

***IS THAT WHAT I SOUND LIKE WHEN I SPEAK?: ATTITUDES TOWARDS
SPANISH, ENGLISH, AND CODE-SWITCHING IN TWO TEXAS BORDER
TOWNS***

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

The present study observes and compares the language attitudes towards standard English, standard Spanish, and code-switching in two U.S. and Mexico border cities (Laredo and Edinburg) by employing the matched-guise technique. Three attribute dimensions (solidarity, status, and personal appeal) were used by participants to evaluate the three varieties in question.

Situated just 150 miles from one another, Laredo and Edinburg are both border cities with a majority Hispanic-origin population. Yet, the histories of Laredo and Edinburg differ: while Laredo was a fully established community before the arrival of the Anglos in the 19th century and succeeded in protecting its lands from Anglo encroachment, the Hispanic population where Edinburg is located suffered land loss during the same time. The present study examined if these historical differences have had consequences on the contemporary linguistic attitudes in these two cities.

For the matched-guise experiment, an original code-switching recording was produced in Spanish and English versions. These three texts went through grammaticality testing and were then recorded by four Mexican American bilingual speakers, two males and two females. Ninety-six participants from Laredo and ninety-one participants from Edinburg answered a demographic questionnaire and then were told to listen and evaluate each voice on a list of characteristics grouped into the three dimensions mentioned above (solidarity, status, and personal appeal), unaware that they were in fact listening to bilingual speakers speaking in different language varieties.

Code-switching received the lowest evaluations in all three dimensions. Also, Spanish and English were judged relatively the same in status and personal appeal, but Spanish ranked much higher than both code-switching and standard English in solidarity. When the variables of speaker and student gender were considered, differences emerged in the evaluations within and between both cities. In regards to the differences found between locations, female students from Edinburg appear to be more tolerant towards code-switching than female students in Laredo, particularly when the speaker is male. Edinburg males also appear to evaluate females who speak English higher than Laredo male students. Yet at the same time these same male students evaluate males who use English less favorably in solidarity and higher in personal appeal, while the Laredo males display the inverse tendency. The fact that differences between locations were found upon considering the speakers' and students' gender indicates that differing linguistic attitudes exist among residents in the South Texas region and deserves further investigation.

DEDICATION

To my parents, Jesús Rangel and María Eugenia Rangel, for their undying support and for always believing and having faith in me in everything. To my sister and brother, María del Pilar Rangel and Jesús Pablo Rangel. I dedicate all the hard work that has gone into this to you all—to my four pillars of strength and inspiration.

Para mis padres, Jesús Rangel and María Eugenia Rangel, por su constante apoyo y por siempre creer y tener fe en mí en todo. Para mis hermanos, María del Pilar Rangel y Jesús Pablo Rangel. Dedico todo el esfuerzo de este trabajo a ustedes—mis cuatro pilares de fuerza e inspiración.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY OF SOUTH TEXAS

1.1 Introduction

This study compares the implicit attitudes that bilingual speakers hold towards standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching in two border cities. Laredo, Texas, and Edinburg, Texas, were the two cities chosen for the present study, due to their particular location. The difference between these cities is that one (Edinburg) is located within the Rio Grande Valley while the other is not. The purpose of the present study is to see if there are differences in the way residents from these two cities perceive standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching, despite their close proximity to one another. In order to measure these attitudes, I used the matched-guise technique, pioneered by Lambert et al. (1960), to measure the attitudes of university students in Laredo and Edinburg towards standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching.

In South Texas border regions, there exists a rich linguistic heritage characterized by the language contact between Spanish and English. Bilingual language use is an essential component of the social identity for many people from these communities, and an awareness of how language is used and perceived in these communities must be taken into consideration in order to understand them better in social, political, and educational terms. This could lead to the assumption that Spanish has the same value in all Hispanic border communities. Taking the South Texas border region as an example, a great deal of bilingual research has assumed that the entire Texas-Mexico border shares common features, often exemplified by locations in the Rio Grande Valley. For example, there

have been various research investigations that concentrate on the Rio Grande Valley, but other locations of South Texas have been ignored. One of these is Laredo, another very important area to consider within South Texas, given the rich political and linguistic history of the city.

Studies conducted in South Texas with regards to Spanish use, particularly in the Rio Grande Valley (Anderson-Mejías 2005), show that both English and Spanish play an important role in the daily lives of many people throughout the South Texas border region. That much is clear, but there is much more to consider beyond that. There also seems to be the notion that Laredo can be equated to the Rio Grande Valley. The issue with this assumption is that it carries with it certain implications that may not be true, namely, that Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley share the same sociolinguistic patterns. In order to ascertain whether or not these assumptions are warranted, the present study analyzes two border cities, Edinburg, located in Hidalgo county within the Rio Grande Valley, and Laredo, to study the possible attitudinal differences towards standard English, standard Spanish, and code-switching. The hypothesis to be proposed is that differences will be found between these two locations in their perceptions of these varieties. It is anticipated that both Laredo and Edinburg will hold the same attitudes towards code-switching and English, while Laredo will hold more positive attitudes towards Spanish.

In that respect, historical factors must be considered due to their possible impact on the contemporary linguistic situation of both regions. South Texas is rich in history. Even before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, differences between the history of these

two regions impacted the communities of Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley. For example, loss of land during the 1800s changed the lives of many Tejanos; this resulted in frustration and resentment towards the new arrivals to South Texas (Thompson 2007: 5). Not only were Tejanos' stripped of their lands, but the new Anglo arrivals also brought political and economic oppression to these already established residents. One must consider whether the entire region handled assaults on their land rights the same way or whether there were differences. This historical question will be taken into consideration because it could be of importance to contemporary linguistic attitudes in South Texas towards English, Spanish, and code-switching.

1.2 History of South Texas

1.2.1 Beginnings of South Texas - geography, climate, and indigenous peoples

A key defining geographical feature of South Texas is the Rio Grande, also known as the Río Bravo by the people from Mexico. This geographical feature in South Texas has come to define the area that we know today, both politically and economically. Even before the arrival of Europeans and settlers from Mexico, the area already had human settlements.

The land north of the Rio Grande is dominated by semiarid plains. When the Spanish arrived, they gave it several names such as *Sabana Grande* and *Llanos de los Mesteños*, in reference to the large amount of wild horses and cattle that were there during the colonial period (Alonzo 1998: 18). This region of South Texas shares the same climate as Tamaulipas, the northern state of Mexico situated south of the Rio Grande. It is a sub humid lowland, which is a transition zone between subtropical

climate in the southeastern region of the US and the tropical climate of the Gulf and Caribbean coasts (Alonzo 1998: 20). This general region of South Texas is known for its hot weather, with summers being particularly hot and dry. A few scientists studied the natural landscape of this area. The first to do so was Jean L. Berlandier in the 1820s and 1830s (Alonzo 1998: 18). He documented the natural landscape of both the north and south sides of the Rio Grande. As Berlandier drew closer along the area of Laredo, he noticed vaster plains with few trees and not much water. These lands also appeared to contain *salitre*—salt residue—which happened to be very important for the supply of sodium to animals.

Before the arrival of the Spanish *conquistadores*, the Mexican settlers, and the Anglos, these lands were already inhabited and settled by other people as early as ca. A.D. 1300 and until 1520 (Adams 2008: 2). During this time, the great Aztec nation was in full power, and its center was in Tenochtitlán. The great Aztecs either conquered or made trading alliances with other nations that extended from what is now Panama to the northern lands of the Rio Grande, and down into the river delta situated on the Gulf coast of Mexico. Even before the arrival of European settlers that would occupy the lands north of the Rio Grande, these Indian tribes and nations already focused on trading. In particular, the inhabitants of the northern bank of the Rio Grande were small autonomous nomadic bands who roamed the region. Among them were the Coahuiltecas, the Jumanos, the Tonkawas, the Kickapoos, Kesale-Terkodams, Carrizos, Tamulipas (Tamique), Karankawas, and the Apache Lipan (Adams 2008: 3). All of these small autonomous bands were linked to the Coahuiltecan linguistic family, which

dominated the region south of the Nueces River all the way to what is now the north of Mexico. Unfortunately, none of these Indians survived in Texas.

There were two instances in which these Indian bands made contact with Spaniards. The first contact was with the expedition of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, which lasted from 1528 to 1536. This lost and wandering Spanish explorer was able to survive and document his life among many Indian tribes in what is now South Texas and in the process became well known among them (Adams 2008: 5). Cabeza de Vaca traversed close to what is now Laredo, all the way to current-day El Paso, and down south into what is now Mexico City. It was not until the second contact with Spaniards that these Indian tribes were forced to change their lifestyles throughout the region north of the Rio Grande and within Mexico. As a result of the French efforts to obtain territorial possessions north of the Rio Grande, which encompassed all of what is now Texas, the Spanish viceroy tried to expand and control more territory, particularly in Texas. These efforts were called *entradas*. Those chosen to be part of these *entradas* were either wealthy or high ranking military families. They were trusted to remain loyal to the Spanish crown, given the right to bear arms, the responsibility to spread the Catholic faith and obtain results by expanding and controlling more territory (Adams 2008: 6).

It was through these *entradas* that the area of South Texas began to see new inhabitants, besides the nomadic tribes. South Texas went through the attempts and successes over the control of its land by several sovereignties, particularly by the Spaniards. The Spaniards were interested in laying claim in the area that stretched from

the Texas Gulf Coast across to what is now the Southwest of U.S, all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

1.2.2 The arrival of the Spanish (1750-1800)

The history of Tejanos in South Texas begins as early as the middle of the eighteenth century when Spanish frontier captains surveyed the land and saw its potential for breeding small and large livestock. These land surveys prompted the introduction of the first settlers along the Rio Grande. These explorations began with the *entradas*, the penetration of Spanish armies and missionaries of the Catholic church into the *Seno Mexicano*, an area that stretched from Tampico, Mexico all the way to the limits of the Southern area of Texas, which was then the San Antonio River (Alonzo 1998: 16). José de Escandón, a military commander, was placed in charge of all of the *entradas* to be conducted within this area by the viceroy of New Spain and the Spanish Crown. It was due to this colonization venture that the area that we now know as South Texas began to acquire its unique Hispanic history.

As a result of the Spanish *entradas*, Escandón was able to establish six settlements in the lower Río Grande, four of which were located south of the Rio Grande and two in the north bank of the river. The first settlement to be established on the north bank was Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, whose first ranch settlements were established in 1750 by enterprising stockman Don José Vásquez Borrego, who was given the rights to 329,000 acres encompassing areas of what is now Webb and Zapata County for stockraising by Escandón (Alonzo 1998: 29-31). The second and last settlement established on the north bank of the Rio Grande was the Villa de San Agustín de Laredo,

pioneered by a rancher named Tomás Sánchez de la Barrera y Gallardo, native of Nuevo León (Alonzo 1998: 31). These establishments in turn prompted the assignments of land grants, called *porciones*, to all registered and established settlers in these settlements (Alonzo 1998: 39).

1.2.2.1 Beginnings of Laredo, Texas

The history and life of Laredo is distinct from any other and precedes all other settlements established along the border region along the Texas-Mexico border. Upon entering the city limits of Laredo, Texas, one cannot miss the sight of seven waving flags representing the sovereignties that went through Texas. Six of them are the Six Flags of Texas, and the seventh, the flag of the Republic of the Rio Grande. Laredo would live under the sovereignty of only four of these flags and would serve as the capital of both the Republic of Texas and the Republic of the Rio Grande. Through it all, Laredo residents seem to have “established their own little world” (Wood 2008: 16). Even though Laredoans respected and followed the authority of these different flags, they took advantage of these authorities when they deemed it necessary, and were able to find a way around inconvenient situations that would adversely affect them (Wood 2008: 16). The city followed this strategy from its establishment in 1755 until the annexation of Texas to the United States in 1848.

To this day, one may hear Laredoans refer to their city as “*el rancho*,” and for a reason. From the very beginning of its establishment, Laredo developed into what it is now thanks to the prosperity that resulted from the economic success of its ranches. Prior to appointing the Villa de San Agustín de Laredo to Tomás Sánchez, Escandón first

assigned Sánchez to survey and explore a location close to the Nueces River, where he suffered constant harassment from the Lipan Apaches and found an area of drought. He returned to the Rio Grande, and asked permission from Escandón to establish a settlement near his ranch at the ford called Paso de Jacinto de León (Adams 2008: 11). Escandón approved his request and decided to name the settlement after a town located in his northern Spanish province, as La Villa de San Agustín de Laredo, on May 15, 1755 (Adams 2008: 11-12).

Sánchez' return to the region of Laredo after his disappointing exploration near the Nueces river would soon prove profitable. Despite the fact that the region of Laredo was not beneficial for farming, due to its hot climate and common droughts (Hickey Cavazos 2012), ranching and the trade that the Rio Grande would carry, would be a source of wealth for this settlement. Many commentators observed this fact; for example, Agustín López de la Camara Alta, an engineer and lieutenant colonel in the Spanish royal army states the following about Laredo:

“It is situated on the margin of the Río Grande, or Bravo, on the north bank, in a plain two leagues in extent, reaching to the Hills of St. Barbara, which meet it, with two arroyos, of which the upper, to the southwest, is called Arroyo de Lomas Altos, and that on the east side, Arroyo Chacón....This settlement is important, and it is expedient that it increase in size, for the sake of the crossing from the interior provinces of Texas.” (Adams 2008: 1).

The commerce that the trade across this port would create would begin as early as the 1700s, and would continue to grow strong and be of great financial help for the now established settlement of Laredo.

1.2.2.2 Early settlements south of the Rio Grande Valley

The Rio Grande Valley (RGV) is located at the southeasternmost point on the border between the U.S. and Mexico. Today, the Rio Grande Valley is composed of four counties, namely, Starr, Hidalgo, Cameron, and Willacy counties. Compared to Laredo, towns such as Brownsville, Edinburg, and McAllen, among others within the Rio Grande Valley were established much later, because the four settlements that were established by Escandón were on the south bank of the Rio Grande on what is now the Mexican side of the RGV. One of these first villas established was the settlement of Nuestra Señora de Santa Ana de Camargo, which was founded by Escandón on March 5, 1749 (Alonzo 1998: 30). The forty families of settlers who were brought to this settlement were from Cerralvo, Nuevo León and were under the command of Captain Blás María de la Garza Falcón. Another settlement called Lugar de Mier was established in 1753 by José Florencio Chapa, who brought thirty-eight families to the settlement also from Cerralvo, Nuevo León. Along with these settlements, two more sites were established upriver from Camargo, all along the south bank of the Rio Grande (Figure 1).

The prosperous town of Matamoros—south of the Rio Grande and now bordering Brownsville, Texas—was established in 1765, under the name San Juan de los Esteros (Garza et al. 2013). The area of what is now Brownsville was not inhabited until 1781 when 59 leagues of land were granted to José Salvador de la Garza, and later on farmers and herders from Matamoros started to settle into the area of Brownsville.

