

**LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LINGUISTIC PROFILING AMONG
MICRO-ENTERPRISERS IN MEXICO**

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the language attitudes of entrepreneurial students enrolled in the Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE) in Mexico City toward six rural and urban varieties of Mexican Spanish to consider whether their attitudes towards these varieties influence their decisions about hiring.

A verbal guise test and focus groups were used to determine the current attitudes held by 98 ACE students towards the popular and upper-class dialects of Mexico City; the urban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan; the urban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; the urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León; and the rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero. It was determined that the ACE students, who are current and future entrepreneurs and employers, do engage in “linguistic profiling” (Purnell et al., 1999), preferring the northern varieties of Spanish and the variety spoken by the upper class of Mexico City in all three dimensions of attractiveness, status, and hireability. These results indicate that speakers of the popular variety of Mexico City and the southern varieties of Yucatán and Guerrero are less likely to be hired. In addition, the students’ ratings of hireability were also influenced by the students’ age, gender, business owner status, and exposure to the dialect in question. The students’ level of income was found to be the most likely to influence the ratings of speaker attractiveness and status.

This case study of current and future employers enrolled at ACE responds to a call for the application of language attitudes research (Edwards, 1982; Garrett, 2010) and provides a model for working with an organization. Based on these findings, it was

determined that ACE should modify its curriculum to include explicit training regarding linguistic attitudes and hiring practices.

DEDICATION

To my children. May you never, ever give up.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES	x
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
Language Attitudes	3
Regional Dialects of Mexico.....	6
The Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE): Contextualization of Subjects for this Study.....	20
Contributions of the Study	25
Previous Work on Language Attitudes	27
Research Questions	29
Limitations of Research	30
Structure of the Study.....	32
CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	36
Section I: Language Attitudes—A Historical Background.....	37
Section II: Theoretical Framework—The Mentalist Perspective.....	40
Section III: Methodologies of Language Attitude Studies.....	42
Section IV: Language Attitude Studies and Hireability.....	51
Section V: Themes and Findings of Language Attitude Studies	56
Chapter Conclusion.....	78
CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY.....	80
Research Questions	81
Research Design.....	81
Procedures	86
Pilot Study.....	86

Data Collection.....	92
Coding and Organizing the Data.....	102
Conclusion.....	108
 CHAPTER IV DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION.....	 110
Reliability of the Instrument	111
Findings.....	112
Qualitative Results	141
Conclusion.....	150
 CHAPTER V DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	 153
Summary	155
Discussion	158
Conclusions	168
Possible Practical Applications	169
Suggestions for Future Research.....	170
 REFERENCES.....	 172
 APPENDIX A	 186
 APPENDIX B	 187
 APPENDIX C	 192
 APPENDIX D	 193
 APPENDIX E.....	 196
 APPENDIX F.....	 202

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 Seventeen regional dialects defined by Lope Blanch (1990).....	11
Figure 2 Ten regional dialects (Lope Blanch, 1997)	13
Figure 3 Dialect regions of Mexico with cities of study (Adapted from Lope Blanch [1997]).....	15
Figure 4 Semantic differential scale	44
Figure 5 Example of Likert-type scale from elicitation sheet	95
Figure 6 Point allotment for Likert-type semantic differential scale.....	102
Figure 7 Means and trend of status and socio-intellectual prestige by income	126
Figure 8 Trend of mean hireability by rater age	128

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 1	Regional Dialects of Mexico Identified by Henríquez Ureña (Lope Blanch, 1997)	10
Table 2	Regional Dialects Identified by Lope Blanch (1990).....	11
Table 3	Ten Major Regional Dialects Identified by Lope Blanch (1997).....	12
Table 4	Presentation Order by Group and Variety.....	101
Table 5	Descriptive Statistics for Attitudinal Dimensions.....	112
Table 6	Coding of Speaker Variables.....	113
Table 7	Analysis of Variance: Attractiveness and Speaker Variables	114
Table 8	Mean Attractiveness by Speaker Origin.....	114
Table 9	Mean Attractiveness by Speaker Gender	116
Table 10	Mean Attractiveness by Text Style	116
Table 11	Analysis of Variance: Status & Socio-intellectual Prestige and Speaker Variables.....	117
Table 12	Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Speaker Origin.....	117
Table 13	Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Gender	118
Table 14	Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Text Style	119
Table 15	Analysis of Variance: Hireability and Speaker Variables.....	119
Table 16	Mean Hireability by Speaker Origin	120
Table 17	Mean Hireability by Text Style.....	121
Table 18	Descriptive Statistics of Rater Variables.....	122

	Page
Table 19 Rater Origin.....	123
Table 20 Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Income	125
Table 21 Analysis of Variance: Hireability and Rater Variables.....	127
Table 22 Mean Hireability by Rater Age	128
Table 23 Mean Hireability by Rater Gender	129
Table 24 Mean Hireability by Rater Business Owner Status	129
Table 25 Mean Hireability by Rater’s Identification of Speaker Origin.....	130
Table 26 Linear Regression Analysis: Decision to Hire, Attitudinal Dimensions, and Rater Variables	130
Table 27 Pearson Correlations: Attitudinal Dimensions and Rater’s Decision to Hire.....	132
Table 28 Linear Regression Analysis: Decision to Hire and Speaker Variables	132
Table 29 Analysis of Variance: Rater’s Decision to Hire and Speaker Variables ...	133
Table 30 Mean Hiring Decision by Speaker Origin.....	134
Table 31 Mean Hiring Decision by Text Style.....	135
Table 32 Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Region of Origin Statistics..	136
Table 33 Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Region of Origin	137
Table 34 Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Gender Statistics.....	138
Table 35 Chi Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Gender	139
Table 36 Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Text Style Statistics.....	139
Table 37 Chi Square Test: Job Position and Speaker Text Style	140

	Page
Table 38 Responses from Reason for Hiring Question: Chihuahua and Monterey Males and Females	146
Table 39 Responses from Reason for Hiring Question: Mexico City Upper-Class and Popular Males and Females	147
Table 40 Responses from Reason for Hiring Question: San Jeronimito and Merida Males and Females	148
Table 41 Means by Region.....	162

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Gilead then cut Ephraim off from the fords of the Jordan, and whenever Ephraimite fugitives said, 'Let me cross,' the men of Gilead would ask, 'Are you an Ephraimite?'

If he said, 'No,' they then said, 'Very well, say "Shibboleth" (שבבלת).' If anyone said, "Sibboleth" (סבלת), because he could not pronounce it, then they would seize him and kill him by the fords of the Jordan. Forty-two thousand Ephraimites fell on this occasion.

—Judges 12:5-6, NJB

Language has always been one of the most divisive variables within human societies. How we speak can determine where we live, where we work, and how much money we earn. In fact, as the passage from the book of Judges illustrates, it was because of how the Ephraimite spoke that sent him, and 42,000 other human beings, to their graves. Certainly, one could argue how these verses highlight an unlikely result for our modern times; however, the reality that individuals are discriminated against because of the way they speak is undeniable. The playwright George Bernard Shaw illustrated this in his play *Pygmalion*, which eventually was used as the basis for the popular musical *My Fair Lady*. The premise of the play revolves around two main characters: Professor Henry Higgins, a hypersensitive phonetician, and Eliza Doolittle, a woman who sells flowers in the street for money. In the play, Professor Higgins believes that, *if* he could train Eliza Doolittle to rid herself of her socially stigmatized and “deliciously

low...and dirty” Cockney accent, then she would inevitably improve her socio-economic opportunities by passing as a “well-born lady” and consequently gain better employment (Shaw, 1916, p. 37).

Much later, Dr. John Baugh, professor of education and linguistics at Stanford University, confirmed Professor Higgins’ suspicions when he found a direct correlation between speech, dialectal discrimination, and opportunities. In 1999, Baugh left messages on the machines of apartment leasing agencies in the “upper-scale” San Francisco Bay region using the exact same words in three distinct dialects of American English: (a) African American Vernacular English (AAVE), (b) Chicano English (ChE), and (c) Standard American English (SAE; Purnell, Idsardi, & Baugh, 1999, p. 19). A significant difference was found in the number of callbacks corresponding with each dialect—with the SAE dialect receiving significantly more callbacks than the AAVE and ChE dialects. Baugh (2000) coined the term “linguistic profiling,” and defined it as “discrimination based solely upon auditory cues...used to identify an individual as belonging to a linguistic subgroup...or racial subgroup” (p. 363). The dialectal discrimination presented in the book of Judges, George Bernard Shaw’s *Pygmalion*, and Baugh’s apartment agency recordings demonstrates how individuals who use a stigmatized dialect find themselves at a disadvantage because of the language attitudes maintained in their societies.

As a Hispanist and sociolinguist, I am motivated to discover what the current language attitudes are in Mexico regarding the various dialects of Mexican Spanish. More specifically, my intent with this study is to discover what the language attitudes are

of current (and future) Mexican micro-enterprisers attending the Academy for Creating Enterprise in Mexico towards six regional dialects of Mexican Spanish, and how their language attitudes may influence their current and future hiring practices.

The remainder of this chapter will be organized into the following sections: (a) a succinct introduction to language attitudes including an overview of how language attitudes influence the financial achievements of individuals, the lack of language attitudes studies conducted in Mexico, and a note on micro-enterprisers in Mexico; (b) a brief history of Mexico and demonstrate the emphasis historians have placed on the divide between the north and the south, along with a description of the regional dialects that will be examined in this study; (c) a description of the Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE) and its history, mission, funding sources, educational methodologies, student body, and also a clarification of my personal relationship with the institution, and an explanation for why I chose ACE students as participants in this study; (d) an evaluation of the chief innovations this study offers to language attitude studies; (e) an outline of the four primary research questions for this study; (f) the limitations of this study; and finally, (g) the structure for this study.

Language Attitudes

Language attitudes stem from language ideology. Irvine (1989) defined language ideology as “the system of ideas [and values] about social and linguistic relationships” (p. 255). In essence, the leaders of a society establish a value-system by which the dialects found within their society are ranked. Subsequently, every individual living in that society is measured by that (arbitrary) value-system. Because those in authority

establish the value-system, they inevitably determine that their own dialect should be established as the standard variety, or the “correct way” of speaking. Eventually, as Schilling-Estes (2006) explained, “Standard varieties are considered to be more prestigious than other, nonstandard varieties, and are generally thought of as ‘correct’ ...in education, the workplace, and the government” (p. 312). Therefore, the speakers of standard varieties are often perceived as more prestigious and more educated than speakers of non-standard varieties.

Language attitudes can affect all aspects of a speaker’s life. Bourdieu and Thompson (1999) stated that a “linguistic exchange... is also an economic exchange” wherein “utterances are not only...signs to be understood and deciphered [but] are also signs of wealth...and signs of authority” (p. 67). Thus, the way a person speaks represents a certain category of wealth, education, and personality, whether or not the individual fits those categories. This is especially true in situations such as a job interview where a job applicant may be rejected based on their non-standard dialect, although their work experience and/or education show their ability to perform the job well, as Anderson (1981) found in his study among potential and actual employers and their attitudes towards speakers of standard and non-standard English varieties and their hireability. Thus, it is important to understand what language attitudes exist within societies in order to show possible repercussions that speakers of non-standard varieties may face.

Language Attitudes in Mexico

Despite being home to the largest native Spanish-speaking population in the world, there is a scarce amount of research regarding the language attitudes towards varieties of Mexican Spanish. Terborg, García Landa, and Moore (2006) addressed this reality in their definitive article on the historic contextualization of Mexican Spanish and language policy. In their article, Terborg et al. (2006) explained, “Over the past 150 years *some* research had been carried out on Mexican Spanish in Mexico, but the majority of the linguistic work [in Mexico] has been done on indigenous languages” (p. 422, italics mine). Thus, the attitudes towards the varieties of Spanish in Mexico should be explored further.

The lack of literature regarding the general language attitudes in Mexico necessitates action; especially considering how the language attitudes maintained by a society at large can have far-reaching consequences for individuals who speak non-standard varieties. Thus, because of my interest in language attitudes in Mexico, and specifically in the hireability of individuals who use non-standard dialects, I am motivated to contribute contemporary, empirical data to the scarce body of literature by identifying and documenting the current language attitudes present in one segment of Mexico’s society and how these attitudes may relate to the hireability of individuals who speak a non-standard variety of Mexican Spanish. Furthermore, I focus on the language attitudes of current and future Mexican micro-enterprisers towards the various regional dialects of Mexican Spanish because, to my knowledge, no studies have previously explored these attitudes, even though micro-enterprisers currently employ approximately

45% of Mexico's labor force (Secretaria de Economia, 2012). Therefore, understanding the language attitudes of the individuals within this group may provide crucial insights into which dialect areas are recognized, the social characteristics attributed to the individuals who speak these dialects, and how these attributions may influence hiring practices.

Regional Dialects of Mexico

Prior to examining the language attitudes of Mexico, it is important to understand the history of Mexico and its language. This section aims to show how the history of Mexico affects its current language situation. It also aims to show what the current regional dialects are in Mexico and to describe the six varieties examined in this study.

History of Language in Mexico

There exists great variation in the Spanish of Mexico due to several factors, namely, the influence of indigenous languages and the geographic regions containing differing degrees of industrialization. Mexico is home to the largest native Spanish-speaking population in the world. According to the 2010 *Censo de Población y Vivienda* (Population and Housing Census) from Mexico's *Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática* (National Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Computing), an estimated 93% (97.3 million people) of Mexico's total population speaks Mexican Spanish natively (INEGI, 2010). To help put this into perspective, the number of Spanish speakers in Mexico is more than double the population of Spain (nearly 47.2 million). In the Americas, there are as many Spanish-speakers in Mexico as there are people in the following 11 Central and South American countries combined: Bolivia (10

million), Costa Rica (4.7 million), Ecuador (14.7 million), El Salvador (6.2 million), Guatemala (14.7 million), Honduras (7.7 million), Nicaragua (5.9 million), Panama (3.6 million), Paraguay (6.6 million), Uruguay (3.4 million), and half of Venezuela (14.7 million).

Pre-conquest. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish to Mexico in the 16th century, there were many different indigenous ethnic groups that spoke numerous languages. The Aztecs were a great imperial power and used Nahuatl as “the language of commerce, law, economics, science, art, education and literature” (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 46). However, many other tribes spoke Nahuatl as their second language or they had interpreters to communicate with the Aztecs (Hidalgo, 1996). In fact, Brice Heath (1972) stated that the tribes who did not speak Nahuatl “suffered a loss of privilege and prestige” (p. 3). They were viewed as outcasts and ridiculed for their speech. Thus, once the Spaniards arrived, a sort of linguistic tension already existed in Mexico.

Conquest. When the Spanish arrived, they first aimed for the conquest of the Aztec Imperial power, leading to the fall of Tenochtitlan in 1521 and the foundation of Mexico City. The Spanish then followed the Aztec battles to the South and the west. The Spaniards tried to implement a program to train interpreters to strengthen the relationship between the Indians and the Spanish, but this plan ultimately failed as the Indians did not adopt the Spanish language (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 47). Thus, the educating of the Indians was left to the missionaries. After nearly 60 years of struggle with trying to learn the various indigenous languages, the missionaries saw the need to forego trying to teach the Indians Spanish and to instead learn Nahuatl themselves in order to teach the

Catholic faith (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 47). In 1570, King Philip II mandated that Nahuatl should be the official language since it was “the most widely spread in New Spain” (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 48). Later, in 1599, King Philip III decided that the priests should learn the different indigenous languages, which proved impossible for the priests due to the large quantity of indigenous tongues. In 1618, the same King Philip III completely removed the monolingual Spanish-speaking priests from the missions. Finally, in 1634, King Philip IV mandated that “Spanish should be promoted as the sole language of New Spain” (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 49). In 1821, with its independence from Spain, Mexico found itself in an interesting position wherein many of her inhabitants spoke Spanish, yet approximately 60% of the population spoke independent indigenous languages (Cifuentes, 1992, p. 12). Their independence brought them a “new name,” a “new ethnicity,” and a “new identity,” which was represented by Mexican Spanish (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 52). Although the mandate from King Philip IV in 1634 did not seem to have an immediate response in Mexico, Spanish is now considered the national language of Mexico.

Present day. There has since been a great shift from the many indigenous languages to Spanish. The government’s push in the 1940s for Indigenous awareness “accelerated an unanticipated shift to Spanish” (Hidalgo, 1996, p. 58). The Spanish heritage seemed to grow deeper and deeper. Hidalgo (1996) stated, “Another factor responsible for the disappearance of the Indian languages is the migration to the city, where the Indians have become part of the cheapest labor force” (p. 58). Although Spanish has dominated the linguistic battles, there are still over 6.9 million speakers of

indigenous languages age 3 and up in Mexico (INEGI, 2010). While there remain many speakers of indigenous languages, the number of Spanish speakers continues to grow, albeit with much variation. Even among the Spanish speakers, as Hidalgo (1996) stated, the vast majority “speak a regional or social variety of Mexican Spanish” (p. 53). These regional varieties also exist due to historical and cultural factors.

History and Culture Affect the Regional Dialects

After the Spanish conquest of Mexico City, there was swift movement across the south to overpower the tribes that the Aztecs had either previously conquered or were trying to conquer at that time. Because of the geography of Mexico and the geographic dispersion of the tribes, there was a divide between north and south. With Mexico City at the frontier, the dividing line, although “blurred somewhat...still stands” (Sauer, 1941, p. 364).

Regions and their dialects. Due to Mexico’s vast geographic extension and rich history, there are several dialects of Mexican Spanish in existence. Henríquez Ureña demonstrated this in his seminal research in 1921. In his study, Henríquez Ureña identified and described the various regional dialects throughout most of Spanish-speaking Latin America and ultimately concluded that there were at least five dialectal regions (or zones) in Mexico (p. 361; see Table 1).

Table 1

Regional Dialects of Mexico Identified by Henríquez Ureña (Lope Blanch, 1997)

Number	Variety
1	North of the Mexican Republic
2	High plateau of Central Mexico
3	Subtropical Eastern coast
4	Yucatan Peninsula
5	Central America, including Chiapas

In response to the work published by Henríquez Ureña, Lope Blanch (1975) argued that, while Henríquez Ureña should be commended for his efforts, his conclusions regarding the defining of the dialectal regions of Mexico were not “sufficient” (p. 127). Lope Blanch then embarked upon his longitudinal investigation wherein, over the span of 23 years, he meticulously delineated the dialect regions of Mexico by examining the phonetic, lexical, and syntactic variation of Mexican Spanish (p. 127). Finally, in 1990, Lope Blanch published his extensive descriptive work on the regional dialects of Mexican Spanish in the *Atlas Lingüístico de México*, wherein he identified 17 dialectal regions in Mexico (see Table 2; also see Figure 1, as cited by Hidalgo, 1996, p. 65).

Table 2

Regional Dialects Identified by Lope Blanch (1990)

Number	Variety	Number	Variety
1	Yucatan	11	Northwestern varieties
2	Campeche	12	Central high plateau
3	Tabasco	13	Northwestern varieties
4	Southern Veracruz	14	Chihuahua
5	Veracruz	15	Southern Baja California
6	Chiapas	16	Northeastern varieties
7	Juchitán, Oaxaca	17	Transitional zone
8	High plateau of Oaxaca		
9	Southern high plateau		
10	Michoacán		

Figure 1 displays these dialects in the dialect map by Hidalgo (1996, p. 65).



Figure 1. Seventeen regional dialects defined by Lope Blanch (1990).

After his publication of the 17 dialectal regions, Lope Blanch (1997) revisited his work and gave an overview of the variation found in Mexican Spanish. In addition, he categorized the 17 dialects into 10 major dialect regions shown in Table 3 and Figure 2. He stated that there were likely several sub-regions within the 10 different regions but that further studies would be required to define the limits of the Mexican dialects.

Table 3

Ten Major Regional Dialects Identified by Lope Blanch (1997)

Number	Variety
1	Yucatan Peninsula
2	Chiapas
3	Tabasco
4	Veracruz
5	Oaxaca and surrounding high plateaus
6	High plateaus of Mexico City and the surrounding areas
7	Coasts of Oaxaca and Guerrero
8	Northeastern region of Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Baja California
9	Northern high plateaus
10	Tamaulipas and Nuevo León

Figure 2 depicts the 10 regional dialects identified by Lope Blanch (1997).

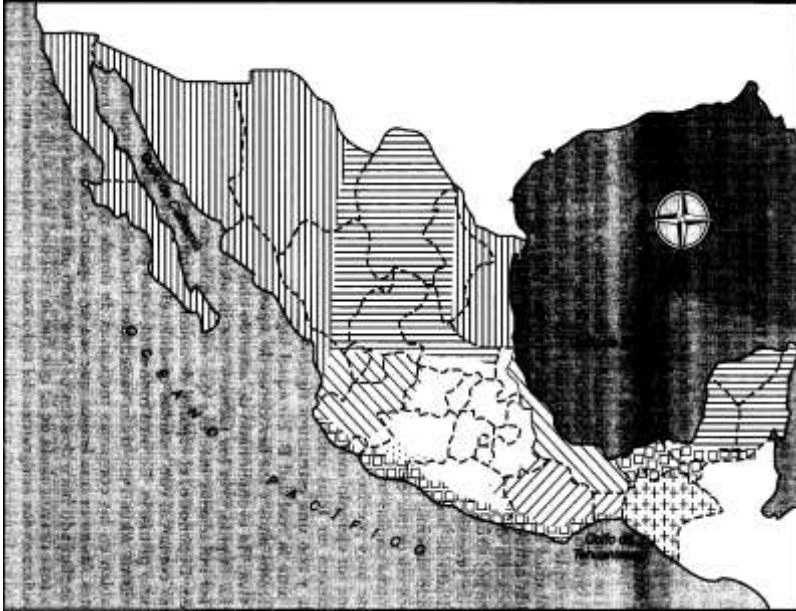


Figure 2. Ten regional dialects (Lope Blanch, 1997, p. 89).

Lope Blanch (1997) identified 10 different regional dialects, with the proviso that there are, within each of the identified regions, other varieties that could possibly be considered distinct regional dialects. He also mentioned the great need for further study and investigation of the existing regional dialects. The regional dialects he identified are (a) The Yucatan Peninsula; (b) Chiapas; (c) Tabasco; (d) Veracruz; (e) Oaxaca and the surrounding high plateaus; (f) the high plateaus of Mexico City and the surrounding areas; (g) the coasts of Oaxaca and Guerrero; (h) the northeastern region of Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Baja California; (i) the northern high plateaus; and (j)

Tamaulipas and Nuevo León (p. 88). Figure 3 shows an updated version of the dialect map of Lope Blanch (1997).

The work of Henriquez Ureña (1921) and Lope Blanch (1990, 1997) helped define the regional dialects that exist in Mexican Spanish and serve as the foundation for the Mexican Spanish varieties that I will use in this study. While each of these dialects merits further study, especially regarding language attitudes, due to subject availability and phase one of the pilot study (see Chapter III), six dialects were chosen for this dissertation: (a) Popular urban dialect of Mexico City; (b) Suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan; (c) Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; (d) Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León; (e) Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero; and (f) Urban dialect of the upper-class of Mexico City. The dialects from Mexico City are in the central part of the country (Regions 1 and 6); the dialect from Yucatan (Region 2), is in the southern peninsula of the Gulf of Mexico; the dialect from Chihuahua (Region 3) is in the northern region of Mexico, near the US border; the dialect from Nuevo Leon (Region 4) is also in the northern region, although slightly more southern than the dialect from Chihuahua; and the dialect from Guerrero (Region 5) is on the southern Pacific coast of Mexico. Following is a brief description of these varieties.

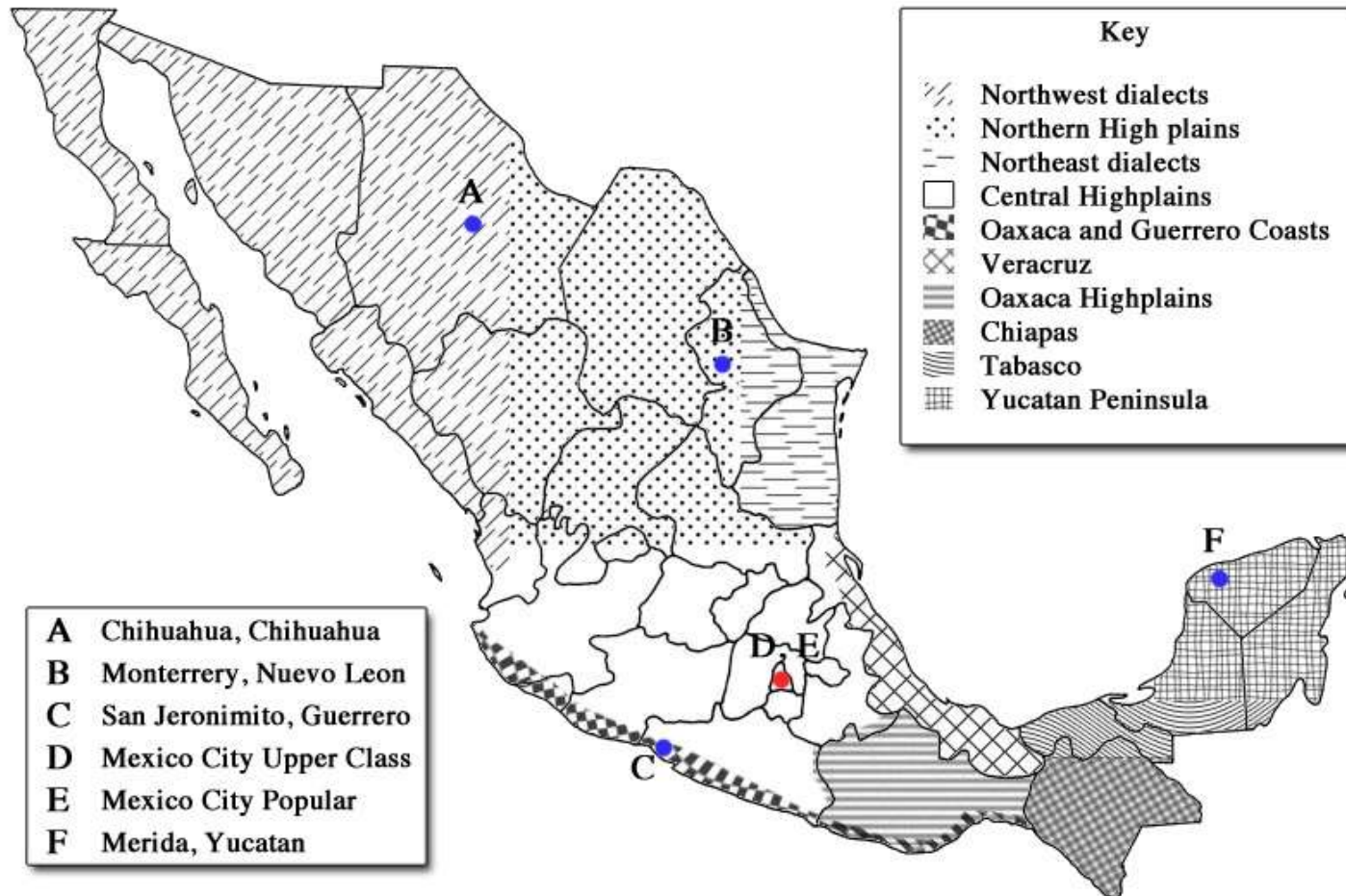


Figure 3. Dialect regions of Mexico with cities of study (Adapted from Lope Blanch [1997]).

Mexico City. The dialectal region of Mexico City, including surrounding areas of the state of Mexico, as well as parts of Puebla and Guadalajara, is referred to as the central dialect region. As Martín Butragueño (2006) described, this area contains both a popular variety and a variety spoken by the upper class or more educated individuals. While there are several differences between the varieties spoken by the two main social classes, Martín Butragueño focused on assibilation of /ɾ/ and /r/. Those of a higher socioeconomic class prefer assibilation of /ɾ/, but not of /r/. Inhabitants of the same area but of a lower socioeconomic class, speak the popular variety, and prefer the opposite of the upper class, the assibilation of /r/, but not of /ɾ/. The popular variety is commonly referred to as *Chilango* Spanish and highly stigmatized by those who do not speak it (Hidalgo, 1987). Esquinca Moreno's (1999) participants "mocked" the popular variety of Mexico City and described it as speaking in a "sing song manner" (p. 85). However, the variety spoken by the upper class, as Pineda, Pineda, Cuetara, Castellanos, and Lopez (2004) stated, "represents the variety spoken by most of the population in the country" (p. 976). Thus, these two urban varieties merit further study regarding language attitudes.

North. The north was not so easily won by the Spanish, since it was populated by a "large number of very small tribes" (Sauer, 1941, p. 356). Yet, after many battles, the Spanish founded Monterrey in 1596. Hamnett (1999) described this as their statement to the north of their immovable presence. The natives of the north were soon banished to small, remote areas or sent off to the south to be used as slaves (Sauer, 1941, p. 364). The Spaniards then developed the north with mining cities, ranches, and cotton

plantations. As Sauer (1941) stated, “For the most part, men of the North have made the revolutions and wielded the power, men from Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León” (p. 364). This pattern remains today, as Monterrey is thought of as a city of power and industry with its “impressive economic growth [that] has more than matched that of the country as a whole” (Browning & Feindt, 1971, p. 309).

Because of its advantages in industry, education, and economy, Monterrey has been chosen as a dialect of study for this dissertation. The dialect was termed by Martín Butragueño (2009) as the Northern Mexico dialect, which includes Nuevo León. It is characterized by vowel weakening, and /e/ and /o/ are commonly diphthongized with a strong vowel. There are also lexical differences found in this region, for example, *cócono* is used for the word *pavo* “turkey” and *huila* for the word *papalote* “kite” (p. 32). These phonological and lexical differences, as well as historical and cultural differences make the Nuevo León dialect interesting for study.

