customary destiny of people who possessed a broad linguistic repertoire was to be condemned to a restricted and unfulfilled academic experience.

I began to analyze Spanish and English language use and language attitude among groups of youth in three distinct academic categories: high school dropouts, currently enrolled high school students, and university students. The analyses of the data from these three groups indicated that the perception that Spanish represented an obstacle to academic success was not only erroneous, rather it represented a reality that was the complete inverse for these young Spanish speakers. First, in analyzing the results I was unable to identify any distinction between the English abilities of high school dropouts and university students. There was however, a difference in the Spanish abilities of individuals at these two academic extremes. University students demonstrated greater and broader mastery of the Spanish language and put that knowledge to use to a greater degree than those who had dropped out of high school. This finding is even more significant considering that the high school dropouts continued to reside within Spanish-speaking neighborhoods while the university students lived away from their home communities and instead resided on a campus where only 5% of the student population was Latino (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999).

The attitudes of the University students were the most balanced, indicating that they took advantage of the benefits attributed to both of their languages and cultures in order to skillfully navigate diverse contexts. Thus, rather than represent a barrier, Spanish actually represented a bridge to academic success among the informants of the study. Furthermore the notion that English represented a direct and clear pathway for academic excellence was shown to be a fallacy (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999).

After Illinois, New Mexico offered an even more complex sociolinguistic environment to explore. The history of New Mexico is complicated socially, linguistically and politically. Cutting across New Mexico from South to North is the Camino

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Real, or Royal Road, representing the avenue by which conquistadors, merchants, settlers and clerics traveled during the colonial period. The Spanish language, as a weapon of the conquistador, as a tool of the evangelist, and as a symbol of the spoils of war, has had a presence that has transcended national boundaries and has risen above territorial conflict and international wars for more than 400 years.

After the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, New Mexico was not directly incorporated as a state of the union despite being the most populous region of the Southwest of its time and benefiting from a stable economy. The territory of New Mexico, which included at the time what is now known as the state of Arizona remained in limbo some 62 years before being granted statehood. The primary obstacle cited by legislators as an impediment to statehood was the ubiquitous presence of Spanish in the street, in the courts, in the newspapers, in the schools, in the churches and in the homes. In order to remedy this inconvenience for the American Union, a special committee authorized by the US Congress recommended that New Mexico not be admitted as a state until there had been sufficient immigration on the part of English-speaking individuals from the US interior (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1998).

The sociolinguistic relationship between the US and Mexico in our area of the border has been particularly volatile throughout history. In 1916, the arrival of Pancho Villa to the town of Columbus, New Mexico prompted a military response that lasted a year. In 1924 the Border Patrol was established in El Paso, Texas, an event that initiated an era of uncontrolled violence against Mexicans and Mexican Americans of the region. Border agents harassed, beat and lynched immigrants and citizens with impunity using the Spanish language or "Mexican appearance" as justification for their actions (Hernández, 2010). Despite these conflicts, linguistic and cultural links between the two countries reinforced by the family ties that stretch beyond national boundaries have helped keep the Spanish language as a vital part of this border community (Teschner, 1995).

Given this rich heritage, the New Mexico of today still boasts varieties of Spanish in the North that show vestiges of 17th century Spanish and varieties of the South that share features of the states from northern Mexico with which they share a boundary. However, always underlying this complex convergence of language and history are the threads of conflict and power, culture and solidarity, and native and stranger.[4]

---

4. A detailed discussion of how a majority culture's beliefs and attitudes about a minority group's language and culture is related to and influences policies in schools, municipalities and state and federal governments is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, an excellent source on the notion of language policy can be found in Spolsky (2004). A review of issues relevant to policies regarding the use of Spanish in the US in the workplace can be found in Faingold (2016).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