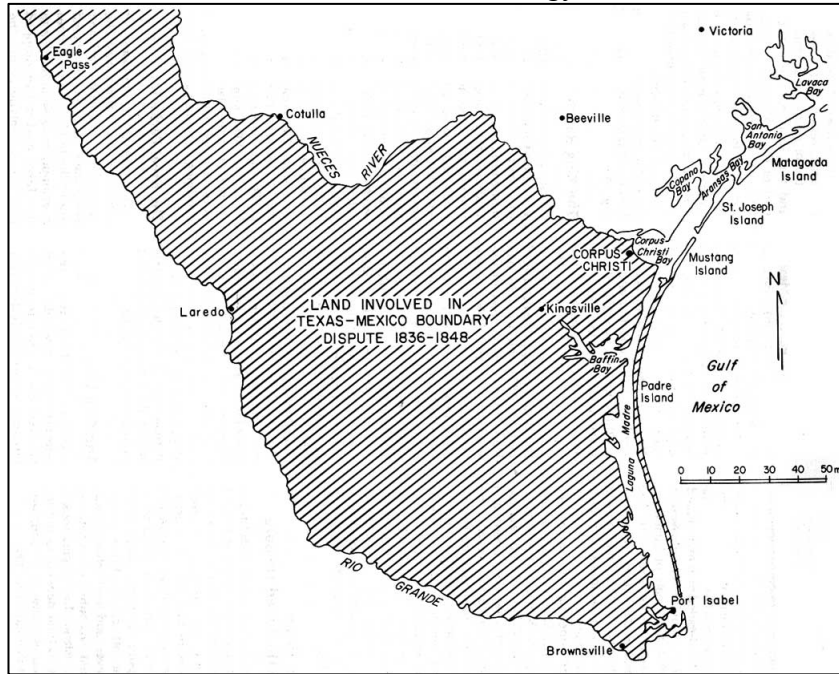
Figure 1. Map of the Colonia del Nuevo Santander
 Source: Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and settlers in South Texas
 1734-1900



1.2.3 Commerce and the arrival of Anglo Americans (1800-1848)

As was mentioned in section 1.2.1, the Rio Grande River would become a very important feature within South Texas, so much so that it became one of the causes that led to the Mexican-American War. The question was whether to declare the Rio Grande or the Nueces River the boundary which would divide the United States and Mexico (Figure 2). Before the Mexican-American war, Mexico went through a few attempts to gain its independence from Spanish rule (Hickey Cavazos 2012). The first attempt was on September 16, 1810 carried out by Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, and the second and successful attempt was in 1821. Upon Mexico's independence, the population of the *villas* that were established along the Rio Grande increased from 5,053 in 1794 to 13,956 by 1823 (Alonzo 1998: 61). This population growth would only continue to increase influencing the expansion into the frontier as this newly established country would start distributing land north of Rio Grande to its people. At the same time, there were Anglo Americans, such as Stephen F. Austin and other empresarios, who tried to settle and placed efforts in motion towards settling this same land north of the Rio Grande. Anglos started to appear in the area of Laredo around the 1830s. At first, Laredoans were not against the idea of their presence, due to the fact that these Anglos helped their economy along the border. However, knowing the profitable economy of Laredo, these Anglo Americans did seek to claim these lands (Hickey Cavazos 2012).

Figure 2. 1836 and 1848. Land involved in Texas-Mexico boundary dispute
 Source: Texas Bureau of Economic Geology



These kinds of colonization efforts by the Anglos would eventually lead to disputes causing Mexico to declare a state of defensive war, the Mexican-American War, which lasted from 1846 to 1848.

While still under Spanish and Mexican rule, commerce and ranching were essentially the principal sources of economic activity within the general area of South Texas, particularly from the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Alonzo 1998: 67). Their source of commerce, principally from ranching and trade, blossomed even more upon the arrival of European and American merchants between the 1820s and 1830s. The opening of the port at Matamoros (now bordering Brownsville, Texas) started international

commerce within the area of the RGV (Alonzo 1998: 67-68). During the 1820s the port in Matamoros received the most direct effect of this new prosperity in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. The majority of the Lower Valley merchants were in Matamoros and the impact of this port could be noticed not only along the villas of the Rio Grande, but also further into Mexico, in places such as Monterrey and Saltillo (Alonzo 1998: 70).

The Mexican trade that started along the Rio Grande eventually drew the interest of American and other foreign merchants. This port became so well known that by 1832 there were about 300 foreign residents in Matamoros, the majority of them being merchants. Some would earn between 200,000 to 250,000 dollars annually, such as J.P. Schatzell from the U.S. consul in Matamoros, who claimed to have earned this amount in 1848. Another example was Reuben M. Potter, who operated outside of Matamoros. For a trip that he made in 1828 to sell goods in Monterrey and Saltillo, Potter had with him 6 to 8 armed muleteers who led 30 to 40 packs of mules that carried the goods. He would travel between 15 and 20 miles per day and would make between two and three hundred dollars worth of sales each day (Alonzo 1998: 70-71).

Laredo was known first and foremost for its ranches. The ranching industry of Laredo would sustain its economy for the first century of its establishment. However, this would change due to the international trade created by the Rio Grande. By the mid-1800s, Laredo became the prime north-south crossing site for goods and merchandise on the Rio Grande (Adams 2008: 62). Together with other border towns along the Rio Grande, Laredo would ship beef, hides, tallow, leather, and wool to Mexico. All of this was traded for silver spices, flour, cloth, and furniture. Laredo was the prime shipping

point for exporting cotton, tobacco, and bringing imported European-manufactured goods into Mexico. Laredo would soon surpass the volume of commerce of the Lower Rio Grande Valley's (Hickey Cavazos 2012).

1.2.4 Before and after the annexation of Texas (1847-1900)

The Mexican-American war had great impact for both the Tejanos and the Anglos who started to arrive in large numbers after 1848. For the Anglos, this meant opportunity for economic growth, but for the already established Tejanos this meant change in all aspects of their lives. For instance, "Spanish was no longer the single language, and they had to adapt to the new politics and economics of the dominant culture. Failing to adapt would exclude them and lead to failure. At the same time they strove to maintain their Mexican traditions and cultural identity" (Monday & Vick 2007: 27). The ongoing struggle that Tejanos would face from that point on would either be beneficial or disadvantageous to them politically, economically, and culturally.

South Texas' rich sociolinguistic history is due in part to the inevitable clash between cultures that occurred between the Mexican/Spanish culture and the Anglos. One of the biggest issues that will be emphasized in this section is the conflict of land ownership within this region. The clash of cultures between Anglos and already established Mexican Texans also caused a clash between their different perceptions towards land ownership. For Mexican Texans, who followed the views of the Spanish government, land belonged to the king, but it was given to the people that could bring the monarch prosperity. Although everyone received land from the crown regardless of titles and social rank, it was also common on the frontier for social standing to be the

determinant of the amount of land one would receive. On the other hand, for Anglo-Americans, land belonged to the government and was a source of revenue. In particular, Anglos believed that “land was the source of wealth, power, influence, and social standing.” (Crimm 2010: 104).

Despite the geographical features common to the entire region of South Texas, there were different historical outcomes in the process of land dispossession in different locations, such as the case of Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley. The fight of Tejanos (Texans of Mexican descent) against the inflow of Anglos into South Texas after 1848 would be long. Many well-known landowners within the South Texas region also suffered loss of land, despite their political and social power within their community.

1.2.4.1 Land and property situation in Laredo

Despite the fact that Laredoans did not seem to mind the presence of Anglo Americans in their town due to their influences in helping Laredo’s economy, distrust and uncertainty still lingered about Anglos’ taking control of the land subsequent to the annexation of Texas (Alonzo 1998: 146). However, a key strategic action that Laredoans took prevented the potential loss of their lands. On October 2, 1847, they petitioned to the Texas legislature for assurance on the protection of their property rights (Alonzo 1998: 47). Thus, by the time Texas became part of the United States in 1848, Laredoans would still be in control of their property and the fear of Anglos taking control over their land both politically and socially was lessened.

The efforts of Anglo Americans in claiming South Texas lands only increased upon the annexation of Texas to the United States—once the annexation of Texas

occurred, and the Rio Grande was declared the separation between the U.S. and Mexico, this would cause changes in the demographics of the two halves of Laredo. Before annexation, both the east and west banks of the river were essentially one city. The declaration of the Rio Grande as the border prompted many Laredoans, who were loyal to Mexico, to move to the west bank, the Mexican side. In other words, the city lost about 500 people who were already established on the west bank, plus those who decided to move from the east bank to the west bank, now Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas Mexico (Hickey Cavazos 2012).

Fortunately, Laredoans did not seem to experience as much aggression from the Anglos as other areas of South Texas after the annexation of Texas. This could have been due to the strategic move of Laredoans in allying themselves with the newly arrived Anglos. When it came to politics and voting, the Tejanos in Laredo did not vote as an ethnic block. Instead the Laredo Mexicano elites were divided among two partisan groups in 1850s and 1860s, with each one having Anglo allies (Alonzo 1998: 125). For example, the Benavides family allied with European merchants, while the de la Garza family allied with Anglo merchants. Two important Anglo Americans that helped with these alliances was Hamilton P. Bee, who eased the tensions between the Mexican elites and the Anglo commissioners, and Edwin A. Atlee, an attorney who was able to defend many land grant claims of Laredoans (Hickey Cavazos 2012). This might have been one of the reasons why Laredo did not experience as much conflict or aggression from the Anglos before and after the annexation of Texas, because “direct contact usually

produced good, positive relations, but little or no contact resulted in distorted impressions that led to problems between the two groups.” (Alonzo 1998: 128).

1.2.4.2 Land loss in the Rio Grande Valley

One of the earliest establishments within the region of RGV is Brownsville. Upon the annexation of Texas in 1848, this area automatically became part of the U.S. and a bit later that year Charles Stillman, an entrepreneur, became the founder of Brownsville by purchasing a large part of the land that had been given to José Salvador de la Garza. Other towns such as McAllen, Mission, and Edinburg were not founded until much later. McAllen, for instance, was not established until 1904. It was established first as the McAllen Townsite Company by Uriah Lott, Leonidas C. Hill, Sr., John McAllen, James Ballí McAllen, and John J. Young (Garza 2013). Other surrounding towns of McAllen, such as Edinburg and Mission, were also founded in the early twentieth century.

Despite the prosperity and success that commerce created in the Rio Grande, the fate of RGV landowners was not so positive upon the annexation of Texas. This loss of land might have been due to the fact that the Anglos established there were the first to question the ownership of land and property in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Alonzo 1998: 147). This kind of questioning from Anglos was even displayed in newspaper articles, such as Brownsville’s newspaper *American Flag*. Anglo officials, such as Judge Rice Garland, who sold land and bought land certificates at Matamoros, advertised things such as the following on the *American Flag*, “Mexican law and authority are forever at an end,” and “ by the laws of Texas no alien can hold real estate within its

limits” (Alonzo 1998: 147). Another interesting detail that Garland presented in this advertisement was a segment written in Spanish stating that all the original land owners would have to undergo a survey of their lands and would have to possess deeds to them. Despite the recognition by some Anglos that the already established settlers were in essence the original landowners, there was still relentless insistence on the part of others on acquiring these lands and taking them away from the Tejanos.

1.2.4.3 The Bourland-Miller Commission Act

The Bourland-Miller Commission, an act established on February 8, 1850, would become one of the reasons for the loss of land of many Tejanos, particularly in RGV. Commissioners William H. Bourland and James B. Miller, along with attorney Robert Jones Rivers served as the board of the commission, and their responsibility was to evaluate all claims that were placed on lands (Alonzo 1998: 152). When this commission headed to Laredo, Laredoans grew suspicious of its intentions, but with the help of their trusted County Clerk, Hamilton P. Bee, they allowed the commissioners to evaluate their claims. Out of the 15 claims that Laredoans submitted, all were confirmed by the commission. Things went differently for land claims submitted from Hidalgo County, one of the counties now located within the region of the Rio Grande Valley. In 1885, for instance, the land claims for a site called La Blanca, located in north central Hidalgo County, were denied to Gil Zarate y Bayaren (Alonzo 1998: 156). According to the Bourland-Miller Commission, the reason was land’s abandonment even after the settlement was initiated. Unfortunately for the original landowners, these five leagues of land were then given to six Anglo ranchers.

Some of the lands that the commission denied had the option of later appealing the decisions against their property right in the court and at the state legislature; some had successful validations and others did not. Such was the unsuccessful case of the 24 land grants of Juan Garza, Vargas, and Joseph Antonio Cantu's Porción 55 in Hidalgo County. It is said that there might have been many reasons why such land rights had to go through extra validations and/or were denied. It is said that it might have been because the claimants were not necessarily the original grantees of the lands, and were only purchasers of undivided interests (Alonzo 1998: 156). Regardless of the situation, it is clear that the U.S. government deemed their right to this land as unsecure.

1.2.4.4 Education

Once Texas was annexed by the U.S., Tejanos were interested in education to be established (Alonzo 1998: 124). It is interesting to observe that outsiders usually had the preconceived idea that *mexicanos* did not place much interest in education, while in reality they did, particularly for their children (Alonzo 1998: 126). At first, private and religious organizations took over the realm of education, but public education would soon appear in South Texas. The first public schools to be established after 1848, were initiated in Brownsville and Laredo. By 1880, Brownsville was able to create a first rate public school system. Moreover, the county of Hidalgo established three school districts and opened community schools within the more populated areas to give children the opportunity to receive a public education. The founder of McAllen, John McAllen, aware of the importance of education stated, "we are about to establish a school system

[in this county]. We will be in want of a grate [sic] many teachers. All persons are compelled to send their children at least 4 months” (Alonzo 1998: 127).

In Laredo, school attendance and illiteracy rates appeared to decline from 1850 to 1860, more so among women (Hickey Cavazos 2012), and laws that were pushing towards English Only caused concern about the future of education in Laredo. This concern was widely displayed in newspaper articles, such as *La Crónica* and *El Correo de Laredo*. Publishers of these newspapers wrote articles about issues affecting the children in Laredo. Nicasio Idar, publisher of *La Crónica*, wrote articles about inferior education in Laredo, along with other topics such as cultural dilution and loss of land (McKenzie 2004: 82). The publisher of *El Correo de Laredo*, Justo Cárdenas, stated in an article that it was important for children to learn their first language (i.e., Spanish) first and acquire all education through their mother tongue (Calderón 1993: 644). Even though laws proposing English Only started to be passed, intending to eliminate bilingual programs and enforce teaching certification exams in English, fortunately the local government was in control of school instruction, including the language of instruction. Still, unsurprisingly, the literacy rates of Anglos surpassed those of the Mexicans in Laredo. Yet, both groups saw improvements: by 1880, the literacy rate for Mexicans went up from 19.7% to 51.2%, and that of the Anglos went up from 88.9% to 96.7% (Hickey Cavazos 2012).

Despite this increase in literacy rates, it would be a long struggle before the implementation of bilingual education. Particularly in Laredo, there was a major concern in knowing how to speak and write well in Spanish (Hickey Cavazos 2012). Fully aware

of the ban of Spanish within the classroom, efforts were made to raise funds in creating an *escuela mexicana*, where English and Spanish were taught. However, it was not until 1968 when the federal Bilingual Education Act was passed, that bilingual instruction was finally instituted in Texas (McKenzie 2004: 101).

1.2.5 South Texas today

1.2.5.1 Laredo

Today, Laredo has become one of the fastest growing cities in the nation and is the second oldest community occupied in Texas today (Adams 2008: 2). Laredo's population has always been predominately Hispanic, with 95.6% of the population of Hispanic origin and only 4.4% of non-Hispanic/Latino origin (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). With four international bridges, Laredo has become the most important inland port along the United States-Mexico border, and NAFTA's primary port and trade corridor. It crosses over \$114 billion worth of imports and exports. In 2010 about 2,784,455 trucks of cargo crossed the international bridge, or 12,000 trucks daily, with goods and go through Laredo traveling to more than 60 countries (*International Trade* 2012).

Laredo is a 258-year-old border city that has been able to thrive and survive under various sovereignties. Those 258 years have come to shape the culture of Laredo today. Despite the division of political allegiances created when the Rio Grande was used as the boundary between the U.S. and Mexico, today *los dos Laredos* still continue to live as if such division did not exist. In the annual month-long Washington Birthday Celebration (WBCA), this is exemplified by the ceremony of *el abrazo* that is held in

one of the international bridges. Mayors of both sister cities meet in the middle of the bridge right on the boundary line to exchange hugs, symbolizing the relationship and understanding between both nations (*A Brief History of the WBCA* 2013).

1.2.5.2 The Rio Grande Valley

The region, made up of four counties (Starr, Hidalgo, Cameron, and Willacy), has become a Metropolitan Statistical Area. The region comprises over 60 communities and cities that are all linked to two major metro areas, that of Brownsville-Harlingen and McAllen-Edinburg-Mission. Each of these two metro areas consists of over 150,000 in population. As a whole, the RGV has a population of 1,264,091, 90% of which is of Hispanic/Latino origin (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Like most of the region of South Texas, RGV has been viewed as a rural area, with its economy solely based on its ranching and agricultural production. However, now only 2% of the region's economy comes from agricultural production, with government, public schools/universities, health care/social assistance, and retail industry having acquired much more importance (Alonzo 1998: 53). Three of the four counties provide eight international bridges to Mexico for the region of RGV, another source of income, since they allow for international trade. McAllen is said to represent 40 of the U.S. top retailers, including the following: AT&T, Bissel, Black & Decker, BMW, Emerson, GE, Siemens, Sony, and Whirlpool (McAllen Overview 2013). Due to this large retail industry, McAllen has become the retail center of both South Texas and northern Mexico, and draws a consumer base of about 10 million people to its area within a 200-mile radius (McAllen Overview 2013). In regards to international trade, the

cargo truck traffic has increased from 228,133 in the 1990s to 1,015,554 in 2008. This increase in effect has also increased the revenue in international trade within Hidalgo County. Without NAFTA, it increased from \$5 billion in 1994 to \$19.9 billion in 2006. With NAFTA, trade increased from \$11.1 billion to \$31.6 billion from 1995 to 2006 (McAllen Overview 2013).