The state of Chihuahua is also considered to be part of the north of Mexico, as it borders the United States. However, as Lope Blanch (1997) demonstrated, it belongs to a different dialect region than the Monterrey dialect, namely, the Northwest Dialects. The dialect of Chihuahua and surrounding northwestern region is characterized by the fricativization of /č/. Due to its shared border with the United States, Martín Butragueño (2009) mentioned that this regional dialect is in need of further investigation in order to better describe its characteristics, as it currently termed a “transitional zone” (p. 16). The Chihuahua dialect, with its prominent phonological differences, calls for further attitudinal research.

South. Because of the Aztec reign, Spain more easily conquered the southern parts of Mexico. The great indigenous cultures of the south have been considered somewhat more civilized than the north, and the culture remains strong in spite of the Spanish inquisition (Sauer, 1941). Sauer (1941) stated, “The South still shows its aboriginal fundament of patient, steady toil done by apt craftsmen, who can create things of remarkable beauty if they have the chance” (p. 364). However, because of the remaining parts of indigenous culture, the north “has dominance...over the Southern hearth,” especially due to its lack of industrialization compared to the north (Sauer, 1941, p. 364).

The coast of Guerrero is often described as the Pacific coast and tourism provides the greatest source of income (Martín Butragueño, 2009). Guerrero is among the poorest states of Mexico (García-Verdú, 2005) and, because it was home to one of the largest ports of African slaves, African languages have historically influenced the phonological characteristics of the coastal dialect. The characteristics of this dialect include, as Althoff (1994) and Martín Butragueño (2009) explained, the weakening of /s/ before a voiced consonant, weakening of final consonants, confusion of /r/ and /l/, and velarization of final /n/. However, Althoff (1994) acknowledged that, while the influence of African languages in Mexican Spanish has “been recognized in the specialized literature... it has not received much scholarly attention” (p. 249). In addition to the phonological differences found in Guerrero’s coastal dialect, many archaic forms of Spanish are found. For example, *nadien* for *nadie*, adding a final /s/ in the informal “you” verb form of the preterit tense, as is seen in the case of *fuistes* rather than *fuiste*. As the Guerrero

coast's dialect holds highly stigmatized phonological and lexical differences, it too is merits further study regarding the language attitudes held by others in the country (Althoff, 1994).

Due to geographic isolation and a strong indigenous presence, the Yucatan Peninsula has distinct phonological and lexical features characterized by the indigenous language: Mayan. Lope Blanch (1997) stated that the Yucatan dialect is different from the neighboring Caribbean dialects because of the strong pronunciation of the consonants and the lack of /s/ aspiration. Hidalgo (1996) also mentioned the glottalization of voiceless stops, as well as the retroflex phoneme [R] characteristic of Yucatan Spanish. One example of the lexical differences is that, while Standard Mexican Spanish uses the word *benjamín* for the “baby of the family,” in the Yucatan Peninsula, this person is referred to as *tup*, *tupito*, *topo*, or *chutito* (p. 64). Hidalgo (1996) stated, “The vocabulary of this region is in most ways different from other varieties of Mexican Spanish,” as well as the “pronunciation and syntax” (p. 67). She also stated that the Yucatan variety has many borrowings from Maya-Yucatecan and thus “can be singled out as an independent dialect zone” (p. 68). As possibly the most distinct regional dialect, the Yucatan variety will also be considered in this study.

Conclusion

Each of the six varieties to be examined in this study contain non-standard characteristics, except for the Mexico City variety spoken by the upper class, which is considered to be the country's standard Mexican Spanish variety (Hidalgo, 1996). Riegelhaupt and Carrasco (2000) stated that the use of “a few stigmatized characteristics

of Spanish can be generalized by standard Spanish speakers so as to create the impression of lack of education, and low social status” (p. 417). Thus, the further investigation of the language attitudes held toward the speakers of the non-standard varieties is required.

The Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE): Contextualization of Subjects for this Study

This study examines the language attitudes of individuals enrolled at *La Academia para la Creación de Empresas* (The Academy for Creating Enterprise, or ACE), a not-for-profit micro-enterprise entrepreneurship school located in the northernmost border of Mexico City. Following is a succinct overview of ACE.

History

Serial entrepreneur and successful businessman Stephen W. Gibson began the Called2Serve (C2S) Foundation in 1993 with his wife Bette M. Gibson. Immediately after registering the C2S Foundation, both Stephen and Bette took a 19-month sabbatical and moved from their home in Provo, Utah, to Cebu, the Philippines. Their purpose was to establish the Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE)—a residential boarding school where individuals in poverty could attend for a low cost and learn how to launch and operate micro-enterprises.

Using their own financial resources, the Gibsons located and rented a large *Cebuano* home that would provide comfortable accommodations for up to 40 students who would eventually live there for a period of 8 weeks. This home would later become known as the campus for ACE. After 19 months in the Philippines, the Gibsons returned

back to Provo and left ACE under an all-Filipino management team. Upon their return, the Gibsons began searching for opportunities to replicate ACE in different countries around the world.

In 2010, the C2S Foundation expanded ACE's program to Mexico City and opened a similar business boarding school on a four-acre campus owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church). The campus had previously been used as a boarding school for Mexicans studying agronomy and naturally lent itself to replicate ACE's Filipino boarding-school training program.

Personal Relationship

My personal relationship with ACE began in 2007 when I enrolled in a Small Business Management and Entrepreneurship course taught by the Gibsons. Shortly after my enrollment in their course, I applied for a position as an Undergraduate Student Research Assistant with ACE through Brigham Young University-Hawai'i (BYU-H). After being accepted into the internship program, I began working with the Gibsons to publish ACE's fifth volume of curriculum entitled *Where There Are No Jobs: Creating Family Prosperity*. In 2008, I translated Volume 5 into Spanish and piloted the curriculum as an intern for ACE in Mexico City over a period of 4 months.

Expansion to Mexico

In early 2010, the Gibsons informed me that the C2S Foundation would be replicating ACE's Filipino model and expanding into Mexico in early 2011. Seeing the potential for in-country research, I petitioned the Founders and Board of Directors regarding the research for this study on language attitudes among ACE students in

Mexico. I was granted permission to conduct research on the language attitudes among ACE Mexico students with the following stipulations:

- Upon concluding this research, I would be required to report the outcomes to the entire Board of Directors.
- In that report, I would be required to demonstrate whether or not language attitudes existed among ACE Mexico students.
- In the event that ACE Mexico students did, in fact, demonstrate language attitudes, I would be asked to recommend a pragmatic solution that they would, in turn, implement into their established curriculum.

Funding

In Mexico, efforts have been made to make ACE a self-sustaining program and to decrease dependency on grants and private donations. Students are required to pay their own travel expenses to and from the campus. The subsidized tuition, however, is established at \$350 USD.¹ In the event that a student is unable to pay \$350 USD, he or she is asked to pay as much as he or she is able to afford. The C2S Foundation then assumes the difference, which in Mexico is roughly \$300 USD. However, during their time at the Academy, the students participate in an activity wherein they are given an object that has little, or no, inherent value (e.g. a rock, an egg, a blade of grass, a tomato, or a piece of paper) and ultimately earn part of their tuition. They go to homes or businesses in the area to trade their rock for a pen—something of little or no value. In turn, they will then trade that pen for an orange, which they will then trade for two bananas. Eventually, their bananas may be traded for a small bag of rice or two small bags of beans. Those beans and rice can then be sold for a few pesos and then the students can purchase a box of chocolates and triple their money by selling the

¹ This number is based on the purchasing power of Mexico per individual.

individual chocolates. After only a few hours, each group of students finds themselves with anywhere from \$50 USD-\$100 USD. Thus, after 6 weeks, the students are able to pay back their debt to the Academy from the money they earned in their income-generating activities.

ACE Students

ACE's purpose is to train individuals who have returned from serving proselytizing missions for the LDS Church to aid them in achieving self-reliance by starting or improving a micro-enterprise. In turn, ACE suggests that these individuals have a higher probability of employing others. Every student enrolled in ACE's residential program is a member of the LDS Church and is a returned missionary (RM). This means that each student has donated 18 months (women) or 24 months (men) to proselytize, as well as provide humanitarian aid, to individuals in Mexico or abroad. The ages of ACE students range from 20 years old to 55 years old. Both males and females attend ACE and the student body breakdown is approximately 66% male and 34% female.

Teaching Methodology

ACE is a full-time, rigorous boarding school. Its teaching methodology is built around the expectation that each student will live on the campus and be trained between 12 to 16 hours a day, 6 days a week. The teaching methodology implemented at ACE provides ample time for both theory and practical application, which are fundamental to the acquisition of business management skills. However, ACE's methodology is intentionally designed to provide students with significantly more practical experience

than theory. Ultimately, students spend 30% of their time learning theory in the traditional classroom setting and 70% of their time applying the theory in the field.

Application

The focus of ACE's educational program is that every student should spend the majority of his or her time in the "Launch & Learn" program. The "Launch & Learn" program requires every student, regardless of whether or not they have a business at home, to apply the theory they receive in the classroom by "launching" (starting) an income-generating activity (IGA), or small business, while they are enrolled at ACE. The students are not required to formally register, or incorporate, their IGAs because of the short duration of the program. However, ACE students are asked to abide by all federal and city laws by obtaining a peddler's license, which allows them to sell their products or services on the street or to small businesses.

The strength of the "Launch & Learn" program is that it is occurring while students are taking classes. For example, the first 4 to 6 hours of their daily training is conducted in a traditional classroom setting where they receive the theory of business management and entrepreneurship through case studies, lectures, and literature. During the remaining 6 to 10 hours of their daily training, ACE students actively operate their small businesses in teams and "learn" how to implement the theory discussed in the classroom. The "Launch and Learn" methodology is the backbone of ACE's curriculum and students endure this rigorous pace of learning throughout their entire duration of the

program.² The application-based teaching methodology implemented at ACE makes this school a good site for studying language attitudes and hireability because the students are already engaged in some aspects of running a business and either currently hiring for their existing businesses or thinking seriously about hiring in the future. The ACE organization is particularly interested in hiring at this time because, in a recent survey, ACE graduates reported that they were having trouble hiring the right individuals for their businesses. Consequently, ACE is eager to learn whether the language attitudes of their students influence their hiring practices.

Contributions of the Study

This study adds contemporary data to the scarce body of literature regarding the current language attitudes in Mexico. More specifically, it contributes to existing research on the language attitudes of potential and/or actual employers (Anderson, 1981; Atkins, 1993; Carlson & McHenry, 2006) and extends this research to Mexico. In addition, this study offers two innovations. First, it investigates the language attitudes of Mexican men and women who are current and/or future micro-enterprisers. This is a perspective that, to my knowledge, has yet to be published in the literature. It is important to understand the language attitudes maintained by micro-enterprisers in Mexico because, as stated previously, micro-enterprisers employ nearly half of Mexico's labor force (Secretaría de Economía, 2012). Admittedly, while ACE students are not representative of all micro-enterprisers throughout Mexico, they do provide an initial

² The "Launch & Learn" program was developed and implemented by Stephen Gibson at ACE in the Philippines. The program has since been adopted by BYU's Marriott School of Management. Versions of the "Launch & Learn" program have subsequently been adopted and adapted by Babson College, Stanford, Thunderbird School of Management, and other universities.

perspective toward further understanding the language attitudes of micro-enterprisers in Mexico. In turn, this investigation may be considered as a foundation for future, generalizable research regarding language attitudes and hireability among micro-enterprises in Mexico. Furthermore, language attitude scholars have called for studies with real-world applications (Edwards, 1982; Garrett, 2010). By working with an organization to address a significant issue for that organization, this case study of current and future employers enrolled at ACE responds to this call and provides a model for applying language attitudes research to real-world problems.

The second innovation this study offers is the combination of both qualitative and quantitative data elicitation methods. While the majority of language attitude studies use quantitative methods (Carlson & McHenry, 2006; Labov, 1966; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960; Preston, 1989), finding a study that employs both types of methods has proven to be difficult. Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) argued that studies that use qualitative methods along with quantitative methods may allow for “more powerful interpretations” of the findings (p. 81). Therefore, in an effort to unearth the language attitudes of micro-enterprisers in Mexico, this study, uses three different methods. First, the quantitative method, a verbal guise technique (VGT) is used for all participants. Then, two qualitative methods, focus groups and a dialect map, were used among 18 of the participants. Each of these tools is used in addition to demographic and sociolinguistic questionnaires.

Previous Work on Language Attitudes

These three methods were chosen for this study based on past research that proves their effectiveness, and has resulted in significant findings. The verbal guise technique (VGT) is a quantitative method that involves the recorded voices of native speakers of each of the language varieties in question. Listeners are asked to evaluate the speakers' "capabilities, personalities, emotional states, and various other social or linguistic characteristics" (Ball & Giles, 1982, p. 103). In turn, based solely on the auditory cues from the recording, the listeners (raters) form judgments of certain features of the person in question such as their personality, intelligence, social status, and their hireability. Lambert et al. (1960) pioneered the Matched Guise Technique when they investigated the language attitudes of Canadians towards French and English by using two quantitative methods: a matched guise test and a questionnaire. They found that all raters generally favored the English speakers. In the Matched Guise Technique, raters believe that they are hearing two speakers speaking different language varieties whereas they are actually hearing one person using two different language varieties—adopting two "guises," in this case, bilingual speakers of English and French. Due to the difficulty in finding competent bilingual speakers for some combinations of varieties, the Verbal Guise Technique was developed in order to use multiple speakers while eliciting the language attitudes of listeners (Markel, Eisler, & Reese, 1967). Markel et al. (1967) used a VGT when they elicited the language attitudes of female college students in New York towards 12 female speakers. They found that regional dialect was a significant factor in determining speaker personality. Amastae and Elias-Olivares (1978) also used the VGT

when they investigated the language attitudes of university students and border residents in Mexico towards five different standard and non-standard Spanish and English varieties. They were required to use multiple speakers in order to provide credible samples of each of the varieties.

Focus groups are a qualitative method that has been used in language attitude studies to help identify the salient language attitudes held by the listeners (raters). As shown in Garrett et al.'s (2003) study regarding the language attitudes held by teachers and young students in Wales towards several regional dialects, a focus group session consists of two or more participants who are asked direct questions regarding their language attitudes towards a specific language group. As Oppenheim (1992) demonstrated, group interviews can “spark off new ideas” in the participants as they engage in a discussion regarding language attitudes (p. 79). Another advantage of using focus groups, as Garrett et al. (2003) stated, is that they permit the participants to “respond in their own terms rather than being confined to predetermined categories” (p. 35). Thus, focus groups are a useful tool to elicit language attitudes in addition to a VGT.

Another qualitative method of language attitude elicitation I employ in this study is the use of a dialect map. Dialect maps, or “folk maps,” are used to help identify the perceptions of individuals regarding the differences between regional dialects. Preston (1986) conducted personal interviews using dialect maps in order to understand what the perceived dialect areas are of university students from different parts of the United States. He found that his respondents were able to not only identify the different speech

areas, but were also able to label them and rate them based on “correctness” and “pleasantness.” The implementation of a dialect map is relatively simple, but highly informative. Participants are shown a map of their country and are then asked to identify the various regional dialects of their country on the map by drawing a circle around the geographic area wherein they believe specific regional dialects are spoken. The result is that the participants clearly illustrate their perceptions of where “they believe varieties are different” (Preston, 2002, p. 52). Whether or not the answers given by the participants coincide with professional dialect maps is not the primary objective—although studies in the United States have shown and stated that they generally do correspond to major dialect areas (Preston, 1989). The purpose of dialect maps is to demonstrate that individuals in nearly every society are aware that dialectal differences exist. They also demonstrate that individuals hold stereotypes towards the speakers of the different dialects and the maps are one way to help identify those stereotypes.

While the elicitation instruments differ, previous research shows that language attitudes exist in countries all over the world, including a limited amount of research previously conducted in Mexico. Research has also shown how the language attitudes maintained within a given society influence where individuals are able to find housing, as well as whether or not individuals seeking employment are hired, which is inevitably correlated with the speaker’s socio-economic success.

Research Questions

The specific research questions that I will use to consider the relation between language attitudes and hiring practices are the following:

1. What language attitudes do 20-50 year old ACE students in Mexico hold with respect to the following varieties of Spanish:
 - a. Popular dialect of Mexico City
 - b. Suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan
 - c. Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
 - d. Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León
 - e. Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero
 - f. Urban dialect of the upper-class of Mexico City
2. How do the rater's origin, economic level, gender, age, business owner status, and education level play a role in the language attitudes of Mexican adults enrolled at ACE?
3. Do the language attitudes of ACE students towards the six regional dialects of Mexican Spanish influence their decision of whom they are more or less likely to hire?
4. Should ACE create culturally appropriate curriculum that includes explicit training regarding linguistic attitudes?

Limitations of Research

This study is not without limitations. The most apparent limitation for this study is that ACE students and graduates are members of the LDS Church—a religious sub-population of Mexico. However, other studies of language attitudes have also been conducted among sample populations sharing a religion. For example, Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) investigated the language attitudes towards Greek and Turkish of a Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul and found that while the residents feel it is important to speak Greek (their native language) and preserve it for future generations, the younger generation is already showing signs of a language shift from Greek to Turkish. Another example can be found in Tannenbaum and Ofner's (2008) study, which examined the language attitudes held by a sample population of a Haredi community in Israel towards Hebrew, Yiddish, and English. Their study found that the subjects strongly preferred Yiddish and Hebrew to English in all dimensions.

Recognizing the limitations of their respective studies, neither Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) nor Tannenbaum and Ofner (2008) sought to generalize their findings beyond the subgroup of the population sampled. However, their findings have contributed to the general field of language attitudes studies because they identified the strong linguistic stereotypes held by these religious subgroups and the language ideologies underlying the stereotypes.

The second limitation of this study is the fact that the participants are all returned missionaries. Thus, this population has increased exposure to other regional accents in comparison with other Mexican micro-enterprisers. As several studies mention, it is likely that a person with extended exposure to a particular accent may find it more recognizable than someone with little to no exposure to the accent, which may alter their perception of that accent (De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; DeShields & Kara, 2011; Milroy & McClenaghan, 1977; Suarez Budenbender, 2009).

The third limitation of this study is that ACE students have obtained more formal education than the general Mexican population. While 22.3% of the Mexican population has completed high school (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía [INEGI], 2010), approximately 85% of ACE students have completed high school or beyond. ACE students achieve higher educational levels because the LDS church requires young men and young women seeking to serve a full-time mission to graduate from high school prior to their departure.

Because ACE students are all LDS returned missionaries with extended exposure to regional dialects different than their own, as well as having higher levels of education,

it is evident that the results of this study may not be generalizable to the entire population of Mexican micro-enterprisers. However, this population is of particular interest to the Called2Serve Foundation and to me due to the possible need for the development of linguistically appropriate curriculum. As such, this study presents a model for applying the theories and methods of language attitudes research to real-world situations in which actual communities of speakers may benefit from this knowledge. In addition, this study will contribute to the existing research on language attitudes by using qualitative and quantitative methods, which enable this study to offer a stepping-stone for others due to the in-depth perspective on language attitudes provided by the results.

Structure of the Study

Chapter II is a comprehensive review of the literature on language attitude studies and is divided into five sections. Section I offers a brief account on how the behaviorist and mentalist approaches of social psychology evolved into the theoretical underpinnings of language attitude research. Section II expounds upon the quantitative and qualitative methodologies employed in this study and compares them to investigations that have used the same instruments. Section III demonstrates that the characteristics used to describe the speakers, which are elicited through the various methods, typically fall under the two measurement dimensions of status and attractiveness and defines those dimensions. Section IV emphasizes the primary themes and variables of this study, namely (a) speaker variables, (b) rater variables, and (c) language variety variables. Section IV also parallels these three variables with general language attitude studies, language attitude studies focused on Spanish, and language

attitude studies previously conducted in Mexico. Finally, Section V focuses on language attitude studies that have emphasized the dimension of hireability.

Chapter III outlines the methodology used for answering the four research questions of this study. Included in this chapter is a broader explanation of the sample population used in this study. This chapter also describes the instruments used for analysis, which was performed using SPSS 20, and gives the descriptions of the coding of both the quantitative and qualitative data, where necessary.

Chapter IV analyzes the data in response to each research question. This chapter also shows the reliability of the test instrument. Regarding the speaker characteristics examined in this study, this chapter illustrates that the dialects from Chihuahua, Monterrey, and the upper class of Mexico City were preferred to others in all three dimensions of attractiveness, status, and hireability. The females were rated higher in the attractiveness dimension, while the males were rated higher in the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension. The speakers who read the passage were preferred in all three dimensions. Concerning the effects of rater characteristics, it was found that rater income was the most significant variable in determining the ratings of speaker-status and socio-intellectual prestige. In determining hireability, the rater characteristics of age, gender, business owner status, and identification of the speaker's origin significantly affected their ratings. Regarding perceived hireability, raters desired to hire speakers from Chihuahua, Monterrey, and the upper class of Mexico City. The raters also preferred to hire the speakers who read the passage. The raters' hiring decision was correspondingly affected by the speaker's origin as well as the text style. When choosing

a job position for the speaker, the raters were more likely to choose the speakers from Yucatan, Guerrero, and those of the popular variety of Mexico City for the laborer position. The speakers from Chihuahua and the upper class of Mexico City were more likely to be chosen for the supervisor position. Finally, this chapter shows that the qualitative data showed that the speakers from Chihuahua and Monterrey were viewed as more intelligent, more educated, but also less friendly and were generally considered rude. The speakers of the dialect from the upper class of Mexico City were also viewed as intelligent, but also as friendly. The speakers of the popular dialect of Mexico City were viewed as less intelligent, less educated, and also less friendly. The speakers from Guerrero and Yucatan were viewed as less intelligent, yet hard working, friendly, and honest.

In addition to presenting a discussion of the results identified in Chapter IV, Chapter V revisits the limitations of this study, provides recommendations for future research, and considers the implications for the results of the study. The results showed that ACE students do maintain different language attitudes towards the six varieties of Mexican Spanish presented. The variety spoken by the upper class of Mexico City and the northern varieties were preferred to the southern varieties, as well as the popular variety of Mexico City, a finding that supports Santa Ana and Parodi (1998). These attitudes may affect the speakers of the southern Mexican Spanish varieties inasmuch that they are less likely to obtain higher paid positions when considered for employment by ACE graduates. Thus, I suggest that ACE implement a curriculum that helps its

students become aware of possible linguistic stereotyping in the hiring process and the effects that stereotyping may have on their businesses and fellow ACE graduates.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the previous chapter, I illustrated how far-reaching the language attitudes maintained by a society can be to those who do not speak the standardized dialect—it can be the difference between life and death; it can determine where they can live, and it can especially determine how much money they make or whether or not they obtain certain employment. In the previous chapter I also revealed the need for contemporary research concerning language attitude studies in Mexico. Then, I explained that my intent with this study is to discover how the language attitudes of current (and future) Mexican micro-enterprisers towards different regional dialects of Mexican Spanish may influence who they are more or less likely to hire.

This chapter offers a comprehensive review of the literature regarding language attitudes. First, I begin with a brief historical overview of language attitude research, beginning with the work of psychologist Tom Hatherly Pear, who pioneered the concept of eliciting language attitudes. Second, I provide an overview of the theoretical underpinnings that have most influenced the discipline of language attitudinal research, namely: the mentalist and behaviorist approaches of social psychology. Third, I offer a comprehensive analysis of those methodologies used in previous language attitude studies that are relevant to this specific study, as well as define “status” and “solidarity,” which are the dimensions evaluated in this study. Fourth, I offer an in-depth evaluation of previous language attitude studies that have evaluated (a) speaker variables, and (b)

rater variables, as they specifically relate to this study. Fifth, I synthesize the research that has exclusively examined the dimension of hireability and has shown how raters are able to decide whether or not to hire the speaker and assign job positions using only the auditory cues provided by the researchers.

Section I: Language Attitudes—A Historical Background

In the early 1930s, British social psychologist Tom Hatherly Pear was intrigued by the relationship between speech and personality. More specifically, Pear was motivated to investigate how individuals listening to a speaker *perceive* that specific speaker when they are unable to base their opinions on body language, gestures, or physical appearance. Pear began exploring this idea when he concluded that human beings listening to a radio broadcaster had no troubles in determining (or at least making an assumption about) the inherent stereotyped qualities (physical traits and likeability) of the broadcaster by simply listening to him (or her) speak on the radio. He found that while listeners were not very accurate in determining the actual personality of the speaker, they seemed to agree on the personality traits they believed the speaker to have. For Pear, the idea that (we) humans can judge the personality, physical appearance, and character of another human based solely on auditory cues was not only fascinating, but rather, it was a step toward a social theory that, as Cargile, Giles, Ryan, and Bradac (1994) explained, could demonstrate how human beings maintain deeply ingrained stereotypes, prejudices, preferences, and beliefs—all of which fall under the notion of “attitudes”—towards other languages and dialects, as well as the members of the different ethnic groups who use those languages and dialects.

Ultimately, as Campbell-Kibler (2006) explained, Pear concluded that the listeners were not able to identify the true character, personality, or physical appearance of the radio broadcaster by simply listening to them speak. However, what Pear did discover through his research was that the listeners provided similar responses (stereotyped attitudes) regarding the personality traits they *believed* the speaker had. Thus, Pear's initial discovery that the attitudes of the listeners could be elicited, as well as the fact that these attitudes were similar in nature, led subsequent researchers down the path of formalizing the discipline and investigation of language attitudes. Since then, many researchers have placed considerable attention on this social phenomenon. For example, in an effort to quantify the stereotypes held as language attitudes, Lambert et al. (1960) pioneered the matched guise technique in a study conducted in Canada among speakers of French and speakers of English. They demonstrated how an individual listening to a speaker could identify that speaker as being a member of a particular ethnic or cultural group, as well as rate the speaker based on perceived personality, intelligence, and physical traits. The raters listened to speakers in both French and English and evaluated them based on their speech characteristics. Although the listeners believed they were rating four different individuals, they were actually rating two bilingual speakers. Remarkably, Lambert and his colleagues found that the English speakers were perceived as taller, more intelligent, and more qualified for higher paid positions by both the English and the French speakers.

In his review of the literature, Edwards (1982) showed that stereotyping based on audio cues is common and that listeners react subjectively to accents by assigning

personality traits that reflect the stereotyped characteristics or perceptions of a particular accent group. Preston (1999) subsequently reinforced Edwards' conclusion when he revealed that his participants assigned characteristics to specific languages and/or dialects. This was achieved by asking his participants from Michigan to rate the speakers from 12 different regions in the United States by using a dialect map. The respondents were given 12 adjective pairs such as slow/fast, smart/dumb, drawl/no drawl, formal/casual, polite/rude, friendly/unfriendly, and good English/bad English. It was discovered that the respondents believed the people from the South to have bad English. The respondents also gave the people from their home state high ratings of correctness. Furthermore, he found that the Northern states were given more positive ratings overall, while the Southern states were given more negative ratings. Preston ultimately concluded that his research revealed how social trends and stereotypes toward different languages and/or dialects influence the respondents' beliefs regarding the speaker.

In 1999, Stanford professor John Baugh and his colleagues developed the concept of "linguistic profiling" (Purnell et al., 1999). Baugh made phone calls to several upscale apartment-leasing agencies in the San Francisco Bay area. Baugh intentionally called the agencies at a time when the office was closed. When leaving the messages, Baugh employed one of the following three dialects of the English language: (a) African American Vernacular English (AAVE), (b) Chicano English (ChE), and (c) Standard American English (SAE). From their approach, the researchers ultimately observed the behavior of the agencies based on the number of callbacks received for each regional dialect used in the message. Their results showed that, when speaking

SAE, Baugh was more likely to receive a call in response to his message, which demonstrated that linguistic profiling did occur.

Section II: Theoretical Framework—The Mentalist Perspective

Since the early 1930s, hundreds of language attitude studies have been conducted on a myriad of languages and dialects around the world. The underlying goals of language attitude research are to evaluate whether or not language attitudes exist, and also to determine the degree to which language attitudes influence human interaction. To accomplish these goals, language attitude research has relied on social psychology's mentalist and behaviorist theoretical assumptions (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). As Fasold (1984) argued, the mentalist and behaviorist perspectives provide the theoretical bedrock upon which language attitude studies have been established. Following is a succinct description of the mentalist perspective as it is the most common perspective taken in language attitude research and is the perspective taken for this study.

The mentalist perspective argues that attitudes are a “mental and neutral state of readiness which cannot be observed directly, but must be inferred from the subject's introspection” (Dittmar, 1976, p. 181). In the context of language attitudes, then, this “state of readiness” can best be gathered by eliciting the language attitudes held by the subjects of the study, who must report their own attitudes toward the language varieties in question. This type of approach (self-reporting) led to the development of the matched and verbal guise techniques in order to provide a way for researchers to elicit language attitudes without making the true objective of the study apparent to the participants. Therefore, the mentalist perspective is perhaps one of the most common approaches used

in language attitude studies (see Amastae & Elías-Olivares, 1978; Campbell-Kibler, 2006; Carlson & McHenry, 2006; De La Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Duisberg, 2001; Giles, 1971; Lambert et al., 1960; Ryan & Sebastian, 1980).