This linguistic ambivalence was revealed in the students entering our Spanish program some years ago. One track, designed to meet the needs of our heritage language learners and a separate track which served our second language learners on the other hand often required a personal interview to refine the results of a placement exam. In these interview sessions in which questions would be posed in Spanish, several students would provide answers in English. In explaining their comprehension but reticence to use Spanish, they often confessed that their parents had emphasized the importance of learning English in order to avoid being punished in school for speaking Spanish as they themselves had been. The stories regarding the punishments inflicted upon elementary-aged Spanish speakers that I began to collect and that I had my students studying to be teachers collect illustrated the breadth and depth of linguistic prejudice inflicted upon generations of young innocent Spanish speakers and the danger such prejudice posed not only for the health and well-being of the community under its yoke, but also for future generations. Among the most moving examples is Albert, an individual interviewed by a student researcher. Albert recalled his dilemma of wanting to comply with school rules, even when it clashed with the reality of his family life (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000, p. 363):

> Albert was not allowed to speak Spanish during school. He never witnessed anyone getting disciplined for speaking Spanish. "It was just understood that while in school we spoke English and at home we spoke Spanish." Though, Albert spoke English prior to entering school he was very aware of the no Spanish speaking rule during school. He remembers one incident when he was in first grade that he was asked what his mother's name was, that his fear of knowing the rule and yet not knowing the consequences for breaking it, prompted him to respond "Betty" instead of his mom's Spanish name Carlota. (Lidia T., unedited student writing)

The personal histories documented in the article as well as captured in videos illustrate not only the poignancy of these early school memories but also bear witness to the painful and enduring nature of injustices suffered by generations of young Spanish speakers and the freedom with which people in positions of power in the school system could openly harass innocent children under their tutelage. Such memories are often cited by the informants as a key influence in their decision to not teach Spanish to their own children thus illustrating the sustained impact of formal and informal policies grounded in linguistic prejudices. Such findings remind us of the long reach of linguistic hegemony and the many ways in which it can manifest itself. The study further illustrates that in researching language attitudes we need to take into consideration societal factors of a non-linguistic nature that can play a role in shaping language attitudes or that have repercussions on how community members interact with one another (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The socioeconomic and sociodemographic changes that we have experienced in the last fifteen years in the US illustrate this point. Shifts in US immigration policy have resulted in great number of Latinos, many of whom are of Mexican origin, to abandon traditional settlement areas along the border and instead move to other states in the US interior which are unaccustomed and ill-prepared to meet the needs of this new diverse population. Spanish-speaking newcomers to these areas have often been met with an anti-immigrant fervor that seeks to limit their rights to work and occupy housing (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2013c).

Concomitant events on the Mexican side of the border have had likewise affected immigration. A failed attempt by the Mexican government to eradicate drug trafficking in 2006 resulted instead in triggering a war between diverse illicit organizations which in turn destabilized the country's social order and economic well-being. Our region of the border was one of the most affected with the acknowledgement of Ciudad Juarez as the most violent city of the world in 2010 (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2013c).

The abrupt increase in violence prompted a quick and striking exodus of Mexican citizens. Between 2006 and 2009, approximately 230,000 people left the city one-fourth of whom simply crossed the border to take up residence in El Paso, Texas. Many of those who immigrated across the border were *profesionistas*, a segment of the flow immigration from Mexico represented by individuals with university degrees who come to the US to work in a professional capacity. Today *profesionistas* represent 11% of immigrants arriving from Mexico. Their high educational status upon arrival frequently coupled with their mastery of English and socioeconomic stability offers *profesionistas* a broader range of options with respect to housing, education and language choice as compared to traditional immigrants in previous studies.

The linguistic differences observed in interactions among *profesionistas*, particularly between mothers and children, prompted a series of interviews to examine the dynamics of language use and language attitudes within these families (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2015a, 2015b). Many of the wives of the male *profesionistas* that have come to the US to advance careers are *profesionistas* in their own right however, they have often opted to give up their own professional aspirations in order to care for the family's children. While the external social forces that favor the acquisition of English still exist for these women they also through their own educational experiences in Mexico have a high regard for Spanish. The research findings revealed a pattern of attitudes that was distinct from what had been previously observed in Spanish speaking communities along the border. What made female *profesionistas* stand out from those communities that had been previously interviewed was the esteem in which they held both Spanish and English in all

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

attitudinal areas. For these informants, high regard for both Spanish and English was consistently observed.