Despite the economic success of ports such as the ones in the McAllen-Edinburg-Mission area, and the major metropolitan areas within RGV, there are some areas within the region that are among the poorest in the nation. These areas consist of Mexican-American sub-groups who reside in segregated areas known as the *colonias*. These are communities/neighborhoods in “unincorporated” settlements that suffer lack of water resources, paved roads, as well as unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions (Arispe & Acevedo 2009). There are about 1,364 *colonias* within the four counties of Rio Grande Valley, with a population totaling 238,480. The majority of these *colonias* (934) are within the county of Hidalgo.

The Rio Grande Valley, as well as the South Texas border region in general, is a large area that is constantly changing under the influence of many factors, such as the global economy, immigration, bi-national crime, and the environment (Arispe & Acevedo 2009). A detail from RGV that does not appear to be changing is that of the use of Spanish for communicative reasons (Mejías et al. 2003).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

2.1. Language attitudes

A number of different definitions of the term “attitude” have been proposed. The definition that will be used in the present study is the following: “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff 1970: 279). When I use this definition for the present study, the social object under evaluation and judgment will be a language/language variety (Garrett 2010: 20). Many sociolinguists have emphasized that even though attitudes may not be directly observable, that does not mean that they are less real than a directly observable feature (Perloff 2008: 58). However, the fact that attitudes are a psychological construct and not directly observable has prompted debate over the ways in which they can be measured and studied. Different definitions have led to different ways to approach and measure language attitudes.

Language attitudes are a useful observation tool for sociolinguistics, because they bridge the gap between the social and psychological aspects of language use (Giles & Coupland 1991: 21). These kinds of observations may help to determine how people may react to, as well as behave towards, languages on a daily basis (Ladegaard 2000). Seemingly insignificant details of everyday life, such as how individuals perceive the languages that they use on a daily basis, have social consequences. As Peter Garrett asks, “What is the basis of attitudes towards different language features, accents, etc.? Why do people tend to love some and hate others?” (Garrett 2010: 5). The question then is how

to measure these different concepts and ideas that people have towards languages and/or different varieties of languages.

Three main approaches have been broadly identified for the study of language attitudes within sociolinguistics: the societal treatment of language varieties, direct measures and indirect measures (Garrett 2010: 37). The societal treatment approach examines the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties within society. The way in which this is observed is by analyzing the content of sources within the public, such as prescriptive/proscriptive texts, language policy documents, media texts, and advertisements (Garrett 2010: 51). In the direct approach, explicit attitudes are measured and sought by direct methodological means. In the indirect approach, implicit attitudes are assessed using various techniques such as the matched guise method, discussed further below. Considering their relevance to the present study, the direct and indirect approaches are discussed in more depth.

2.2. Measuring language attitudes

2.2.1 Direct approach

The main objective with the direct approach is to encourage participants to explicitly express their attitudes and their thoughts about the languages/varieties in question (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970). The data collection for this approach is done mainly through open-ended questionnaires where participants are asked questions, such as: ‘What do you think about Spanish/English bilingualism?’, ‘Do you think it appropriate or inappropriate to mix two languages within a conversation?’, ‘How do you feel about bilingual education?’ This kind of approach is solely based on self-reported

responses that allow the participants to reflect on these questions at hand when they are presented to them.

Many studies have adopted this approach in the study of Spanish-English bilingual areas of South Texas. For example, Mejías Anderson, & Carlson (1982, 2002, 2003) investigated the attitudes among Mexican-American university students, factory workers and professionals in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (LRGV) of South Texas towards Spanish language maintenance/shift. Their method of measuring participants' attitudes was through a series of questionnaires. The original questionnaire contained 58 items and a Likert scale was provided for each question. Questions such as the following were used: 'I use Spanish to feel good about myself', 'I use Spanish because I do not want to lose my language', 'I use Spanish because it is a beautiful language.'

For the 1982 study, Mejías et al. found that students appeared to be less positive toward language maintenance than the other participants (factory workers and professionals). They also found significant differences between both third and fourth generation participants and those of first and second generation, with the latter appearing to be more "enthusiastic" about language maintenance. The same questionnaire from the study of 1982 was used for the other studies in order to assess the current attitudes of the LRGV. Some minor changes were made to the questionnaires in order to reflect the current views and meanings/connotations of terms of that time period. The investigators expected to find differences between the different generations included in the 1982 and 2000 studies, especially between the students. Nevertheless, no significant differences were found between these studies as far as the participants' attitudes towards Spanish.

The comparison between the students of both studies reveals similarities in their responses, despite the 18-year gap. Students tended to hold consistently more positive attitudes towards the communicative significance and public use of language maintenance of Spanish. Generational differences were also seen in the 2000 study, where first and second generation students tended to view language maintenance as a way of expression of emotion and communicating with family and friends, compared to third and fourth generation students.

An important factor to consider about direct approach measures in the study of language attitudes is that participants are not just directly asked questions such as, “What do you think about the use of Spanish?” but they are also informed why they are being asked these questions and have full awareness of the study that they are participating in. They are aware that their attitudes towards the language in question are being sought (Garrett 2010: 38). An example of a study where this is very well displayed and presented to the participants is Sharp et al. (1973), which observed the attitudes toward Welsh among 10-15 year old children from grammar schools, technical schools, and secondary modern schools in Wales. As in Mejías et al. (2002, 2003), the investigators in the Welsh study employed a series of combination scales. The clearest evidence that this study used the direct approach is the fact that the researchers directly disclosed their purpose by stating the following, “The following exercise is designed to find out what kind of idea you have of the Welsh language” (Sharp et al. 1973: 167). What they were able to find through this study is that children who were in their fourth year of secondary school seemed to conserve neutral attitudes towards Welsh, while as they grew older

they acquired increasingly more favorable attitudes towards English. They also specified and differentiated the student participants that they employed. Those from bilingual schools held the most positive attitudes towards Welsh. According to Sharp and his coauthors, a possible reason for this might be the support for bilingual policies of the schools, which could have been linked to those of parents, family, and the community itself.

2.2.1.1 Disadvantages of using the direct approach

After reviewing the studies above, two main features characterize direct approach measures: 1) direct questions regarding the language to be studied are asked of participants, and 2) participants are fully aware of the objective of the study. The rationale in directly asking participants about what they think about the language in question is related to the mentalist definition of attitudes, which depends on the respondents' introspection (Giles, Hewstone, & Ball 1983). These types of approaches have been among the most frequently used within language attitudes research, particularly within the language education field (Garrett 2010: 159). However, the question then lies in asserting/asking oneself whether the objective of the study should be to know what participants explicitly think of a language/variety, or how the participants implicitly react to a language.

This question underscores the disadvantage of using the direct approach: the main outcome relates to the fact that the study itself approaches the matter in an explicit manner. Since participants are aware of the study and are directly asked the questions about what they think of a language or variety, they may answer in the way their

community expects them to think and answer, i.e., in a more socially-desirable manner (Giles, Hewstone, & Ball 1983). This suggests then that their attitudes have been influenced by society, and may not reflect their own private/implicit thoughts. This is clear in Sharp et al.'s (1973) study where the researchers thought it possible that the reason why the students held positive attitudes towards Welsh could have been due to the positive attitudes that their surrounding community and environment held towards bilingual education and policies.

2.2.2 Indirect approach

With the indirect approach we are seeking answers to the following question: how does an individual implicitly react to a language? We now want to know the participants' private emotions and subconscious reactions towards the object in question. These kinds of research questions have drawn investigators into a more social psychological approach towards the study of language, which is the baseline of most language attitude studies. Indirect approaches help measure the stereotyped or biased views that a certain language/varieties may elicit of a certain group (Lambert 1960).

As seen in section 2.2.1, in the direct approach, we ask hypothetical questions about how participants "would" react to whatever situation is being asked of them in the questionnaire (Garrett 2010: 43). In the indirect approach, by contrast, the participants are placed in the situation at hand. In this manner, they are not given time to think about what is being asked; instead, they are provoked to react to it at that moment in the experiment. The most common test used to do this is called the matched-guise technique pioneered by Lambert (1960) (with a variant, called the verbal guise test). In his first

study, Lambert designed the matched-guise in order to elicit attitudinal reactions towards English and French. Since the reactions towards the languages themselves were being sought, English/French bilingual speakers were selected to be recorded reading the same text in both languages. The reason for this was so that the participants could react solely to the language, and not to the voice of the speaker. This procedure was responsible for one of the key features of the test, i.e., deception. The participants did not know that the recordings that they were listening to were in fact bilinguals reading the same text in the different languages/varieties. They were instead told that the recordings that they were listening to corresponded to different speakers. In contrast to the direct approach, the participants here were not given full disclosure of the purpose of the experiment. Due to the attitude rating questionnaire that was given to them, the participants were aware that they were completing an attitude task, but they did not know exactly what they were evaluating, or in relation to what.

In Lambert's first study in 1960, the matched-guise technique was carried out in Montreal, Quebec, a community known for its French/English social division. A two and a half minute passage in French, of neutral content, was used for the recordings. This same text was then also translated into English. Four bilingual men were recorded reading both texts each. These men were the "guises." Two additional men were recorded reading just one of the texts, one in English and the other in French. These two extra speakers were considered the "fillers," their purpose being to serve as distractors to enhance the deception of the guises' matched voices. In total, the participants listened to

ten audio recordings of these speakers, but only those that were matched were considered for statistical analysis.

Before carrying out the experiment, the participants were told that the purpose of the study was to ascertain to what extent people judge a speaker by simply hearing their voices. They were also told that they would listen to ten different male voices, five in French and five in English, and were not told that they were actually listening to bilingual speakers. Participants were also given a response sheet, which they would use to evaluate each voice on the basis of fourteen different traits on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from “very little” to “very much.” Traits such as the following were used for evaluation: good looks, sense of humor, religiousness, kindness, sociability, and general likeability. Aside from the response sheet, they were also given another questionnaire with questions regarding their age, place of birth, and religious affiliation.

Lambert et al. (1960) found differences in evaluations between languages even when the same person was speaking. In this first experiment they found that both the English-speaking and French-speaking participants evaluated the English guises much more favorably in most traits, whereas they evaluated the French guises less favorably. English-speaking participants evaluated the English guises much more favorably in height, good looks, intelligence, dependability, kindness, ambition, and character. The French-speaking participants evaluated the English guises much more favorably in height, good looks, leadership, intelligence, self-confidence, dependability, ambition, sociability, character, and likability. This particular outcome is said to be expected when two languages are found within this kind of diglossic situation in society, where the

minority language group accepts favorable views of the dominant language in a particular society (Romaine 1995: 289).

This matched-guise approach has been used in many languages in different countries, such as French, English, Hebrew, Arabic and Tagalog; with dialects such as, Canadian and Continental French, American English dialects, and Ashkenazic and Yemenite Hebrew. It has also been employed for different speech varieties such as accented and unaccented English (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970). For example, in another matched-guise study by Lambert (1965), the same experiment was carried out with Jewish and Arab adolescents in Tel-Aviv and Jaffa. In this particular study, Lambert proposes to study the different perceptions that individuals receive whether they use Hebrew (Yemenite and Ashkenazic) or Arabic. Through the use of the matched-guise test, stereotyped perceptions of certain groups may be found. The reason for employing the matched-guise technique in this study in Israel was to observe the different reactions that these languages and dialect variations receive from their society—reactions that may affect this community socially and politically. Lambert carried out this study with high-school students. The Jewish participants were recruited from a high school in Tel-Aviv and ranged from 15 to 16 years of age. The Arab participants were recruited from a scout group in Jaffa, ranging from 13 to 18 years of age. Participants were told to evaluate speakers employing different dialects of standard Hebrew, such as Yemenite and Ashkenazic and Arabic. Following the same procedures of the first matched-guise technique (the choosing of guises and fillers), participants were also told to try and evaluate as best as possible the kind of person each voice possibly represented. Besides

administering the matched-guise technique, Lambert also provided additional questionnaires called standard attitude measures. These additional sets of questionnaires were only given to the Jewish participants. In these additional questionnaires questions, such as the following appeared, “Yemenite Jews contribute to the richness of the Israeli society.”

The results showed that the Jewish participants evaluated the Yemenite Jews more positively than Ashkenazic Jews in being more interesting, friendly, honest, and good-natured. Interestingly, they evaluated Arabs much less favorably on all traits. Since Lambert employed those additional standard attitude measures on the Jewish participants, he compared this approach to that of the matched-guise and realized that there were sharp contrasts in the way participants approached each of these two different evaluations of the speakers that were heard in the matched-guise and mentioned in the questionnaires. For example, in the standard attitude measures, Jewish participants evaluated Arabs as less good looking, intelligent, self-confident, reliable, and leader-like people, while in the matched-guise, these same participants evaluated Arabs as less honest and friendly, and no differently in appearance, intelligence, self-confidence, reliability, or leadership. These differences that Lambert found between these two approaches prompted him to emphasize the unique purpose and goal of the matched-guise technique, that of placing full attention on the language style. This then encourages the participant to possibly attribute such language style to a particular linguistic/ethnic group, instead of just evaluating the ethnic group itself, which is what the standard

attitude measures did with questions such as, “Arabs must be considered a bad influence on Jewish culture and civilization.”

Another matched-guise study carried out by Giles in 1970 focused on the attitudes that secondary school children have towards certain accents of English in South Wales and Southwest England. Again, the participants in this study were told that they would be listening to different people reading a text in their own accent. What was done differently in this study was that Giles presented three different questions for the students to answer for each voice. Each question covered three different dimensions: aesthetic content, communicative content, and status content. The participants had to answer each of these questions using a 7-point semantic differential scale, 1= ‘extremely pleasant’ and 7= ‘extremely unpleasant.’ As a whole, the majority of the accented English voices were evaluated more negatively. From all of the accents, two foreign accents (French and North American English) received relatively high ranking compared to the other British regional accents, which in turn received from neutral to unfavorable evaluations.

2.2.2.1 Multi-method approach – indirect and direct approaches

Similar to the multi-method approach that Lambert employed in the study mentioned in the previous section, several investigators have used both the indirect and direct approach in observing language attitudes—using the matched-guise as the indirect method. For example, this dual methodology has been carried out in a study done in Brittany observing the language attitudes of young school age children towards the indigenous Celtic language Breton (Hoare 2001). This same approach has been

employed in a study done in Mallorca to study the sociolinguistic situation towards Catalan and Spanish in its capital city, Palma (Pieras-Guasp 2002), as well as in a Nigerian community in Port Harcourt city, capital of Rivers State, where the investigators compared the attitudes the Ikwerre people hold towards their own language with that towards Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) (Ihemere 2006).

In this last study mentioned, the focus of the investigators is to see how the language behavior of the Ikwerre population in Port Harcourt is being influenced (in use and choice) by the non-Ikwerre-speaking population. The investigators chose to do this in order to see if there is a language shift taking place within this community, and they propose to do this by studying their language attitudes towards their own language and NPE using both indirect and direct approaches. For the matched-guise test, a man and a woman were chosen to be the guises. Each of them was recorded reading the same text in Ikwerre and in NPE, with a total of four recordings. For the direct approach, a face-to-face language attitudes questionnaire was used, including questions regarding level of proficiency and language preferences. In total, there were seventy-six participants in the study. Language choice patterns were observed, such as what language participants prefer to use with grandparents, parents, and children. The variables considered for the study were age, gender, and level of education. With the use of both approaches, the investigator was able to conclude that Ikwerre bilinguals' judgments of a person's character, status, and level of education are in fact influenced by the language they are using. It appears that individuals who use NPE are more favorably perceived than those

who speak in Ikwerre. NPE speakers are rated more favorably in their level of education, modernity, and general sophistication.

Despite this reinforcement of the outcome of the direct and the indirect measures reported in the study above, there are other instances where the results of the indirect and direct approaches contradict each other. Such is the case of the study done in Mallorca which compared attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish (Pieras-Guasp 2002). This study also employed both approaches and utilized fifty-four students from a public secondary school as the participants, some of who spoke Catalan and others Spanish. The questionnaire used as the direct approach included questions such as the importance of Catalan and bilingualism. For the matched-guise test, participants listened to eight recordings of bilingual speakers, each of them recorded twice, in both Spanish and Catalan, and evaluated them on two parameters, status and solidarity. Unlike the study by Ithemere, the results of the indirect and direct approaches in the Pieras-Guasp (2002) study were not consistent across the direct and indirect measures. In the questionnaire, participants appeared to evaluate Catalan favorably for instrumentality purposes, such as to pass an exam or to get a job, and less favorably towards social interactions with other people. However, the results obtained from the matched-guise test indicated that Spanish received higher evaluations than Catalan from all of the participants. The Spanish speakers were particularly favored in instrumentality, social mobility, and power.