Language attitude researchers, who take the mentalist perspective, have argued that language attitudes are represented by at least one of three components: (a) cognitive/knowledge, (b) affective/evaluative, and (c) conative/action (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Dittmar, 1976; Gardner, 1985; Lambert, 1967). The knowledge component addresses the idea that attitudes “encompass an individual’s *beliefs* about the world” (McKenzie, 2010, emphasis mine). For example, a Mexican micro-enterpriser may believe that, by hiring an individual from the North of Mexico as a supervisor for their small business, in turn, their business will be more successful. Language attitude studies that examine the evaluative component seek to find the “*emotional* response to the attitudinal object” (McKenzie, 2010, p. 22, emphasis mine). For example, a listener may perceive the speech of a Mexican from the coast of Guerrero to be “ugly,” and consequently, have a negative response toward the individual. Finally, the action component of language attitude studies analyzes a person’s “predisposition to *behave* in certain ways” (McKenzie, 2010, p. 23, emphasis mine). For example, the behavior of a Mexican micro-enterpriser can be evaluated and measured by identifying whether or not he or she hires specific individuals who use certain regional dialects. Attitudes are multidimensional and may be represented by more than one of the components (McKenzie, 2010). Thus, individual language attitude studies aim to reveal language attitudes through at least one of these three components.

Studies using both perspectives have resulted in significant findings regarding language attitudes. However, for this study, the mentalist perspective will be taken, as the respondents will be asked to self-report their attitudes. It is expected that the findings will show attitudes represented by all three of the components.

Section III: Methodologies of Language Attitude Studies

While there are various methods of eliciting language attitudes, this section aims to focus on the methods used in other studies that have most influenced this one. For the context of this study, therefore, both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are employed and each method, along with their respective advantages and disadvantages, will be explained in this section. Then, the dimensions of status and solidarity and the instruments used to measure these dimensions will be discussed.

Quantitative Methods

A quantitative method is one that gathers data that can later be assigned a numerical value and analyzed statistically. In language attitude research, the most common methods are the matched guise and verbal guise techniques. For the purposes of this study, the quantitative methods that have been used, and which are explained in detail in this section, are (a) the matched guise technique, (b) the verbal guise technique, and (c) semantic differential scales.

Matched guise technique. Thanks to Lambert et al. (1960), the use of a matched guise test (MGT) is one of the most common elicitation methods in language attitude research today. MGTs are most commonly used to reveal and understand language attitudes. This test uses a speaker (or multiple speakers) who is able to speak either two

languages (bilingual) or two dialects (bidialectal) as a native speaker. Using a recording, the listeners (also referred to as raters) evaluate the speakers on their perceived physical, intellectual, financial, and personality characteristics. Even though the raters are not able to see the speaker, they are able to perceive the accent or other variations of language and therefore make judgments based solely on linguistic variation. However, as Garrett (2010) stated in his comprehensive review of the literature, the listeners are unaware that one speaker is speaking two or more of the “guises” (p. 41).

One of the major issues encountered while using a MGT is that it can be difficult to find a native, bilingual or bidialectal speaker (or speakers) with the same level of fluency and proficiency in each language or dialect. Therefore, a similar technique, called a verbal guise technique (VGT) has been adapted from the MGT.

Verbal guise technique. The VGT differs from the MGT in that a different speaker can be used for each guise. The speakers are commonly given a passage to read or a narrow topic to speak about. Then, they each record a passage using their native language variety. In their article, which reviewed the literature on language attitudes and demonstrated how to conduct language attitude research, Ball and Giles (1982) showed that while using the recordings as previously mentioned, listeners are asked to evaluate the speaker based on their “capabilities, personalities, emotional states, and various other social or linguistic characteristics” (p. 103). In order to give their impressions, the listeners are given a questionnaire containing semantic differential scales. These scales involve adjectives and their polar opposites such as intelligent/unintelligent, pretty/ugly, and high-class/low-class, as well as a Likert-type scale of 1-5 or 1-7, indicating the

degree of agreement on behalf of the listener. For example, the listener may see something similar to the scale pictured in Figure 4.

1	2	3	4	5
Pretty		I'm not sure		Ugly

Figure 4. Semantic differential scale.

They would be asked to circle a 1 to say that they believe that the speaker is pretty, a 3 if they are unsure, and a 5 if they believe the speaker is ugly. The adjectives are typically chosen from previous studies or from a pilot phase of the current study. In a VGT, the listener is “[unaware] of the purpose of the research” and often believes that they are evaluating the speakers rather than the language variety (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 56). Thus, the researchers are able to elicit the language attitudes of the listeners without overtly explaining their intent.

The VGT presents its own issues due to the different voice characteristics such as rate of speech, tone, and voice quality, making it somewhat difficult to find “equally qualified” speakers in each dialect or language. However, while the listeners are able to distinguish between the different speakers, they are most often unaware of the intent to elicit language attitudes, due to the speech sample topic and/or the survey questions.

MGTs and VGTs also share a few other disadvantages. For example, Fasold (1984) mentioned that after hearing several recorded speech samples, listeners might begin to focus on vocal variation that they would not normally notice in everyday

interaction. One response to this concern is to put the task in context, such as a simulated job interview, to help the listeners relate to the evaluation process, which is done in this study. Another concern is that of rater bias. For example, Garrett (2010) mentioned that raters might respond in a particular way to appear more prestigious or to try and please the researcher. Bias may also exist in the instrument itself since the questions may contain “loaded words” or “leading content” that direct the rater to answer in a particular way (Garrett, 2010, p. 44). Therefore, it is best to avoid language that displays the feelings or predictions of the researcher. While these concerns are not exclusive to the MGT and VGT, they are some of the major concerns of these two techniques. For the purposes of this study, these biases have been addressed and remedied through the use of open-ended questions, such as, “Would you hire the applicant? Why/why not?”

Semantic differential scales. The most common attitudinal rating scale used in matched and verbal guise techniques is the semantic differential scale (Garrett et al., 2003). Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) introduced semantic differential scales as an accurate measure of attitudes. The terms for the semantic differentials are often gathered from past studies or from preliminary stages of the study to “ensure that they are meaningful to the judges” (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 63). In the field of language attitude studies, the semantic differentials are paired with five- or seven-point Likert or Likert-type scales, indicating the participants’ positive, neutral, or negative attitudes towards the language variety(s) in question.

Qualitative Methods

While quantitative methods are easily analyzed through various statistical tests, qualitative methods provide the researcher with the opportunity to directly elicit overt language attitudes. Qualitative methods “explore new phenomena and capture individuals’ thoughts, feelings, or interpretations of meaning and process” (Given, 2008, p. xxix). For the purposes of this study, the qualitative methods used in this study, and covered in this section, are (a) focus groups, and (b) dialect maps.

Focus groups. Focus groups are “organized group discussions which are focused around a single theme” (Krueger, 1986, p. 1). According to Garrett et al. (2003), in language attitude research, a focus group consists of several individuals (6-12 people) from the sample population who openly discuss the language attitudes they hold with a researcher who guides the conversation. Giles and Ryan (1982) and Hewstone and Jaspars (1982) mentioned the idea that group discussion often increases the attitudes initially identified in private (e.g., during a VGT). This makes it easier for the rater to recognize his or her attitudes and express them to the researcher. Another benefit for holding focus groups is an effect that has been termed the “snowballing” effect. Hess (1968) noted that while only one participant may respond to a question initially, this might create a chain reaction for the other participants to share their ideas and feelings. Hess also stated that raters are more likely to provide spontaneous and “meaningful” responses since they are not expected to answer every question (p. 194).

While focus groups are an excellent tool in the language attitude setting, there have been several concerns with this method. One concern is that of social desirability

bias, which is a form of bias wherein raters give answers they feel are socially acceptable (McKenzie, 2010). The raters may feel pressured especially when their superiors are in the room. Another source of bias is the use of strongly slanted or biased questions. Also, Garrett (2010) stated that questions that contain multiple questions in one could be misleading and/or confusing. Since this type of bias is especially prevalent in interviews, researchers must be aware of the complexity of the questions they ask. Therefore, the questions asked in this study were predetermined and designed to avoid any misconceptions or confusion.

Despite their weaknesses, focus groups, especially in combination with a VGT, help provide greater understanding of the language attitudes held by the respondents. In fact, Garrett (2010) and McKenzie (2010) showed that using multiple approaches has now become a common practice in language attitude research. Thus, while a VGT may be utilized to gather the attitudes of a greater number of individuals, a focus group can be used to gain deeper perspectives regarding the attitudes held. This combination has proven to be a powerful attitude elicitation technique (Campbell-Kibler, 2006; Duisberg, 2001; Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2008).

Dialect maps. Preston (1989) introduced dialect maps to language attitudes research in an approach referred to as perceptual dialectology or “folk linguistics.” As Preston has shown in much of his research, participants are asked to identify the areas of accented speech using an outline map of the country/region in question. In his overview of folk linguistics, Preston (1993) stated that respondents are able to identify the regions where different varieties are used, as well as rank the dialects according to their

perceived correctness and pleasantness. Preston stated, “It is essential to know that one group treats language as a symbol of education and competence while the other focuses on its value in local identity” (p. 188).

As is the case with all methods, there are limitations to using dialect maps. Preston (1989) stated that dialect maps are incomplete, as non-linguists’ perspectives are limited to their own experiences. However, as Preston (1989, 1993) has stated, dialect maps are a helpful tool when used in conjunction with other elicitation methods, as they allow researchers to understand the dialect regions as they are perceived by the respondents.

Dimensions of Study

Whether a qualitative or a quantitative method is used for attitude elicitation, language attitude researchers consistently categorize the responses of raters into two primary dimensions: (a) status, and (b) solidarity. The status dimension examines the prestige of an individual or of their language. The solidarity dimension examines the social attractiveness or the relative closeness or connection a listener feels with a speaker. As Locke (2003) stated, “When people think about the relations between individuals, they think in terms of two broad dimensions—one of status, power, dominance, or agency, and one of solidarity, intimacy, friendliness, or communion” (p. 619). Brown and Gilman (1960) suggested that the two main dimensions of status and solidarity are “fundamental to the analysis of all social life” (p. 252). Many studies have verified the usefulness of these two dimensions by demonstrating the different patterns of attitudinal responses that fall under these two dimensions (for examples, see Carranza

& Ryan, 1975; De La Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Henderson, 2001; Ladegaard, 2000; Lambert et al., 1960; Zahn & Hopper, 1985). Each dimension is quantified with the help of semantic differential rating scales, which are utilized to categorize the perception of the individual toward a given stimulus. In the context of language studies, researchers provide semantic differential rating scales as a fundamental tool that enables raters to measure their attitudes on a 5- or 7-point scale.

Status. Brown and Gilman (1960) stated that status represents power in that “one person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other” (p. 255). As listeners evaluate speakers, they sense the power that they hold over the speaker or that the speaker holds over them, based on their own accent and the accent of the speaker. In an effort to standardize the dimensions used in language attitude studies, Mulac, Hanley, and Prigge (1974) developed the Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale (SDAS), which contained three subscales or dimensions for use in an MGT or VGT: socio-intellectual status, aesthetic quality, and dynamism. Thus, the adjectives the participants were presented with to describe the speakers fell into one of these three categories. The socio-intellectual status dimension from Mulac et al.’s (1974) SDAS included the following items: high social status/low social status, literate/illiterate, rich/poor, white-collar/blue-collar, educated/uneducated, intelligent/ignorant, and confident/unsure. Later, Zahn and Hopper (1985) further refined Mulac et al.’s (1974) scale by creating the Speech Evaluation Instrument (SEI). They stated that attitudes were best defined within the three dimensions of superiority, attractiveness, and dynamism. The superiority dimension of Zahn and Hopper’s (1985)

SEI contained 12 semantic differentials: literate/illiterate, educated/uneducated, intelligent/unintelligent, upper class/lower class, white-collar/blue-collar, rich/poor, advantaged/disadvantaged, clear/unclear, organized/unorganized, complete/incomplete, experienced/inexperienced, and fluent/disfluent.

Solidarity. The solidarity dimension sets the power inequality aside and finds a common ground for the speaker and the listener. Brown and Gilman (1960) stated that solidarity deals with “relations which are symmetrical”, for example, when two people find something in common, such as age or attendance to the same university, they feel a connection and thus, the power becomes equal (p. 258). Thus, in language attitude studies, the listeners are more likely to establish a rapport with speakers who use their same language variety. In Mulac et al.’s (1974) SDAS, this dimension was labeled “aesthetic quality” and included the following items: sweet/sour, pleasing/displeasing, nice/awful, beautiful/ugly, attractive/unattractive, kind/cruel, clean/dirty, and calm/excitable (p. 415). In Zahn and Hopper’s (1985) SEI, the attractiveness dimension included the following semantic differentials: sweet/sour, nice/awful, good-natured/hostile, kind/unkind, warm/cold, friendly/unfriendly, likeable/unlikeable, pleasant/unpleasant, considerate/inconsiderate, good/bad, and honest/dishonest (p. 118). Again, the attractiveness dimension from Zahn and Hopper’s (1985) SEI contained several more adjective pairs than the SDAS.

Conclusion

As previously mentioned, this study will use multiple elicitation methods in order to elicit highly comprehensive language attitudes, using both qualitative and quantitative

methods. Through the VGT, the semantic differential pairs will fall under the status and solidarity dimensions, as well as a third dimension: hireability. The semantic differentials for this study were selected from rater responses from a focus group and a dialect map in a pilot study, as well as past studies. The following section contains a description of the variables examined within the hireability dimension.

Section IV: Language Attitude Studies and Hireability

Language attitude researchers have called for a real-world application within the discipline of language attitudes (Edwards, 1982; Garrett, 2010). Many researchers have implemented the advice for a real-world context through the use of a listener population of employers or potential employers and a job interview passage read by speakers of different varieties (De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Hopper, 1977; Hopper & Williams, 1973; Seggie, Smith, & Hodgins, 1986; Shuy, 1973). This type of context provides the raters with a familiar situation in which they are to evaluate the speakers for their hireability, or likelihood of being hired. In a typical job interview setting, the employer is required to make a judgment based on what they see and hear. Often, these judgments are based on first impressions, which are inevitably influenced and altered by the language use of the interviewee (Kalin, 1982). Thus, a setting such as a job interview gives a real-life context for listeners to evaluate speakers and for researchers to understand the impact of language attitudes on employment.

This section focuses on the correlation between language and economic status, as well as the significant variables that language attitude studies conducted in a workplace context have found. Most studies examine the rater's decision to hire the speaker as well

as the appropriate job position for the speaker. They have found two main results: (a) standard language speakers are more likely to be hired in general, and (b) standard language speakers are more likely to be hired for higher paid positions, while non-standard language speakers are more likely to be hired for lower paid positions.

Language and Economic Status

In their study in Canada, language attitude researchers Sankoff and Laberge (1978) empirically identified a direct correlation between how an individual speaks—that is to say their preferred language variety—and their economic status. Gal (1989) supported this finding with her review of Bourdieu’s theory of “symbolic domination” and explained that, while certain language varieties are not inherently better than others, “the value of a linguistic variety and its standing in a ‘linguistic market’ depends on its ability to give access to desired positions within the labor market,” thus supporting the notion that an individual’s preferred dialect could be correlated to their socio-economic position within any given society (pp. 353, 355). Milroy and Gordon (2003) echoed these findings and explained that language could, essentially, be monetized and converted into economic capital, or in other words, a person’s spoken language can affect their employability and/or job position. Specifically, Eckert (2000) and Milroy and Gordon (2003) both explained that an individual’s “participation in the standard language market” (meaning whether or not they use the standardized language variety), directly affects the “socioeconomic life of the speaker” (Sankoff & Laberge, 1978). Bourdieu and Thompson (1999) discussed the linguistic market further by stating that communication, especially between members of different social classes, “represents a

critical situation for the language that is used” because there is a risk that every word and expression will be understood differently by the speaker and the listener (p. 40). In the “Editor’s Introduction,” Bourdieu and Thompson explained that if a speaker holds linguistic capital, he or she is able to somewhat control how the listener perceives him or her. Thus, accent can directly impede, or enhance, the speaker’s economic growth possibilities.

Decision to Hire

Studies examining hireability have shown that those who speak nonstandard varieties of English are less likely to be hired than those who speak standard varieties. In a study among potential and actual employers in Virginia and their attitudes towards standard and non-standard English and hireability, Anderson (1981) found that the standard speakers were more likely to be hired. To explain this, he stated, “Registers of language are incorrectly associated with levels of intelligence, efficiency, and the skills necessary to perform a job” (p. 812). Atkins (1993) examined the attitudes of employment recruiters towards speakers of AAVE and Appalachian English and their hireability. She found that while both speakers were at a similar disadvantage, the recruiters “seem to be discriminating on the basis of nonstandard dialect,” rather than on race, religion, age, or gender (p. 117). In a matched guise study among university students in a management course in the southeastern United States, Segrest Purkiss, Perrewe, Gillespie, Mayes, and Ferris (2006) had their participants watch video tapes to evaluate the hireability of a male applicant who spoke Standard American English and English with a Spanish accent. In their study, there were four different video

manipulations: A SAE speaker with a non-Hispanic name, a SAE speaker with a Hispanic name, an English speaker with a Spanish accent and a Hispanic name, and an English speaker with a Spanish accent and a non-Hispanic name. Each rater viewed only one of the videos. They found that the participants were less likely to hire the speakers of English with a Spanish accent than the Standard English speaker. However, they stated that the effects of accent discrimination might vary depending on the location of the study (e.g., an area with a large concentration of Hispanics may be more accepting of Spanish-accented English). Their suggestion about the relevance of location was supported by Carlson and McHenry's (2006) study in Texas that examined the language attitudes of human resource managers and their effects on the hireability of speakers of Asian-influenced English, Spanish-influenced English, and African American Vernacular English (AAVE). They found that among these three non-standard varieties, the Spanish influenced English speaker was the most likely to be hired and the AAVE speaker was the least likely. This shows that depending on the location of the study, the raters may feel differently regarding the hireability of the speakers of non-standard accents.

Job Position

Some studies include a question regarding which position best fits the speakers. Often, the standard speakers are more likely to be hired for the higher paid positions and the non-standard speakers are more likely to be hired for the lower paid or manual labor positions.

In several studies, the results have shown that the speakers of non-standard varieties were often chosen for the lower positions. For example, in their study regarding the language attitudes of employment interviewers in Texas, De la Zerda and Hopper (1979) found that the Standard English speakers were most often chosen for the supervisor position, while the speakers of Spanish-accented English were chosen for the skilled technician and semi-skilled worker positions. In their study among university students in California, Bradac and Wisegarver (1984) also found that the highest job positions were given to the Standard American English speakers and the lowest positions were given to the Spanish-accented English speakers.

Conclusion

The aforementioned studies show that the language variety that an individual speaks may affect their likelihood of being hired, as well as the position they may be hired for. In their discussion of linguistic capital, Bourdieu and Thompson (1999) stated that the differences that exist in regional dialect variation “are both classified and classifying ranked and ranking, [and] mark those who appropriate them” (p. 54). In other words, the non-standard variation in regional dialects may have economic and social effects on the speakers of those dialects, as has been shown by several studies (Anderson, 1981; Atkins, 1993; Bradac & Wisegarver, 1984; Carlson & McHenry, 2006; De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; and Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006).

Section V: Themes and Findings of Language Attitude Studies

This section considers the various speaker and rater variables examined by previous language attitude researchers. In this section, I outline the speaker variables first and then examine the rater variables. Each section is divided into three sub-sections (a) general language attitude studies, (b) language attitude studies conducted using Spanish varieties, and (c) language attitude studies conducted in Mexico. This is done in an effort to offer a comprehensive review of the literature regarding the speaker and rater variables that have proven to be significantly influential in research on language attitudes. The attitudinal studies selected for this section are those relevant to the present study and have examined at least one of the following variables: speaker origin, speaker gender, speaker text style, rater origin, rater age, rater gender, rater's income, rater's business owner status, rater's education level, and rater's exposure to the varieties in question.

Speaker Variables

The three specific speaker variables that have proven to be significantly influential regarding the effect they have on the attitudes of listeners are (a) speaker origin, (b) speaker gender, and (c) text style. Following is an overview of these three speaker variables.

Speaker origin. The origin of the speakers is often reflected in their accent. Studies examining language attitudes demonstrate that the origin of the speaker or their regional accent affects the participants' ratings. In these studies, standard varieties are typically preferred to non-standard varieties.

General language attitude studies. Classic studies on language attitudes were the first to show that regional/ethnic accent makes a difference in the evaluation of speakers. For example, Lambert et al. (1960) found that both the English and the French speaking raters in Canada labeled the English speakers as taller and more intelligent. Typically, the speakers with a standard accent are evaluated more positively than non-standard speakers. Several studies in the United Kingdom (Giles, 1970, 1971; Bourhis, Giles, & Tajfel, 1973; Giles & Marsh, 1979; Giles & Sassoon, 1983) found that raters preferred the speakers of Received Pronunciation (RP), a standard British accent. For example, Giles and Marsh (1979) showed that university students in England found speakers of RP to be more intelligent, confident, pro-feminist, independent, egotistic, and eligible to obtain a higher status job than Welsh speakers. More recent studies examining hireability identify a similar preference for the standard variety. In her study among hiring managers in Philadelphia, Henderson (2001) found that AAVE speakers and non-standard American English speakers were rated lowest on solidarity, yet the female French-accented English speaker was rated highest in solidarity, followed by the standard American English speakers.

Language attitude studies among Spanish. Studies of the Spanish language in several countries have found similar results in that the standard Spanish varieties are preferred to the non-standard varieties. For example, in an early study, Amastae and Elias-Olivares (1978) examined the language attitudes of university students in the United States and border residents in Mexico towards five different Spanish varieties: standard Spanish, popular Spanish, Spanish with loan translations, code switching, and

Caló (a highly stigmatized, non-standard Spanish variety spoken in the United States). Their raters showed the least preference for Caló and the greatest preference for the Standard Spanish. More recently, Loureiro-Rodriguez (2008) gave another example of a preference for standard Spanish in her comprehensive study examining the language attitudes of high school students in Galicia. She found that the raters held the most negative attitudes towards Dialectal Galician and stated that it was less progressive, less capable, less personally appealing, and less socially appealing than Spanish. Standard Spanish was given the highest prestige ratings from all participants.

While many studies from Latin America and Spain (Alvar & Quilis, 1984; Bentivoglio & Sedano, 1999) have shown a preference for the Spanish spoken in Spain, others have also shown that raters prefer their own regional dialects (Alvarez, Martinez, & Urdaneta, 2001; Suarez Budenbender, 2009). An interesting study by Bentivoglio and Sedano (1999) examined the language attitudes held by Venezuelans and Spaniards towards distinct varieties of Spanish from the following seven countries: (a) Havana, Cuba; (b) Buenos Aires, Argentina; (c) Las Palmas, Canary Islands; (d) Mexico City, Mexico; (e) Caracas, Venezuela; (f) Madrid, Spain; and (g) Bogota, Colombia. They found that while the Spanish raters preferred the Madrid dialect, the Venezuelan raters preferred the Bogota dialect. One interesting note from this study is that the dialect from Mexico City was the least preferred overall. Thus, while many raters prefer the standard Spanish variety, they often prefer their own dialect to others.

Language attitude studies in Mexico. In Mexico, studies have shown similar results to those conducted among other Spanish-speaking populations, namely, that the

Standard Mexican Spanish varieties are preferred to the non-standard varieties. Riegelhaupt and Carrasco (2000) showed this to be true in their study regarding the attitudes of a Guanajuato family held towards a Chicano teacher studying abroad in Mexico. They stated that the use of “a few stigmatized characteristics of Spanish can be generalized by standard Spanish speakers so as to create the impression of lack of education, and low social status” (p. 417). Moreno de Alba (2003) conducted a questionnaire among Mexicans regarding their attitudes towards Mexican Spanish and Madrid Spanish. The results showed that the participants believed that the best Spanish was spoken in Madrid, followed by Mexico City.

When considering only Mexican Spanish, several studies have found that the standard Mexican Spanish from Mexico City is preferred (Erdosova, 2011; Hidalgo, 1983; Santa Ana & Parodi, 1998; Serrano Morales, 2001). Serrano Morales (2001) conducted a study among residents of Mexico City wherein he asked participants to create a dialect map according to their perceptions of the regional dialects in Mexico. The participants specified eight distinct dialect zones including the North, the Coast, the Yucatan/Peninsular, the “Chilango” or Mexico City dialect, the Central dialect, Tabasco, the South, and Veracruz (p. 9). He also asked the participants which dialects they thought were the most correct and least correct. He found that the Mexico City variety was labeled as the most correct as well as the third least correct. Serrano Morales stated that the participants were likely referring to the “speech of the popular classes” when they described it as the third least correct (p. 17). Erdosova (2011) conducted a study similar to that of Serrano Morales (2001) wherein the language attitudes of Mexican

university students were examined. They were to identify the regional dialects of Mexico on a map, as well as indicate where the most correct Spanish was spoken. The most commonly mentioned regions were the North, the South, the Central region, and the Coasts. The raters identified the central areas of Mexico City and Mexico State as having the most correct Spanish.

However, just as the aforementioned studies among Spanish varieties have shown, some other studies (Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Martinez, 2003) show that participants prefer their own regional dialect to a standard Mexican Spanish variety. For example, in his replication of Hidalgo's (1983) study among participants in Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, Esquinca Moreno (1999) found that although most participants rated the Spanish variety from Mexico City the same based on correctness as Juarez Spanish in the 1983 study, only 20% of Esquinca Moreno's participants thought the Spanish spoken in Mexico City was more correct than their own variety spoken in Juarez. Another example of raters who did not prefer the Mexico City dialect is found in Martinez (2003), who examined the language attitudes of participants from Reynosa, Tamaulipas, through an attitude questionnaire. His results showed that the participants preferred the dialects that were closest geographically, provided they were within Mexico's national borders. Thus, they preferred the two Tamaulipas dialects (Reynosa and Matamoros) to the McAllen, Texas, and Mexico City dialects.

Speaker gender. Another variable that has shown significant effects on the participants is the gender of the speaker. It is often the male speakers that are preferred,

although that is not always the case. Of all the language attitude studies that utilized a VGT, those that examined the variable of speaker gender are included in this section.

General language attitude studies. Many language attitude studies find that the male speakers are preferred to the female speakers. For example, Giles and Marsh (1979) found that the listeners from England rated the male speakers of both RP and Welsh as independent, self confident, intelligent, having a higher status job, and not surprisingly perhaps, as more masculine than the female speakers than the female speakers. In a VGT regarding the attitudes towards standard and non-standard English and hireability of 35 potential and actual employers, Anderson (1981) found that the male speakers were preferred on all measures except for warmth and dependability. Henderson (2001) found that the hiring managers preferred the male speakers of the non-native English and AAVE varieties to the female speakers of the same varieties. Similarly, in her study regarding the attitudes of Arizona high school students towards five different varieties of Spanish and English, Duisberg (2001) found that the male speakers were preferred to the female speakers in both status and solidarity dimensions. The majority of the relevant studies seem to show that the raters prefer the male speakers to the female speakers, which may show a general preference for men in the workplace (Anderson, 1981; Duisberg, 2001; Giles & Marsh 1979; Henderson, 2001).

Language attitude studies among Spanish. Of the relevant studies that examined the attitudes towards Spanish varieties in Spanish speaking countries (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2008), none have specifically examined the variable of the gender of the speaker, with the exception of Alvar and Quilis (1984), who found that the raters

had an easier time identifying the origin of the female speakers in their study of Cubans' attitudes towards Spanish from Spain and Cuba.

Speaker text style. In a MGT or a VGT, the speakers are recorded and the recordings are later used as speech samples for the raters to judge. The speakers will typically either read a brief passage to control for content or they will speak spontaneously on a given topic. The majority of studies in language attitudes use either a read passage (Alford & Strother, 1992; Carranza & Ryan, 1975; Lambert et al., 1960) or a recording of spontaneous speech (Duisberg, 2001; Ladegaard, 2000; Parton et al., 2002; Suarez Budenbender, 2009). However, as Duisberg (2001) mentioned, the speakers who read a passage “may be judged on their ability to read and not on the variety used” (p. 40). While the two text styles have not been compared in many studies, the difference was examined in a study by Van Bezooijen and Gooskens (1999). In their study regarding the identification of four Dutch varieties by Dutch university students, they found that the sociolect from The Hague and the rural dialect from Bedum were easier to identify when the rater listened to spontaneous speech rather than a read passage. Thus, the style of speech (read vs. spontaneous) may affect the raters' evaluations of the speakers. In their comprehensive study, which in part, examined the benefits of both styles of speech in language attitude studies, Van Bezooijen and Gooskens identified several points to consider when choosing a speech style. First, read speech does not vary lexically, morphologically, or syntactically. Second, the prosody of read speech is generally more standardized than spontaneous speech, which can lead the raters to judge the speakers on their reading ability, rather than their accent.

Speaker variable conclusion. As the studies reviewed demonstrate, the origin, gender, and text style of the speaker are often significant variables in language attitude studies. All of the aforementioned studies showed that raters are able to evaluate the speakers based on their accent alone. The results vary depending on the raters and the varieties in question, but the variable is significant in most studies. In general, the literature regarding speaker gender shows that this is also a significant variable and that male speakers are preferred to female speakers. Due to the differences in variation, the text style of the speaker also presents significant results when a read text and a free speech text are compared.

Rater Variables

There are numerous rater variables that seem to affect the language attitudes of raters towards speakers. Since previous research has found them relevant, the following variables will be further examined in this study: (a) rater age, (b) rater gender, (c) rater origin, (d) rater's income, (e) rater's business owner status, (f) rater education level, and (g) rater's exposure to the varieties in question. Following is an extensive review of these seven variables examined in the same three categories considered in the previous section, namely: general language attitude studies, language attitude studies among Spanish, and language attitude studies in Mexico. The studies selected for these sections were those that sought to elicit language attitudes (typically through a VGT/MGT, dialect map, or focus group) and found at least one of the aforementioned variables significant.

Rater age. Several studies have shown significant effects based on the age of the raters. In those studies that examine language attitudes towards regional or social varieties, it is common that the older raters who are more conservative and traditional in their language attitudes, while the younger raters are typically more accepting of non-standard varieties. A difference in ratings based on age is often attributed to a shift in language attitudes.