Profesionista informants claimed that while they wanted their children to learn English due to the fact that they lived within the US, they roundly rejected the idea that their children would have to sacrifice their Spanish abilities to do so. These informants further acknowledged their desire for their children to speak both languages with correctness and precision and without the use of codeswitching which they viewed unfavorably.

The *profesionistas* did not just limit themselves to a wish list regarding Spanish and English, rather they sought opportunities to teach their children Spanish. They made efforts to imbue their children with elements from their home culture by reading them books and exposing them to music in Spanish. Informants also frequently visited Mexico and had family members that would come from Mexico to visit them. In this way within the home Spanish held a broad, constant and prestigious presence. Moreover, far from considering English as a transformative agent as had been observed in previous studies these informants viewed English as a useful tool that they could add to their profile and that could aid them in carrying out simple tasks in their daily life such as helping their children with homework or interacting cordially with their husbands' colleagues at professional social functions (MacGregor-Mendoza 2015a, 2015b).

The potential impact of the increase of this particular segment of the immigrant population is considerable. Block (2013) notes that social class plays a considered role within families. Linton (2004) goes beyond the family dynamic and extends the impact of members of higher social status to the bilingual speech community at large. Linton notes that while exercising the option to being bilingual is an individual decision, as more people choose to be bilingual the impetus of this collection of individual decisions facilitates and even incentivizes being bilingual and as a result, leads others to opt in favor the best choice. Bilingualism according to Linton (2004, p. 285) is "practical or desirable only to the extent that it represents a significant labor market advantage." She suggests that in order to perpetuate the maintenance of Spanish, the language should connect individuals to their community at a rational level while also offering them a sense of high material worth or instrumental value. Linton's analysis of 64 different metropolitan areas illustrates that in regions where there is a high proportion of bilingual Latinos that occupy positions associated with high political or economic status the retention of Spanish is favored without lowering the desire to develop proficiency in English.

Linton suggests that the cost of opting to be bilingual is minimized if support for bilingualism is found within the community among a critical mass of bilingual speakers and that this critical mass of Spanish speakers may already exist in the U.S. She further contends that if the current pattern of selective acculturation continues

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

to advance allowing individuals to choose and adopt the linguistic and cultural characteristics of a society that they see as advantageous, then bilingualism will become more stable and more consistently observable even among non-Latinos. When this occurs according to Linton, bilingualism will be viewed as a normal part of the American identity rather than just a stop on the journey of complete and absolute assimilation by immigrants.

Taking the discovery of the distinct attitudes of this new segment of immigrants as a point of departure along with Linton's suggestion of a critical mass of highly placed individuals representing a tipping point for other segments of the community, I extended my research by examining a group of women whose socioeconomic status fell at the opposite extreme of the *profesionista* women I had researched. The findings from this study revealed that while the non-*profesionista* women could not claim access to the same material resources as their *profesionista* counterparts, nor did they espouse the same educational level and, in most cases, had little to no knowledge of the English language, they nonetheless valued the Spanish language at the same high level as the *profesionista* informants and made concerted efforts to pass on their regard for Spanish to their children. Non-*profesionista* women's strategy centered on establishing an impenetrable perimeter around their houses inside of which only Spanish was allowed to be spoken. Moreover, although the women of this lower socioeconomic class reported to be subjected more frequently to microaggressions because of their maintenance of Spanish and their limited English abilities, often meted out on behalf of other Latinos, these women nonetheless bore these insults with dignity and persisted in fulfilling their daily activities, illustrating their unflinching pride in their native tongue (MacGregor-Mendoza, "Language and capital", to appear).