2.2.2.2 The verbal-guise

Many investigators, including Lambert himself, integrate different approaches within the same investigation when using the matched-guise technique, such as the

implementation of a direct measure that was compared and contrasted with the matched-guise technique in Lambert 1965. Others have changed a key feature of Lambert's pioneering test, in a technique called the verbal-guise test. The main difference between the matched-guise and the verbal-guise technique is in the verbal guise technique the language varieties that are used for the study are recorded by different speakers and not by bilinguals. The reason why the verbal guise uses different speakers is due to the impossibility of obtaining authentic-sounding guises from a single bilingual.

A particular study done in San Antonio, Texas employed the verbal-guise technique in order to evaluate the degree of acculturation of Mexican Americans by measuring their attitudes towards different language varieties that are commonly used within the Mexican American and Anglo American communities. The investigators, de la Zerda and Hopper, state that many matched-guised techniques employ this approach in order to compare two different ethnic groups, but in this study they sought to compare the attitudes within the same ethnic group, that of Mexican Americans. de la Zerda and Hopper hypothesized that Mexican-Americans would react differently towards different speech samples depending on their specific self-description as "Latinos", "Chicanos", and/or "Mexicanos." For this verbal-guise they used standard English, standard Spanish, Hispanic-accented English, and "Tex-Mex," which probably refers to the speech style that mixes both Spanish and English (although no clear definition is given). Both accented English and "Tex-Mex" are referred to as "dialects of both languages" (de la Zerda & Hopper 1975). For this study different Mexican American male adults were

recorded for each speech sample, but the same approach was taken in terms of deception of the participants, who did not know exactly what the investigators were seeking.

Data were gathered from 62 Mexican Americans between the ages of 16 to 74 (34 women and 28 men). The participants evaluated the four different guises on the basis of ten different characteristics using a 6-point Likert scale. Results showed that the non-standard dialects (accented English and Tex-Mex) were evaluated much more unfavorably than standard English and Spanish. The only participants who did not react in this manner towards the non-standard speech styles were those who self-identified as “Chicano/a.” The results confirmed the hypothesis that individuals respond differently towards different speech styles depending on their self-identification, although as a whole, there was still a much higher index of unfavorable evaluations towards the non-standard dialect speeches. Most importantly, none of the participants, regardless of how they identified themselves, reacted negatively towards standard Spanish.

Dailey et al. (2005) also carried out an investigation with the verbal-guise technique on how the sociopolitical context and the linguistic landscape of a community in California affects 8th and 9th graders’ attitudes towards two different speech styles, that of a Hispanic-accent speech and a standard English Californian accent. Since deception cannot be achieved in the way that characterizes the matched-guise, it is achieved by not disclosing the full purpose of the experiment. In this case, participants were told that the purpose of the experiment was to assist them in choosing a good radio announcer for a sporting event. They would be doing this by evaluating the different speakers that they would listen to (two males and two females for each speech guise)

using seven sets of traits: competence, dynamism, positive characteristics, negative characteristics, social distance, and respect.

The study found that Hispanics who dealt with English more in their linguistic landscape, such as their home, neighborhood, and school, appeared to rate the Anglo guises more favorably than did the Hispanics who considered their linguistic landscape to contain only Spanish. By contrast, the participants' linguistic landscape did not seem to affect the Anglo participants' evaluations. Dailey et al. (2005) conclude that these findings suggest that Hispanic adolescents have internalized the mainstream views that their society has towards their group.

After reviewing the different studies that have employed both the matched-guise and verbal-guise technique, the difference between them is very evident. The key distinguishing feature of the matched-guise technique relative to the verbal guise is the additional deception since participants are not told that they are in fact listening to the same speaker. This in turn means that if different evaluations are given to the different guises of the same bilingual speaker, the participants are reacting attitudinally towards the language/variety itself, and not the voice. This then suggests the implicit reactions and views that the participants have towards a certain language and/or variety.

2.2.2.3 Disadvantages of using the indirect approach

It is important to acknowledge potential limitations of the indirect measures of attitudes. With respect to the verbal guise approach it is possible that participants may be reacting to the characteristics of the voice itself and not the language variety. As stated in de la Zerda and Hopper study, even though they are not doing a comparison of two

different ethnic groups but studying only one, it is still possible that the participants are reacting not solely to the language variety, but also to the voice. Despite this detail and the matched-guise test's popularity to elicit people's reactions to different speech styles, scholars have similarly pointed out disadvantages of the matched-guise test. One of these disadvantages is the repetition of the text that the speakers are reading. The reason why this could be a disadvantage is due to the possible exaggeration of the language variation that may be caused with the repetition, which in effect may make the participant be more aware of the language variety than they normally would in their normal environment (Garrett 2010: 57). This and the fact that speakers read a written text may not render the style of spontaneous speech. Investigators must be aware of the fact that participants may not evaluate spontaneous speech the same way as they do with the recorded text (Garrett 2010: 59).

In relation to the written texts, investigators who use the matched-guise technique are careful to use a text with neutral content in order to avoid the risk of participants reacting to the content instead of the language variety. Yet, it has been said that choosing a neutral text can also have its disadvantages. Even if it is assumed that the text chosen for the experiment is "factually neutral," investigators must be aware that everyone interprets a text in a different way, according to pre-existing social schemata, which in turn may still prove problematic (Garrett 2010: 59). Another disadvantage of the matched-guise relates to the issue of the authentic production of the accent or the mimicking of a certain variety. If a certain regional accent is being studied, features such as intonation and speech rate, for example, must be taken into consideration if

participants are asked to evaluate that particular regional variety (Garrett 2010: 58). Otherwise, if that certain regional variety is not being produced accurately, participant evaluations may not be accurate or reliable either. In connection to this, the way participants may evaluate/perceive the language varieties that they listen to may not be reliable. This is a disadvantage because one may not know if the participants perceived a certain non-standard variety, for example, as an example of “bad grammar” and not just a non-standard variety (Bradac 1990).

Yet another disadvantage that has been identified with regard to the experimental features of the matched-guise technique is how and where the experiment is being administered. This study is usually done in group settings, such as in classrooms, which may reduce the ecological validity of the method. Moreover, the judgments required of participants may force them to rely on the properties of the language to a larger extent than what they might normally do because they are not provided with any other information (Solis 2002). In spite of these disadvantages the matched-guise technique’s greatest strength is that it reveals participants’ non-consciously held attitudes (Howard 1983), which is the most common objective of investigators who choose to use it.

Taking into consideration the indirect and direct studies mentioned, the indirect approach seems more appropriate to the objectives of the present study. As stated, the biggest strength of the matched-guise, the fact that it reveals a person’s implicit attitudes, is very important upon considering the possible social effects that these implicit attitudes may provoke within a community, such as in job interviews, educational settings,

medical settings, and legal situations (Howard 1983). In the next chapter I discuss the experimental design, including how the disadvantages mentioned here were dealt with.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In past investigations carried out in South Texas, direct approaches have been the most common method for measuring language attitudes. The matched-guise technique has never been implemented to measure language attitudes within the general area of South Texas. Moreover, the Rio Grande Valley has been the most studied area within South Texas, to the exclusion of others. Since attitudinal differences between two border cities are being investigated here, it was thought best to investigate how residents from both of these border cities (Laredo and Edinburg) implicitly react to standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching, and not so much on what they explicitly think of them. Considering the objective of the study, the most appropriate test was the matched-guise technique, the most commonly used approach to elicit implicit attitudes. This chapter discusses the design of the indirect methodological approach that was used for the present study.

3.2 The recorded text

Since the attitudes towards standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching will be explored, these varieties were presented to the participants in order to compare their reactions to all three. All language varieties were tested with a single text that was taken, in slightly modified form, from the Spanish in Texas website (<https://sites.la.utexas.edu/spanishtx/>), a project established by the Center for Open Educational Resources and Language Learning (COERLL) at the University of Texas.

The original text had some examples of code-switching, and was revised slightly to eliminate any possible ungrammaticality and to ensure that it would sound grammatically correct upon translating it into English and Spanish. Since the original text included a female name, Julie, a second modification was meant to adapt the text to a male speaker, by changing it to “Michael.” These texts are shown below.

Code-switch:

- a) *Iba a todas mis clases, y luego a lunch, then I'd wait for Julie to get there. Siempre la esperaba en la library. Ahí era donde nos juntábamos, and then we'd go together to, ya sea a la cafeteria o a una store que estaba ahí, to eat. I'd wait for the bus y nos llevaba a la casa. O si no, I'd call my mom pa' que viniera por mí. If not, me quedaba para band practice o for some activity que tenía que hacer.*

Spanish:

- b) *Iba a toda mis clases, y luego seguía la comida, y luego esperaba a que Julie llegara. Siempre la esperaba en la biblioteca. Ahí era donde nos juntábamos, y luego nos íbamos juntas a, ya sea la cafeteria o a una tiendita que estaba ahí para comer. Esperaba al camión y nos llevaba a la casa. O si no le hablaba a mi mamá para que viniera por mí. Si no, me quedaba a la práctica del grupo de banda o para alguna actividad que tenía que hacer.*

English:

- c) *I would go to all of my classes, and then it was lunch. Then I'd wait for Julie to get there; I'd always wait for her at the library. That's where we'd get together, and then we'd go together to either the cafeteria or to a small store that was there to eat. I'd wait for the bus and it'd take us home. Or if not, I'd call my mom to pick me up. If not, I'd stay for band practice or for some other activity that I had to do.*

Based on previous studies that have investigated the grammatical constraints on code-switching (Toribio 2001), it was felt necessary to test the grammaticality of the code-switched text to be used in the elicitation of attitudes. This grammaticality test was meant to guarantee that participants were in fact reacting to code-switching *per se*, rather

than to ungrammaticality in the code-switched text. Even though a particular bilingual profile was not being sought, it was expected that many participants would be able to identify natural code-switching, and even if there were participants who do not code-switch, it has been shown that even advanced Spanish learners can identify natural sounding code-switching due to the effects of Universal Grammar (Toribio 2001). It was therefore important to ensure that the sample was not structurally flawed. For the grammaticality test, ten bilinguals who code-switch frequently in informal contexts were chosen to read the code-switched text. They were asked if they thought the text sounded natural to them if they were to say it or hear it themselves.

Original text:

Iba a todas mis classes, y luego seguía lunch, then I'd wait for Julie que llegara. Siempre la esperaba en la library. Ahí era donde nos juntabamos, and then we'd go together to, ya sea a la cafetería o a una tiendita que estaba ahí, to eat. I'd wait for the bus y nos llevaba a la casa. O si no, I'd call my mom pa' que viniera por mí. If not, me quedaba pa' la práctica de band o for some activity que tenía que hacer.

Revised text:

Iba a todas mis classes, y luego a lunch, then I'd wait for Julie to get there. Siempre la esperaba en la library. Ahí era donde nos juntabamos, and then we'd go together to, ya sea a la cafetería o a una store que estaba ahí, to eat. I'd wait for the bus y nos llevaba a la casa. O si no, I'd call my mom pa' que viniera por mí. If not, me quedaba para band practice o for some activity que tenía que hacer.

From the original text that was provided to the ten bilinguals, five changes were made in response to their comments and suggestions. These changes made are underlined in the above original and revised texts. One of the common suggestions made

was to change “y luego *seguía* lunch” to “y luego *a* lunch.” A second change suggested by the bilingual participants was from, “then I’d wait for Julie *que llegara*” to “then I’d wait for Julie *to get there*.” Another common suggestion was that instead of saying *cafetería* in Spanish, it would be best if it were said in English, *cafeteria*. Aside from these suggestions, two more changes were made to present some words in English rather than Spanish or vice versa. It must be noted that the bilinguals used for the grammaticality test were not used as participants in the study. The resulting code-switched text was then translated into English and Spanish, to create three guises to be recorded later. Those versions were also revised by native speakers to make sure they were grammatical and natural in both languages.

3.3 The guises and the recordings

The three versions of the text presented in the previous section were then recorded by four different bilinguals (two males and two females). The readers chosen for this task were individuals who did not exhibit characteristic linguistic features of the border, such as accent and/or intonation. This was done to make sure that there would not be differences between the participants from Laredo and Edinburg in terms of their familiarity with the English, Spanish, or code-switched varieties they were about to rate. Thus, their evaluation would not be affected differently by their recognition of familiar or unfamiliar traits in Spanish, English, and code-switching from the guises.

Apart from the four bilinguals to be recorded for the test, two more bilingual speakers (one male and one female) were used simply as fillers. Their purpose was to enhance the deception of the study, by confusing participants about the identity of the

different guises. The fillers, who were chosen to read either English or Spanish only, were randomly placed amongst the recordings when these were presented to the participants. Again, deception is one of the most important aspects of the experiment, insofar as it will serve as the control. This detail enhances the capacity of the experiment to highlight the implicit attitudes held by these participants even when the same speaker is being used to speak Spanish, English, and code-switch. Only the four bilingual speakers to be recorded reading all three versions were regarded as the “guises” and were considered when tabulating the results of the study.

Each of the guises (two males and two females) read each version of the text, which produced twelve recordings from the guises alone. The two fillers, who only read the Spanish and English versions, produced four. In total, there were sixteen recordings. In order to avoid fatigue from the participants, these recordings were divided into two groups; eight recordings in each group (see Table 1). Different participants from each city listened to each of these groups, but a relatively equal number of participants listened to each recording from each location. In other words, all of the participants were not able to listen to each of the guises that were recorded, but each participant was able to listen to all of the speakers used for the experiment.

Table 1. Division of recordings

Group 1	Group 2
Male 1 Spanish	Male 3 code-switch
Female 2 English	Female 4 English
Filler Spanish	Filler Spanish
Male 1 code-switch	Male 1 English
Male 3 English	Female 2 code-switch
Female 4 code-switch	Female 4 Spanish
Filler English	Filler English
Female 2 Spanish	Male 3 Spanish

3.4 The participants

The participants gathered for this experiment were from two border towns of South Texas, namely, Laredo and Edinburg, Texas. One hundred and six participants were selected from Laredo and 98 from Edinburg, but some had to be discarded because they did not meet all of the conditions of the test (e.g., were born/grew up in a different city, left a lot of responses blank in the rating and/or informational questionnaire). In the end, there were 96 usable responses from Laredo and 91 from Edinburg. The classes that agreed to assist in the experiment were from the Spanish department in both Texas A&M International University (TAMIU) in Laredo and the University of Texas at Pan America (UTPA) in Edinburg, recruited with the help of some faculty members at those institutions.

In Laredo, three full classes participated, namely, two upper division Spanish classes and one lower division class. Additionally, I announced the experiment in other sections and asked for the participation of students in their own time, in an empty classroom that was provided by the Spanish department to run the experiment. Three sessions were administered, but no more than 10 students attended each session. Moreover, the experiment was run individually with some students around campus. In UTPA, four classes from the Spanish department participated, namely, two upper division classes and two lower division classes.

3.5 The experiment

Before the experiment, the purpose of the research was explained, and a brief description was provided. Naturally, since the experiment involved a certain degree of deception, the entire purpose of the investigation was not disclosed. For example, it was not mentioned that the main objective of the experiment was to investigate their particular attitudes towards the speeches that they would be listening to. After the introduction, all potential participants were given the opportunity to abstain from participating in the study. It was emphasized that only people who were born and/or brought up in the area (Laredo/Rio Grande Valley) and were bilingual could participate. To clarify the term ‘bilingual,’ it was stated that as long as they understood the two languages, they were qualified.

The experiment itself was conducted simultaneously with all those students that agreed to participate. The professor of the class and an assistant were present with the PI and the participants to help distribute the consent forms and questionnaires. Before the

actual experiment was conducted, a very brief description of the procedure was provided once again, and participants were guaranteed confidentiality of all the information that they gave in the study. At this time a consent form was given to them to sign.

Participants were then given a brief informational questionnaire which contained various items regarding their age, sex, parents' nationality, and English and Spanish language use (Appendix A) They were assured that all of the information that they provided would be completely confidential.