General language attitude studies. Classic studies in the U.S. and UK identified age as a relevant variable. Labov (1966) examined the effects of rater age in his study regarding the attitudes of New York City residents towards New York speech. While he found that his informants did not have positive attitudes towards New York speech, the age of the raters did not show a significant difference. In the United Kingdom, Giles (1970, 1971) examined the effects of rater age in several studies and found that the older raters preferred the standard British English variety of RP to other varieties. For example, in his study regarding the language attitudes of adolescents in the United Kingdom towards 13 foreign and regional accents of English, Giles (1970) showed that the older raters preferred RP (standard British English) more than younger raters. He stated that these results show either conformity to social norms by age 17 or an attitude change. In another study in the UK among adolescents, Giles (1971) found that the older participants rated the standard (RP) accent more favorably in competence and attractiveness than the South Welsh and Somerset varieties. These results show that older raters prefer the standard variety of RP, which may be due to the fact that they have had more time to learn the expected language attitudes of their society.

Language attitude studies among Spanish. Of the relevant studies that examined the attitudes held towards Spanish varieties, rater age resulted significant in determining language attitudes, although the findings were slightly different. In one study regarding the language attitudes of Mexican Americans toward Standard Spanish, Tex-Mex (a non-standard variety of Spanish), Spanish-accented English, and Standard English in job interviews, De la Zerda and Hopper (1975) found that the 20-year-olds were the most tolerant of the non-standard accents of Tex-Mex and Spanish-accented English, while the 30-year-olds were the least tolerant. Although it was not a significant difference, the raters in their 40s and 50s were less tolerant than the 20-year-olds, but more tolerant than the 30-year-olds. The 30-year-olds were also among the lowest income earners, which the researchers concluded might have been the reason for their intolerance. In contrast, a study conducted among high school heritage learners in Arizona by Duisberg (2001) showed that the older students rated the Standard Mexican Spanish lower in the solidarity dimension than the younger students, although it was still the most preferred Spanish variety within the status dimension. She attributed this to a possible shift in language attitude. In a study regarding the attitudes of Buenos Aires residents towards the Spanish of Buenos Aires, Solé (1992) found that there was no significant difference based on rater age.

Language attitude studies in Mexico. Of the relevant studies examining age in Mexico, the findings differ in that some studies (Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Martinez, 2003) found that the older raters held more traditional attitudes and the younger raters held more contemporary attitudes, while other studies (Hidalgo, 1983) found that the

younger raters held more traditional attitudes and the older raters did not. Hidalgo (1983) conducted a study regarding the attitudes of adult residents of Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua towards varieties of Spanish from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Chihuahua, as well as varieties of code-switching and Standard American English. It was found that the younger subjects evaluated the local Juarez variety as less correct than the Mexico City variety, whereas the older subjects did not, thus revealing a more traditional bias towards the standard variety among the younger locals. However, in a replication of Hidalgo's study comparing the same varieties of Spanish from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Chihuahua, Standard American English and a local code-switching variety, Esquinca Moreno (1999) showed that it was the younger raters who saw a greater need to speak/learn English. The younger raters also preferred their own, local variety of Spanish in Juarez to the Mexico City variety. The younger raters showed more contemporary attitudes towards their own Spanish variety and the use of English. In Reynosa, Tamaulipas, Martinez (2003) found that the youngest raters were most likely to find the McAllen and Reynosa varieties similar, while the oldest raters were most likely to find the McAllen and Reynosa varieties dissimilar and the Reynosa, Mexico City, and Veracruz varieties similar. Again, the younger raters showed a contemporary perspective regarding their language attitudes, as the majority of the raters found the Reynosa and McAllen varieties distinct.

Rater gender. Of the language attitude studies that examined rater gender, several have found it to be a significant factor in determining the language attitudes of the raters (Alvar & Quilis, 1984; Duisberg, 2001; Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Giles, 1970;

Hidalgo, 1983; Ladegaard, 2000; Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2008; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006; Serrano Morales, 2001; Solé, 1992; Tsalikis, Ortiz-Buonafina, & LaTour, 1992).

However, the results vary regarding the reactions of males and females.

General language attitude studies. In early studies conducted in both Europe and the United States, the gender of the rater showed significant effects. For example, Giles (1970) examined the language attitudes of youth in England and Wales towards several foreign and regional accents of English, which were represented by one male speaker in a matched guise technique. It was found that the male raters tended to rate the French accented English lower than the females. He attributed this to the idea that the speaker with the French accent may sound slightly more feminine, which may have triggered a negative response. In contrast, studies in the United States have shown that the females are slightly more extreme in their ratings than the male raters. Segrest Purkiss et al. (2006) conducted a video version of the matched guise technique among university students regarding their attitudes towards Standard American English and English with a Hispanic accent wherein they aimed to reveal which speaker would be more likely to be hired. The results showed that the males generally rated the speakers less favorably. While several studies in both the US and Europe showed that rater gender has an effect on their ratings of the speakers, the effects differ from study to study.

Language attitude studies among Spanish. Of the relevant studies that involve Spanish language varieties, the females seem to have the most extreme feelings. On first appearance, it seems that Amastae and Elias-Olivares (1978) found that among the university students and Mexican border residents, the males tended to display more

extreme attitudes. For example, they tended to rate Caló and code switching lower than the females and the Standard Spanish and popular Spanish higher than the females. However, these were not significant differences. In their study among Cubans and their attitudes towards Spanish varieties from Spain and Cuba, Alvar and Quilis (1984) showed that the females significantly preferred the Spanish speakers from Spain to those from Cuba, even though Cuban Spanish was their own variety. Although Cuban Spanish was their own variety, the females preferred a foreign variety. In a survey among residents of Buenos Aires and their attitudes towards Buenos Aires Spanish, Solé (1992) showed that the females held more negative attitudes towards their own variety than males. Again, in a study regarding the language attitudes of graduate students of business in Guatemala towards Guatemalan Spanish and non-native, foreign accented Spanish, Tsalikis et al. (1992) found that the females held more extreme attitudes than the males. Both the male and female raters viewed the Guatemalan speakers as more honest than the foreign accented speaker, yet the females exhibited stronger feelings than the males. In her study among high school students in Arizona, which examined their attitudes towards five varieties of Spanish and English, Duisberg (2001) showed that the females rated all of the varieties higher than the males did, except for the code switching variety. In her study among high school students in Galicia, Loureiro-Rodriguez (2008) found that the females rated the Standard Spanish higher than the males regarding progressiveness and social correctness. Thus, it appears that the female raters often have stronger feelings than the male raters.

Language attitude studies in Mexico. There are several studies conducted in Mexico that examined rater gender (Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Hidalgo, 1983; Serrano Morales, 2001). Hidalgo (1983) found that rater gender was a good predictor of attitudes held by Ciudad Juarez residents towards Spanglish. However, in his replication of Hidalgo's study in Mexico among residents of Ciudad Juarez, Esquinca Moreno (1999) found that there was no significant difference based on rater gender. In a study among residents of Mexico City and their perception of the existing dialects in Mexico, Serrano Morales (2001) also found that there was no significant difference based on rater gender. Thus, rater gender is a variable that requires more attention in language attitude studies in Mexico.

Rater origin. Of the language attitude studies that examined rater origin, several found that it has been a significant factor, affecting the rater's attitudes. Typically, studies show that raters prefer their own spoken variety to the other varieties in question (Erdosova, 2011; Giles, 1970; Serrano Morales, 2001; Solé, 1992). However, other studies show that raters prefer the standard variety to their own (Garrett et al., 2003; Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2008).

General language attitude studies. Giles' classic language attitude studies in the United Kingdom demonstrated that rater origin is a significant factor, showing that raters prefer their own regional varieties. For example, Giles (1970) found that the raters held a loyalty to their own regional accent, which was manifested in all dimensions of status, aesthetics, and communicative. Later, Giles (1971) found that the South Welsh raters evaluated the Somerset accent as more talkative, but that the raters from both Wales and

Somerset preferred their own accent to the other regional variety in question. Over 30 years later, Garrett et al. (2003) found that teachers from the south (Somerset) described the Valleys and Cardiff varieties as less prestigious and less pleasant than the northern teachers described them. The researchers suggested that the raters might have been influenced by their familiarity with the accents. Again, the results showed that the raters held a greater preference for their own varieties.

Language attitude studies among Spanish. Due to the high variety of rater origins among the studies of attitudes towards varieties of Spanish, the results differ regarding the effects of rater origin in that foreign raters often hold more extreme attitudes while local raters sometimes prefer their own variety and others prefer the standard variety. In their study among university students in the United States and border residents in Mexico, Amastae and Elias-Olivares (1978) found that foreign students “showed significantly lower ratings of all varieties,” including standard Spanish, popular Spanish, Spanish with loan translations, code switching, and Caló (p. 290). The researchers claimed that the foreign students might have held prejudices towards the Mexican Americans and associated speaking the Standard Spanish variety with them, which is why it was also downgraded. Solé (1992) found that the raters with the least favorable attitudes toward Buenos Aires Spanish are those born outside Argentina, followed by those who were born in Argentina, but outside Buenos Aires. This shows that the raters from Buenos Aires preferred their own variety to those from other cities or countries. In a study among high school students in Arizona, Duisberg (2001) showed that new arrivals to the U.S. preferred the English-accented Spanish to the other varieties

including Tucson Spanish, Standard Spanish, code switching, and Chicano English. Duisberg stated that the raters who were not from the Tucson area were likely impressed with the English Speakers who learned another language. In Spain, Loureiro-Rodriguez (2008) found that the subjects in the rural high school did not rate Standard Galician as highly as the urban high school students. She stated that this was likely because dialectal Galician is more common in the rural area. However, Standard Spanish was preferred by both sets of raters. Those studies that examined the attitudes held by foreign raters (Amastae & Elias-Olivares, 1978; Duisberg, 2001; Solé, 1992) found that they held more extreme attitudes. Thus, each study showed that origin of the raters mattered, although the results differed.

Language attitude studies in Mexico. Rater origin has also proven to be a significant variable in relevant studies in Mexico. In a study conducted among residents of the state of Mexico, Serrano Morales (2001) found that although rater origin did not show significant results, the raters seemed to choose their own variety as the most correct variety. A similar study conducted by Erdosova (2011) showed very similar results, specifically, that the raters, who were also from Mexico State, chose their own variety as the most correct variety. In their study regarding the purchasing decisions of consumers in three different cities in Mexico, DeShields and Kara (2011) found that the raters who were farthest from the US/Mexico border showed preference for the Standard Mexican Spanish, while those closest to the border showed no significant difference between the American English-accented Spanish and the Standard Mexican Spanish.

Rater income. In many language attitude studies that have examined rater income, it has been shown that the amount of income that the raters earn as well as their socioeconomic status influence the way they evaluate other language varieties. Of the many language attitude studies, the following studies examined the effect of the raters' socioeconomic status or monthly income on their language attitudes.

Language attitude studies among Spanish. In a relevant study examining a Spanish language variety, rater income was a significant variable. De la Zerda and Hopper (1975) showed that the group of lowest income earners was the least tolerant, and the highest earners were the most tolerant in their acceptance of nonstandard varieties. Thus, although the highest earners were more educated and more likely to have been inculcated with the language ideology of their society, they were the most tolerant.

Business owner status of rater. The effects of raters who are employers have been examined by a relatively small number of language attitude studies (De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Hopper, 1977; Hopper & Williams, 1973; Seggie et al., 1986; Shuy, 1973). In fact, Garrett (2010) criticized previous studies for basing their results on university students rather than actual employers. While most studies include a homogenous population of students or employers, one major study (Seggie et al., 1986) was conducted in Australia wherein the attitudes of business owners were compared with the attitudes of raters who were not business owners or employers. In their study, they examined language attitudes and the employment training recommendations of employers and shoppers for a high status and a low status employment-training program. The raters listened to and evaluated four Australian accents, including Standard

Australian, Broad Australian, German-accented Australian, and Asian-accented Australian. The results of Seggie et al. showed that only the employers viewed the Asian-Australian speaker as suitable for both training programs and just as suitable as the Standard Australian speaker for the high status training program. The shoppers, on the other hand, viewed the Asian-accented Australian as only somewhat suitable for the high status training program. The researchers suggested that it was the previous experience of employing people speaking these varieties that led the employers to be more likely to give higher ratings to the Asian Australian. Although there are few studies that have examined the differences of raters who are employers and those who are not, employer status seems to have a significant influence on the raters' evaluations.

Education level of rater. In language attitude studies that examine the level of education of the raters, several have determined that it has also proven to be significant in determining the outcome of language attitude research. Typically, the raters with higher education are more discriminatory and prefer the standard varieties (Hidalgo, 1983; Solé, 1992); however, other studies seem to show opposite results (De la Zerda & Hopper, 1975).

Language attitude studies among Spanish. Among the relevant studies that examined Spanish language varieties, raters who were more educated tended to be more negative towards non-standard varieties and those who were less educated were more positive towards all varieties. However, in De la Zerda and Hopper's (1975) study in the US, which examined the attitudes of Mexican Americans towards several varieties including Standard English, Standard Spanish, Tex-Mex (a non-standard variety of

Spanish commonly found in Texas), and Spanish-accented English, this was not necessarily the case. The raters with less than a high school education reacted favorably to both standard varieties and negatively towards both non-standard varieties, while those with some college reacted more favorably toward accented English than Standard English. The researchers concluded that the more educated raters did not react favorably toward the standard varieties simply because they were standard. In her study in Argentina, Solé (1992) found that the majority of university level educated respondents did not believe that Buenos Aires Spanish was good Spanish and that it did not conform to the standards of the Real Academia Española. The less educated respondents were more positive toward the Buenos Aires Spanish. These studies show that respondents differ in their evaluations based on their level of education.

Language attitude studies in Mexico. Of the nine language attitude studies conducted in Mexico that are relevant to this study, two included education level and showed that this variable may affect the rater's attitudes. Among her raters from Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, Hidalgo (1983) found that rater education level strongly correlated with attitudes towards Americans and Mexican Americans and predicted attitudes towards local Spanish. She also found that a higher level of education typically led to a preference for the Standard Spanish variety spoken in Mexico City. In his study wherein raters from Mexico City identified regional dialects in Mexico, Serrano Morales (2001) found that the raters with more formal education tended to perceive more varieties than those with less education.

Rater's exposure to language varieties. It has been shown that when raters have prior exposure to an accent, their attitudes are altered toward that accent (De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; DeShields & Kara, 2011; Garrett et al., 2003; Lambert et al., 1960). Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) suggested that language attitudes might be changed when listeners are exposed to new situations or new information. Several language attitude studies have examined exposure as a variable and have found that it does affect the listeners' perceptions. Some studies (DeShields & Kara, 2011; Lambert et al., 1960) found that the greater the amount of exposure the listeners had to a particular variety, the more likely they were to hold more positive attitudes towards the speakers of those varieties. Other studies (Garrett et al., 2003) found that the more familiar the listeners were to a variety, the lower their attitudinal ratings were likely to be.

General language attitude studies. Of the relevant studies that have examined the effects of rater exposure, several have shown that listeners with increased exposure have a greater reaction to a language variety, whether positive or negative. Lambert et al. (1960) showed that the bilingual English-speaking subjects tended to rate the French speakers slightly higher than those who had little experience with French. This shows that exposure or familiarity with a language variety may help improve language attitudes. In their study regarding the language attitudes of employment interviewers in San Antonio, Texas, De la Zerda and Hopper (1979) found that the employers who had previous exposure to the varying degrees of Spanish-accented English would be affected when choosing someone to hire for a skilled worker position, but not for higher paid positions. However, in a study in the United Kingdom among teachers and their attitudes

towards seven regional Welsh varieties and RP, Garrett et al. (2003) said, “Teachers [who were] more familiar with, say, Cardiff’s sociolinguistic stigma will predictably give it lower prestige” (p. 133). They acknowledged that greater exposure to the variety actually increased the likelihood of a negative response. Thus, increased exposure affects the listeners’ reactions to language varieties.

Language attitude studies in Mexico. Of the relevant language attitude studies in Mexico, some have shown that increased exposure to English from the United States has a positive effect on consumers’ reactions to English-accented Spanish (DeShields & Kara, 2011; Tsalikis et al., 1992). In their study regarding the purchase intentions and language attitudes of university students in Mexico, DeShields and Kara (2011) found that the English-accented Spanish was not evaluated as highly in Mexican cities further from the border. Thus, it was the raters who had more exposure to English that held more positive attitudes towards a salesperson speaking with English-accented Spanish than the raters with less exposure. In a study conducted in Guatemala among Guatemalan raters and their attitudes towards speakers of Guatemalan Spanish and foreign-accented Spanish (recorded by Greek nationals who were living in the United States), Tsalikis et al. (1992) found that there was no significant difference when the raters were exposed to the foreign accented Spanish for longer periods of time.

Rater variable conclusion. The rater variables of age, gender, origin, income, business owner status, education, and exposure have shown significant results in language attitude studies in general, among Spanish varieties, and in Mexico. Rater age seems to influence language attitudes. Some language attitude studies seem to show a

change in attitude with the older raters maintaining more traditional language attitudes and the younger raters exhibiting a greater tolerance for non-standard varieties (Duisberg, 2001; Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Martinez, 2003). Other studies (Giles, 1970, 1971) show conformity to language ideology. Rater gender has also often been shown to be a significant variable in determining language attitudes. Gender is also an interesting variable of study since Gal (1978) showed that, in a bilingual community in Austria, it was the women who were leading the language change due to economic factors. The findings of studies that examine the origin of the rater differ depending on the raters and the varieties in question. Studies have shown that rater income or the socioeconomic status of the rater affects their view of the speakers. Typically, it is the raters with the highest income who exhibited the most tolerance toward the non-standard dialects. While alone in their analysis of the business owner status of the raters, Seggie et al. (1986) showed that this is a significant variable. Therefore, it must be studied further in other contexts. The level of education of the raters has also been shown to be a significant variable in studies conducted among Spanish as well as in Mexico. While the studies each examined standard and non-standard varieties, the results varied as to the preference of the more educated raters. Thus, this variable must be examined in different regions and among different language varieties. Language attitude studies in general as well as those conducted in Mexico have shown that exposure to a language variety affects the reactions of the raters. While these reactions are sometimes negative and sometimes positive, this variable must be studied where applicable. Thus, these variables should be examined in future studies.

Themes and Findings Conclusion

General language attitudes studies, studies of the Spanish language, and studies in Mexico demonstrate that several variables affect the raters' responses toward different linguistic varieties, including: speaker origin, speaker gender, text style, rater age, rater gender, rater origin, income of the rater, rater's status as business owner, education level of the rater, and rater's exposure to the language varieties. These variables have been selected as they have been examined in past language attitude studies and are relevant to this study.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter provided a comprehensive review of the literature regarding language attitudes. First, a historical background on the study of language attitudes was given in an effort to introduce the general theme and purpose of language attitude research. Then, the theoretical framework concerning language attitude research was established by way of the mentalist perspective—a perspective taken in this study in order to elicit the language attitudes that are held in the minds of the Mexican micro-enterprisers being evaluated. The methodologies of a verbal guise test, a focus group, and a dialect map were then overviewed. This was done in response to the recommendation made by language attitude researchers that multiple methods be implemented to elicit language attitudes in future investigations (Garrett, 2001; McKenzie, 2010). Then, it was demonstrated how various studies have shown that both speaker and rater variables are important to examine, as they have resulted in significant findings. For example, previous language attitude studies conducted in the workplace

have shown that raters are able to determine the hireability of speakers as well as the position for which they would likely be hired (Anderson, 1981; Atkins, 1993; Bradac & Wisegarver, 1984; Carlson & McHenry, 2006; De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006). Furthermore, the majority of studies have shown that standard speakers are preferred for higher positions and non-standard speakers are preferred for lower positions (Anderson, 1981; Bradac & Wisegarver, 1984; De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study investigated the language attitudes of Mexican employers toward six distinct varieties of Mexican Spanish. The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the linguistically based prejudices in hiring patterns of Mexican employers. Research shows that Mexicans may hold stereotypes against speakers of Mexican Spanish dialects that they associate with undesirable features such as laziness or low intelligence, based on speakers' accents (Hidalgo, 1996). However, there is little research to show what stereotypes in particular are held against which regions and dialects, as well as how such stereotypes affect employment possibilities.

In order to elicit covert language attitudes, this study used the verbal guise technique and Likert-type scales with attributes identified in previous research as relevant to language attitudes and further refined through the use of focus groups in the present study. Focus groups were also utilized to gain further insight into employers' attitudes towards job applicants' dialects. Following Preston's (2002) work, a map of the states of Mexico along with open-ended questions regarding the residents of the different states and regions were used in the focus groups to identify stereotypes associated with different linguistic varieties. The regional dialects examined in this study were selected from the regional varieties identified by Lope Blanch (1997), responses from a focus group conducted in initial phases of the study, and subject availability.

Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What language attitudes do 20-50 year old ACE students in Mexico hold with respect to the following varieties of Spanish:
 - a. Popular dialect of Mexico City
 - b. Suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan
 - c. Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
 - d. Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León
 - e. Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero
 - f. Urban dialect of the upper-class of Mexico City
2. How do the rater's origin, economic level, gender, age, business owner status, and education level play a role in the language attitudes of Mexican adults enrolled at ACE?
3. Do the language attitudes of ACE students towards the six regional dialects of Mexican Spanish influence their decision of whom they are more or less likely to hire?
4. Should ACE create culturally appropriate curriculum that includes explicit training regarding linguistic attitudes?

Research Design

Dialects

Of the 10 dialects identified by Lope Blanch (1997) (see Chapter I, p. 9), six were selected for the purposes of this study. They were selected through a focus group in the pilot study wherein a dialect map was used in order to elicit the subjects' perceptions of existing regional varieties in Mexico.

The Academy for Creating Enterprise

Participants were 98 current and future employers ranging from 20-57 years of age, who were enrolled as students in a 6-week business course at the Academy for Creating Enterprise. The Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE) is a foundation funded by private donations, which currently teaches business principles to Mexicans and Filipinos who would like to learn the necessary skills to run or grow their own small

businesses. Each generation (6-week course) consists of an average of 50 students. The students, who come from all over Mexico, vary in the amount of business experience they have. Many students already have a small business prior to coming to the course, but those who do not own a small business come to the Academy for Creating Enterprise with the hope of opening a small business shortly after graduating. In fact, 56% of all ACE graduates already had business experience prior to attending the Academy, although 100% of ACE students began a business during their stay at the Academy. However, regardless of their previous business experience, all students receive the same training, which is based on Rules of Thumb and experiential learning. While the students spend some time in the classroom learning theory, most of their time is spent applying the theory in a small business or IGA they form with a small group during the course. I selected the students at the Mexico City campus because I had previously been working with the foundation at the Mexico City site as a financial supervisor, curriculum writer, and teaching coordinator.

Participants

The social and experiential backgrounds of the 98 study participants reflect patterns in the student population at ACE as a whole in terms of region of origin, religion, country of mission service, age, and previous business experience.

The total number of graduates from ACE Mexico as of December 2012 was 1,350. While the number of graduates is constantly growing, as of December 2012, ACE graduates represented nine of the 10 dialect regions as described by Lope Blanch (1997). The study participants represented the same nine out of 10 regions.

The students of ACE are all members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints who have spent 2 years as proselytizing missionaries. The majority of the students spent their 2-year missions in Mexico, outside of their home state. However, a small number (3%) of all ACE graduates spent their mission service in a foreign country. Of the study participants, 5% spent their mission service in a foreign country and 95% within Mexico.

ACE students range from 20-60 years old, with 46% between 20 and 30 years old, 28% between 30 and 40, and 16% between 40 and 50. The study participants consisted of 57% between 20 and 30 years old, 26% between 30 and 40, and 12% between 40 and 50. Of all ACE students, 59% owned a business before attending the Academy. Of the study participants, 54% had already started a business prior to attending the Academy. Thus, the study participants were a representative sample of ACE students in general.

Selection of Subjects

I chose to investigate ACE students for three main reasons: (a) they are trained on how to hire, (b) they are more likely to hire not only because of their training, but also because of their socioeconomic status, and (c) linguistic profiling, if it is in fact occurring, may be affecting the small businesses of ACE students and graduates.

In a preliminary survey, ACE graduates mentioned that they were having trouble hiring the right individuals for their business. They were concerned because their rate of success would greatly decrease after they hired an individual. Due to their previous training at ACE, it was most likely not due to a lack of knowledge on how to hire

individuals or on how to train employees. Could it be that they were not hiring the right individuals due to linguistic profiling? Was linguistic profiling occurring? If linguistic profiling is occurring, it is possible that the ACE students are not hiring the most qualified individuals, but rather, those who “sound” the most qualified. Although this study does not aim to answer the question of whether the employers are hiring the most qualified individuals, it does address the question regarding whether or not linguistic profiling may occur among ACE students.

Unique Training

Due to their extensive training at the Academy on how to hire employees, ACE graduates are more likely to hire. According to data gathered by the C2S Foundation in Philippines (Miller, 2008). ACE graduates are 19% more likely to hire at least one employee than non-ACE graduates (43% ACE vs. 24% non-ACE). Preliminary research done on the ACE students and graduates in Mexico demonstrates that ACE graduates are nearly two times more likely to hire individuals than non-ACE graduates. Furthermore, ACE-Mexico graduates have, on average, more employees than non-ACE graduates in Mexico. Thus, because ACE graduates are more likely to hire employees, it must be understood if ACE graduates maintain linguistic prejudices. If so, linguistic profiling is more likely to occur within this specific population, which may be affecting their success as a small business owner because of the lack of sufficiently qualified employees.

A Higher Socioeconomic Status

ACE students are more likely to hire employees once they have graduated because of their socio-economic status. Shane (2009) stated that micro-enterprisers are more likely to hire employees when they are high quality, high growth businesses. This means that small businesses that make more money are able to hire employees because of their economic growth. However, many people in Mexico are living below the national poverty line. In fact, the World Bank (2011) stated that 51.3% of the Mexican population lives below the national poverty line, which is defined by Soloaga and Torres (2003) as making approximately \$1.75 USD/day in urban areas and \$1.60 USD/day in rural areas. This translates to \$52.50 USD/month for urban areas and \$48 USD/month in rural areas.

The majority of ACE graduates, on the other hand, lives above the national poverty line, enabling them to hire employees. Only 3% of the participants in this study made less than \$1,000 MXN per month (\$78.69 USD/month, based on a conversion of 1:12.71, USD:MXN), all of whom were unemployed prior to their attendance in the course. This means that 97% of the participants were living above the national poverty line at the time of the survey, versus 49.7% of the general Mexican population. Because the students of the Academy maintain a higher socio-economic status than nearly half of the general population of Mexico, they are more likely to hire employees in the future; thus, they will have more opportunities to perform linguistic profiling in their hiring practices.

Procedures

One of the teachers employed by ACE announced in the two different classes that there would be a possibility to participate in a study during their free time on particular dates that I had previously arranged. The verbal guise test participants were all those students who attended the sessions. The focus group students were chosen from the same two groups, but were those who were willing to show up on a later date during the same week, again during their free time. The students did not receive compensation for their time.

Pilot Study

The first phase of the pilot study was a focus group conducted to select personal attributes associated with speakers of Mexican dialects. These personal attributes were later used in the verbal guise test. The purpose of using a focus group to select these attributes was to determine the dialects that attracted the strongest stereotypes as well as the most commonly used terms to describe those dialects.

This first focus group was composed of 10 students of the Academy, as described above. The group was representative of the groups used later in the actual study since they were all between 20 and 57 years of age, were students at the Academy, were current and future employers, and they were both male and female. Participants were given an outline map of Mexico (see Appendix A) and asked open-ended questions such as the following:

- How would you describe the people in this region?
- If you were to hire an employee, where would you want them to be from? Why?
- Where do they speak the most correct Spanish in Mexico?

- Where do they speak the most incorrect Spanish in Mexico?
- Where are newscasters from?
- What are those people like?

As the participants discussed the speakers of each region, I took note of particularly strong feelings held by certain individuals and asked them why they felt so strongly about these dialects in order to gain greater insight into these stereotypes.

Using the results from the first phase of the pilot study, the most common terms were chosen, in order to use them later for the Likert-type scales (i.e., a list of personal attributes) in the verbal guise test. Because the adjectives were derived from the responses of the participants, they represent the current community values regarding the different dialects (Duisberg, 2001). The final set of Likert-type scale personal attributes were collected from this pilot study and were also derived from various studies on language attitudes particularly those involving language attitudes in job interviews, (Parton, Siltanen, Hosman, & Langenderfer, 2002; Zahn & Hopper, 1985). Nineteen positive personal attributes were identified, which fit into three dimensions: attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability. Eight of the positive personal attributes represented feelings of attractiveness, four represented status and socio-intellectual prestige, and seven represented hireability. I then matched each adjective with its polar opposite to create a Likert-type scale. For the verbal guise test, the attributes from each of the three categories were randomly alternated and distributed in the instrument in order to ensure responses that reflect the true attitudes of the listeners. The positive personal attributes selected for attractiveness were the following:

- Friendly.
- Open-minded.

- Honest.
- Good-looking.
- Thin.
- Humble.
- Happy.
- Giving.

The positive personal attributes selected for status and socio-intellectual prestige were the following:

- Educated.
- Upper class.
- Intelligent.
- Rich.

The positive personal attributes selected for hireability were the following:

- Effective leader.
- Direct.
- Confident.
- Entrepreneur.
- Aggressive.
- Focused.
- Hard worker.