These values are being passed on to the children of these non-*profesionista* women. The clearest example was provided by one of my informants who recounted the story about her daughter who was part of the swim team at her high school. One day after practice the daughter was engaged in conversation with other bilingual team members in Spanish, some of whom were Mexican heritage and others who were Anglo who had learn Spanish through participating in bilingual programs. At one point a young Mexican-American woman approached the group. Although her parents had emigrated from Mexico she herself spoke more English than Spanish and she took it upon herself to criticize the group for conversing in Spanish. The daughter of my informant rounded on the young woman and told her in Spanish, "You think because you speak English and not Spanish, that that makes you more White? That doesn't make you more White. It makes you more stupid, but it doesn't make you more White." (MacGregor-Mendoza, "Language and capital", to appear)

The results of these studies with *profesionistas* and non-*profesionistas* lend weight to Linton's (2004) theory, suggesting that there may already exist the conditions in

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

some areas that point to a higher esteem for Spanish beyond simply affective and integrative attitudes and as a means of expressing language loyalty. Instead, Spanish in these recent studies has been seen to have acquired an instrumental value as well. Jenkins (2009) updating the analyses of census data conducted two decades prior also suggests that the maintenance of Spanish is no longer burdened by a social cost meaning that Spanish is no longer able to be used as an index of poverty or low educational level.

Still, despite the conditions that appear to favor the maintenance and burgeoning positive value associated with Spanish, we need to be reminded that there are still societal factions that resist the acceptance of a plurilingual and pluricultural vision of our society.

Our future

What can we do to facilitate the acceptance of this vision, promote bilingualism as an everyday part of our national identity? How can we divert the narrative that underlies the acquisition of heritage languages like Spanish in our nation, that seeks to convince younger generations that the language of their parents, their uncles and their grandparents is in some way inferior to English?

The activist spirit stirred by Fishman those many years ago is one avenue to explore. Advocacy on behalf of our multilingual communities does not mean that we have to take to the streets in protest, rather we can take more direct and meaningful measures. We know for example that our heritage language students arrive to our classrooms with a host of doubt and insecurities about their language abilities. These tentative impressions have their roots in the criticisms and overt corrections that they have suffered at the hands of family, friends and teachers. In many cases students feel that their way of speaking is incomplete, poor and inferior. Many feel that their knowledge of the language will only truly be mastered once they unravel the mysteries of spelling and diacritical marks. These preconceptions persist despite our promises and protestations to the contrary.

To begin to change these preconceived notions one colleague and I realized that the community itself could help lessen the negativism that it generated in our students. We began to include as a requirement for our courses a component of service-learning. Far from representing just community service, students use the time they spend volunteering in community organizations to make connections to class themes on language and linguistics. Thus, they reflect on codes, code-switching, style, register, as well as a host of other concepts at the same time they are facilitating access to medical services through much-needed interpretation or translating documents that forward petitions for political asylum to court or

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

provide Spanish-speaking parents information regarding the policies of Head Start programs. Volunteering their linguistic skills in service to vulnerable populations in our community is for many of them a transformative experience. Spanish as a heritage language students come to understand the value and the importance that Spanish has within our local community and instead of focusing on what they feel are shortcomings in their own repertoire, they focus instead on recognizing the wealth of skills they do possess and identify areas where they can advance in their knowledge to be more of service to others (MacGregor-Mendoza & Moreno, 2016).

Activism is also not limited to our classrooms. The communities in which we live in are in need of our knowledge, our experience and our wisdom. We cannot wait until all members of the community come to our classrooms to be educated. Instead we have to look for opportunities to educate others by offering our opinions in more popular forums like newspapers and magazines in order to correct prejudices and offer alternative ways of thinking (e.g., MacGregor-Mendoza, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2016). We are particularly obligated to correct beliefs that stem from unwarranted fears regarding minority languages and their speakers with cool logic, observable evidence, and historical facts.

The persistence of Spanish as a minority language in the United States in the face of more than a century of real and symbolic violence offers a strong testament to the significant impact that the language and the peoples and cultures that speak it have had on the US linguistic and cultural landscape. The collective efforts of scholars to examine and discover the effects of a complex combination of themes such as family language socialization, language and academic success, and the social, cultural and identity conflicts that arise when communities come into conflict with one another serve as an affirmation of the significance of the sociolinguistic discipline.