After that, the participants were prepared for the auditory segment of the experiment. The PI was in control of the order of the recordings. After listening to the first recording, which was no longer than twenty-five seconds, they were told to answer a second section, the Measures Questionnaire (shown in Appendix B), where they had to evaluate the personality of each voice that they heard by rating it on certain characteristics on a five-point Likert scale, with 1 being the lowest score and 5 the highest. Three dimensions were used to evaluate the characteristics rated for each voice, encompassing solidarity, status, and personal appeal. Solidarity is defined as a sense of unity that ties a community together, based on their interests, objectives, and/or standards. For this study, the following characteristics were included for the dimension of solidarity: "honest," "kind," "likeable," "friendly," "sincere," and "religious". Status is defined as a position or rank that a person may hold in a specific community. The following characteristics were used for this dimension: "rich," "old-fashioned," "educated," "high class," and "urban." Finally, personal appeal was used in this study as an attribute that describes the personal attractiveness. The characteristics that were used

for personal appeal were the following: “intelligent,” “hardworking,” “good-looking,” “funny,” and “open-minded.” The participants answered the Measures Questionnaire after listening to each of the eight recordings individually. Once the entire experiment was over, the PI thanked them for their participation, and debriefed them, providing full disclosure of the purpose of the experiment, including the deception.

3.6 Data analysis

Once all data were collected, the information that was gathered from both the informational and measures questionnaire was organized and prepared for data analysis. For the informational questionnaire data entry was organized by the questions that were asked. The answers provided by the participants were coded within an Excel spreadsheet to facilitate the statistical analysis. For the measures questionnaires, the data were organized in two ways. Since two different groups of recordings were used, these two groups were differentiated within the excel spreadsheet. Also, the ratings that participants gave for each guise were inputted according to the corresponding dimension and characteristics that were rated for each guise. These dimensions and characteristics were organized in the excel spreadsheet in the order that they were presented on the questionnaire.

For the statistical analysis of the data, the Department of Statistics at Texas A&M University was contacted for statistical consultation. Three graduate level statistic classes used the data of the present study and applied different statistical approaches to analyze the data. The statistics professor in charge of these three graduate classes chose the approach and the report that he deemed the best.

Two approaches were chosen as the best for the statistical analysis for the present study. One was the mixed model ANOVA approach. This model was fixed to include the main effects of language varieties, location, speaker gender, and student gender. For the other approach, a multi-step analysis was performed. A matched pairs analysis was used in which participants from each of the two locations were paired up with one another using the informational questionnaire. That is, students from Laredo and Edinburg were paired up by considering the number of identical answers that they gave for each question and also by matching their age exactly or closely. In order to use the matched pairs t-test, the data had to be independent and normally distributed. The Shapiro-Wilk test was then run in order to test the differences for normality for each of the matched pairs, since in order to use the matched pairs t-tests, the data would have to be independent and normally distributed.

In order to carry out the analysis for the matched pairs analysis, the differences of the ratings between the varieties were calculated for each pair of students. The JMP Analyze Distribution feature was used to perform a goodness of fit test to check for normality of the differences between pairs. Then, a t-test was performed to determine if the mean difference between these pairs was significant. In total, 60 students were used for this approach, 30 from Laredo and 30 from Edinburg, representing about a third of the total sample.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The results obtained from the statistical analysis will be discussed in this chapter. First, section 4.2 discusses the combined results and evaluations gathered from both Laredo and Edinburg, in the participants' evaluations of each variety in solidarity, status, and personal appeal. Section 4.3 discusses the differences in evaluations that were found within locations according to the student and speaker gender. These results will be presented by location and by dimension. Finally, section 4.4 discusses the differences that were found upon comparing the evaluations that the matched-paired students gave to the guises from both locations. The chapter ends with section 4.5, which provides a summary of the results. (All mean ratings of Laredo and Edinburg participants can be found in Appendix C.)

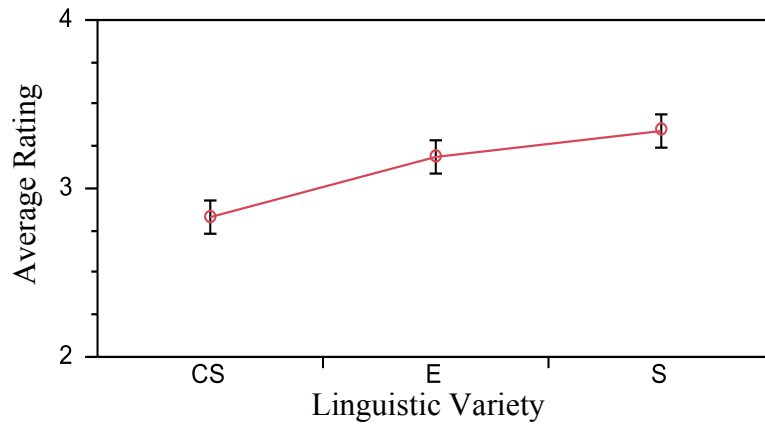
4.2 Evaluation of varieties in both locations – combined results

As may be recalled from Chapter 1, it was initially proposed that Laredo would hold more favorable attitudes towards Spanish compared to Edinburg. However, the statistical analysis of the evaluations given to the four guises in both Laredo and Edinburg exhibited no significant differences between these locations in regards to their evaluation of Spanish. Yet, the combined results of both locations showed some interesting findings on how raters evaluated the three different varieties on the three dimensions of characteristics of solidarity, status, and personal appeal.

There were significant differences in how respondents from both Laredo and Edinburg perceived Spanish, English, and code-switching on the three dimensions. As expected, code-switching was the variety that received the least favorable evaluations in all three dimensions. The most significant findings corresponded to the evaluations given to the standard varieties of English and Spanish, particularly within the dimension of solidarity. It was expected that both standard varieties would be evaluated relatively the same (or at comparable levels). However, standard Spanish received more favorable values than standard English.

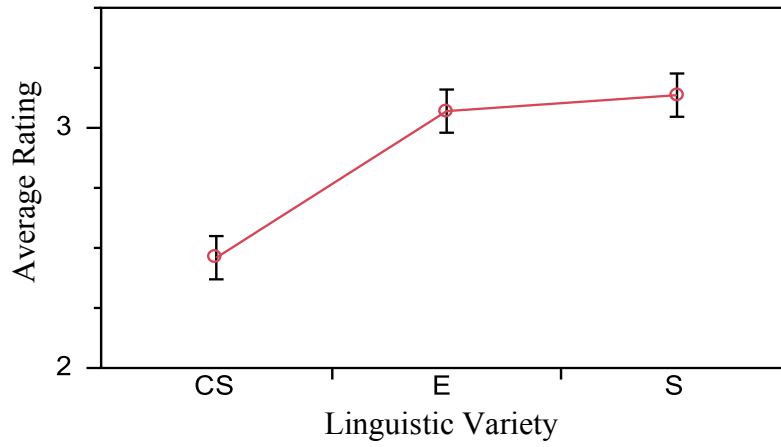
These results were gathered by analyzing the way in which each variety was evaluated for each dimension. In relation to personal appeal, code-switching received significantly less favorable ratings than standard English and standard Spanish ($p < 0.0001$). Code-switching received an average rating of about 2.8, while both standards received a higher and a relatively similar rating: 3.1 for standard English and 3.3 for standard Spanish (Figure 3). The slight preference towards Spanish was not statistically significant.

Figure 3. Personal Appeal ratings for English, Spanish, and code-switching on a 5-point Likert scale ($p < 0.0001$)



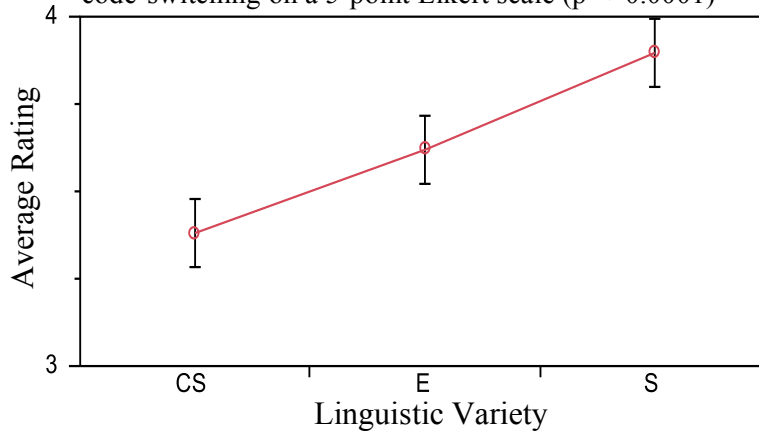
Within the dimension of status, code-switching also received the least favorable ratings. The difference in evaluations between code-switching and the standard varieties is much more significant than in the dimension of personal appeal ($p < 0.0001$), as shown in Figure 4. Code-switching received an average rating of 2.4 while the average ratings of both standards were relatively the same again. Standard English received an average rating of 3.0 and standard Spanish received an average rating of 3.1. No statistical significance in difference was found between both standards, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Status ratings for English, Spanish, and code-switching on a 5-point Likert scale ($p < 0.0001$)



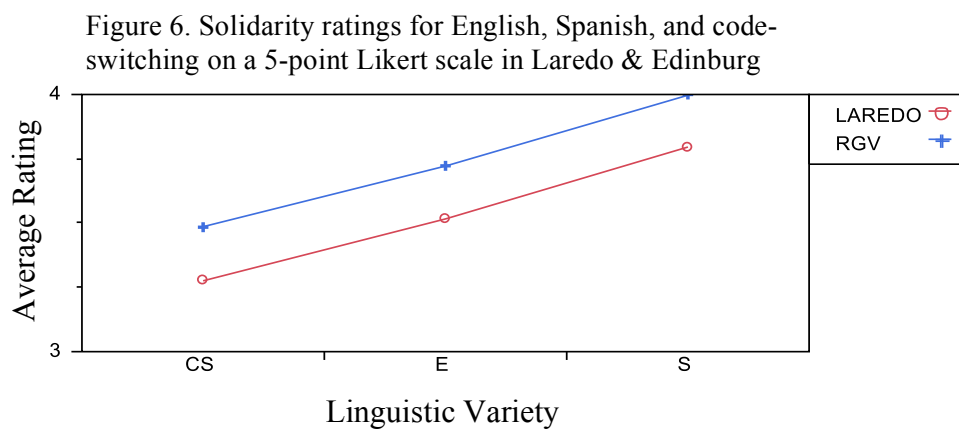
The most interesting findings when combining the results of both locations was found within the dimension of solidarity. Code-switching again received the lowest evaluations, but there were also differences between standard English and standard Spanish ($p < 0.0001$). On average, code-switching received a rating of 3.3, standard

Figure 5. Solidarity ratings for English, Spanish, and code-switching on a 5-point Likert scale ($p < 0.0001$)



English of 3.6, and standard Spanish of 3.9. This is true for both Laredo and Edinburg raters, and is an unexpected finding of the study (see Figure 5).

Even though no significant differences were found between locations, in terms of the evaluations of the different varieties, there was an unexpected difference in the overall ratings between the Edinburg and Laredo participants. Evaluations on solidarity, status, and personal appeal appear to be slightly higher in Edinburg than in Laredo. There is no statistical difference for this slightly higher ranking in Edinburg, but a possible explanation will be discussed in the following chapter. An example of this difference is shown on Figure 6 with the dimension of solidarity.



4.3 Evaluation of varieties within locations

Since no significant differences were found between locations in regards to the varieties themselves, differences within the locations of Laredo and Edinburg were sought. Speaker gender was a contributing factor that affected the raters' evaluations towards each variety in each location. In other words, the raters reacted differently to the

sample when it was produced by a male and a female guise. Additionally, the gender of the raters themselves mattered when it came to their evaluation of the varieties. That is, female and male raters provided significantly different responses to the ratings of each variety. In this section, I will discuss these findings.

4.3.1. Evaluation of varieties in Laredo according to speaker gender

4.3.1.1 Solidarity

An interesting set of results was found when comparing the evaluations of standard Spanish and standard English according to speaker gender. It was found that Laredo males favor Spanish more than English when the speaker is male (p-value = 0.0107), but when the speaker is female there is no statistical difference between the evaluation of English and Spanish, as shown on Figure 7. On the other hand, in the same city, females evaluate standard Spanish higher, regardless of speaker gender (p-values = 0.0006 and < 0.0001) (Figure 8).

Figure 7. Solidarity evaluations of Laredo male raters according to speaker gender

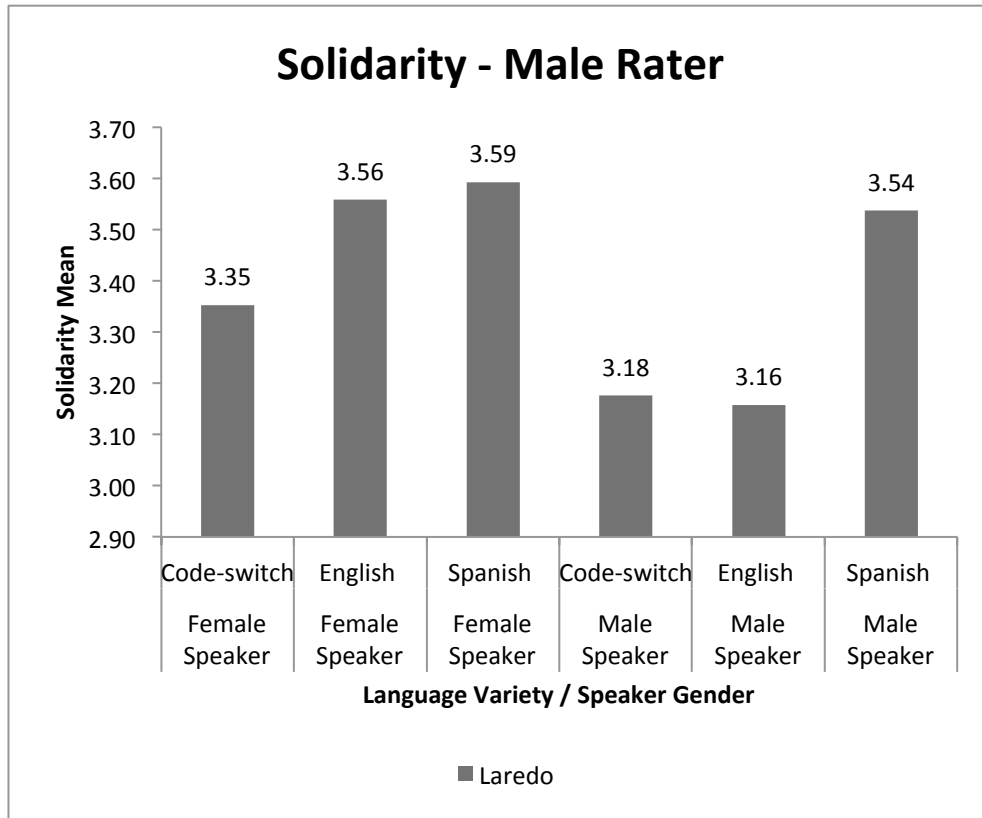
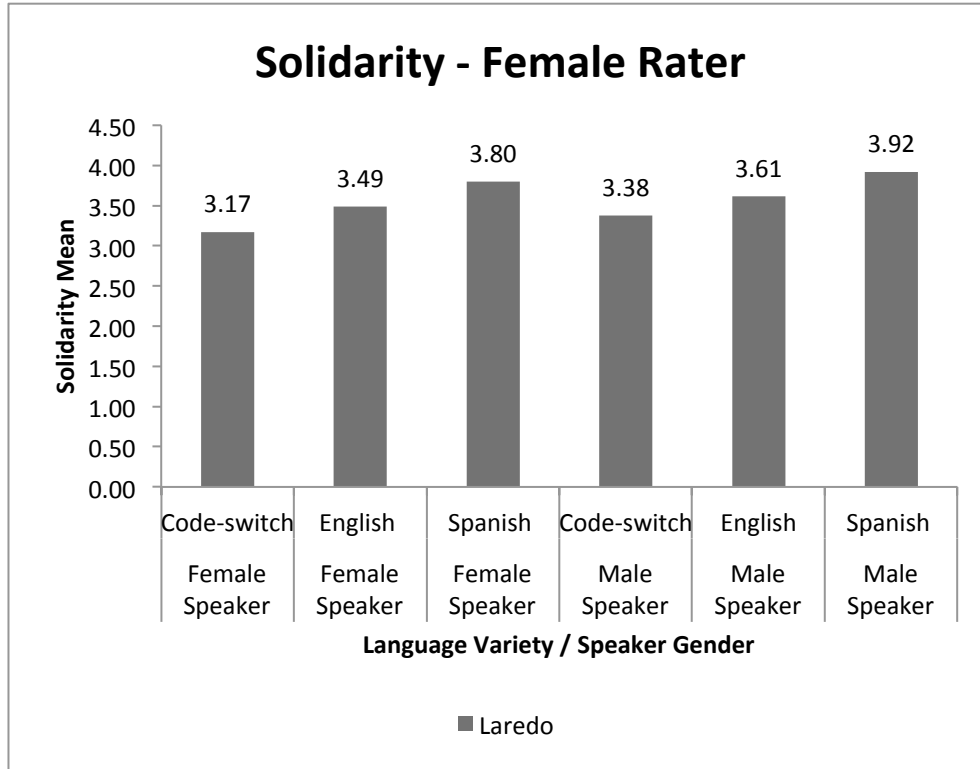


Figure 8. Solidarity evaluations of Laredo female raters according to speaker gender



4.3.1.2 Status

In the dimension of status, Laredo males favor standard English more than code-switching when the speaker is female (p -value = 0.0351) (see Figure 9), while Laredo females favor English over code-switching regardless of speaker gender ($p < 0.0001$), as shown on Figure 10.