The second phase of the pilot study included a verbal guise test. In order to create the recordings to be used in the verbal guise test, I looked for speakers from the regions identified by Lope Blanch (1997) as well as those varieties that seemed to elicit strong stereotypes in the pilot study. The main regions that were identified were the North and the South, which included the Southern coast. Mexico City elicited a variety of positive and negative responses, which motivated the selection of the two varieties from Mexico City: the popular variety and the variety spoken by the upper class. Following the descriptions provided by Hidalgo (1986), the speakers of the upper class of Mexico City were determined by examining the speaker's income (greater than \$100,000 MXN per

month), their occupation (managerial), their father's occupation (managerial), and their place of residence (Colonies such as Lomas de Chapultepec, Roma, Polanco, Del Valle, Santa Fe, and Satélite; Hidalgo, 1986, p. 199). Although Hidalgo (1986) did not explain her reasoning for excluding mother's occupation in determining the SES of the participants, it was apparent to me that the majority of the mothers of the speakers with a higher SES did not maintain an income generating occupation. The speakers of the popular variety were chosen based on their city of origin (Mexico City), as well as the fact that they did not possess the same attributes of those of the higher SES. For example, they had not lived in the specified colonies (Lomas de Chapultepec, Roma, Polanco, Del Valle, Santa Fe, and Satélite) and did not fit into the higher SES based on their income, occupation, or their father's occupation. The two northern varieties were chosen based on the regions identified by Lope Blanch (1997), as well as several comments during the focus group, which specified the speakers from Chihuahua. The speakers were chosen from the same population as the group of participants in the first phase of the pilot; in other words, the speakers posing as job applicants in the verbal guise test were previous students at the Academy, and most likely did not know any of the raters of the verbal guise test. Two speakers, one male and one female represented each variety. These speakers were chosen not only based on the amount of time they had lived in their region, but also on voice quality, primarily fluid speech (i.e., speech without stuttering, lisps, or other speech impediments). The speakers were told that they would be reading a paragraph for a mock job interview (see Appendix B) two times while being recorded. Following the reading of the paragraph, the speakers were asked

to record what they would likely say in a job interview in response to the following question: “In one minute or less, describe yourself and why you would be a good candidate for any job.” While controlling for content, the second task allowed for lexical variation, for example, regionalisms, as well as greater phonological variation since the speakers were more likely to focus their attention on the content of their message instead of their pronunciation. As Labov (1972) explained, individuals are more likely to use informal styles if they are paying less attention to their speech. The speech recordings were then edited down to 30-second samples and coded by region, text style, and gender of the speaker. The edits consisted of any large pauses of 250 milliseconds or more, as recommended by Stawarska (2009), mistakes made by the speaker during the reading of the paragraph, as well as any information other than dialect that would influence the raters to hire or not hire the speaker in the free speech samples. For example, I eliminated any specific characteristics mentioned that would qualify a speaker for a specific position (e.g. work history, experience, leadership qualities, etc.). See Appendix B for the speech sample transcriptions of each speaker.

In order to determine the accuracy of the speech samples and the elicitation instruments, a second phase of the pilot study was conducted using two different elicitation methods: a verbal guise test and a second focus group. The verbal guise test was used to elicit the general stereotypes held by many individuals regarding the different dialects of Mexico. The focus group aided in understanding the reasons behind each stereotype and the depth of the stereotypes. Seven employers completed the verbal guise test individually (see Appendix E) by listening to mp3 recordings of the recorded

speech samples and answering questions regarding accent recognition. During the verbal guise, the participants rated the speakers using a Likert-type scale and the adjectives derived from the first focus group. Later, the same seven employers were placed into a second focus group. In order to provoke discussion, they were asked open-ended questions, such as “Where do you think the newscasters of Mexico are from?” and “From which region would you hire your employees?” The purpose of this second focus group was to verify the results from the first focus group and elicit any further responses since they had participated in the verbal guise test and had listened to the speech samples, unlike the first group.

Through the pilot study, I was able to discover some weaknesses in the survey questions. First, some of the questions were ambiguous and needed to be explained in greater detail. For example, in responding to the question regarding the raters’ last year completed in school, many of the raters would write the year of their graduation (e.g., 2003). Thus, in the actual study, I had to explain that I wanted the last grade level completed (e.g., 12th grade). Second, I discovered that the verbal guise test would take about 40 minutes of their time instead of the 20 minutes that I had initially planned. Thus, in the study I was able to more accurately predict the amount of time that was required of the students. Although 40 minutes was a long period of time, the participants seemed able to complete all 10 of the questionnaires. Also, the order of the presentation of the varieties was randomized in order to avoid fatigue (Garrett et al., 2003), which was effective, since the raters did not show signs of fatigue effects. Prior to statistical analysis, the results of the focus group appeared to coincide with the results of the verbal

guise test. From the second focus group of the pilot study, I recognized the need to ask more open-ended questions. For example, I was required to ask several follow-up questions, such as “why?” and to have the respondents explain their reasoning in greater detail. I was also forced to ask the individuals who were slightly more reserved and did not volunteer answers readily to discuss how they felt. Many times they did not agree with the others and other times they simply did not have an explicit opinion.

Data Collection

Three different elicitation methods were used in this study: a verbal guise test, a dialect map, and focus groups. All participants (n = 98) completed the verbal guise silently so as to elicit their uninfluenced responses. Two focus groups were conducted with 10 participants in the first group and eight participants in the second. During the focus groups, each participant was given a dialect map and asked to describe the speakers of the different regions of Mexico, as done with the first focus group at the beginning of the pilot study and similar to the procedure of the dialect maps used by Preston (2002).

The data for this study was collected over a period of 5 weeks, during which I visited two different generations of business course students for elicitation purposes. Following are further explanations of each elicitation method.

The employers were visited during a free-time hour for data collection. The business course teachers were not present at the time of elicitation, but were contacted prior to the visits to inform them about the procedures. The teachers received an

explanation of the activity, a sample of the instruments and an explanation of the research agenda.

Once in the classroom, I explained that the students, as employers, would listen to 10 job applicants and then answer a few questions, including whether or not they would hire the speaker. Prior to listening to the speech samples, the students were asked to sign a consent form stating that they understood what they would be doing, that it was non-obligatory, and that they would remain anonymous. Two students from the first group chose not to participate, while all the students from the second group participated. The listening portion of the activity was practiced with a sample participant response sheet with one of the speakers chosen at random. After listening, the students completed and discussed the response page with me in order to clarify any misunderstandings. Since the pilot study group slightly misunderstood the question regarding last year of school completed on the demographic information sheet, I gave an example to explain this in more detail for the two study groups.

After having completed the sample sheet, the participants listened to the rest of the nine speakers and silently completed the participant response sheets for each speaker. The total amount of time spent with each group of student employers was approximately 45 minutes.

Participant Response Packets

Prior to the elicitation of attitudes, participants were asked to fill out a demographic and sociolinguistic survey (see Appendix D). The survey was included in

the participant response packet. The purpose of the survey was to describe the listeners and to test for correlations between language attitudes and rater variables of:

- Gender
- Age
- Marital Status
- State of origin
- Education level
- Economic level
- Business owner status
- Familiarity to the speaker varieties

The demographic questionnaire also included instructions for completing the elicitation sheets (see Appendix D). Since the study was conducted in Mexico among a population of Spanish speakers, the surveys and questionnaires were written in Spanish (see Appendices C-E).

The raters were then each given 10 identical elicitation sheets (one for each of nine guises as well as one practice sheet to ensure understanding of the process).

The Questionnaires

Demographic information sheet. The demographic information sheet included the rater's initials, age, and gender. Then, it asked where the participants grew up and the length of time they had lived there, followed by a question asking if they had lived in any other location, for how long, and their age when they lived there. Next, they were asked to indicate where their parents were from. This would indicate whether the rater had lived in one of the speaker regions to show familiarity with the variety. Then, the raters were to indicate whether they were married and where their spouse was from, again, to show possible familiarity with a speaker variety. For their education and socio-

economic status, the raters were asked to indicate the last grade level they had completed in school, if they spoke another language, and how much they made per month. The raters were then asked if they currently or had previously owned a business and if they currently had any employees. Then, they were asked where the employees were from, to also indicate familiarity with speaker varieties. Following the questions was a brief explanation of how to complete the verbal guise questionnaire.

Elicitation sheet. The questionnaire was used during the verbal guise test. For the first section, the participants listened to 10 of the 12 recordings and circled the box that best fit their perception of the speaker. Each elicitation sheet contained 19 attributes with a 5-point Likert-type scale, where, for example, 1 = *very friendly*, 2 = *more friendly than rude*, 3 = *I'm not sure*, 4 = *more rude than friendly*, and 5 = *very rude* (see Figure 5).

Very friendly	More friendly than rude	I'm not sure	More rude than friendly	Very rude
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Figure 5. Example of Likert-type scale from elicitation sheet.

Hireability. Two questions asked the raters if they would hire the applicant and if they would recommend the applicant for a job. These questions were inspired by Parton et al. (2002), who examined the employability of speakers who used powerful and powerless speech. They defined powerless speech as including hesitations and hedges, such as “kind of,” “I think,” “well,” and “you know,” and powerful speech as that which

lacks hedges and hesitations. They found that the speakers who used powerful speech were more likely to be hired and/or recommended for employment. Carlson and McHenry (2006) also asked a similar hiring question in their study among human resource managers in Texas and their attitudes towards speakers of Asian-influenced English, Spanish-influenced English, and AAVE speakers with differing degrees of accents. They found that the speakers with stronger accents were less likely to be hired than those with only slight accents.

Job position. Study participants were also given a question asking what position they would hire the applicant for (De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Garrett, 2010; Henderson, 2001; Kalin, 1982; Rey, 1977): secretary, factory worker, salesperson, supervisor, boss/owner, and other. Several students of the Academy own businesses with multiple locations and, in other cases, franchisees are looking to hire managers to run their business in a particular location. Thus, the boss/owner position was representative of executive managerial positions. Anderson (1981) distinguished between executive or supervisor positions, skilled technicians, and semi-skilled worker positions in his study of the hireability of standard and non-standard English speakers by employers in Virginia. De La Zerda and Hopper (1979) distinguished between supervisor position and semi-skilled workers in their study, which examined the job position recommendations of employment interviewers in Texas towards speakers of varying degrees of Spanish-accented English. In order to clarify the semi-skilled worker position used in Anderson (1981) and De la Zerda and Hopper (1979), this study used salesperson and also factory worker for a laborer position.

Accent identification. Finally, in an open-ended question, the respondents were asked where they thought the speaker was from, followed by a question asking if the rater knew anyone from that place and to indicate who. It has been suggested by Preston (1989) that language attitude research should include a question regarding accent identification in order to identify the participants' classification of the dialects. Bentivoglio and Sedano (1999) found that the raters were best able to identify the origin of the speaker when they were familiar with that particular accent when they examined the ability of Spanish speakers in Madrid and Caracas, Venezuela, to identify the origin of Spanish speakers from Cuba, Argentina, The Canary Islands, Mexico, Venezuela, Madrid, and Colombia. Suarez Budenbender (2009) found that the Puerto Rican participants were able to correctly identify the origin of the speakers also examined the ability of raters to identify the region of origin of the speakers in her study of the attitudes towards Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish.

The Verbal Guise

The six varieties investigated were chosen by the answers given through the first phase of the pilot test regarding specific regions (as identified by Lope Blanch [1997]) that seemed to attract particularly strong stereotypes, as well as by subject availability. Six linguistic varieties were selected based on the regional varieties from the two studies and subject availability.

- Popular dialect of Mexico City.
- Suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan.
- Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.
- Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León.
- Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero.

- Urban dialect of the upper class of Mexico City.

For each target variety, one female and one male speaker were recorded, totaling 12 speakers.

All speakers were between 21 and 24 years of age, a small enough age range to avoid vocal differences, as suggested by past studies (Garrett et al., 2003). The speakers were selected from former and graduating students of The Academy. Based on interviews at the Academy in Mexico City prior to their participation, the listeners indicated that they did not know the speakers.

The background of each speaker was crucial in his or her selection for representing a particular variety; namely, the age of arrival and duration of stay in the dialectal zone. The female speaker of the popular variety of Mexico City had lived in Mexico City for 18 years, and spoke the dialect Martín Butragueño (2006) described as that of the lower sociocultural level. She was 24 years old and had recently graduated from a university. She was not employed at the time of the recording. The male speaker of this variety was 23 years old and had lived there his entire life. He had finished a university degree and was earning \$4,000 Mexican Pesos (MXN) at the time of the recording. He also spoke the popular variety, as described by Martín Butragueño (2006). The female from Mérida, Yucatán was 24 years old and had moved to Mérida when she was 5 years old. She had graduated from university and was earning \$12,000 MXN per month. She spoke the Yucatan dialect as described by Lope Blanch (1997) and Hidalgo (1996). The male speaker from Mérida was 23 years old and had lived there for 22 years. He had attended a university, but did not finish his degree. He was unemployed at the

time of recording. He also spoke the Yucatan dialect as described by Lope Blanch (1997) and Hidalgo (1996). The female from Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, had lived there for 18 years, and was 24 at the time of the recording. She had finished her university degree and had just started a business, so her monthly income varied greatly from month to month. The male speaker from Chihuahua was 24 years old and had lived there for 22 years. He had finished a university degree, but was not employed at the time of the recording. Both of the speakers from Chihuahua spoke the Northwest dialect as described by Lope Blanch (1997) and Martín Butragueño (2009). The female from Monterrey was 22 years old and had lived there her entire life. She had just started a business and did not have any personal income at the time of the recording. The male speaker from Monterrey was 24 years old and had always lived in Monterrey. He had finished his university degree and was earning approximately \$8,000 MXN per month. Both of the speakers from Monterrey spoke the Northern Mexico dialect as described by Martín Butragueño (2009), or the Northern High Plains dialect as described by Lope Blanch (1997). The female speaker from San Jeronimito, Guerrero was 24 years old and had finished her nursing degree. She had lived there for 15 years of her life and was earning \$3,000 MXN per month. Previously, she had lived slightly northwest of San Jeronimito, in Zihuatanejo, Guerrero, which is still within the same dialectal region of the Oaxaca/Guerrero Coast. She spoke using the regional dialect of the Oaxaca and Guerrero Coasts, as described by Martín Butragueño (2009) and Althoff (1994). The male speaker from San Jeronimito, Guerrero and had lived there his whole life. He was 23 years old and had not finished the eighth grade. He earned approximately \$2,000

MXN per month. He also used the regional dialect of the Coast as described by Martín Butragueño (2009) and Althoff (1994). The female from the upper class of Mexico City, had lived there her entire life in the colony of Santa Fe, was 24 years old, and had finished a technical degree. She earned \$15,000 MXN per month, but her father was a successful politician in Mexico City, earning over \$100,000 MXN per month (the exact amount was not disclosed at the request of the participant). She spoke with the dialect of the upper class of Mexico City, as described by Martín Butragueño (2006). The male speaker from Mexico City's upper class was 21 years old and had lived in Mexico City his whole life in the colony of Lomas de Chapultepec. He graduated high school and was studying at the local university at the time of the recording. Although he was unemployed at the time, he noted that his father made over \$100,000 MXN per month (again, the exact amount was not disclosed) and was the owner of a major Mexican food corporation. He also spoke using the dialect of the upper class of Mexico City, as described by Martín Butragueño (2006).

Each speaker recorded two texts: a paragraph and a free speech sample (Appendix B). The recordings were then randomized and assigned a label in order to guarantee anonymity. Raters ($n = 98$) were divided into two groups according to availability of the participants, since they were asked to participate during their free time. Each group was administered only 10 speech samples to prevent rater fatigue (Garrett et al., 2003). Thus, 980 responses were obtained. The raters listened to a combination of the (a) read paragraph, and (b) free speech samples. The order of the presentation of the speakers was randomized to prevent the impact of changing interest

level and/or increased understanding of the rating process. See Table 4 for the presentation order for each group, variety, and speech sample type.

Table 4

Presentation Order by Group and Variety

Group	Variety				
1 (Pilot)	1) UMcf(b)	2) CJF(a)	3) MNLF(a)	4) McM(a)	5) SJGM(b)
	6) MNLM(b)	7) MYF(b)	8) CJM(b)	9) SJGF(b)	10) UMcm(a)
2	1) McF(b)	2) MYM(b)	3) MNLF(a)	4) SJGM(a)	5) MYF(b)
	6) CJM(a)	7) UMcm(b)	8) MNLM(b)	9) UMcf(a)	10) SJGF(b)
3	1) MNLM(a)	2) MYF(a)	3) CJF(b)	4) McF(a)	5) UMcm(a)
	6) SJGF(a)	7) MNLF(b)	8) McM(b)	9) CJM(b)	10) MYM(a)

Note: McM: male popular dialect speaker from Mexico City; McF: female popular dialect speaker from Mexico City; MYM: male rural dialect speaker from Mérida, Yucatan; MYF: female rural dialect speaker from Mérida, Yucatan; CJM: male rural dialect speaker from Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; CJF: female rural dialect speaker from Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; MNLM: male rural dialect speaker from Monterrey, Nuevo León; MNLF: female rural dialect speaker from Monterrey, Nuevo León; SJGM: male rural dialect speaker from San Jeronimito, Guerrero; SJGF: female rural dialect speaker from San Jeronimito, Guerrero; UMcm: male urban dialect speaker of the upper class from Mexico City; UMcf: female urban dialect speaker of the upper class from Mexico City; a: read paragraph; b: free speech.

Focus Groups

Eighteen of the participants volunteered to join one of two focus groups with eight participants in the first group and 10 in the second group. The groups consisted of both males and females from a variety of regions of Mexico. The focus groups began by giving each participant the outline map of Mexico. The participants were asked questions similar to those in the pilot study. The aim of the focus groups was to gather qualitative data regarding the stereotypes held towards the different varieties of Mexican Spanish.

Coding and Organizing the Data

Semantic Differential Responses

The data from each packet were then coded and entered into Excel, and then imported into IBM SPSS Statistics Standard (Version 20), where they were analyzed. The coding of the answers differed based on the type of question. For the responses from the semantic differential scales, The most positive answers received 1 point, while the most negative received 5 points, as shown in Figure 6.

Very friendly	More friendly than rude	I'm not sure	More rude than friendly	Very rude
1	2	3	4	5

Figure 6. Point allotment for Likert-type semantic differential scale.

The attributes were grouped into their corresponding categories: attractiveness, socio-intellectual status/prestige, and hireability. There are eight items under the category of attractiveness, five under socio-intellectual status/prestige, and another five under the category of hireability. A total score for socio-intellectual status/prestige or for hireability, which each have five items, could range from a low of five (indicating the most positive attitudinal score) to a high of 40 (indicating the most negative attitudinal score). The scores for solidarity, which has eight items, may range from a low of eight to a high of 40. The scores were calculated for each axis or category of attributes and language variety. The lower the score, the stronger the attribution of attractiveness,

status, or hireability (whichever the category) given by the respondent to the speaker of the particular variety. Once this score was determined, a mean score for each dimension was calculated for the study participants for each of the six varieties of Spanish.

Four statistical tests were used in the analysis of the data: ANOVA, correlation analyses, linear regression analyses, and chi-squared tests. Three ANOVA tests were conducted using the three different dimensions as the dependent variable; the independent variables were the aforementioned speaker variables: region, gender, and text style (free speech vs. read). Two linear regression analyses were conducted in order to determine how the rater variables affected their hiring decision for each speaker, as well as how the speaker variables affected the rater's hiring decision. A correlation analysis was conducted to determine whether the three dimensions correlated with the hiring decision of the raters. Finally, Chi-Square tests were conducted to determine if the dependent variable of job position showed significance with any of the three speaker variables as the independent variables.

The data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics 20. For all statistical tests, a 95% confidence level was used for determining statistical significance. In Chapter IV, the qualitative results along with the descriptive data from the quantitative studies will be included to enrich the statistical interpretations.

Coding of Speaker Variables

Three speaker variables were used in the analyses: speaker origin, speaker gender, and speaker text style. The nominal scale variables of speaker gender and speaker origin were determined by past research, which has shown that both gender and

origin of the speaker may influence the raters' decision to hire (DeShields & Kara, 2011; Henderson, 2001). Following is a description of the coding of each variable for the statistical tests.

Speaker origin. The speaker's origin was categorized by assigning each region a specific number. Those speakers of the popular variety were assigned a 1. The speakers of the Yucatan variety were assigned a 2. The speakers of the Chihuahua dialect (or the Northwestern dialect) were assigned a 3. The speakers of the Monterrey, Nuevo Leon dialect (or the Northern High Plain dialect) were assigned a 4. The speakers of the Guerrero coast dialect were assigned a 5. Finally, the speakers of the dialect of the upper class of Mexico City were assigned a 6.

Speaker gender. The male speakers were assigned a 0 and the female speakers were assigned a 1.

Speaker text style. The speakers who read the text were assigned a 0 while the speakers who spoke freely were assigned a 1.

Coding of Rater Variables

The answers to the demographic questions were entered into the program and analyzed. However, for some items, such as the open-ended focus group responses, interpretation of the raw data was required, as explained in the following section. Following is a description of the coding of the rater variables for the statistical tests.

Age of rater. The age of the rater was categorized as follows:

- 0-25 = 1.
- 26-30 = 2.
- 31-35 = 3.
- 36-40 = 4.

- 41-45 = 5.
- 46-99 = 6.

Rater gender. The raters who were males were assigned a 0 and the raters who were females were assigned a 1.

Previous residence in speaker region. When a rater had lived in one of the speakers' regions that he or she listened to, a 1 was assigned to the rater in order to show whether or not extended exposure to the variety affected the listener's perception of the accent. For those who had lived in multiple regions, a 1 was assigned for each of the varieties that matched a speaker variety.

Acquaintance origin. When someone the rater knew was from one of the regions of the speakers, a 1 was assigned to show the effects of familiarity of a variety through a close acquaintance of the rater.

Marital status. If a rater was married, and their spouse was from one of the dialect regions, they were assigned a 1, if not, they were assigned a 0.

Level of education. Level of education was determined by the last year of formal schooling completed. The raters who had not completed high school were assigned a 0. The raters who had only completed high school were assigned a 1. The raters who had attended some college, but did not finish with a degree were assigned a 3. The raters who had previously finished college or beyond were assigned a 4.

Another language. When a rater spoke at least one other language, they were assigned a 1 and if they did not speak another language, they were assigned a 0.

Monthly income. Raters were assigned numbers according to the amount of their monthly income. All numbers are as follows and currency amounts are in Mexican pesos:

- \$0-2,500 = 1.
- \$2,501-4,000 = 2.
- \$4,001-5,000 = 3.
- \$5,001-7,500 = 4.
- \$7,501-9,999 = 5.
- \$10,000-100,000 = 6.

Business owner. The raters who had previously owned a business were assigned a 1, while the rest were assigned a 0.

Employees. The raters who indicated they had employees were assigned a 1 and those who did not were assigned a 0.

Identification of the language variety. Any time a participant correctly identified a language variety, the rater was assigned the number 1. For example, if the speaker was from Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, and the rater wrote Monterrey, Nuevo Leon; Monterrey; or Nuevo Leon, the rater was assigned a 1. When the rater named the correct region of origin, the rater was also assigned a 1. For example, if the speaker was from Monterrey, Nuevo Leon and the rater said they were from the North, the speaker was assigned a 1.

Hiring decision. The raters were asked if they would hire the speaker. They were given five options, which were assigned a number for the statistical tests, as follows:

- Definitely would hire = 1.
- Probably would hire = 2.
- I'm not sure = 3.
- Probably would not hire = 4.
- Definitely would not hire = 5.

The raters were then asked to explain their reasoning behind their answer. These answers were labeled as positive or negative and then categorized into the three dimensions. In the case of answers that did not fit into one of these categories, such as those regarding speech rate, the answer was simply categorized as positive or negative.

Recommendation for hire. The raters were also asked if they would recommend the speaker for a job position. The coding is as follows:

- Definitely would recommend = 1.
- Probably would recommend = 2.
- I'm not sure = 3.
- Probably would not recommend = 4.
- Definitely would not recommend = 5.

Again, the raters were asked to explain their answer for this question. The answers were labeled similarly to the hiring question. They were labeled as positive or negative and then categorized into the three dimensions, and those that did not fit into one of the three dimensions were simply categorized as positive or negative.

Open-Ended Questions

There were several open-ended questions in the verbal guise test. Following is a description of the coding of the answers.

Job position. When the raters chose the best position for the speakers, they were assigned numbers according to the managerial responsibility required for each position.

The job positions were assigned numbers as follows:

- Factory worker = 1.
- Secretary = 2.
- Salesperson = 3.
- Supervisor = 4.
- Boss/owner = 5.

When a rater indicated that a speaker would qualify for multiple positions, the job position with the highest numerical value was recorded. For example, if a rater indicated that a speaker would be best suited for a secretary and a salesperson, the speaker was assigned a 3.

Focus Group Responses

The responses to the questions in the focus groups were open-ended, which required further organization prior to analysis. I first identified comments in which the participants assessed the characters of the speakers and categorized these assessments as negative or positive. I then categorized the comments based on the dimension they fit into (attractiveness, status, or hireability). Thus, I was able to compare the answers given in the focus groups to the results from the verbal guise test. Regarding the answers to other questions wherein the participants provided regions (for example, when the participants were asked who the most difficult people to understand were), I listed each region mentioned and categorized the type of response as either positive or negative. Specific comments were also noted that indicated the particularly strong attitudes of the group or an individual towards a specific variety.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the procedures and design of data collection from both a theoretical and practical point of view. Through the verbal guise technique, the language attitudes of Mexican employers were elicited and two focus groups were conducted with the same individuals to gain further insights into their attitudes towards Mexican dialects. Similar to other researchers who have demonstrated the existence and

effects of employers' language attitudes in the United States (Baird, 1969; Hopper, 1977; Hopper & Williams, 1973; Posthuma, Morgeson, & Campion, 2002; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006; Shuy, 1973), the following chapter demonstrates the existence and effects of language attitudes held by employers in Mexico.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the research findings from both the quantitative and the qualitative data collection procedures, presenting the results for the three research questions in turn. The research questions under investigation were as follows:

1. What language attitudes do 20-50 year old ACE students in Mexico hold with respect to the following varieties of Spanish:
 - a. Popular dialect of Mexico City
 - b. Suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan
 - c. Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
 - d. Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León
 - e. Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero
 - f. Urban dialect of the upper-class of Mexico City
2. How do the rater's origin, economic level, gender, age, business owner status, and education level play a role in the language attitudes of Mexican adults enrolled at ACE?
3. Do the language attitudes of ACE students towards the six regional dialects of Mexican Spanish influence their decision of whom they are more or less likely to hire?
4. Should ACE create culturally appropriate curriculum that includes explicit training regarding linguistic attitudes?

Included in the discussion of Research Question 3 are the results for the type of position for which the speakers would be hired. The dialects studied were:

- Region 1: popular dialect of Mexico City.
- Region 2: urban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan.
- Region 3: suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.
- Region 4: urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León.
- Region 5: rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero.
- Region 6: urban dialect of the upper class of Mexico City.

Chapter I gives a description of each of these varieties.

The results of the quantitative data are presented by examining the outcomes of ANOVAs, correlation analyses, and linear regression analyses. As stated in Chapter III, the data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics 20, and a 95% confidence level was used for determining statistical significance in all tests. In order to enhance the data presented from the quantitative results, the qualitative results will be included. Before discussing the results of the first three research questions, the reliability of the instrument is presented.

Reliability of the Instrument

Two classes of ACE students in Mexico were the source of the data. The results of both groups of listeners were combined ($n = 98$) to compute the overall effects of the verbal guise test. As previously stated, the 19 adjective ratings, which were derived from the first phase of the pilot test (see Chapter III), the regions defined by Lope Blanch (1997), and subject availability, were placed into one of three attitude dimension categories of attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability.

The adjectives were categorized by conducting a reliability test for each of the three dimensions. In order to compute reliability, Cronbach's alpha tests were run using each of the dimensions. Cronbach's alpha examines internal consistency, which in the case of this study examined the items within each dimension to determine whether they were measuring the same dimension. When using Cronbach's alpha tests, $\alpha \leq 1.00$ is considered highly reliable.

The mean score for the attractiveness variable was 20.04 with a standard deviation of 3.90 (see Table 5). The Cronbach's alpha for the attractiveness scale was

0.609, which is acceptable at the lowest threshold. The mean score for the status and socio-intellectual prestige variable was 11.71 and the standard deviation was 3.51 (see Table 5). The Cronbach's alpha score was 0.853, which shows the adjectives were consistent in measuring status and socio-intellectual prestige. The mean score for the hireability variable was 18.92 and the standard deviation was 5.55. The Cronbach's alpha for hireability was 0.826, which shows the adjectives were consistent in measuring hireability (see Table 5).

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Attitudinal Dimensions

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	α
Attractiveness	967	8.00	39.00	20.04	3.90	0.609
Status & Socio-Intellectual Prestige	974	4.00	24.00	11.71	3.51	0.853
Hireability	968	7.00	34.00	18.92	5.55	0.826

Findings

Research Question 1: Speaker (Job Applicant) Variables

In order to answer the first research question regarding the attitudes of the graduates of the Academy toward the six different varieties of Mexican Spanish, the speaker (job applicant) variables were coded into a region variable, a gender variable, and a text variable (read paragraph versus guided free speech). There were 12 speakers total, and there were six different regions, which were coded as follows:

- 1 = popular dialect of Mexico City; Region 4.³
- 2 = urban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan; Region 10.
- 3 = suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; Region 1.
- 4 = urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León; Region 2.
- 5 = rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero; Region 5.
- 6 = urban dialect of the upper class of Mexico City; Region 4.

The male speakers were coded as 0, and the females as 1. The text variable was coded as 0 for the read paragraph and 1 for the guided free speech (see Table 6).