Nonetheless despite all we have achieved in advancing our knowledge of language attitudes over the last six decades we still cannot claim victory. We have seen in our nation that alongside the growth and extended reach of the Spanish speaking community within the US, attitudes that continue to ignore the intellectual value of bilingualism to aid learning still persist. Although today's teachers no longer attempt through physical means to extract the Spanish language from the children in their classrooms, linguistic discrimination in schools has not disappeared. Instead it has been reincarnated in the form of excessive assessments, in standardized tests, and in the devaluing and disappearance of bilingual programs.

It is therefore our obligation to not only fight for the maintenance and the promotion of Spanish and other languages in the United States, rather we must also combat the misguided prejudices that surround them. We must encourage others to recognize that the coexistence of Spanish or any other language in the United States does not represent a condition incompatible with an American identity. As

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

researchers we must also be more aware of the diversity of voices that exists within our speech communities and of the impact of the various social factors that surround them and influence them. Most urgently, we must take firm steps to prevent all who too easily point to Spanish or any other minority language in the U.S. as a scapegoat for all of the social and economic and educational ills that our society faces.

Finally, while this paper has focused on the situation in the United States, this emphasis by no means suggests that these conflicts are unique to this context. Unfortunately, they are regularly seen in many parts of the world, a fact which only serves to multiply our efforts in teaching and research. To summarize the importance of the legacy bequeathed to us, Fishman (2001, p. 481) prophesied that "The languages of the world will either all help one another survive or they will succumb separately to the global dangers that must assuredly await us all (English included) in the century ahead." Thus, as sociolinguists, investigating the global linguistic network is our duty and maintaining its vitality is our responsibility.

References

Adorno, W. (1973). The attitudes of selected Mexican and Mexican American parents in regards to bilingual/bicultural education (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). United States International University, San Diego, CA.

Ayer, G. W. (1969). Language and attitudes of the Spanish-speaking youth of the Southwestern United States. In G. E. Perren & J. L. M. Trim (Eds.), *Applications of linguistics: Selected papers of the Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 115–120). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bills, G. D., Hernández Chávez, E., & Hudson, A. (1995). The geography of language shift: Distance from the Mexican border and Spanish language claiming in the Southwestern U.S. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 114, 9–27. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1995.114.9

Block, D. (2007). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *Modern Language Journal*, 91, 863–876. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00674.x

Block, D. (2013). *Social class in applied linguistics*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315871141

Bradac, J. J., Castelan Cargile, A., & Hallett, J. S. (2001). Language attitudes: Retrospect, conspect, and prospect. In W. P. Robinson & H. Giles (Eds.), *The new handbook of language and social psychology* (pp.137–155). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Carranza, M. A. & Ryan, E. B. (1975). Evaluative reactions of bilingual Anglo and Mexican American adolescents toward speakers of English and Spanish. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 6, 83–104.

Cisneros, R., & Leone, E. (1983). Mexican-American language communities in the Twin Cities: An example of contact and recontact. In L. Elias-Olivares (Ed.), *Spanish in the US setting: Beyond the Southwest* (pp.181–209). Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Dörnyei, Z. (2009). The L2 motivational self system. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 9–42). Bristol: Multilingual Matters Ltd. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-003

Elías-Olivares, L. (1976a). Chicano language varieties and uses in East Austin. In M. Reyes Mazón (Ed.), *SWALLOW IV: Linguistics and education* (pp.195–220). San Diego, CA: Institute for Cultural Pluralism.

Elías-Olivares, L. (1976b). *Language use in a Chicano community: A sociolinguistic approach* (Working Papers in Sociolinguistics No. 30). Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Escuelas latinas de Chicago todavía no pueden. (1994, November 10). *¡Éxito!*, p. 7.

Faingold, E. (2016). Language rights for minorities and the right to code-switch in the United States workplace. In P. Chamness Miller, H. Endo, J. L. Watzke, & M. Mantero (Eds.), *Readings in language studies: A critical examination of language and community* (pp. 1–15). Laguna Beach, CA: International Society for Language Studies.

Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15, 325–340. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (2010). *Predicting and changing behavior: The reasoned action approach*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23, 29–38. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1967.tb00573.x

Fishman, J. A. (1972). *Language in sociocultural change*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theory and practice of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A., Cooper, R. L., & Ma Newman, R. (1971). *Bilingualism in the Barrio*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University.