Figure 9. Status evaluations of Laredo male raters according to speaker gender

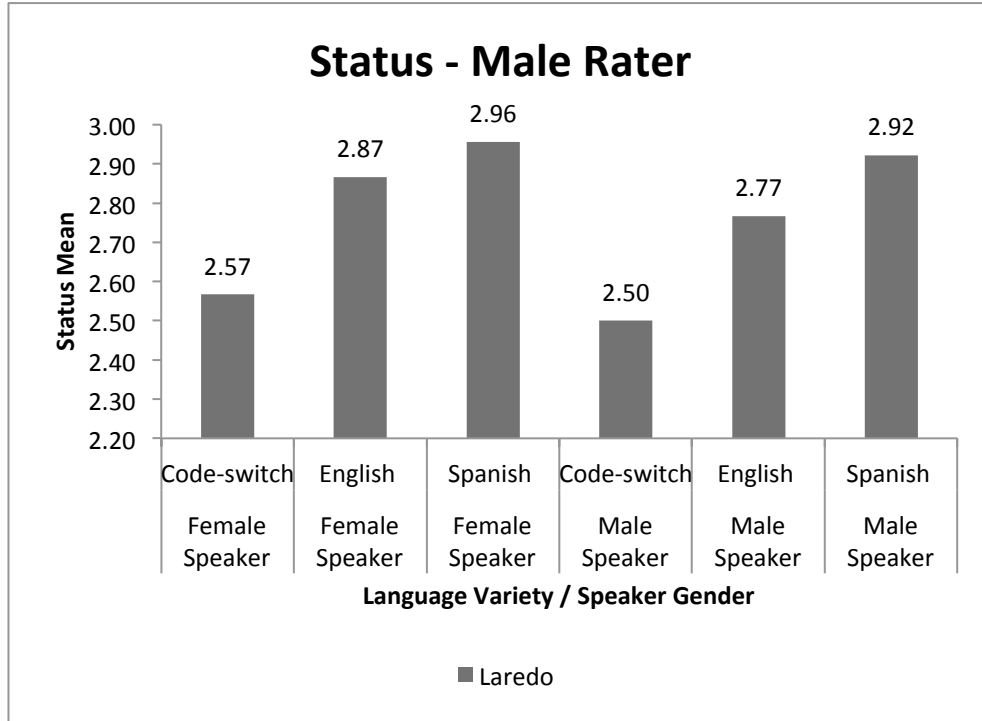
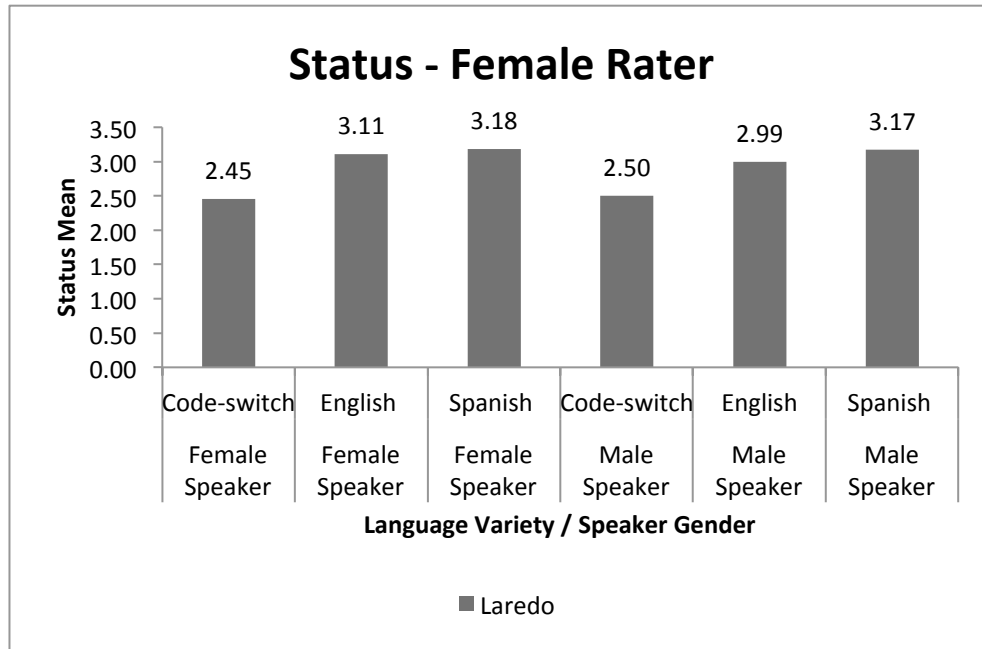


Figure 10. Status evaluations of Laredo female raters according to speaker gender



There are several differences in the outcome of the evaluations of standard English and standard Spanish. Males in Laredo favor standard English and Spanish equally in the dimension of status regardless of the speaker’s gender, as shown on Figure 9. In comparison, Laredo females favor standard Spanish more than standard English at statistically significant levels ($p\text{-value} = 0.0077$). More interestingly, the female raters evaluate standard Spanish even more favorably than English when the speaker is male ($p\text{-value} = 0.0077$), as shown on Figure 10. When the speaker is a female, the evaluations of both standard varieties are about the same.

4.3.1.3 Personal appeal

In the dimension of personal appeal, Laredo males gave approximately the same average scores to both standard English and code-switching, as shown on Figure 11. By contrast, the average evaluation of standard English was greater than code-switching regardless of the speaker gender for female raters ($p < 0.0001$) as shown on Figure 12.

Laredo males evaluate standard Spanish approximately the same as code-switching when the speaker is male. Although not statistically significant, standard Spanish is evaluated higher than code-switching when the speaker is female (Figure 11). By contrast, Laredo females evaluated standard Spanish more favorably than code-switching regardless of the speaker's gender at a statistically significant level ($p\text{-value} < 0.0001$) (Figure 12).

The average ratings given to both standard varieties by male raters was about the same when the speaker was male. Although not statistically significant, when the speaker was female, Spanish was evaluated higher than English (Figure 11). On the other hand, when comparing both standard varieties, Laredo females evaluated standard Spanish higher than standard English on personal appeal (Figure 12). They rated Spanish higher than English regardless of the speaker gender ($p\text{-values} = 0.0006$ and 0.0001).

Figure 11. Personal appeal evaluations of Laredo male raters according to speaker gender

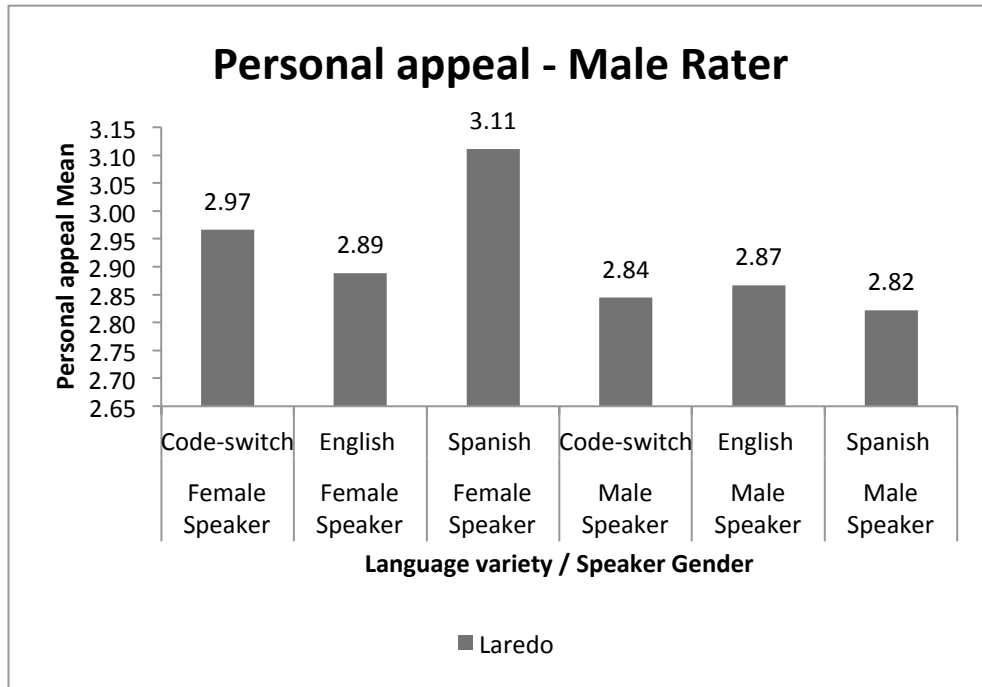
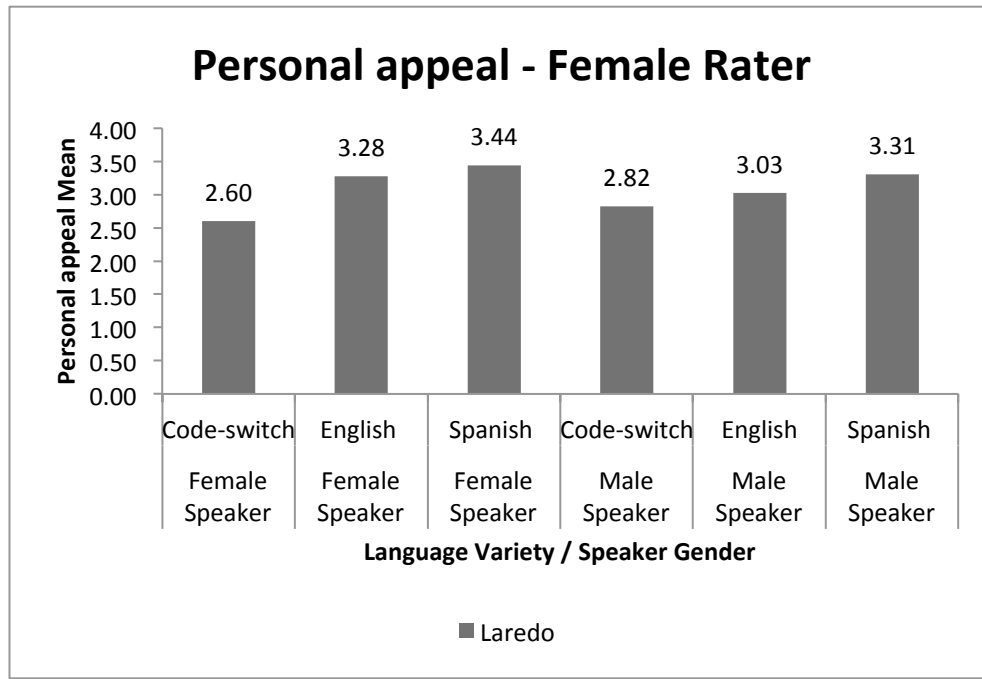


Figure 12. Personal appeal evaluations of Laredo female raters according to speaker gender



4.3.2 Evaluation of varieties in Edinburg according to speaker gender

4.3.2.1 Solidarity

It was found that Edinburg females favor English to code-switching especially when the speaker is male (p-values = 0.0005) (Figure 13). By contrast, males in Edinburg rate standard English and code-switching about the same regardless of speaker gender (Figure 14).

Edinburg females evaluate Spanish higher than English regardless of speaker gender (p-value = 0.0011 and 0.0006) (Figure 13). On the other hand, when comparing standard English and standard Spanish, Edinburg males favor Spanish when the speaker

is a female (p-value=0.0056), but rate English and Spanish just the same when the speaker is male (Figure 14).

Figure 13. Solidarity evaluations of Edinburg female raters according to speaker gender

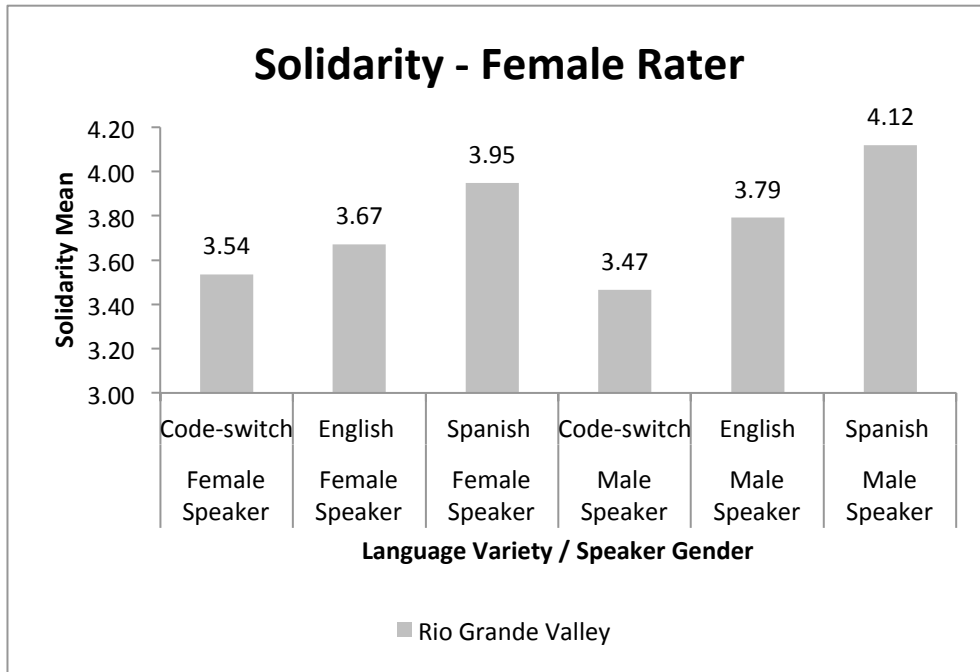
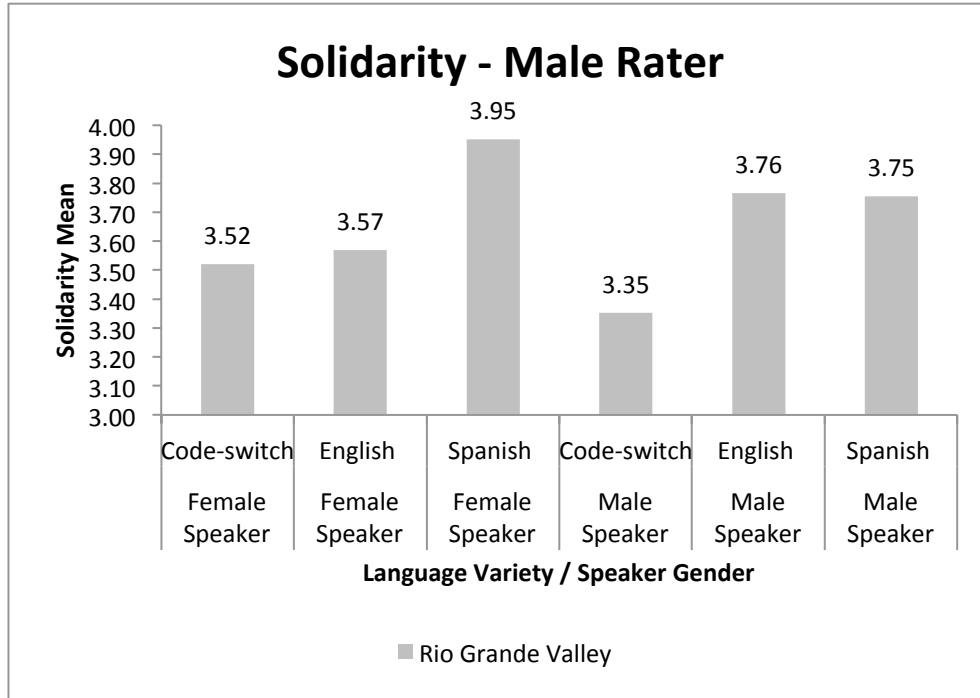


Figure 14. Solidarity evaluations of Edinburg male raters according to speaker gender



4.3.2.2 Status

In the status dimension, only when comparing both standard varieties did differences appear between evaluations of male and female speakers. For example, the male raters from Edinburg evaluated both standard varieties approximately the same, although when considering the speaker gender, there were some small but statistically significant differences. When the speaker is a female, male students evaluate English higher than Spanish (p-value = 0.0418) (Figure 15). When the speaker was male, male raters evaluate both standard English and standard Spanish about the same.