Table 6

Coding of Speaker Variables

Variable	Description	Score
Region	Popular Mexico City variety	1
	Yucatan variety	2
	Chihuahua variety	3
	Nuevo Leon variety	4
	Guerrero variety	5
	Mexico City upper class variety	6
Gender	Male	0
	Female	1
Text Style	Read	0
	Free Speech	1

Speaker variables and attractiveness. The ANOVA for the Attractiveness dimension shows that all three speaker variables, origin ($F = 4.295$, $P = 0.001$), gender ($F = 6.573$, $P = 0.011$), and text style ($F = 10.157$, $P = 0.001$), significantly affected the ratings of attractiveness (see Table 7).

³ Regions were labeled according to the map adapted from Lope Blanch (1997). See Appendix F for map.

Table 7

Analysis of Variance: Attractiveness and Speaker Variables

Source	DF	MS	F	Pr>F
Model	7	75.372	5.092	0.000
Error	959	14.802		
Origin	5	63.572	4.295	0.001
Gender	1	97.298	6.573	0.011
Text Style	1	150.342	10.157	0.001

Table 8 lists the regions of speaker origin based on the mean scores received for attractiveness. The lower the score, the more attractive the raters found the speakers.

Table 8

Mean Attractiveness by Speaker Origin

Region	Mean	Std. Error	Line
1. Popular dialect of Mexico City, Mexico	20.742	.321	C
2. Urban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan	20.099	.276	BC
3. Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua	20.029	.326	BC
4. Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo Leon	19.700	.284	AB
5. Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero	20.844	.328	C
6. Urban dialect of the upper class of Mexico City, Mexico	19.074	.327	A

Regions 4 and 6 were considered the most attractive with no significant difference between the two ($P = 0.308$); while Regions 1, 2, 3, and 5 were considered least attractive with no significant difference among them ($P = 0.519$). The letter plot

indicates where significant differences exist among the means. Means that share the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance. Means that do not share the same letter are significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance.

Region 6, the urban dialect of the upper class of Mexico City, is the dialect that is most likely considered to be Standard Mexican Spanish since it has been implemented in schools, mass media, and the government. It has also been used as such in other studies conducted in Mexico (Hidalgo, 1983; Martinez, 2003). As shown in Hidalgo's (1983) study, the raters from Chihuahua preferred the Mexico City dialect to their own. The dialect from Region 5, the rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero, is the only rural dialect used in this study, and thus exhibits the largest differences from the standard variety. Therefore, this confirms the findings of previous studies, which have shown that the raters perceived the speakers of the standard variety as more attractive and the speakers of the rural variety as the least attractive (Campbell-Kibler, 2006; Ladegaard, 2000).

Table 9 shows that the female speakers were considered more attractive than the male speakers ($F = 6.573$, $P = 0.011$).

Table 9

Mean Attractiveness by Speaker Gender

Gender	Mean	Std. Error
Female	19.743	.166
Male	20.419	.200

Table 10 shows that the speakers who read the paragraph were perceived as more attractive than those who spoke freely ($F = 10.157$, $P = 0.001$).

Table 10

Mean Attractiveness by Text Style

Text Style	Mean	Std. Error
Free speech	20.493	.173
Read	19.669	.190

Speaker variables and status & socio-intellectual prestige. All three speaker variables, origin ($F = 82.914$, $P < 0.001$), gender ($F = 11.900$, $P = 0.001$), and text style ($F = 55.412$, $P < 0.001$) were also significant in the ANOVA for the second dimension, status and socio-intellectual prestige (see Table 11).

Table 11

Analysis of Variance: Status & Socio-intellectual Prestige and Speaker Variables

Source	DF	MS	F	Pr>F
Model	7	560.411	67.087	0.000
Error	966	8.353		
Corrected Total	973			
Origin	5	692.626	82.914	0.000
Gender	1	99.404	11.900	0.001
Text Style	1	462.886	55.412	0.000

Table 12 provides the mean status and socio-intellectual prestige levels for the different speaker origins. The lower the score, the higher the status level the raters attributed to the speakers.

Table 12

Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Speaker Origin

Region	Mean	Std. Error	Line ⁴
1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City, Mexico	14.052	.241	D
2. Urban Dialect of Mérida, Yucatan	12.823	.208	C
3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua	9.214	.244	A
4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo Leon	10.359	.212	B
5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero	13.520	.245	C
6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City, Mexico	9.434	.284	A

⁴ The letter plot indicates where the significant differences exist. Means that share the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance. Means that do not share the same letter are significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance.

Using a Fisher's LSD test to find the statistical difference between the regions, Regions 3 and 6 were found to be the most prestigious, with no significant difference between the two ($P = 0.217$), and Region 1 was found to be the least prestigious. The speakers from the Southern coast (Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guerrero/Region 5) were rated as the second lowest in the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension.

Table 13 shows that the male speakers were perceived as more prestigious regarding status and socio-intellect ($F = 11.900$, $P = 0.001$).

Table 13

Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Gender

Gender	Mean	Std. Error
Female	11.908	.124
Male	11.226	.150

Table 14 shows that the speakers who read the paragraph were perceived as more prestigious regarding status and socio-intellect ($F = 55.412$, $P < 0.001$). This parallels the responses of the raters regarding attractiveness and may be due to less variation in the speech style by the readers.

Table 14

Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Text Style

Text Style	Mean	Std. Error
Free speech	12.287	.130
Read	10.846	.142

Speaker variables and hireability. For the third dimension, hireability, the ANOVA (Table 15) showed that both origin ($F = 47.712, P < 0.001$) and text style ($F = 50.256, P < 0.001$) significantly affected the ratings of hireability, but that gender did not ($F = 0.106, P = 0.745$).

Table 15

Analysis of Variance: Hireability and Speaker Variables

Source	DF	MS	F	Pr>F
Model	7	922.641	38.022	0.000
Error	960	24.266		
Corrected Total	967			
Origin	5	1157.779	47.712	0.000
Gender	1	2.560	0.106	0.745
Text Style	1	1219.518	50.256	0.000

The data demonstrate that the raters did in fact find the origin of the speakers to be a significant variable. Table 16 shows the mean scores for hireability listed by region.

Table 16

Mean Hireability by Speaker Origin

Region	Mean	Std. Error	Line ⁵
1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City, Mexico	20.818	.413	C
2. Urban Dialect of Mérida, Yucatan	21.578	.356	C
3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua	15.184	.414	A
4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo Leon	17.656	.364	B
5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero	20.936	.420	C
6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City	16.127	.418	A

Through a Fisher's least significant difference test, it was found that Regions 3 and 6 were the most hireable, although there was no significant difference between the two ($P = 0.100$). Regions 1, 2, and 5 were the least hireable, although no significant difference was found among them ($P = 0.550$). Region 4 was in the middle in terms of hireability and was significantly different from Regions 6 and 1.

Finally, Table 17 shows that the most hireable speakers ($P < .001$) were those who read the paragraph, which was the same result for speaker attractiveness and status and socio-intellectual prestige. In other words, speakers reading the passage were preferred on all three dimensions.

⁵ The letter plot indicates where the significant differences exist. Means that share the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance. Means that do not share the same letter are significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance.

Table 17

Mean Hireability by Text Style

Text Style	Mean	Std. Error
Read	17.544	.243
Free speech	19.889	.222

Research Question 2: Rater (Employer) Variables

In order to answer the second research question, regarding the effects of rater (employer) variables on the different attitudinal scores, I first present the results for the three dimensions of attractiveness, status & socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability; and, then, discuss these results in the context of two additional tests that show how the rater variables affect each rater’s hiring decisions and how each rater variable affects the three dimensions.

In order to conduct the ANOVA tests, it was necessary to code the different rater variables on a nominal scale (see Table 18). The age of the speakers only varied by 2 years. It was decided by the researcher that a 2-year age difference is not a meaningful difference. As such, the age of the rater is not included in the models.

Table 18

Descriptive Statistics of Rater Variables

Variable	Category	Score	Mean	Std. Dev.
Education	Some elementary school	0	3.1354	0.83734
	elementary school	1		
	junior high school	2		
	high school	3		
	Some post high school or graduated from university	4		
Gender	Male	0	0.2041	0.40323
	Female	1		
Age	18-25 years old	1	1.9082	1.41556
	26-30 years old	2		
	31-35 years old	3		
	36-40 years old	4		
	41-45 years old	5		
	46-99 years old	6		
Income	\$0-\$2,500 MXN	1	3.3163	1.64585
	\$2,501-\$3,999 MXN	2		
	\$4,000-\$4,999 MXN	3		
	\$5,000-\$7,500 MXN	4		
	\$7,501-\$9,999 MXN	5		
	\$10,000-\$100,000 MXN	6		
Marital status	Not married	0	0.2041	0.40323
	Married	1		
Current or past business owner	Have not owned a business	0	0.4082	0.49174
	Have owned a business	1		
Speak another language	No	0	0.4388	0.49649
	Yes	1		
Guess the origin of the speaker	No	0	0.25	0.434
	Yes	1		
Origin match	No	0	0.26	0.440
	Yes	1		

Using the 10 regions identified by Lope Blanch (1997), the raters came from eight of the 10 dialect regions, as shown in Table 19.

Table 19

Rater Origin

Region	State	N	Dialect Region
North	Aguascalientes	3	4*
	Baja California	1	1*
	Chihuahua	4	1*
	Nuevo Leon	3	2*
	Sinaloa	2	1*
	Sonora	5	1*
	Tamaulipas	5	3
	Central	Guanajuato	7
Hidalgo		5	4*
Jalisco		5	4*
Mexico City		16	4*
Mexico State		6	4*
Michoacán		2	4*
Nayarit		1	1*
Querétaro		1	4*
San Luis Potosí		3	2*
Tlaxcala		1	4*
South		Campeche	2
	Chiapas	2	8
	Guerrero	4	4*
	Oaxaca	4	7
	Puebla	8	4*
	Veracruz	8	6
	Total	98	

* Indicates a speaker originated from that region as well as a rater, see Figure 4 from Chapter II.

Rater variables and attractiveness. Three ANOVA tests were conducted using the three different dimensions as the dependent variable. In the ANOVA test with attractiveness as the dependent variable, the results showed that the rater's monthly

income had the strongest effect (although marginally significant) on the ratings of attractiveness (friendly, open-minded, honest, good-looking, thin, humble, happy, and giving; $P = .056$). In earlier analyses, not shown, the other rater variables (age; gender; business owner status; marital status; education level; whether they speak another language; whether the origin of the rater, their family members, or their employees matched the speaker's origin; and whether the rater guessed the speaker's origin correctly) did not have a statistically significant effect on the attractiveness variable.

Rater variables and status and socio-intellectual prestige. The ANOVA test with the second dimension, status and socio-intellectual prestige as the dependent variable, showed that the rater characteristic of monthly income significantly affects the ratings of the speakers' status and socio-intellectual prestige (educated, upper class, intelligent, rich; see Table 18). By contrast, in other analyses, not shown, the other rater variables (age; gender; business owner status; marital status; education level; whether they speak another language; whether the origin of the rater, their family members, or their employees matched the speaker's origin; and whether the rater guessed the speaker's origin correctly) did not have a statistically significant effect on the status and socio-intellectual prestige variable. The rater variable of monthly income influenced the rater's evaluation of the speaker within the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension ($P = 0.019$).

Table 20 shows the raters' monthly income based in increasing order and the corresponding mean scores of the speakers' status and socio-intellectual prestige. The

trend from the data is displayed in Figure 7, which shows that as the monthly income increases, the raters gave more negative status and socio-intellectual prestige ratings.

Table 20

Mean Status and Socio-Intellectual Prestige by Income

Monthly Income (MXN)	Mean	Std. Error	Line ⁶
\$0-2,500	11.017	.261	A
\$2,501-3,999	11.615	.287	AB
\$4,000-4,999	12.271	.237	B
\$5,000-7,500	11.783	.261	B
\$7,501-9,999	11.927	.333	B
\$10,000-100,000	11.565	.298	AB

Figure 7 displays the means on a graph with a trend line (the lower the mean score, the more positive the rating). The trend line shows that the raters with the lowest monthly income gave slightly more positive ratings of status and socio-intellectual prestige than the raters with a higher income.

⁶ The letter plot indicates where the significant differences exist. Means that share the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance. Means that do not share the same letter are significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance.

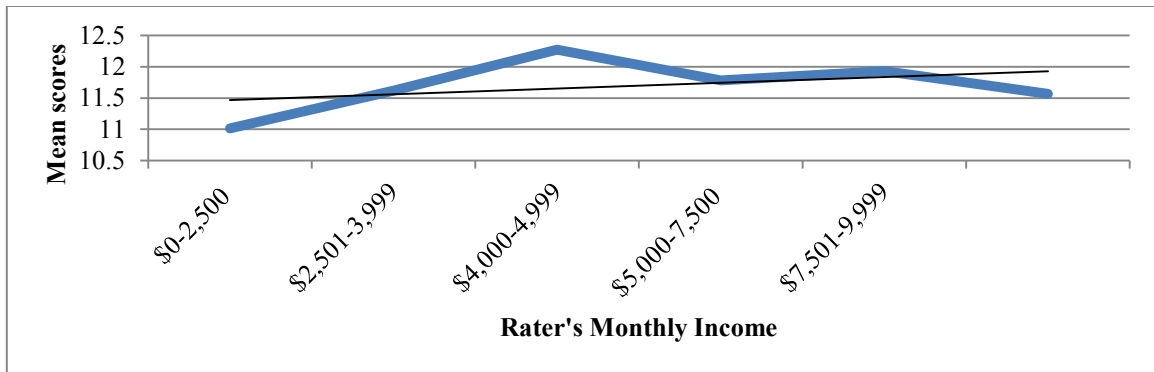


Figure 7. Means and trend of status and socio-intellectual prestige by income.

After conducting Fisher's Least Significant Difference Test, it was found that the groups of raters who earn the lowest and second lowest monthly income in Mexican pesos (\$0 to 2,500, \$2,501 to 3,999) and those who earn the highest monthly income (\$10,000 to \$100,000) rated the speakers the most negatively within the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension, and these three incomes levels were not statistically different from each other ($P = 0.123$). The groups of raters who earned monthly incomes between the highest and the two lowest (\$4,000 to 4,999, \$5,000 to 7,500, \$7,501 to \$9,999) rated the speakers the most positively and there was no significant difference between these three middle incomes ($P = 0.078$). This is displayed in Figure 7 by the letter plot.

Rater variables and hireability. An ANOVA test with hireability as the dependent variable also showed significant results. At least one of the rater characteristics of age ($F = 2.704$, $P < 0.05$), gender ($F = 11.939$, $P < 0.05$), business owner status ($F = 4.812$, $P < 0.05$), and whether the rater identified the speaker's origin

correctly ($F = 4.921$, $P < 0.05$) affected the ratings of hireability (effective leader, direct, confident, entrepreneur, aggressive, focused, hard worker; see Table 21).

Table 21

Analysis of Variance: Hireability and Rater Variables

Source	DF	MS	F	Pr>F
Model	8	140.728	4.714	0.000
Error	959	29.852		
Corrected Total	967			
Rater's Age	5	80.722	2.704	0.020
Rater's Gender	1	356.406	11.939	0.001
Business Owner Status	1	143.661	4.812	0.028
Origin Identification	1	146.894	4.921	0.027

Table 22 lists the age groups of the raters based on their evaluations of the speakers' hireability from most hireable to least hireable. Through a Fisher's Least Significant Difference Test, it was determined that the group of raters whose age was between 41 and 45 years and 31 and 35 years were those who rated the speakers most positively in Hireability, and there was no significant difference between them ($P = 0.988$). The groups of raters whose age ranged from 26 to 30, 0 to 25, 36 to 40, and 46 to 99 rated the speakers lowest in hireability, although there was no significant difference among them ($P = 0.109$).

Table 22

Mean Hireability by Rater Age

Age	Mean	Std. Error	Line ⁷
1. 18-25	18.517	.319	A
2. 26-30	18.732	.389	A
3. 31-35	16.653	.670	A
4. 36-40	18.502	.800	A
5. 41-45	16.072	1.312	A
6. 46-99	17.108	.724	A

Figure 8 displays the means along with a trend line (again, the lower the mean score, the more positive the rating). The trend line shows that the younger raters gave slightly more negative ratings of hireability than the older raters.

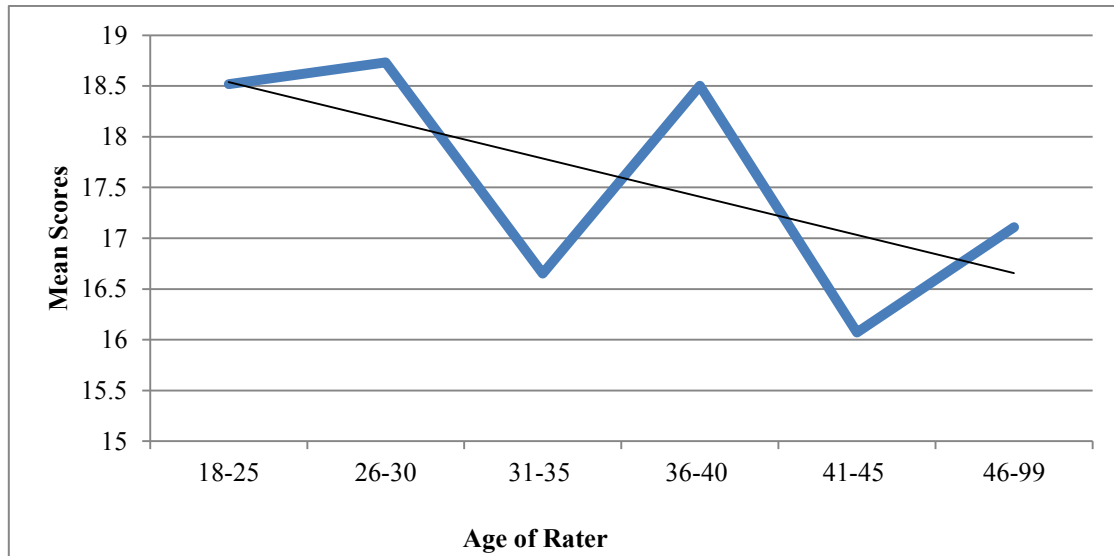


Figure 8. Trend of mean hireability by rater age.

⁷ The letter plot indicates where the significant differences exist. Means that share the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance. Means that do not share the same letter are significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance.

The female raters found the speakers to be more hireable, as shown in Table 23 (F = 11.939, P = 0.001).

Table 23

Mean Hireability by Rater Gender

Gender	Mean	Std. Error
Female	16.797	.474
Male	18.397	.345

The raters who had never owned a business, found the speakers to be more hireable, as shown in Table 24 (F = 4.812, P = 0.028).

Table 24

Mean Hireability by Rater Business Owner Status

Business Owner Status	Mean	Std. Error
Current or past business owner	18.012	.382
Never owned a business	17.183	.403

Table 25 shows that the raters who correctly guessed the speaker's origin found the speakers to be more hireable (F = 4.921, P = 0.027).

Table 25

Mean Hireability by Rater's Identification of Speaker Origin

Guess	Mean	Std. Error
Correct Identification of Origin	17.149	.445
Incorrect Identification of Origin	18.046	.347

Attitudinal dimensions and hireability. A linear regression analysis was conducted to discover how the rater variables were affecting each rater's hiring decision for each speaker (see Table 26). Hiring decision was the dependent variable. Scores ranged from 1-5: 1 = *definitely would hire*, 2 = *probably would hire*, 3 = *I don't know*, 4 = *probably would not hire*, 5 = *definitely would hire*.

Table 26

Linear Regression Analysis: Decision to Hire, Attitudinal Dimensions, and Rater Variables

Source	B	Std. Error	Pr>F
Model	-1.497	0.158	0.000
Attractiveness	0.084	0.007	0.000
Status & Socio-intellectual Prestige	0.044	0.010	0.000
Hireability	0.075	0.007	0.000
Rater's Level of Education	0.088	0.031	0.004
Rater's Monthly Income	-0.044	0.016	0.007
Business Owner Status	0.109	0.051	0.033

The results showed that the more attractive the raters found the speakers, the more likely they were to hire them. If the rater rated the speaker highly regarding status and socio-intellectual prestige, they were more likely to hire the speaker. Also, not surprisingly, if listeners rated the speaker highly on hireability, they were more likely to hire the speaker. The more educated a rater was, the more likely they were to hire the speakers. Current and past business owners were also more likely to hire speakers, as opposed to those who did not own a business prior to attending the Academy. However, the more a person made per month, the less likely they were to hire a speaker.

Research Question 3

To answer research question number three, regarding whether the language attitudes of the Mexican employer graduates of the Academy affect the hireability of the different speakers, first, I explain the correlations analysis of the attitudinal dimensions and the rater's decision to hire; then the regression analysis of the rater's decision to hire and the three speaker variables of origin, gender, and text style, and finally, I discuss the findings of the ANOVA and the Chi-Square test conducted for Hiring Decision and Job Position, respectively.

Hiring decision. It was first necessary to determine whether the three dimensions correlate with the raters' final hiring decision. Through a correlations analysis, it was determined that each of the rating dimensions correlated positively with the variable representing the raters' decision to hire the speaker or not. The higher the speaker was rated on the scales of attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability, the more likely they were to be hired (see Table 27).

Table 27

Pearson Correlations: Attitudinal Dimensions and Rater's Decision to Hire

Rater's Decision to Hire	Attractiveness	Status & Social Prestige	Hireability
Pearson Correlation	0.546	0.555	0.646
Pr>F	0.000	0.000	0.000

In order to discover the hiring patterns for the different speakers, a linear regression analysis was conducted, which showed significant results regarding the region of origin and the text style of the speakers (see Table 28).

Table 28

Linear Regression Analysis: Decision to Hire and Speaker Variables

Source	B	Std. Error	Pr>F
Model	2.497	0.091	0.000
Speaker's Origin	-0.104	0.020	0.000
Speaker's Gender	0.074	0.068	0.277
Text Style	0.198	0.067	0.003

In addition to the linear regression analysis examining the region of origin and the text style of the speakers, an ANOVA test was conducted with the rater's decision to hire as the dependent variable and the region of origin and text style of the speakers as the independent variables, which showed significant results for the speaker variables of

origin and text style ($p < .001$ for both variables). Gender of the speaker did not show significant results (see Table 29).

Table 29

Analysis of Variance: Rater's Decision to Hire and Speaker Variables

Source	DF	MS	F	Pr>F
Model	7	12.946	12.677	0.000
Error	970	1.021		
Corrected Total	977			
Origin	5	15.732	47.712	0.000
Gender	1	0.019	0.019	0.891
Text Style	1	19.162	18.764	0.000

The results indicate that both the text style and the origin significantly affect the hiring decision. Table 30 lists the regions of speaker origins based on the evaluations received regarding whether or not they would be hired by the raters, beginning with most likely to be hired. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the ratings were 1-5, 1 = *definitely would hire*, 2 = *probably would hire*, 3 = *I'm not sure*, 4 = *probably would not hire*, and 5 = *definitely would not hire*.

Table 30

Mean Hiring Decision by Speaker Origin

Region	Mean	Std. Error	Line ⁸
1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City	2.687	.084	C
2. Urban Dialect of Mérida	2.368	.072	BC
3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez	2.006	.085	AB
4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey	2.227	.074	AB
5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito	2.563	.086	C
6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City	1.817	.086	A

Using Fisher's Least Significant Difference Test, it was found that Regions 3 and 6 were the most likely to be hired, although no significant difference was found between them ($P = 0.107$). Regions 1 and 5 were the least likely to be hired, although a marginal significant difference was found between them ($P = 0.063$). Regions 2 and 4 were in the middle and were not significantly different from each other or from Region 3.

Table 31 shows that the speakers who read the paragraph had a lower mean for hireability (mean = 2.132) than the speakers who spoke freely (mean = 2.424). The lower hireability score indicates a more positive evaluation for the hireability dimension; therefore, the raters are more likely to hire speakers who are reading a text.

⁸ The letter plot indicates where the significant differences exist. Means that share the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance. Means that do not share the same letter are significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance.

Table 31

Mean Hiring Decision by Text Style

Text Style	Mean	Std. Error
Free speech	2.424	.045
Read	2.132	.050

Highest job position. Although it was not included in the research questions, Chi-Square tests determined that the dependent variable for job position showed significance with all three speaker variables as the independent variables (see Tables 32 through 37). The job positions were coded as follows: 0 = none, 1 = manual laborer, 2 = secretary, 3 = salesperson, 4 = supervisor, and 5 = owner/boss. On several occasions, the raters indicated that the speakers were qualified for more than one position. In such cases, the highest job position was counted. For example, many respondents stated that a speaker was best suited for positions as secretary and supervisor. Thus, the speaker was given a score of 4 for supervisor since this position is generally higher ranking than a secretarial position.

Job position and speaker region of origin. Using a chi-square test of independence, the job position category and region of the speaker were found to be statistically dependent (test statistic = 218.089, p-value < 0.001), indicating that the responses provided to the job position question depended on the region of origin of the speaker (see Table 32).

Table 32

Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Region of Origin Statistics

	Value	df	Asymp Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	218.089	20	.000
Likelihood Ratio	232.663	20	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	48.042	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	953		

Table 33 shows that the speakers of the popular variety of Mexico City were chosen for the laborer position 63.0% of the time by the Academy students, and only 4.1% were chosen for the boss/owner position. 46.4% of the speakers from Yucatan were chosen for the laborer position and only 4.6% were chosen for the boss/owner position. The speakers from Guerrero received similar responses; with 55.7% chosen for the laborer position and only 6.4% were chosen for the boss/owner position. Of the speakers from Monterrey, Nuevo León, 32.3% were chosen for the supervisor position, while only 9.5% were chosen for the boss/owner position. Of the speakers from the upper class of Mexico City, 41.0% were chosen for the supervisor position, with only 9.4% chosen for the laborer position. 46.9% of the speakers from Chihuahua were chosen for the supervisor position, while only 8.3% were chosen for the laborer position.

Table 33

Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Region of Origin

	Laborer	Secretary	Sales	Supervisor	Boss/Owner
Mexico City, Popular	92	9	19	20	6
	63.0%	6.2%	13.0%	13.7%	4.1%
Yucatan	90	30	34	31	9
	46.4%	15.5%	17.5%	16.0%	4.6%
Chihuahua	12	16	27	68	22
	8.3%	11.0%	18.6%	46.9%	15.2%
Nuevo León	47	38	25	61	18
	24.9%	20.1%	13.2%	32.3%	9.5%
Guerrero Coast	78	14	15	24	9
	55.7%	10.0%	10.7%	17.1%	6.4%
Mexico City, Upper Class	13	18	31	57	20
	9.4%	12.9%	22.3%	41.0%	14.4%

Job position and speaker gender. Using a chi-square test of independence, the Job Position category and gender of the speaker were found to be statistically dependent (test statistic = 54.602, p-value < 0.001), indicating that the proportion of responses provided to the question regarding job position depended on the gender of the speaker.

Table 34

Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Gender Statistics

	Value	df	Asymp Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	54.602	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	57.759	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.787	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	953		

Table 35 shows that 31% of the male speakers were chosen for the supervisor position and 30.5% were chosen for the laborer position. Only 5.5% of the male speakers were chosen for the secretary position. Of the female speakers, 37.8% were chosen for the laborer position and 25.0% were chosen for the supervisor position, 18.3% were chosen for the secretarial position, and only 7.4% were chosen for the boss/owner position.

Table 35

Chi Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Gender

	Laborer	Secretary	Sales	Supervisor	Boss/Owner
Male	117	21	85	119	42
	30.5%	5.5%	22.1%	31.0%	10.9%
Female	215	104	66	142	42
	37.8%	18.3%	11.6%	25.0%	7.4%

Job position and speaker text style. Using a chi-square test of independence, the Job position category and Text Style were found to be statistically dependent (test statistic = 15.637, p-value < 0.05), indicating that the proportion of responses provided to the Job question depended on the speech sample style that the speaker used (see Table 36).

Table 36

Chi-Square Tests: Job Position and Speaker Text Style Statistics

	Value	df	Asymp Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.637	4	.004
Likelihood Ratio	15.658	4	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.605	1	.004
N of Valid Cases	953		

As shown in Table 37, of those who read the passage, 32% were chosen for the supervisor position and 30.1% were chosen for the laborer position. Of those who spoke freely, 38.8% were chosen for the laborer position and 23.6% were chosen for the supervisor position. This shows differences in favorability toward these two positions among these entrepreneur raters.

Table 37

Chi Square Test: Job Position and Speaker Text Style

	Laborer	Secretary	Sales	Supervisor	Boss/Owner
Read	131	50	69	139	46
	30.1%	11.5%	15.9%	32.0%	10.6%
Free	201	75	82	122	38
	38.8%	14.5%	15.8%	23.6%	7.3%

Thus, to answer the third research question, the speakers from the North and the upper class of Mexico City were the most likely to be hired in this study. They were also most likely to be hired for the higher paid job positions. The males were more likely to receive a higher paid job position, and the speakers who read the passage were more likely to be hired and also more likely to be hired for the higher paid positions.

Qualitative Results

The results from the focus groups and the descriptions given to the hiring question are presented in this section. This section is divided into three main regions: North, Central/Mexico City, and South. The responses from the participants reflected the responses elicited from the verbal guise test in the hiring question as well as in the attitudinal responses.

Qualitative Results for Hiring Decisions

The questionnaire during the verbal guise test asked the respondents to explain why they would or would not hire the speakers. The results varied for each speaker, as the respondents based their decision on various factors including accent, work capabilities, personality, and preparation. When speaking freely, the female speaker of the popular variety of Mexico City received responses such as *no es muy directo* (not very direct), *trabajadora* (hard worker), *ignorante* (ignorant), *dispuesta* (willing to work), and *necesita refinar su lenguaje* (needs to refine her speech). When reading the passage, the same female speaker received responses such as *no tiene confianza*, *probablemente es su acento* (she is not confident, it's probably her accent), *preparada* (educated), and *no es honesta* (she's not honest). The respondents seemed to view her as less educated while speaking freely and more so when she read the paragraph.