Galindo, D. L. (1995). Language attitudes toward Spanish and English varieties: A Chicano perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17, 77–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863950171005

García, O., & Schiffman, H. F., with Zakharia, Z. (2006). Fishmanian Sociolinguistics (1949 to the present). In O. García, R. Peltz, & H. F. Schiffman (Eds.), *Language Loyalty, Continuity and Change: Joshua A. Fishman's Contributions to International Sociolinguistics* (pp. 3–68). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

García, O., Peltz, R., & Schiffman, H.F. (2006) *Fishmanian language loyalty, continuity and change: Joshua A. Fishman's contributions to international sociolinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Grebler, L., Moore, J. W., & Guzman, R. (1970). *The Mexican American people: The nation's largest minority*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Hannum, T. (1978). Attitudes of bilingual students toward Spanish. *Hispania*, 61, 90–94. https://doi.org/10.2307/339952

Hernández, K. L. (2010). *Migra! A history of the U.S. Border Patrol*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hidalgo, M. G. (1986). Language contact, language loyalty, and language prejudice on the Mexican border. *Language in Society*, 15(2), 193–220. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740450000018X

Hudson, A., Hernández-Chávez, E., & Bills, G. D. (1995). The many faces of language maintenance: Spanish language claiming in five Southwestern states. In C. Silva-Corvalán

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(Ed.), *Spanish in four continents: Studies in language contact and bilingualism* (pp.165–83). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Jenkins, D. (2009). The cost of linguistic loyalty: Socioeconomic factors in the face of shifting demographic trends among Spanish speakers in the Southwest. *Spanish in Context*, 6(1), 7–25. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.6.1.02jen

Language woes affect Hispanic dropout rate. (1994, September 14). *Champaign-Urbana News Gazette*, p. D1.

LaTouche, P. (1976). English-Spanish bilingualism and bilingual attitudes. In M. Reyes Mazón (Ed.), *SWALLOW IV: Linguistics and education* (pp. 315–325). San Diego, CA: Institute for Cultural Pluralism.

Linton, A. (2004). A critical mass model of bilingualism among U.S.-born Hispanics. *Social Forces*, 83, 279–314. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2004.0119

López, D. E. (1982). *Language maintenance and shift in the United States today: The basic patterns and their social implications* (Vol. III). Los Alamitos, CA: National Center for Bilingual Research.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (1998). The criminalization of Spanish in the United States. In D. Kibbee (Ed.), *Language legislation and linguistic rights* (pp. 55–67). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.2.06mac

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (1999). *Spanish and academic achievement among Midwest Mexican youth: The myth of the barrier*. New York, NY: Garland.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2000). Aquí no se habla español: Stories of linguistic repression in Southwest schools. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), 333–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2000.10162772

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2011, November 13). Their view: Truth in numbers requires full disclosure. *Las Cruces Sun-News; Silver City Sun-News*.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2013a, March 25). Their view: Educational testing: The new March madness. *Las Cruces Sun-News; Silver City Sun-News*.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2013b, April 30). Their view: The truth about being bilingual. *Las Cruces Sun-News; Silver City Sun-News*.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2013c). US immigration policies and their effects on Spanish speaking communities. *International Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest*, 32(2), 111–131.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2015a). *Son importantes los dos*: Language use and attitudes among wives of Mexican *profesionistas* on the U.S.-Mexico border. In K. Potowski & T. Bugel (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic change across the Spanish-speaking world: Case studies in honor of Anna Maria Escobar* (pp.147–86). Bern: Peter Lang.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2015b). La palabra enseña pero el ejemplo arrastra: Profesionista immigrants' views on Spanish and English. *Spanish in Context*, 12(3), 327–348. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.12.3.01mac