Different results were found with female students, who favor Spanish more than English when the speaker is female (p-values = 0.0387 and 0.0360), but they also evaluate standard Spanish and standard English about the same when the speaker is male (Figure 16).

Figure 15. Status evaluations of Edinburg male raters according to speaker gender

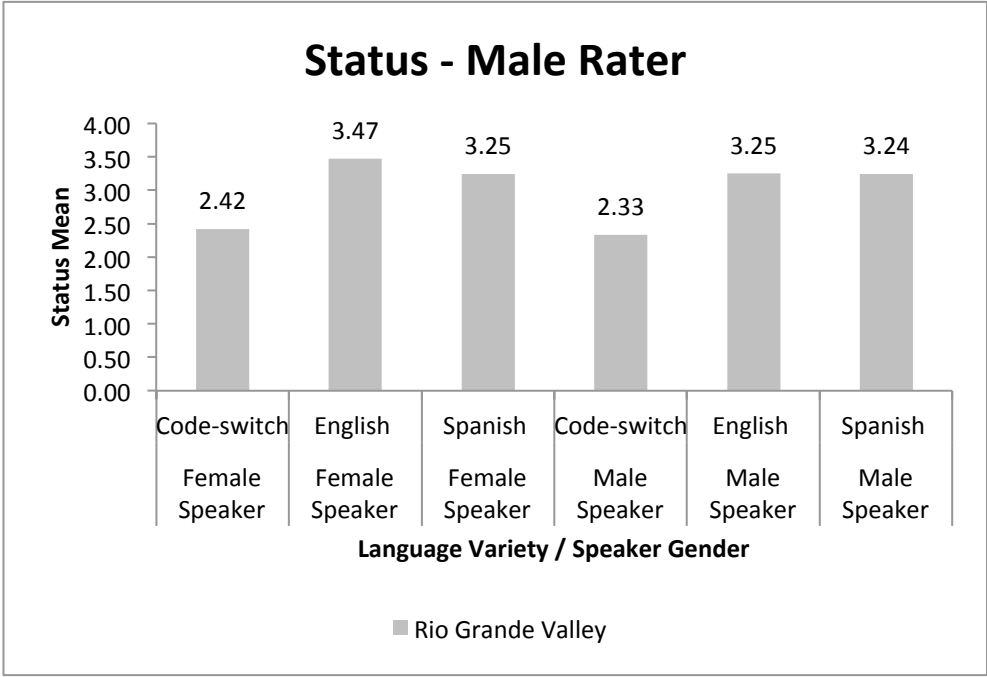
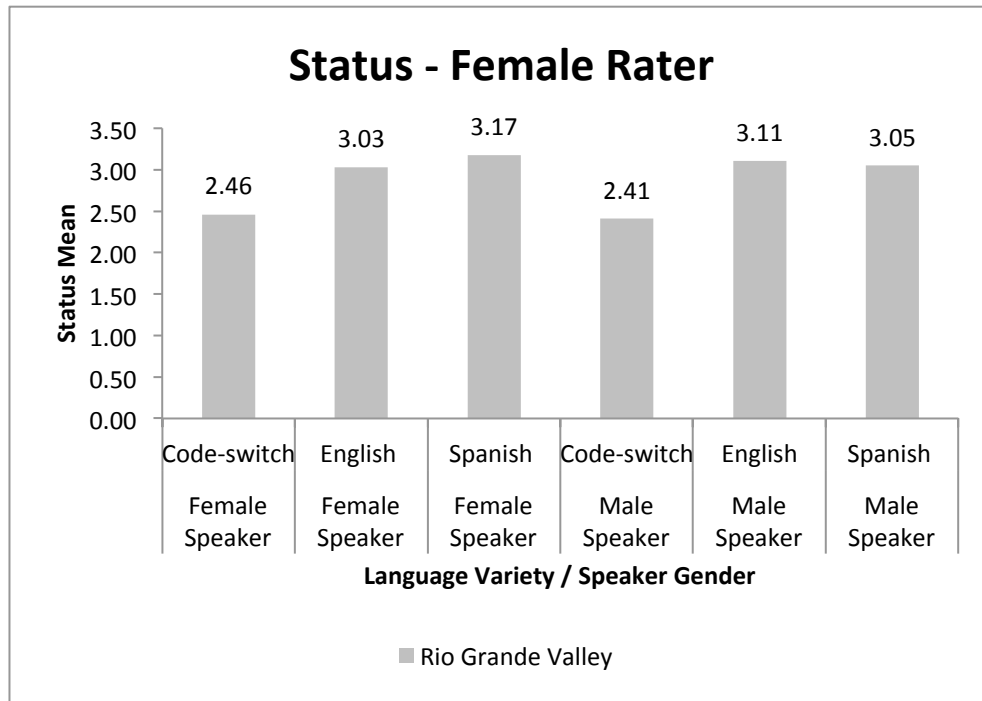


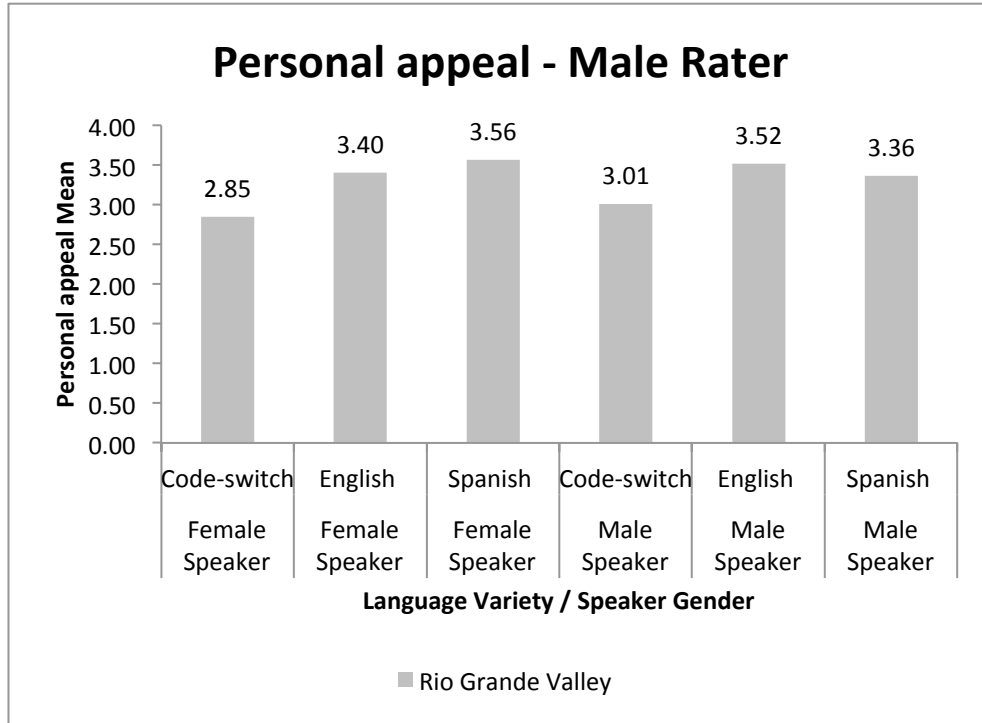
Figure 16. Status evaluations of Edinburg female raters according to speaker gender



4.3.2.3 Personal appeal

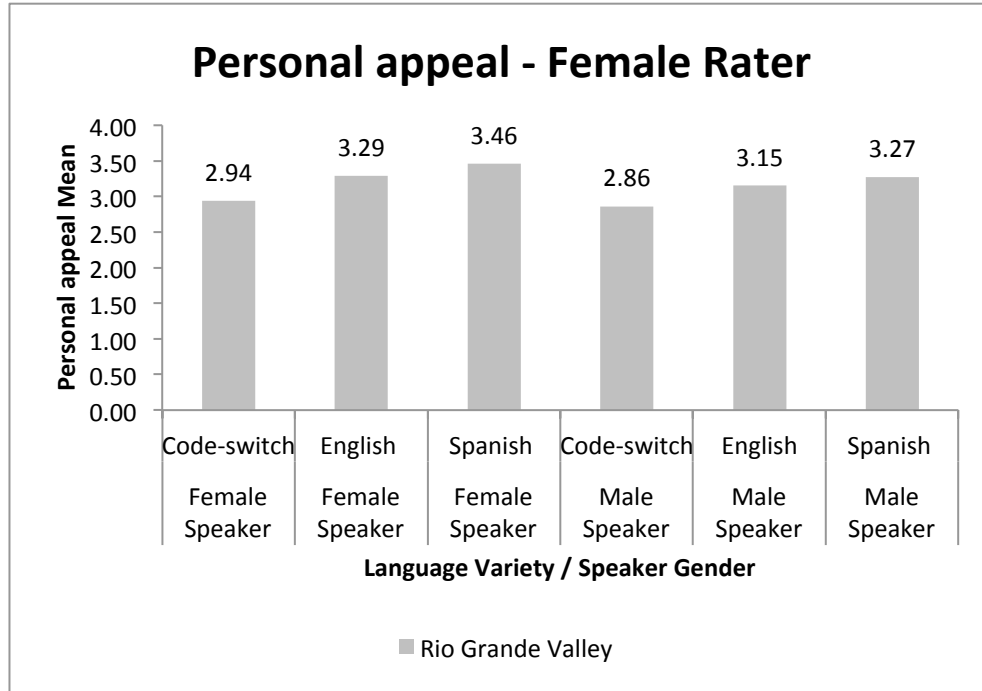
When comparing code-switching and standard Spanish on the dimension of personal appeal, Edinburg males favor standard Spanish much more than code-switching regardless of speaker gender (p-values = 0.0029 and 0.0007). However, there were differences according to speaker gender between Spanish and code-switching. Edinburg males favored standard Spanish over code-switching when the speaker was female (p-value = 0.0055) (Figure 17). The Edinburg female raters also favor standard Spanish more than code-switching, regardless of the speaker gender (p-values < 0.0001) (Figure 18).

Figure 17. Personal appeal evaluations of Edinburg male raters according to speaker gender



In the comparison of standard English and standard Spanish, interesting results were found for both speaker and rater gender. Edinburg male raters on average evaluated both standard Spanish and standard English approximately the same. However, there are differences depending on speaker gender. When the speaker is male, male raters evaluate standard English higher than standard Spanish (p-value = 0.0138) (Figure 17). In comparison, female raters from Edinburg, on average, evaluate standard Spanish higher than standard English (p-values = 0.0205 and 0.0202). This is true whether the speaker is female or male (Figure 18).

Figure 18. Personal appeal evaluations of Edinburg female raters according to speaker gender



4.4. Differences in evaluation between locations according to speaker gender

The matched pairs analysis showed some differences between locations when considering the speaker and rater gender. (See Table 2 below for details of raters chosen for the matched pairs analysis). The description of the results found will be divided by the characteristic dimensions. It must be noted that statistically significant differences were only found within solidarity and personal appeal, and not in the dimension of status.

Table 2. Participant matched pairs from Laredo and Edinburg to determine differences across locations

Laredo ID	RGV ID	Number of Matched Columns	Exact Match on Age?
L001	R008	24	Yes
L002	R044	24	Yes
L004	R003	12	Yes
L005	R010	25	Yes
L006	R035	23	Yes
L012	R019	22	Yes
L015	R048	20	No
L016	R013	27	Yes
L020	R021	23	Yes
L026	R023	17	Yes
L028	R037	25	Yes
L037	R014	18	Yes
L039	R039	21	Yes
L042	R009	17	No
L043	R042	20	Yes
L049	R089	23	Yes
L050	R081	23	Yes
L051	R079	20	Yes
L052	R066	21	Yes
L054	R065	25	Yes
L056	R071	18	Yes
L062	R062	19	Yes
L063	R076	17	No
L064	R068	25	Yes
L066	R067	24	Yes
L067	R084	22	Yes
L069	R078	20	No
L071	R091	19	Yes
L073	R050	19	Yes
L079	R080	20	Yes
L083	R072	18	Yes
L085	R087	17	Yes
L088	R060	17	Yes
L089	R051	18	No
L093	R059	21	No

4.4.1 Solidarity

When it came to the evaluation of code-switching within the dimension of solidarity, the only difference that was found between Laredo and Edinburg was for female raters. It was found that female raters from Edinburg evaluated male speakers using code-switching higher than the matched raters in Laredo (p-value = 0.0104) (Figure 19).

Another difference was found when analyzing the evaluations of standard English by male raters. Male students from Edinburg evaluated female speakers using standard English higher in solidarity than the matched students in Laredo (p-value = 0.0207) (Figure 20). At the same time, these male students from Edinburg evaluated male speakers using standard English lower in solidarity than the students in Laredo (p-value = 0.0418) (Figure 20).

Figure 19. Solidarity evaluations of Laredo and Edinburg female raters according to speaker gender

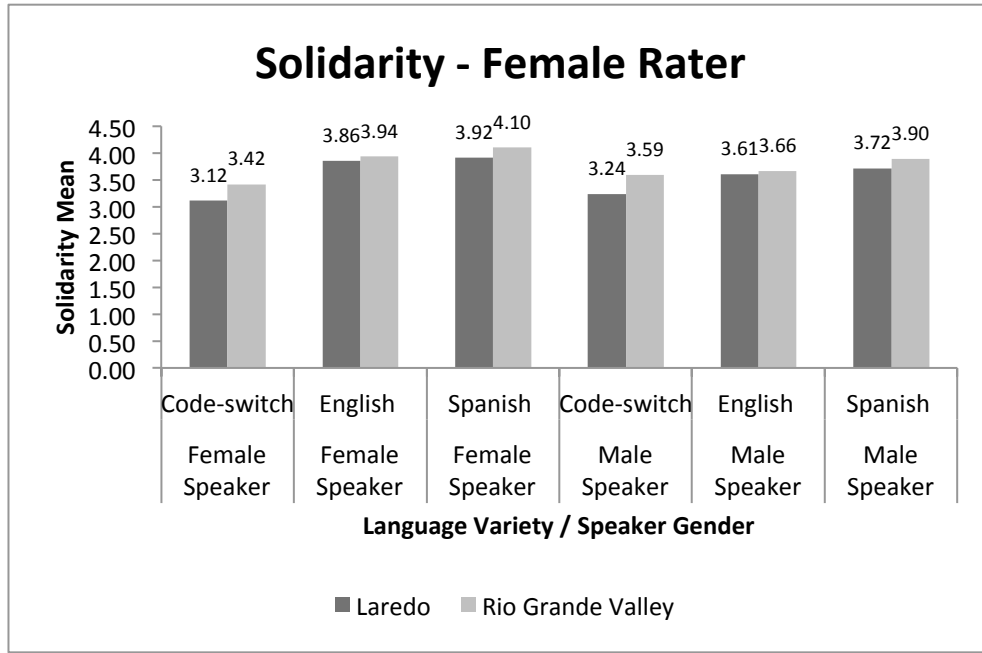
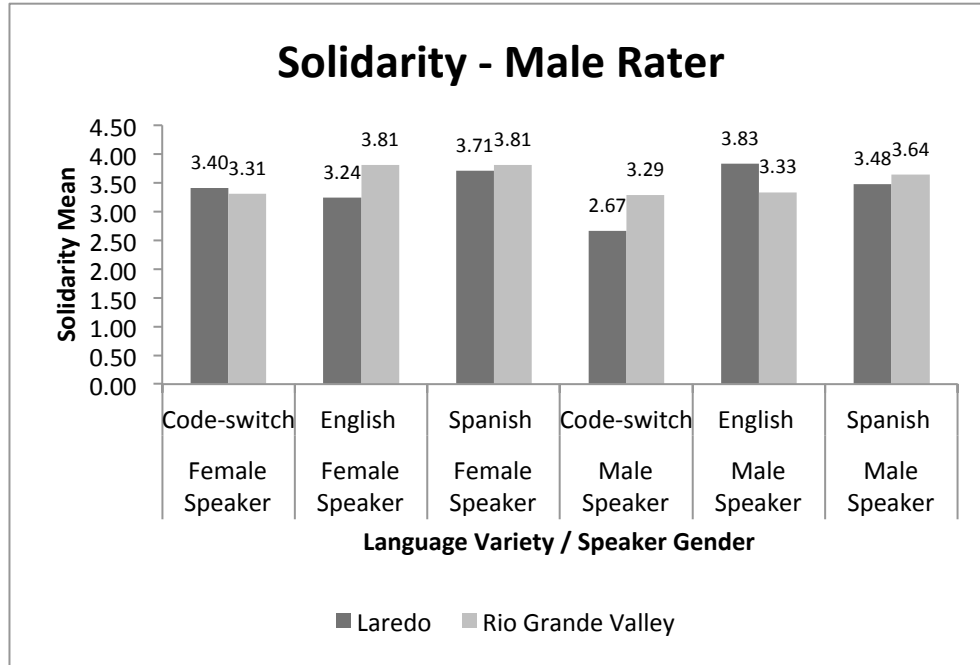


Figure 20. Solidarity evaluations of Laredo and Edinburg male raters according to speaker gender



4.4.2 Personal appeal

On the dimension of personal appeal, female raters from Edinburg evaluated male speakers using code-switching more favorably than the matched students in Laredo (p-value = 0.0185) (Figure 21). Male raters from Edinburg evaluated male speakers using standard English higher in personal appeal than the matched students in Laredo (p-value = 0.0411) (Figure 22).