The male speaker of the popular variety of Mexico City while speaking freely received responses such as *cantinflea* (he babbles), *ganas de trabajar* (he wants to work), *se esfuerza* (he tries hard), and *trabajador* (hard worker). While reading the paragraph, the same speaker received responses such as *dispuesto* (willing to work), *no*

formal en hablar (informal in speaking), and *trabajador* (hard worker). He received many responses about being a hard worker, although the comments unrelated to work were mostly negative for both text styles.

The female speaker from Chihuahua, while speaking freely, received responses such as *confiable* (trustworthy), *segura* (sure of herself), *preparado* (educated), and *trabajador* (hard worker). The same speaker while reading the paragraph received responses such as *fría* (cold), *puede hacer buen trabajo* (could do a good job), and *responsable* (responsible). She was mostly perceived as a well-educated person and a hard worker, but with a cold personality.

While speaking freely, the male speaker from Chihuahua received responses such as *déspota* (despot), *machista* (male chauvinist), *muy orgulloso* (very proud), and *muy seguro* (very sure of himself). While the same speaker read the paragraph, he received responses such as *abierto* (open-minded), *confiable* (trustworthy), *preparado* (educated), *buena pronunciación* (good pronunciation), and *trabajador* (hard worker). The respondents seemed to prefer this speaker when he was reading the paragraph, but they perceived poor personality traits while he spoke freely.

The female speaker from the upper class of Mexico City, while speaking freely, received responses such as *segura* (sure of herself) and *tiene conocimiento y habilidades* (she has knowledge and abilities). While reading the paragraph, she received responses such as *amable* (friendly), *tiene confianza* (she is confident), *preparada* (educated), and *segura* (sure of herself). The respondents perceived the same amount of education and confidence in both speech styles for this speaker.

While speaking freely, the male speaker from the upper class of Mexico City received responses such as *no seguro* (unsure of himself), *pasivo* (passive), and *preparado* (educated). While the same speaker read the passage, he received responses such as *por el actitud que tiene* (because of his attitude) (from a rater who said they would hire the speaker), *dispuesto* (eager to work), *le gusta la lectura* (he likes to read), *líder* (leader), and *responsable* (responsible). Although the respondents perceived a similar level of education during both text styles, they perceived more confidence while he read the passage.

While speaking freely, the female speaker from Monterrey received responses such as *confianza* (confidence), *insegura* (unsure of herself), *habla bien* (she speaks well), and *trabajadora* (hard worker). While reading the paragraph, the same speaker received responses such as *buena actitud* (good attitude), *habilidades de líder* (qualities of a leader), *organizada* (organized), and *preparada* (educated). The respondents gave mostly positive responses for this speaker.

While reading the paragraph, the male speaker from Monterrey received responses such as *confianza* (confidence), *responsable* (responsible), *seguro* (sure of himself), *trabajador* (hard worker), and *capaz* (capable). While speaking freely, this speaker received responses such as *seguro* (sure of himself), *serio* (serious), and *confiable* (trustworthy). This speaker also received mostly positive comments regarding his personality and work ethic.

The female speaker from Guerrero, while speaking freely, received responses such as *alegre* (happy), *buena actitud* (good attitude), *no preparada* (uneducated), and

sincera (sincere). While reading the passage, the same speaker received responses such as *segura* (sure of herself), *trabajadora* (hard worker), *muy preparada* (well educated), and *intelectual* (intellectual). This shows that although the speaker was well educated, her education level was not perceived until she read the paragraph.

The male speaker from Guerrero, while reading the paragraph, received responses such as *buen obrero* (good labor worker), *moldeable* (malleable), *no es creíble* (he is not believable), *trabajador* (hard worker), *no honesto* (dishonest), and *menos preparado* (less educated). While speaking freely, the same speaker received responses such as *amable* (friendly), *no seguro* (unsure of himself), and *no confiado* (not confident). Although the respondents perceived him as a good worker, many of the comments were negative for this speaker.

While speaking freely, the female speaker from the Yucatan received responses such as *amable* (friendly), *honesto* (honest), *no preparada* (uneducated), *no segura* (unsure of herself), and *trabajadora* (hard worker). While reading the paragraph, the same speaker received responses such as *dispuesta a trabajar* (willing to work), *pasiva* (passive), *honesto* (honest), *técnico* (technician), and *no me da confianza* (she doesn't give me confidence). She was perceived as an honest, friendly, and hard-working person, yet uneducated and lacking confidence.

While speaking freely, the male speaker from the Yucatan received responses such as *aprende rápido* (he learns quickly), *no seguro* (unsure of himself), *no serio* (not serious), *dispuesto a trabajar* (willing to work), and *no interesado* (uninterested). The same speaker, while reading the passage, received responses such as *buena persona*

(good person), *confianza* (confidence), *pasivo* (passive), *me cae mal* (I don't like him), and *seguro* (sure of himself). Both of the *yucatecos* (people from the Yucatan) received responses regarding their passivity and tranquility.

Tables 38-40 show the adjectives given for each speaker in response to the reasons for hiring or not; the tables are divided by location and gender and are organized into the three dimensions as well as into positive and negative categories.

North. The speakers from the North were described by the focus groups as having a strong character and being somewhat cold and angry. In one of the focus groups, a respondent mentioned that, in general, people from the North were significantly richer and more educated than others throughout the country of Mexico. Respondents from the first focus group stated that people from Chihuahua were the most hireable, which implies the attribute hard worker. In the second group, it was mentioned that the northerners would be best for the hard labor jobs since the southerners tended to be lazier. Thus, the focus group respondents agreed that the northerners were hard workers, while their personality may be colder than other regions.

Table 38

Responses from Reason for Hiring Question: Chihuahua and Monterey Males and Females

	Chihuahua Male		Chihuahua Female		Monterey Male		Monterey Female	
	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech
<i>Attractiveness</i>								
Positive	Open-minded, trustworthy, strong personality, believable	Confident, good character, serious	Trustworthy, good attitude, friendly	Trustworthy, sincere, positive attitude, serious, committed, friendly	Sincere, energetic, friendly, good listener	Serious, trustworthy, honest	Good attitude, energetic	Sincere
Negative		Despot, male chauvinist, very proud, not friendly, insincere, prideful, arrogant	Cold, dishonest	Dishonest, prideful				Lacks energy, negative, dishonest, not trustworthy, angry, nervous, shy, pessimistic
<i>Status</i>								
Positive	Educated	Well educated, has knowledge	Well educated	Educated, intelligent		Educated	Educated	She speaks well
Negative	Doesn't know very much							
<i>Hireability</i>								
Positive	Hard worker, confident, leader, organized, entrepreneur, willing to work, focused, responsible	Lots of energy, willing to work, entrepreneur, self-control, confident, focused, bold, many strengths	Could do a good job, responsible, hardworking, willing to work, entrepreneur, confident	Hard worker, entrepreneur, desires to work, responsible, willing to work, sure of herself, organized, administrator	Confident, responsible, sure of himself, hard worker, capable, direct, focused, capable of many jobs, innovative, responsible, conviction	Sure of himself, confident, capable, has many skills, willing to work, focused	Leadership qualities, organized, responsible, focused, manager, confident, organized, capable	Confident, hard worker, desires to do well, willing to work
Negative	Doesn't believe in himself, good follower	Not a good fit, not convincing	Unsure, lacks confidence	Unsure of herself, not hard working, lacks confidence, would have problems with co-workers	Not capable, not convincing	Unsure of himself	Not willing to work	Unsure of herself, can't work alone, lacks confidence, secretary, lazy
<i>Other</i>								
Positive	Knows how to express himself, good pronunciation, speaks well				Speaks well, everyone speaks like him		Knows how to express himself	Speaks well
Negative				Way of speaking				Doesn't express herself well

Table 39

Responses from Reason for Hiring Question: Mexico City Upper-Class and Popular Males and Females

	Mexico City Upper-Class Male		Mexico City Upper-Class Female		Mexico City Popular Male		Mexico City Popular Female	
	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech
<i>Attractiveness</i>								
Positive	Positive attitude, friendly, gets along well with others, charismatic, calm	Positive attitude, interesting, honest	Friendly, good disposition, likeable, kind	Likeable, friendly, honest	Humble, good character, friendly	Good character, humble, desire to do good, gets along well with others, sincere, good mentality	Honest, prudent, funny, humble	Friendly, humble
Negative				Dishonest	Dishonest	Somewhat fake, lacks good attitude	Dishonest	Untrustworthy, insincere
<i>Status</i>								
Positive	He likes to read, educated, likes to improve himself, knowledgeable about business	Educated, desires to learn, fast learner	Educated, intelligent, wants to learn & improve	Has knowledge, well educated	Educated	Wants to learn	Educated, likes to learn	
Negative			Teachable		Informal speech	Babbles, lacks knowledge		Ignorant, needs to refine her speech, uneducated, informal
<i>Hireability</i>								
Positive	Willing to work, leader, responsible, hard worker, focused, convincing, capable, confident	Hard worker, direct, focused, decisive, willing to work, confident, entrepreneur, would improve the business, likes to work, office assistant	Confident, focused, leader, sure of herself, convincing, responsible, willing to work, hard worker, planner, administrator	Sure of herself, confident, she has many abilities, responsible, capable, willing to work, hard worker	Willing to work, hard worker, confident, capable, leader	Wants to work, tries hard, hard worker, willing to work, good qualities for a small company, sure of himself, has potential, tries hard, responsible	Fighter, hard worker, manager, organized, producer, skilled, capable, likes progress	Hard worker, willing to work, has potential, manageable character, good focus, willing to learn, likes to work, ready to work, good helper, aggressive
Negative	Unsure of himself	Unsure of himself, passive, docile, lacks confidence	Lacks confidence, unsure, docile,	Unsure	Unsure, passive, indirect	Ambiguous, unsure, not convincing, passive, lacks experience, technician, not confident	Not confident, probably her accent, not a leader	Not very direct, unsure, not serious, not a leader
<i>Other</i>								
Positive	Expresses himself well, good diction							
Negative			Doesn't explain herself well				Dislike her self-expression, dislike the way she talks, tone of voice	Not interesting

Table 40

Responses from Reason for Hiring Question: San Jeronimito and Merida Males and Females

	San Jeronimito Male		San Jeronimito Female		Merida Male		Merida Female	
	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech	Read	Free Speech
<i>Attractiveness</i>								
Positive	Old	Friendly, good attitude	Friendly, enthusiastic, good attitude	Happy, good attitude, sincere, friendly, honest, trustworthy, energetic, good person	Friendly, good person, sincere, honest	Good person, trustworthy, gets along well with others, active, good personality, talks a lot, serious	Honest, humble, trustworthy, friendly, service-oriented	Friendly, honest, fun-loving, good character, trustworthy
Negative	Dishonest, not believable, malleable, liar, doesn't get along well with others	Dishonest, not trustworthy	Robot, no personality, dishonest, serious		Not serious, boring, lacks energy, shut-down, I don't like him, shy	I don't like him, dishonest, not trustworthy	Not trustworthy	Lazy, serious, lacks energy
<i>Status</i>								
Positive	Reads a lot		Well educated, intellectual		Learns quickly, educated	Likes to read, fast learner, willing to learn	Willing to learn	
Negative	Less educated	Uneducated		Uneducated, simple-minded			Lacks economic resources	Uneducated, not all there, simple-minded
<i>Hireability</i>								
Positive	Good labor worker, hard worker, organized, fulfills his tasks, efficient	Labor worker, sure of himself, capable, hard worker	Sure of herself, hard worker, competent, willing to work, wants to succeed, works well with others, efficient, works well under pressure	Showed initiative, hard worker, constant, direct	Willing to work, sure of himself, confident, decisive, entrepreneur, good ideas, efficient	Confident, sure of himself, completes his job well, leader, focused, hard worker, willing to work	Willing to work, problem-solver, hard worker, obedient, determined	Hard worker, willing to work
Negative	Unsure, not a leader	Unsure of himself, not confident	Distracted	Not focused, not willing to work, doesn't adapt well to change, wouldn't add anything to the business, wouldn't give good results, technician	Unsure of himself, uninterested, not convincing, passive, may have problems with authority, not what I'm looking for	Passive, distracted, unsure, technician, may not be a good worker, lacks initiative	Passive, technician, lacks confidence, unsure of herself, lacks initiative, technician, janitorial position, needs direction, passive, indirect	Unsure of herself, doesn't have much to offer, follows orders well, technician, incapable, needs direction
<i>Other</i>								
Positive								
Negative	Doesn't express self well, dislike his manner of speaking							

Central/Mexico City. The focus group participants mentioned that the people from Mexico City were a *mezcla de todos* or a mix of people from all over the country. In one focus group, it was also mentioned that while Mexico was a place for people from all over to reside, certain neighborhoods or colonies held the more educated people. One group said the people from Mexico City were corrupted, robbers, prideful, and generally not good people. The participants from the second focus group mentioned that the people from Mexico City were ignorant and less educated. Thus, while the respondents recognized that Mexico City held a variety of people, they held generally negative stereotypes towards its inhabitants.

South and southern coasts. In both of the focus groups, the participants agreed that the people from the south would be the best for maintenance and other labor jobs. The first focus group respondents said that the speakers from the south were less entrepreneurial than the northerners, yet hard working. The people from the coast (including Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Chiapas) were described as both friendly and rude. One respondent clarified that the *costeños* were only friendly if you belonged to their social network, but if not, then they were considered exclusive and rude. The raters also described the speakers from the coast as happy, less educated, and poor. During the second focus group, the participants specifically mentioned that the people from the Peninsula (referring to Yucatan/Region 2, Campeche, and Quintana Roo) were lazy, which they clarified was due to the extreme heat and humidity. It is important to note that in the second focus group, the participants said that the people from the south often had a hard time finding a job in Mexico City since their reputation was that they were

less educated and lazier than the people from the northern regions. Geographically speaking, both the Yucatan Peninsula and the state of Guerrero belong to the southern regions of Mexico, thus supporting the overt linguistic biases shown in the verbal guise responses toward the southern dialects (Regions 2 and 5, respectively).

It must be noted that each of the participants in the second focus group suggested the people from their own regions for the supervisor/managerial positions. This is probably because the employers are more likely to know someone from their own region who they trust and would want to hire for such a position.

Conclusion

The instrument and the three attitude dimensions of attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability were determined to be reliable. In answering the first question regarding the attitudes of Mexican employer graduates of the Academy toward the six Mexican Spanish varieties examined, it was determined that all three speaker variables of origin, gender, and text style significantly affected all three attitude dimensions, although gender did not appear to affect the hireability dimension.

In answering the second research question regarding rater characteristics and their effects on their attitudes, it was determined that the raters' monthly income significantly affected the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension. It was also determined that the raters' age, gender, business owner status, and whether or not the rater guessed the origin of the speaker correctly affected their score in the hireability dimension. Raters' education level, monthly income, and business owner status affected

their decision to hire the speakers, as well as their scores in two of the attitudinal dimensions.

The third research question regarding the attitudes of the Mexican employers and whether they affect the hireability of the speakers also showed significant findings. All three speaker variables significantly affected the raters' decision to hire. It was also found that the speakers from the upper class of Mexico City were the most likely to be hired. The speakers from Chihuahua and Mexico City were evaluated as best for the higher paid positions.

In all three dimensions as well as the questions regarding hiring and job positions for the speakers, the raters evaluated the speakers of the Central popular dialect of Mexico City, Mexico, the Southern rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero, and the Southern urban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan as the lowest or least desirable. Note that the dialects are from Central and Southern regions. The speakers of the Northern urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, the Central urban dialect of the upper-class of Mexico City, Mexico, and the Northern dialect of urban Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, were consistently evaluated as the highest or most desirable speakers. These findings show that, in Mexico, the determining factor for dialect preferences appears to be the region of the country of the speaker's origin (Northern/Southern/Central). For the Mexico City dialects, the upper class variety was preferred to the popular variety, which shows a preference for the standard sociolect.

These analyses seem to show that there is a preference for the Northern speakers as well as the speakers from the upper class of Mexico City. The southern speakers and

the speakers of the popular dialect of Mexico City were least preferred. Further discussion of these points and their place in the literature is given in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Through language ideology, standard varieties of a language are determined, and therefore, by default, other dialects of the same language are considered non-standard varieties. Those non-standard varieties are often viewed as less prestigious, less correct, and the speakers of such varieties are similarly viewed. Due to their stigmatization, the speakers of non-standard varieties often suffer economic consequences (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1999) since they are less likely to obtain high paying jobs (Anderson, 1981).

Mexico contains the greatest number of native Spanish speakers in the world. Lope Blanch (1997) stated that there are at least 10 regional dialects in Mexico. With such great variety in Mexican Spanish, it is no wonder Terborg et al. (2006) called for further research to be conducted regarding the language attitudes existing in Mexico. The language attitudes in Mexico may reflect the country's history of a northern/southern divide as stated by Sauer (1941).

This study investigated the attitudes of students of the Academy for Creating Enterprise (ACE) towards six different regional dialects of Mexican Spanish. Findings from this study indicate that most current and future employers prefer the urban dialect of the upper-class of Mexico City, as well as the two northern dialects of Monterrey, Nuevo León and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; and they least prefer the popular dialect of Mexico City as well as the two dialects from the southern regions of Mexico (the urban dialect of Merida, Yucatan; and the rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero).

Findings from this study indicate that the current and future employers demonstrate a significant preference for the dialects spoken in Monterrey, Nuevo León; Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; and the upper-class dialect of Mexico City in terms of the three dimensions of attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability. Through this study, I also discovered that speakers of these same three dialects were more likely to be selected for higher paid employment positions. Regarding the three dialects from the southern regions of Mexico (Merida, Yucatan; San Jeronimito, Guerrero; and the popular dialect of Mexico City), I showed that these three dialects were the least preferred by the raters in this study on all accounts, including attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability. Furthermore, I concluded that individuals who spoke any of these three dialects were significantly less likely to be hired by the raters and were also more likely to be chosen for lower paying employment positions.

This study adds contemporary research to the scarce body of literature previously conducted on language attitudes in Mexico by examining the attitudes of current and future employers towards six regional dialects of Mexican Spanish. Terborg et al. (2006) noted the lack of attitudinal research conducted in Mexico and called for further research to be done. While the Mexico City dialect has been examined in several studies (Erdosova, 2011; Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Hidalgo, 1983; Martinez, 2003; Serrano Morales, 2001), this study looked at two varieties in Mexico City, as well as varieties in the Yucatan, Guerrero, Nuevo Leon, and Chihuahua. Furthermore, some researchers (Edwards, 1982; Garrett, 2010) called for a more practical application for language

attitude studies. Thus, because this study uses actual employers and a job interview for an applied context, my findings have several possible practical applications. For example, they empirically demonstrate that there does exist social inequality among speakers of various regional dialects in Mexico, which may benefit Mexicans looking for a job in that they need to be aware of the possible stereotypes their future employers may hold.

In this concluding chapter I will first summarize the individual chapters that comprise this study. Second, I will illustrate the findings of this study by outlining the major findings regarding the three research questions posed in the Introduction. Third, I will re-examine the possible limitations of this study. Fourth, I will suggest the conceivable practical applications of the outcomes reported from this study. Fifth, I will present the possible theoretical applications regarding language attitudes and their role in employment attainment. Finally, I will offer suggestions for future research regarding language attitudes and their relevance to obtaining employment in Mexico.

Summary

Linguistic profiling directly impacts individuals on a day-to-day basis. As explained in Chapter 1, The Book of Judges, Shaw, and Purnell et al. (1999) illustrated the direct impact that language profiling has on individuals who use non-standard language varieties. Lope Blanch (1997) demonstrated that Mexico has at least 10 regional dialects of Mexican Spanish, nine of which are considered non-standard varieties. It was also stated that the various dialects require further investigation regarding the language attitudes held (Terborg et al., 2006). In answer to the lack of

research regarding the various dialects, this study sought to examine the attitudes held towards six of those regional and social dialects. Since the stigmatizations of non-standard dialects are typically elicited through either a matched guise or a verbal guise technique, a verbal guise technique was used in this study as well as a dialect map and focus groups.

This study is built off the theoretical framework of the mentalist perspective, which states that language attitudes stem from mental processes that must be elicited by having the respondents report their own attitudes. Using this perspective, one way to elicit language attitudes is through a verbal guise test. This commonly used technique elicits attitudes that may be categorized into two dimensions: status and solidarity. Thus, this study used attractiveness and status as the two main dimensions for attitudinal research. Given the employer context of this study, a third dimension of hireability was used to describe the attitudes elicited from the employers. Both speaker and rater variables were examined that in past studies have proved significant, including speaker gender, speaker origin, speaker text style, rater origin, rater age, rater gender, rater's income, rater's business owner status, rater education level, and rater's exposure to the varieties in question. As explained in Chapter II, many researchers have expressed concern for the lack of research regarding language attitudes in Mexico (Amastae & Elías-Olivares, 1978; Barriga Villanueva & Parodi, 1998; Carranza, 1982; Hidalgo, 1996). Although Chapter II highlights several studies (Erdosova, 2011; Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Hidalgo, 1983; Martinez, 2003; Serrano Morales, 2001) that have been conducted in Mexico regarding language attitudes, including a few within the workplace

context (DeShields & Kara, 2011), the majority of the attitudinal studies are restricted to either a code-switching variety or a variety of American English (see Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Hidalgo, 1983, 1996). Numerous suggestions have been put forth by several researchers (Edwards, 1982; Garrett, 2010; Giles & Ryan, 1982) relating to the development of a practical application for the findings of language attitude studies. Thus, this study examined the language attitudes of employers, and therefore, Chapter II described several relevant studies conducted in the context of the workplace. The workplace studies done in Mexico focused on attitudes towards accents and their effects in marketing and purchasing on consumers (see DeShields & Kara, 2011). Chapter II also discussed the rich history of Mexico and its effects on the current language attitudes existing among the various regional dialects, specifically the divide between the northern and southern regions.

To address the gaps mentioned in previous literature, this study focused on six dialects of Mexican Spanish and the attitudes held towards them by Mexican employers, who are students at ACE. To determine whether Mexican employers make hiring decisions based on the dialects spoken by job applicants, a verbal guise technique was administered to 98 potential employers enrolled in an intensive entrepreneurial course in Mexico City. The attributes selected for the VGT were derived from past studies as well as through a focus group during the pilot study. During the study, two focus groups were also conducted with several of the same participants in a more intimate setting, in order to have the participants explain their responses to the various speakers, as well as discuss other regional dialects. Chapter IV presented the results, showing that the least preferred

dialects in this study were the (a) rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero; (b) urban dialect of Mérida, Yucatán; and (c) popular dialect of Mexico City. The speakers of these three dialects were rated as the least attractive; the lowest within the dimension of status and socio-intellectual prestige; the least hireable; the least likely to be hired; and finally, as being appropriate for the lowest paid employment positions.

In addition, Chapter IV explained that the quantitative findings parallel the responses from the qualitative data acquired from the two focus groups. Respondents in both focus groups agreed that a speaker of a southern dialect of Mexico or of the popular variety of Mexico City would most likely only be considered for a manual labor position, while those from the north would be considered for managerial positions. The paramount finding of this chapter was that *linguistic stereotypes in Mexico do, in fact, exist*. And, more importantly, these stereotypes, in turn, may affect the hiring of individuals from different parts of the country. A summary and discussion of the findings will be given below.

Discussion

This section presents a discussion of the analyses conducted on the data by dividing the findings according to their relevancy to each research question.

Research Question 1

The first research question asked what attitudes Mexican employers held toward the following six linguistic varieties:

- Popular dialect of Mexico City.
- Suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan.
- Suburban dialect of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.

- Urban dialect of Monterrey, Nuevo León.
- Rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero.
- Urban dialect of the upper class of Mexico City.

Through the verbal guise test and the focus groups, this study echoes the findings of several studies on American employers (Baird, 1969; Hopper, 1977; Hopper & Williams, 1973; Posthuma et al., 2002; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006; Shuy, 1973); as these studies found for American employers, Mexican employers also maintain linguistic biases when listening to prospective employees. Statistically speaking, this study revealed that the Mexican employers significantly preferred the northern urban Mexican Spanish dialects to the southern suburban and rural Mexican dialects, with the exception of the popular dialect of Mexico City. Specifically, this study confirms that the Chihuahua dialect and the dialect of the upper class of Mexico City are the most preferred Mexican Spanish dialects by a statistically significant margin. This conclusion is based on the scores in the attitude dimensions of attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability. Based on these same attitudinal dimensions, the popular dialect of Mexico City was the least preferred of the six dialects observed by the Mexican employers participating in this study. Overall, the dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero, a rural area on the southern Pacific Coast of Mexico, was the second least favored dialect. When compared, the tables below show each dimension or variable that was analyzed by speaker origin. Notice that the three preferred dialects are always from Regions 3, 4, and 6 (although the order varies slightly). Also, notice that the three least preferred dialects are from Regions 1, 2, and 5 (with slight variation in order as well; see Table 41). Thus, the speakers from the more southern states of the Yucatan and Guerrero

were thought of as less entrepreneurial while hard working at the same time. The speakers from the north were thought of as more educated and more entrepreneurial. Perhaps, as Sauer (1941) showed, the south is still thought of as mainly consisting of farmland and “shows its aboriginal fundament of patient, steady toil” (p. 364). The students, and later, graduates of the Academy will likely use this mindset to decide who to hire for their small businesses.

As Table 41 illustrates, the Mexican employers maintained a significant bias for the dialect used by the upper class of Mexico City. This finding supports the classification of the (urban) Mexico City variety as Standard Mexican Spanish (Esquinca Moreno, 1999; Hidalgo, 1983, 1986). The second most preferred variety, the Chihuahua dialect, is a poor candidate for the standard Mexico Spanish variety because it has not been implemented in schools or in any other way by the government, and because of the unique phonological features exclusively characteristic of this region, such as the pronunciation of /tʃ/ as /ʃ/.

Table 41 also demonstrates that the suburban dialect of Mérida, Yucatan, the rural dialect of San Jeronimito, Guerrero, and the popular dialect of Mexico City were consistently in the bottom three, least preferred dialects in the three dimensions of attractiveness, status, and hireability, as well as the raters’ decision to hire.

According to the focus groups and the open-ended responses from the verbal guise, the speakers of the northern dialects were identified as harder working, which is categorized under the hireability dimension, and more educated, which is categorized under the status dimension, but they were also considered less friendly, which is

categorized under attractiveness. However, they were still rated highly in the attractiveness dimension in the VGT, which echoes the findings of Lambert et al. (1960), wherein the speakers of the prestige variety were rated highly in both status and solidarity. The southern dialect speakers, especially the speakers from the Yucatan, were viewed as less educated, which is categorized under the status dimension, and calm and happy, which are categorized under the attractiveness dimension. These findings showed that the speaker's region of origin affects the raters' evaluations, which supports the findings of studies conducted in the United Kingdom, Spain, and the United States (Giles, 1970, 1971; Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2008; Preston, 1989). The focus group results also show that the northern varieties were rated higher in the status and hireability dimensions, while the southern varieties were rated higher in the attractiveness dimension.

Table 41

Means by Region

Attractiveness	Status & Socio-Intellectual Prestige	Hireability	Hiring Decision	Job Position
6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City	3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez	3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez	6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City	3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez
4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey	6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City	6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City	3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez	6. Urban Dialect of the Upper-class of Mexico City
3. Suburban Dialect of Ciudad Juárez	4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey	4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey	4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey	4. Urban Dialect of Monterrey
2. Suburban Dialect of Mérida	2. Suburban Dialect of Mérida	1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City	2. Suburban Dialect of Mérida	2. Suburban Dialect of Mérida
1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City	5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito	5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito	5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito	5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito
5. Rural Dialect of San Jeronimito	1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City	2. Suburban Dialect of Mérida	1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City	1. Popular Dialect of Mexico City

Regarding text style, it was found that the raters preferred the speakers who read the passage to the speakers who spoke freely on all dimensions. Garrett et al. (2003) suggested that listeners might prefer the formality of speech used in reading a passage to free speech, as well as the likelihood that the read speech was perceived to be free of errors, regionalisms, and idioms. Therefore, in future studies, the preference for read speech should be considered when choosing a text style for the speakers.

Regarding gender, the female speakers were preferred by the raters overall within the dimensions of attractiveness and hireability (although the findings were not significant in the hireability dimension), whereas the male speakers were preferred for the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension. Thus, the female speakers were found to be more attractive, while the males were rated higher in status and socio-intellectual prestige. Among AAVE speakers, Henderson (2001) also found that males were favored over females regarding status ratings. The fact that females were found to be more attractive may be due to the quantity of male raters. The fact that gender was not a significant independent variable in the hireability dimension is significant and merits mention, as it indicates that the raters did not distinguish, or discriminate, the likelihood of hireability or efficacy of leadership between the male and female speakers. Although Mexico is considered to be a *machista*—or predominately patriarchal—society, the employers interviewed for this study did not discriminate between men and women when looking to hire.

On the other hand, regarding the job position question, the raters were more likely to choose secretarial and laborer positions for the females. This may show a

stereotype that females are best in the secretarial and lower-paid positions. These findings reflect the findings of past studies (Alford & Strother, 1992; Anderson, 1981; Duisberg, 2001; Giles & Marsh 1979; Henderson, 2001), which show that the male speakers are preferred, overall.