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2016, November 12). Insistence on English out of step with history. *Las Cruces Sun-News; Silver City Sun-News*.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (in press). Language and capital: Socioeconomic status and female immigrants' Spanish and English language use and attitudes. *International Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest*.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P., & Moreno, G. (2016). Connecting SHL students with the community through service learning. *Heritage Language Journal*, 12, 405–33.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Mejías, H. A., & Anderson, P. L. (1988). Attitude toward use of Spanish on the South Texas border. *Hispania*, 71, 401–07. https://doi.org/10.2307/343088

Menjívar, C., & Bejarano, C. (2004). Latino immigrants' perceptions of crime and police authorities in the United States: A case study from the Phoenix Metropolitan area. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 120–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987032000147968

Osgood, C. E., Suci, G. J., & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1957). *The measurement of meaning*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). We have room for but one language here: Language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century. *Multilingua – Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 21, 163–96.

Preston, D. R. (2002). Language with an attitude. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 40–66). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Ramírez, K. G. (1974). Socio-cultural aspects of the Chicano dialect. In G. D. Bills (Ed.), *Southwest areal linguistics* (pp.7–84). San Diego, CA: Institute for Cultural Pluralism, San Diego State University.

Ryan, E. B., & Carranza, M. A. (1977). Ingroup and outgroup reactions to Mexican American language varieties. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations* (pp. 59–82). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Schecter, S. R., Sharken-Taboada, D., & Bayley, R. (1996). Bilingual by choice: Latino parents' rationales and strategies for raising children with two languages. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 20(2), 261–281. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1996.10668630

Schecter, S. R., & Bayley, R. (1997). Language socialization practices and cultural identity: Case studies of Mexican-descent families in California and Texas. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 513–541. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587836

Schecter, S. R., & Bayley, R. (1998). Concurrence and complementarity: Mexican-background parents' decisions about language and schooling. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education*, 4(1), 47–64.

Shannon, S. M., & Escamilla, K. (1999). Mexican immigrants in U.S. schools: Targets of symbolic violence. *Educational Policy*, 13(3), 347–370. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904899013003001

Solé, Y. (1976). Language attitudes towards Spanish among Mexican American college students. In M. Reyes Mazón (Ed.), *SWALLOW IV: Linguists and education* (pp. 327–47). San Diego, CA: Institute for Cultural Pluralism.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stoney, S., & Batalova, J. (2013). Mexican immigrants in the United States. *Migration Information Source* (February). Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=935#2> (24 October, 2019).

Teschner, R. V. (1995). Beachheads, islands, and conduits: Spanish monolingualism and bilingualism in El Paso, Texas. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 114(1), 93–106. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1995.114.93

Thompson, R. M. (1974). Mexican American language loyalty and the validity of the 1970 Census. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2, 7–18.

Ushioda, E., & Dörnyei, Z. (2009). Motivation, language identities and the L2 self: A theoretical overview. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp.1–8). Bristol: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-002

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Valdés, G. (1996). *Con respeto: Bridging the distances between culturally diverse families and schools: An ethnographic portrait*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Warriner, D. (2007). Language learning and the politics of belonging: Sudanese women refugees becoming and being 'American'. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 38(4), 343–359. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2007.38.4.343

Weller, G. (1983). The role of language as a cohesive force in the Hispanic speech community of Washington, DC. In L. Elías-Olivares (Ed.), *Spanish in the U.S. setting: Beyond the Southwest* (pp. 211–34). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Index

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The analysis of language attitudes is important not only because attitudes can affect language maintenance and language change but also because such reflections and discussions can bring light to social, cultural, political and educational matters that require an interdisciplinary approach. This volume fills a crucial void in the field of Hispanic and Lusophone linguistics by introducing the latest production in the discipline of attitudes toward Spanish, Spanish sign language, Portuguese, Guarani and Papiamentu around the world, from South America and the Caribbean to the United States, Spain and Japan. The studies presented in this collection – a variety of sociolinguistic scenarios and methodological approaches – will make an important contribution to theoretical discussions on linguistic attitudes, specifically in the domains of language integration through education, language policy, and language maintenance. This book is intended for sociolinguists, social scientists and scholars in the humanities as well as graduate students enrolled in sociolinguistics courses.

ISBN 978 90 272 0511 7

John Benjamins Publishing Company

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/10/2023 7:57 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use