Research Question 2

The second research question asked whether geographic origin, economic level, gender, age, and education level of Mexican employers, who were students at ACE, play a role in their language attitudes. Of all the variables tested and analyzed for this research question, it was found that the employers' monthly income was the strongest predictor for determining language attitudes on the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension; however, income was not significant for the attractiveness dimension. In the status and socio-intellectual prestige dimension, the participants who made the least amount (\$0-2,500 and \$2,501-\$3,999) as well as the participants who made the most per month (between \$10,000 and \$100,000) were more likely to rate the speakers of all the dialects as less prestigious in the status dimension, while the mid-range earners were more likely to rate the speakers as more prestigious in the status dimension. Thus, the employers who are mid-range earners are generally more likely to feel that their prospective employees are more educated, have more money, are more intelligent, and come from a higher social class.

The strongest predictors for determining the raters' attitudes within the hireability dimension were rater gender, age, business owner status, and whether they guessed the speaker's origin correctly. The female raters were more likely to find the

speakers more attractive and higher in status and socio-intellectual prestige. In his study conducted in Wales regarding various British accents, Giles (1970) also found a similar result with the males rating the speakers lower than the females. This could simply be a result of fewer female raters than male raters. The groups of raters whose age was between 41-45 years and 31-35 years found the speakers to be more hireable. The raters who had never owned a business also found the speakers more hireable, as well as those who correctly guessed the speaker's origin. It appears that the business owners tended to be more discriminating when deciding whether or not a candidate was hireable or not. The raters who guessed the origin of the speakers were probably more familiar with the accent and could therefore identify positively with that speaker, which resulted in the rater finding the speaker more hireable.

Research Question 3

The third research question asked whether the language attitudes maintained by the Mexican employers would affect the hireability of applicants speaking particular dialects. The raters chose to hire the Northern dialect speakers (the speakers from Monterrey and Chihuahua), as well as the speakers from the upper class of Mexico City more frequently than the speakers of the southern dialects (Yucatan and Guerrero) and the speakers of the popular variety of Mexico City. The results regarding job position show that the individuals whose dialects come from the southern region of Mexico as well as the speakers of the popular variety of Mexico City, were chosen significantly more frequently for the laborer and secretarial positions; whereas the northern dialect speakers, including the speakers from the upper class of Mexico City, were chosen for

the sales and managerial positions. Considering the dialect from the upper class of Mexico City as the standard dialect, these findings support the previous finding that the speakers of the standard variety are more likely to be hired for the upper level or managerial positions (Hopper & Williams, 1973; Kalin, 1982; Rey, 1977; Seggie et al., 1986).

Based on the results of Research Questions 1 and 3, it was the region of origin of speakers, as well as social class for the Mexico City dialects, that ultimately determined the speakers' fate for hiring possibilities and job positions. These findings support Labov's (1966) theory that the upward mobility of the speakers of different regional dialects is affected by the variety they speak. The higher the speaker was rated on the scales of attractiveness, status and socio-intellectual prestige, and hireability, the more likely they were to be hired. This shows that the attitude ratings reflect a rater's likelihood of hiring a speaker, a finding that is also found in other studies (Anderson, 1981; De la Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006).

Although the raters were not always able to correctly identify the exact state or region of origin, they still stereotype the southern speakers as less intelligent, yet hardworking and the northern speakers as more educated, more attractive, and more entrepreneurial. These stereotypes lead them to be less likely to hire a southern speaker, as well as a speaker of the popular dialect of Mexico City for managerial positions. Just as Nader (1968) expressed, the rural speakers were not highly esteemed.

Also, the variety spoken by the upper class of Mexico City was the most preferred for the dimensions of attractiveness and status, but not for the hireability

dimension; they were also the most likely to be hired and the most preferred for managerial positions. Just as Santa Ana and Parodi (1998) showed, the raters prefer the variety from the upper class of Mexico City even over their own variety. Based on these results, I would recommend that future language attitude studies use of the dialect of the upper class of Mexico City as the standard Mexican Spanish variety.

The speakers who read the paragraph were rated highly in all three dimensions, as well as in the hiring decision. As Garrett et al. (2003) mentioned, when speakers read a passage, the raters often become more sensitive to the linguistic variation due to the repetition of listening to many similar speech samples consecutively.

Upon examining the data, it is apparent that some research questions have been answered. Based on these results, speaker characteristics of regional dialect, gender, and whether they are reading or speaking freely affect the way the Mexican Academy students perceive potential job applicants. Thus, their decision to hire is affected.

Research Question 4

After reviewing the findings of this study, it is apparent to me that ACE students may in fact use stereotypes to label their potential employees. Therefore, I would highly recommend that ACE implement a stereotyping awareness in their curriculum. Although it is most likely that this would not eliminate linguistic profiling among ACE students and graduates, it would help them become aware of the effects that linguistic profiling may have on the speakers of different regional accents as well as in their businesses and, perhaps, to reconsider their impulses to discriminate against applicants based on the dialects they speak.

Conclusions

While the findings presented in this study appear to indicate that Mexican employers prefer northern employees for managerial and higher paid positions and southerners for the lower paid/labor positions, the findings are not to be overgeneralized to the entire population of Mexican employers. Nor should the characteristics attributed to speakers of particular dialects be generalized to all people within these dialect regions. Thus, it is important to note that the findings presented here intend to show trends of current attitudes held among students and graduates of the Academy and the possible behaviors that may follow due to such attitudes.

One possible limitation of this study is that the participants were a homogenous population of students from the Academy for Creating Enterprise in Mexico and therefore, the results are not generalizable to the entire population of entrepreneurs in Mexico. However, this study does give great insight as to the attitudes held by this specific population and therefore can be replicated for larger populations in the future.

This study took the mentalist perspective and therefore had the participants report their own attitudes. During the VGT, the true intent for the elicitation process was masked, but in the focus groups, this was not the case. As Fasold (1984) suggested, the problem with the mentalist approach is primarily correlated with the fact that “self-reported data are often of questionable validity” (p. 147). However, it is likely that the data are valid since the results of both the VGT and the focus groups were very similar.

Finally, as the researcher and facilitator of the focus groups for this study, I was an outsider and was not considered part of the group of participants on any level.

However, my ability to speak Spanish fluently helped in two specific areas with this study. First, I was able to elicit the language attitudes held by the students of the Academy in Mexico through the verbal guise test by creating the tests in comprehensible and regionally appropriate Spanish. Second, I was able to establish a relationship of trust with the focus group participants and, as a result, they felt confident enough to explain their true biases towards the six selected regional dialects used by the speakers.

However, another limitation that may have stemmed from my involvement in this study is the fact that I am, and very much appear to be, from a different country. This may have created a bias in the responses given by the participants. Garrett et al. (2003) referred to this bias as Interviewer's paradox, where the interviewer's ethnicity may have an impact on the respondents (p. 29). However, the fact that the focus group responses reflect the verbal guise responses leads me to believe that the bias, if any, was minimal.

Possible Practical Applications

There are a myriad pragmatic applications that could be derived from this study. First, because the results of this study indicate that Mexican employers do, in fact, hold stereotypes towards their potential employees based solely on accent, one possible pragmatic application that could be derived from the data would be to create a training course for corporations to demonstrate that they may have been hiring more based on stereotypes than quality of person. This is a critical finding, as it could drastically influence the human resource departments of corporations and small businesses throughout Mexico. Thus, these findings could be shared with the Academy for Creating Enterprise (the small business school in Mexico where elicitation took place) and other

hiring/human resource companies within Mexico to train employers to redirect their attention to the achievements and abilities of their prospective employees instead of focusing on the dialect used by the prospective employees. Employers should also be aware that they might hold stereotypes towards speakers of different dialects, which may keep them from hiring the most qualified individuals. Therefore, I recommend that ACE implement a component regarding stereotypes and their effects on both employers and job seekers.

As was shown by Purnell et al. (1999), real estate and property management corporations could benefit significantly by training their staff to be conscientious of stereotyping prospective renters or homebuyers based solely on telephone conversations. In turn, this would translate into massive savings in the event that a prospective client was to take legal action because he or she felt discriminated against based on their linguistic identity.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future studies should examine the preferences of the raters based on gender. For example, do male raters prefer male speakers and female raters prefer female speakers? Another variable that should be more closely examined is rater origin. Do the raters from the southern part of Mexico consider the speakers of the southern dialects to be less prestigious, less attractive, and less hireable? I would also recommend that future research only include a recording of the speakers reading a passage since it was preferred in all accounts and the free speech samples may have been evaluated based on content (even though every effort was made to minimize content differences). Studies

should be performed on the other regional varieties not included in this study to continue to fill the gap of research noted by Amastae and Elías-Olivares (1978), Barriga Villanueva and Parodi (1998), Carranza (1982), and Hidalgo (1996).

I intend to use this data in future research and publications. I would hope this data and the findings thereof would be of interest to linguists, anthropologists, and sociologists, especially those interested in Mexico. I also hope that the findings of this study inspire future sociolinguistic studies in Mexico, as it is a country full of opportunities and rich linguistic data.

It was interesting to me that the language attitudes were so obvious to the persons interviewed. They were very aware of their stereotypes and even commented on how “harsh” they were towards speakers of other dialects. As I mentioned earlier, however, there was always at least one member of each focus group who did suggest that the characteristics being mentioned were generalizations, and did not apply to every resident of the particular region.

After examining the findings of this study, it is apparent that language profiling does occur in Mexico among employers. Therefore, as was previously mentioned, I recommend that ACE implement a linguistic profiling component, which may aid in the improvement of economic growth for their students and graduates as employers and employees.

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APPENDIX A
OUTLINE MAP OF MEXICO



APPENDIX B

READ PARAGRAPH AND SPEECH SAMPLES

Read Paragraph

Soy una persona dedicada y trabajadora. Me gusta leer, y el conocimiento y perspectiva que me da la lectura ha mejorado mis técnicas en el trabajo y mi habilidad para realizar presentaciones. Tengo cuatro hijos y afortunadamente tengo el apoyo de mi familia. He tenido éxito al trabajar y considero que este éxito se debe a mi capacidad para planear, programar y hacerme cargo de diferentes tareas al mismo tiempo. Esta flexibilidad me ayudará en cualquier posición que tenga, donde haya diferentes personalidades y modos de aprendizaje.

(English translation)

I am a dedicated and hard-working person. I like to read and the knowledge and perspective that reading gives me has improved my techniques at work and my ability to give presentations. I have four kids and fortunately, my family supports me. I have been successful at work and I believe that my success is due to my capacity to plan, program and take charge of different assignments at the same time. This flexibility will help me in whatever position I may have where there may be different personalities and ways of learning.

Speech Samples (Colloquial Recording Transcriptions)

Chihuahua female

Soy una persona dedicada. Me considero que cumplo con lo que prometo. Me gusta esforzarme y, y cuando yo me comprometo con algo me gusta hacer lo mejor de mí y sacar por ejemplo, para esta empresa podría ayudar con mi conocimiento, habilidades, capacidades y un poco de experiencia. Soy responsable.

I am a dedicated person. I consider that I finish what I promise to. I like to try hard and when I commit myself to something, I like to do the best I can and take out, for example, for this company, I could help with my knowledge, abilities, capacities and a little bit of experience. I am responsible.

Chihuahua male

Ustedes deben contratarme porque soy una persona emprendedora. Y también tengo preparación académica. Estudie en la Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua y obtuve muy buenas calificaciones. He tenido experiencia en muchos ámbitos de trabajo. El puesto que ustedes tienen aquí es para mi perfil. Yo he trabajado. He tenido mucha experiencia y sé que si ustedes me contratan, van a tener buenos resultados para conmigo.

You should hire me because I am an entrepreneurial person. I also have academic preparation. I studied at the Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua and obtained very good grades. I have had experience in many areas of work. The position that you have here is for my profile. I have worked. I've had a lot of experience and I know that if you hire me, you will have very good results from me.

Mexico City popular female

Yo siento que soy una persona que realmente es muy trabajadora. He luchado toda mi vida y creo que lo que necesita pues esta empresa es eso: una persona que tenga fuerzas y energía para poder trabajar. También soy una persona muy responsable en, en las cosas que yo hago. En mi trabajo por supuesto, verdad, porque pues es muy importante. También creo que ustedes necesitan mucha ayuda con nuevas ideas y pues realmente soy una persona que le gusta mucho pues encontrar nuevas soluciones, nuevas ideas para mejorar y creo que eso también es muy importante.

I feel that I am a person who is actually a really hard worker. I have fought my whole life and I believe that what you need, well this company is this: a person who has the strength and energy to be able to work. I am also a very responsible person in the things that I do. In my job, of course, right, because well, it's very important. Also, I believe that you need a lot of help with new ideas and actually I am a person who really likes to find new solutions, new ideas to improve and I think that that is also very important.

Mexico City popular male

Bueno pues, la verdad es que, a mi me pueden contratar por qué? Porque soy una persona honrada, una persona que le gusta hacer su trabajo bien y este, soy dedicado. Cuando es tiempo de hacer algo que es mi trabajo que yo puedo ir aprendiendo y mejor por qué? Porque mi aspecto común es que quiero aprender cada día más y eso me ayuda a, a poder progresar.

Well, the truth is that, you can hire me why? Because I am an honorable person, a person who likes to do his job well and well, I am dedicated. When it is time for me to do something that is my job I can go along learning and improve, why? Because my

disposition is that I want to learn more every day and that helps me to be able to progress.

Mexico City Upper class female

Creo tener las capacidades que están requiriendo para el puesto. Me sé desarrollar. Tengo las aptitudes y porque ofrezco calidad en el trabajo que realizo. Y porque sé que los riesgos al hacer mi trabajo son menos que de cualquier otra persona. Y pues van a hacer una buena inversión conmigo.

I believe I have the capacities that you are requiring for the position. I know how to develop myself. I have the aptitudes and because I offer quality in the work that I perform. And because I know that the risks involved in my work are less than any other person. And well, you are going to make a good investment with me.

Mexico City Upper class male

Considero que debo ser contratado por las siguientes razones. La primera es que soy proactivo. Que me encanta aprender constantemente y poder lograr mis metas. También considero que puedo desarrollarme en cualquier ámbito dentro de campo laboral que se me ofrezca. A su vez, puedo proporcionar los servicios y la calidad que ustedes requieran de mí para poder lograr las metas que ustedes tienen en su empresa.

I believe that I should be hired for the following reasons. The first is that I am proactive. I love to constantly learn and be able to achieve my goals. I also believe that I can develop myself in whatever field within whatever working environment that is offered to me. At the same time, I can provide services and the quality that you require of me to be able to achieve the goals that you have in your company.

Monterrey female

Me considero una persona muy responsable. Realmente me gusta hacer las cosas bien y que las personas se sientan satisfechas con lo con el trabajo que yo vaya a realizar. También soy una persona muy dedicada y si se me manda algo me gusta como que cumplirlo. A veces no resulta muy fácil y a veces no es como algo que te gusta hacer, la responsabilidad que te dan, pero, pero me gusta hacerla de una manera que las personas puedan ver que cumplí, no? y que soy una persona de confiar, más que nada.

I consider myself to be a very responsible person. In reality, I like to do things well and I like for others to feel satisfied with the work that I am going to carry out. Also, I am a very dedicated person and if I am asked to do something, I like to finish it. Sometimes it isn't very easy and sometimes it isn't something that you like to do, the responsibility

that they give you, but I like to do it in a way that the person can see that I did it, right? And that I am a trustworthy person, more than anything.

Monterrey male

Yo soy una persona honesta, responsable. Tengo varias capacidades y habilidades que puedo desarrollar en, en cualquier aspecto que se me ponga. Tengo la habilidad para aprender y solamente es, es oportuno que me enfoquen en eso que quiero aprender. Y tengo la habilidad para poderlo aprender. Tengo muchas ganas de poder participar en, en los proyectos, poder aprender más y poder compartir todo esto.

I am an honest person, responsible. I have various capacities and abilities that I can develop in whatever aspect that is presented to me. I have the ability to learn and its only, its important that you focus me on that which I want to learn. And, I have the ability to be able to learn it. I have great desires to be able to participate in the projects, and be able to learn more and be able to share in all of this.

San Jeronimito female

Que ahora allí he trabajado durante quince años. Pues yo creo que seguiré trabajando hasta que me jubile, eh dentro de unos quince años, faltan quince. Tengo cuatro hijos, cuatro hermosos hijos que los quiero mucho. Pues, uno se llama Luis, el otro se llama Paco, Marta y Fabiola. Tengo dos casados y dos solteros. Fabiola no, está en Culiacán y regresa en septiembre.

Now, I have worked for fifteen years. Well, I believe that I will continue working until I retire, within another fifteen years, fifteen left. I have four children, four beautiful children, who I love very much. Well, one is named Luis, the other is named Paco, Marta, and Fabiola. I have two married (children) and two single. Not Fabiola, she's in Culiacan and returns in September.

San Jeronimito male

Pues, he trabajado durante treinta años. Me siento muy feliz allí y allí conocí el evangelio y me siento muy contento. Y, y más ahorita que, qué gusto me da. Siento ese gozo en mi corazón de llegar a ser, uh huh. Cuatro hijos tengo. Se llama Elizabeth, la mayor, y Eduardo, segundo, el tercero se llama Francisco Javier y Alexi, el cuarto.

Well, I have worked for thirty years. I feel very happy there and there I came to know the gospel and I feel very happy. And, more so now, what joy it gives me. I feel that joy in my heart to become, uh huh. I have four children. The oldest is named Elizabeth, and Eduardo, the second, the third is named Francisco Javier, and Alexi, the fourth.

Yucatan female

Yo creo que es muy bueno que me contraten porque soy una persona que me gusta trabajar. Soy muy cumplida en cuanto al trabajo que me asignen y me gusta hacer las cosas de una manera ordenada y clara. Siempre pues estoy dispuesta a ayudar siempre en lo que mas me necesiten entonces siempre estoy al tanto de lo que usted pueda necesitar de mí.

I think it is very good that you hire me because I am a person who likes to work hard. I am a person who gets things done when it comes to the work that I am assigned and I like to do things in an organized and clear manner. I am always willing to help, always, in whatever is needed of me so I am always ready to give what you need of me.

Yucatan male

Pues yo soy una persona tranquila, trabajadora. Me gusta mucho platicar con mis compañeros, a veces bromear pero siempre con respeto y en cuanto a mis aptitudes pues aprendo muy rápido las cosas que, que voy a desempeñar. Procuro a ser responsable en las cosas que hago y más en mi trabajo y pues siempre he procurado ser una persona digna de confianza.

Well, I am a calm, hardworking person. I really like to chat with my friends, sometimes joke around but always respectfully and regarding my aptitudes, well I learn very quickly the things that I am going to carry out. I try to be responsible in the things that I do and more so in my job y well I have always tried to be a trustworthy person.

APPENDIX C

SPEAKER QUESTIONNAIRE

Información Demográfica: Hablantes

Número de grabación: _____ Género: _____
Edad: _____
Lugar de origen: _____
Lugar en dónde ha vivido la mayoría de su vida: _____
¿Cuánto tiempo en ese lugar?: _____
¿Cree que habla diferente que las personas de las noticias? (Circule): Sí No
Si la respuesta es sí, ¿le ha afectado hablar diferente? (Circule): Sí No
¿Cómo? _____
¿Cuánto gana mensualmente?: _____
Último año de la escuela que completó: _____

(English Translation)

Recording Number: _____ Gender: _____
Age: _____
Birthplace: _____
Place where you have lived the majority of your life: _____
How long have you lived there?: _____
Do you believe you speak differently than newscasters?: Yes No
If so, has speaking differently affected you?: Yes No
How? _____
How much money do you make per month?: _____
Last year of school completed: _____

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Demographic Information (Spanish)

Iniciales: _____ Edad: _____ Sexo: _____

En dónde creció: _____ ¿Cuánto tiempo en ese lugar?: _____

¿Ha vivido en otro lugar? (circule): Sí No

Si sí, ¿en dónde?

1) : _____ ¿Por cuánto tiempo?: _____

¿Cuántos años tenía?: _____

2) : _____ ¿Por cuánto tiempo?: _____

¿Cuántos años tenía?: _____

3) : _____ ¿Por cuánto tiempo?: _____

¿Cuántos años tenía?: _____

Si ha vivido en otras áreas, favor de usar el otro lado de la hoja.

¿De dónde son sus padres de usted?: Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

Usted está casado/a (circule): Sí No

¿De dónde es su esposo/a?: Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

Último año que completó en la escuela: _____

¿Habla otro idioma? (circule): Sí No Si sí, ¿cuál(es)?

¿Cuánto gana por mes?: _____

¿Tiene o ha tenido negocio propio?: Sí No

¿Tiene empleados?: Sí No

Si sí, ¿cuántos?: _____

¿De dónde son?:

1) Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

2) Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

3) Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

4) Ciudad: _____, Estado: _____

En este experimento, va a calificar a cada voz, basándose en las características dadas. Escuche a cada hablante y empiece a calificarla cuando se siente libre de decidir qué tipo de persona está hablando. Circule una frase en cada fila donde cree que mejor describe al hablante como demuestra en el ejemplo abajo.

Por ejemplo:

1.

Muy confiado	Más confiado que inseguro	No estoy seguro/a	Más inseguro que confiado	Muy inseguro
-----------------	------------------------------------	----------------------	------------------------------------	-----------------

Demographic Information (English Translation)

Initials: _____ Age: _____ Gender: _____

Where did you grow up?: _____ How long did you live there?: _____

Have you ever lived anywhere else? (Circle): Yes No

If so, where?

1): _____ For how long?: _____ How old were you? _____

2): _____ For how long?: _____ How old were you? _____

3): _____ For how long?: _____ How old were you? _____

If you have lived in other areas, please use the back.

Married?: Yes No

Where is your spouse from?: City: _____, State: _____

Where are your parents from?: City: _____, State: _____

City: _____, State: _____

Last year completed in school: _____

Do you speak another language?: Yes No If so, what other language(s) do you speak?

How much do you make per month?: _____

Do you have or have you ever had your own business?: Yes No

Do you have employees?: Yes No

If so, how many?: _____

Where are they from?:

1) City: _____, State: _____

2) City: _____, State: _____

3) City: _____, State: _____

4) City: _____, State: _____

In this experiment, you will rate each speaker based on the adjectives given. Listen to each voice and begin to rate them as soon as you feel ready to decide what type of person is speaking. Circle the phrase on the line where you feel best describes the speaker, as demonstrated below.

For example:

1.

Very confident	More confident than insecure	I'm not sure	More insecure than confident	Very insecure
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APPENDIX E

RATER RESPONSE SHEET

Rater Response Sheet—Spanish

Grabación #: _____

Fecha: _____

Grupo: _____

Circula la caja en cada fila de adjetivos que describan, según de acuerdo con su reacción a los solicitantes. Responda cuidadosamente pero rápidamente. Asegúrese de contestar cada pregunta.

1.

Muy amable	Más amable que grosero	No estoy seguro/a	Más grosero que amable	Muy grosero
------------	------------------------	-------------------	------------------------	-------------

2.

Muy trabajador	Más trabajador que flojo	No estoy seguro/a	Más flojo que trabajador	Muy flojo
----------------	--------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	-----------

3.

Muy deshonesto	Más deshonesto que honesto	No estoy seguro/a	Más honesto que deshonesto	Muy honesto
----------------	----------------------------	-------------------	----------------------------	-------------

4.

Muy de clase alta	Más de clase alta que de clase baja	No estoy seguro/a	Más de clase baja que de clase alta	Muy de clase baja
-------------------	-------------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------------------	-------------------

5.

Muy tímido	Más tímido que confiado	No estoy seguro/a	Más confiado que tímido	Muy confiado
------------	-------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------	--------------

6.

Muy directo	Más directo que indirecto	No estoy seguro/a	Más indirecto que directo	Muy indirecto
-------------	---------------------------	-------------------	---------------------------	---------------

7.

Muy pobre	Más pobre que rico	No estoy seguro/a	Más rico que pobre	Muy rico
-----------	--------------------	-------------------	--------------------	----------

8.

Muy eficaz como líder	Más eficaz que ineficaz como líder	No estoy seguro/a	Más ineficaz que eficaz como líder	Muy ineficaz como líder
-----------------------	------------------------------------	-------------------	------------------------------------	-------------------------

9.

Muy técnico	Más técnico que emprendedor	No estoy seguro/a	Más emprendedor que técnico	Muy emprendedor
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10.

Muy inteligente	Más inteligente que ignorante	No estoy seguro/a	Más ignorante que inteligente	Muy ignorante
-----------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------------	---------------

11.

Muy agresivo	Más agresivo que pasivo	No estoy seguro/a	Más pasivo que agresivo	Muy pasivo
--------------	-------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------	------------

12.

Muy cerrado	Más cerrado que abierto	No estoy seguro/a	Más abierto que cerrado	Muy abierto
-------------	-------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------	-------------

13.

Muy preparado	Más preparado que no preparado	No estoy seguro/a	Menos preparado	No muy preparado
---------------	--------------------------------	-------------------	-----------------	------------------

14.

Muy guapo	Más guapo que feo	No estoy seguro/a	Más feo que guapo	Muy feo
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15.

Muy gordo	Más gordo que flaco	No estoy seguro/a	Más flaco que gordo	Muy flaco
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16.

Muy humilde	Más humilde que orgulloso	No estoy seguro/a	Más orgulloso que humilde	Muy orgulloso
-------------	---------------------------	-------------------	---------------------------	---------------

17.

Muy alegre	Más alegre que pesimista	No estoy seguro/a	Más pesimista que alegre	Muy pesimista
------------	--------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------

18.

Muy enfocado	Más enfocado que distraído	No estoy seguro/a	Más distraído que enfocado	Muy distraído
--------------	----------------------------	-------------------	----------------------------	---------------

19.

Muy codo	Más codo que generoso	No estoy seguro/a	Más generoso que codo	Muy generoso
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20. ¿Contrataría al solicitante?

Definitivamente Sí	Es probable que sí	No estoy seguro/a	Es probable que no	Definitivamente No
--------------------	--------------------	-------------------	--------------------	--------------------

Favor de explicar por qué:

21. ¿Le daría al solicitante una recomendación de trabajo?

Definitivamente Sí	Es probable que sí	No estoy seguro/a	Es probable que no	Definitivamente No
-----------------------	-----------------------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Para la siguiente pregunta, ponga una X en la línea que mejor corresponde a la descripción de trabajo para el solicitante. *Puede usar más que una X.*

22. La mejor posición para el solicitante es:

- Secretario/a _____
- Obrero/a _____
- Personal de ventas _____
- Supervisor/a _____
- Jefe/Dueño/a _____
- Otro _____

Si dice otro, explique cual:

23. ¿De dónde cree que es el solicitante?

24. ¿Conoce a alguien del mismo lugar? (Circule) Sí No
En caso de ser afirmativo, ¿cuál es su relación con usted?

Rater Response Sheet (English Translation)

Recording #: _____

Date: _____

Group: _____

Circle the box on each row of items according to your reaction to the applicant's responses. Respond carefully but quickly. Be sure to answer each question!

1.

Very friendly	More friendly than rude	I'm not sure	More rude than friendly	Very rude
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2.

Very hard-working	More hard-working than lazy	I'm not sure	More lazy than hard-working	Very lazy
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3.

Very dishonest	More dishonest than honest	I'm not sure	More honest than dishonest	Very honest
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4.

Very upper class	More upper class than lower class	I'm not sure	More lower class than upper class	Very lower class
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5.

Very shy	More shy than confident	I'm not sure	More confident than shy	Very confident
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6.

Very direct	More direct than indirect	I'm not sure	More indirect than direct	Very indirect
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7.

Very poor	More poor than rich	I'm not sure	More rich than poor	Very rich
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8.

Very effective leader	More effective than ineffective as a leader	I'm not sure	More ineffective than effective as a leader	Very ineffective leader
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9.

Very technician	More technician than entrepreneur	I'm not sure	More entrepreneur than technician	Very entrepreneur
-----------------	-----------------------------------	--------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------

10.

Very intelligent	More intelligent than ignorant	I'm not sure	More ignorant than intelligent	Very ignorant
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11.

Very aggressive	More aggressive than passive	I'm not sure	More passive than aggressive	Very passive
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12.

Very close-minded	More close-minded than open-minded	I'm not sure	More open-minded than close-minded	Very open-minded
-------------------	------------------------------------	--------------	------------------------------------	------------------

13.

Very educated	More educated than uneducated	I'm not sure	More uneducated than educated	Very uneducated
---------------	-------------------------------	--------------	-------------------------------	-----------------

14.

Very good-looking	More good-looking than ugly	I'm not sure	More ugly than good-looking	Very ugly
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15.

Very fat	More fat than thin	I'm not sure	More thin than fat	Very thin
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16.

Very humble	More humble than prideful	I'm not sure	More prideful than humble	Very prideful
-------------	---------------------------	--------------	---------------------------	---------------

17.

Very happy	More happy than pessimistic	I'm not sure	More pessimistic than happy	Very pessimistic
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18.

Very focused	More focused than distracted	I'm not sure	More distracted than focused	Very distracted
--------------	------------------------------	--------------	------------------------------	-----------------

19.

Very cheap	More cheap than giving	I'm not sure	More giving than cheap	Very giving
------------	------------------------	--------------	------------------------	-------------

20. Would you hire the applicant?

Definitely would	Probably would	I'm not sure	Probably would not	Definitely would not
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Please explain why:

21. Would you give the applicant a recommendation for a job?

Definitely would	Probably would	I'm not sure	Probably would not	Definitely would not
------------------	----------------	--------------	--------------------	----------------------

For the following question, place an X on the line that corresponds to the best job description for the applicant. *You can use more than one X.*

22. The best position for the applicant is:

- Secretary _____
Factory worker _____
Salesperson _____
Supervisor _____
Boss/Owner _____
Other _____

23. Where do you think this applicant is from? _____

24. Do you know anyone from that place? (Circle one) Yes No

If so, who? _____

APPENDIX F

MAP OF DIALECT REGIONS

Map of dialect regions adapted from Lope Blanch (1997)