Figure 21. Personal appeal evaluations of Laredo and Edinburg female raters according to speaker gender

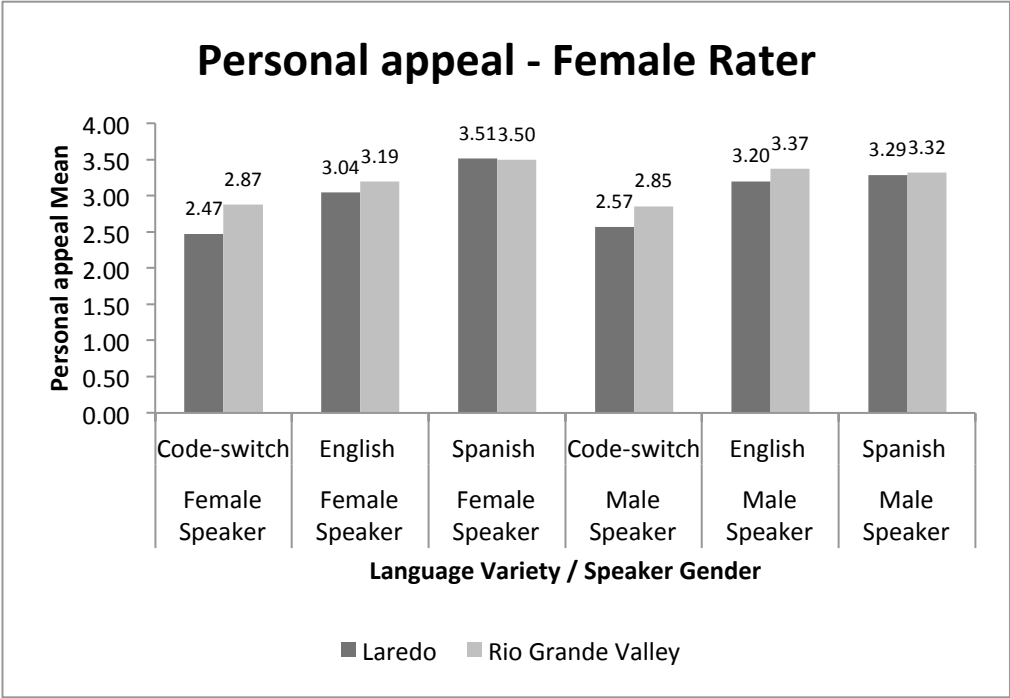
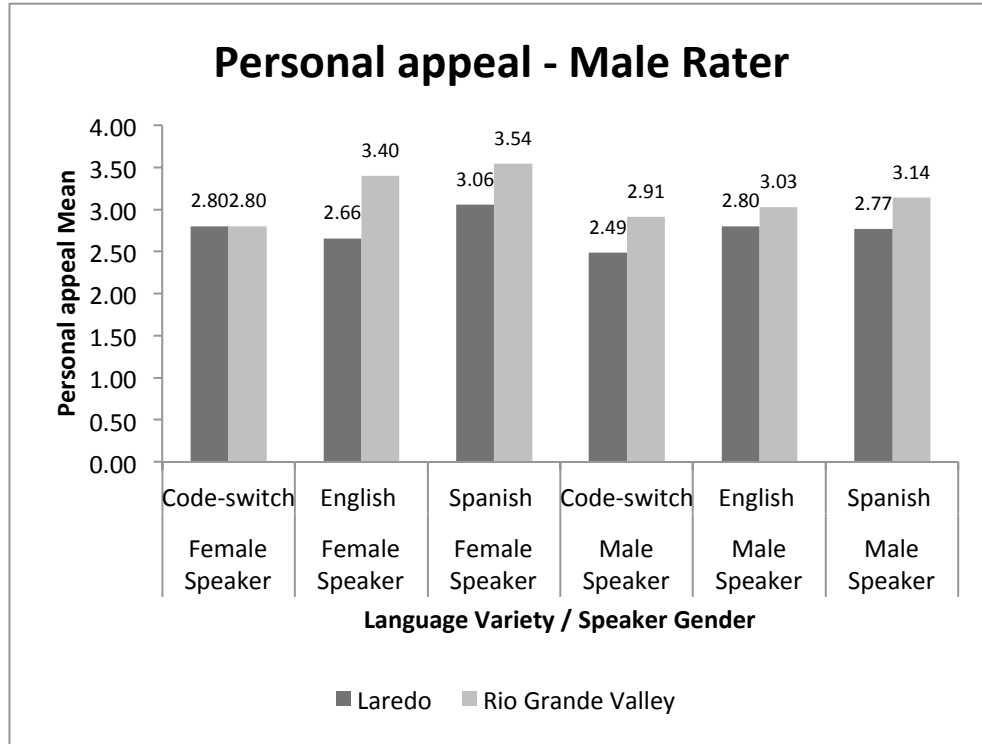


Figure 22. Personal appeal evaluations of Laredo and Edinburg male raters according to speaker gender



4.5 Summary

The results suggest two important conclusions. First of all, as it was originally proposed, there were no statistically significant differences found between locations when it came to the evaluation of standard Spanish; however upon combining the results from both Laredo and Edinburg, standard Spanish received statistically significant higher evaluations than both code-switching and standard English in the dimension of solidarity. Secondly, when the variable of speaker gender was considered, it revealed statistically significant differences within and between locations. Not only did the

variable of speaker gender produce/result in interesting differences, but also the raters' gender from both locations was another contributing factor.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion and concluding comments. In section 5.2, the importance of using speaker/rater gender as a variable is explained, as well as its contribution to gender and language research. In section 5.3, the evaluations of code-switching are discussed further. Section 5.4 concentrates on the statistically significant findings for standard Spanish in the dimension of solidarity and the role that standard varieties play in both locations. The last two sections (5.5 and 5.6) close this chapter by describing the limitations of the present study as well as improvements that can be done in future bilingual research, including what the findings of the present study reveal about the linguistic situation in both Laredo and Edinburg.

5.2 The variable of speaker/rater gender

An important variable considered in the present study was the use of both female and male speakers as the guises, a factor not considered in the de la Zerda and Hopper (1975) study, which only used male speakers. This detail proved to be critical for the observation of differences within and between locations. The speakers' as well as the raters' gender were variables that influenced the evaluations of the varieties presented to the participants.

In Laredo, male raters evaluated standard Spanish and standard English differently by gender. In that case, they favored Spanish to English in the dimension of solidarity when the speaker was male. On the other hand, the Laredo female raters

exhibited much clearer preferences when comparing a certain variety with another. Such was the case when comparing standard Spanish with code-switching. While Laredo male students evaluated both about the same, female students from Laredo evaluated Spanish much more favorably than code-switching in personal appeal. The female raters also exhibited clear preferences in the comparison between both standard varieties. While males evaluated both standard English and standard Spanish about the same in personal appeal, female students evaluated Spanish more favorably than English.

In Edinburg both male and female raters favored Spanish more than English when the speaker was a female. Such was the case with male students favoring Spanish more than English in solidarity when the speaker was a female or when female students evaluated Spanish better than English in status when the speaker was female.

The fact that females in Laredo appear to have more favorable preferences towards the standard varieties, and both females and males in Edinburg have a general preference towards female speakers in standard varieties, reveal an interesting perception that exists towards females in Edinburg and Laredo. It is said that since women have consistently been seen as subordinated to men in society, they have become more “status-conscious” than men (Trudgill 1972), which in turn has had an effect in the way they present themselves in society. Studies have shown that women consistently produce linguistic forms of a standard language or a language of more prestige much more than men do (Trudgill 1972). In this case, this prompts women to secure their social status linguistically, for example, by using or perceiving standard varieties as the most favorable ones. In relation to this finding, according to the yearly estimate of the U.S.

Census Bureau 2007 and 2011 American Community Surveys, there are differences in the enrollment in higher education between females and males in both Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley. In Laredo, an average estimate of 17,433 females enrolled, compared to 14,433 males. In the Rio Grande Valley, there were 75,673 females enrolled, compared to 66,355 males. Females thus appear to be enrolling much more than males in higher education, which may be affecting the social evaluations of females speakers, regardless of the variety spoken. Additionally, in the case of Edinburg students, both male and female participants may be aware that females are much more prone to seek higher education, which then affects their own linguistic perceptions towards females. Such as in the case of adolescents in Galicia, who perceive females to be more capable in standard Galician, non-standard Galician, and Spanish, also due to their possible awareness of women's dominant presence in post-secondary education and the work place (Loureiro-Rodríguez et al. 2012).

In comparison, male raters appear to be much more accepting towards code-switching by evaluating it about the same with the standard varieties. This tendency is displayed much more clearly by the Laredo males. Similarly, a study done in Norwich with British English shows that males appear to subconsciously favor non-standard speech forms much more. Although never explicitly expressed, in comparison to the females in Norwich who favor standard varieties, males are not concerned about maintaining and/or receiving social status. Males are much more inclined towards a kind of "covert prestige" within their own groups through the use of non-standard varieties (Trudgill 1972). This may also be the case for the evaluation of Laredo males towards

code-switching. Well aware of their usage of the non-standard variety, implicitly they appear to view the non-standard about the same as the standard varieties, revealing a covert acceptance of code-switching.

It is interesting to note that it was usually the female participants in Laredo who had the most prescriptive attitudes against code-switching when heard, which appears to correlate to the statistical findings of code-switching. On the other hand, never once did a male participant voice negative remarks towards code-switching regardless of speaker gender.

In addition to finding differences within locations, speaker/rater gender was also a determining factor for differences between Laredo and Edinburg. Statistically significant differences were only found in the dimensions of solidarity and personal appeal, but solidarity exhibited the largest differences between locations. One of the most interesting findings about solidarity was that female students from Edinburg appear to be a bit more accepting towards code-switching than the female students in Laredo, particularly when the speaker is male. These findings correlate with the observations made regarding Laredo females' overt negative reactions towards male speakers who code-switched, much more than Edinburg females. Considering the history of Laredo and its earlier establishment the higher social prestige accorded to Spanish, as compared to the Rio Grande Valley, Laredoans may have come to stigmatize the use of code-switching more than residents of Edinburg. The early existence of Spanish newspapers in Laredo in the 19th century (Hickey Cavazos 2012), for example, may have created

stronger views towards the use of standard Spanish in Laredo, affecting perceptions of standard Spanish and code-switching today.

5.3 Evaluation of code-switching

Just like the de la Zerda and Hopper (1975) study where Tex-Mex (the non-standard mixed variety) received the least favorable evaluations, the variety labeled as code-switching was rated lowest in this study in all dimensions, (solidarity, status, and personal appeal). It is common for minority language speakers to accept the stigma that is placed on their language variety by the socially dominant majority (Romaine 1995: 289). In this case, considering that the majority of the population in both Edinburg and Laredo are Mexican Americans, they have clearly adopted the view that standard varieties are socially more “acceptable” than non-standard varieties, even if they themselves use the non-standard. Not only was this displayed statistically with the evaluations, but students from both Edinburg and Laredo, upon listening to the code-switching recordings, tended to react with laughter, smirks, and frowns during the experiment. In one group session done in Laredo, a participant said the following upon listening to a male speaker using code-switching, “I talk like that, and I’m not rich, so this person must not be rich,” which reveals their immediate negative reactions upon hearing code-switching.

These reactions towards this non-standard variety coincide with the situation of other non-standard varieties, such as in Papua New Guinea where a diglossic situation exists between pidgin and indigenous languages vs. English (Romaine 1995: 292). This has been seen within the educational setting where signs are displayed in classrooms

reminding students that English is considered the “good” language, while speaking pidgin or tok ples (one’s local language) is considered “bad” (Romaine 1995: 292-293). These reminders create a metalinguistic awareness of the varieties that exist, causing stigmatization of the non-standard varieties. The same has been concluded with the use of code-switching in that it has come to receive a social stigma, not only by out-group members, but also by the community who use this variety (Haugen 1977: 94). Moreover, code-switching has also been blamed for illiteracy and/or lack of formal education (Montes-Alcalá 2000). The fact that participants in the present study reacted with comments such as, “I don’t like him” upon listening to code-switching, indicates the clear stigmatization that exists towards this variety in both Edinburg and Laredo and reveals their own perceptions of themselves as code-switch users.

5.4 Evaluation of standard Spanish in the dimension of solidarity

It is also clear that both Edinburg and Laredo have adopted the ideology that the standard varieties are regarded and favored to be the more “acceptable” varieties compared to code-switching. It is usually understood that standard varieties tend to be viewed as the language of the “educated” (Lippi-Green 1997: 54) and are valued as the language to be used within the classroom and work setting. It is no surprise that both standards in the present study were evaluated about the same in status and personal appeal, where characteristics such as the following were included: “educated,” “rich,” “high class” and “intelligent.” However, one of the most interesting findings was that standard Spanish was evaluated more favorably than English in both locations on the dimension of solidarity. This was not found in the verbal-guise study done by de la

Zerda and Hopper (1975). In that study, both standard English and standard Spanish tended to be evaluated favorably to the same extent. However, the authors found that participants who had close ties with Mexico favored standard Spanish more than the other participants. Considering that both Edinburg and Laredo are near the border, such immediacy of ties may very well be behind their positive views towards Spanish, particularly in solidarity. In contrast, the de la Zerda and Hopper study was carried out in San Antonio, not a border town, and therefore not as closely connected to standard varieties of Spanish. It has been shown that the farther you are from the U.S. Mexico border, the greater the loss of Spanish maintenance (Bills et al. 1995). The difference between the studies suggests that this distance is likely to have an effect on attitudes, too. A second possibility could be change over time, considering that this study comes thirty five years after de la Zerda and Hopper, at least one generation later, and positive attitudes towards Spanish may have increased over time.

Edinburg and Laredo participants perceive speakers who use standard Spanish as more honest, kind, likeable, friendly, sincere, and religious than those who use standard English and/or code-switch. This shows that the participants appear to have a more personal connection towards those who use standard Spanish, whether or not they use it themselves. This kind of attitudes was apparent in a comment made by a Laredo participant, who revealed the following after finalizing the experiment, “I don’t really speak Spanish, just usually English, but yes. I think I rated a Spanish speaker much higher than an English speaker. Those who only speak English are full of themselves.” In this particular case, this explains why English was not evaluated too favorably

compared to Spanish under the dimension of solidarity. Regardless of their own linguistic competence and how the majority may perceive them for only using English, for example, they will continue to perceive Spanish as the more favorable out of all three varieties in solidarity.

Despite the language contact that exists in these two border towns, Spanish maintains a stronghold in the Mexican American culture in these two regions. This may explain the higher evaluation that Spanish receives in the present study, because Spanish continues to be admired as a symbol of these participants' heritage (de la Zerda and Hopper 1975). This is not the case in Lambert et al.'s (1960) study, where French speakers evaluated their own variety as less favorable than English. As it was mentioned earlier in the section, the fact that Edinburg and Laredo are situated on the border with Mexico may prompt residents to hold respect and admiration towards their heritage language and towards those who use it. Anecdotally, I can vouch from personal experience that one would always hear about the importance of speaking Spanish "correctly" and "well" i.e., standard Spanish. As a child, I learned that both English and Spanish were languages of opportunity for the work place and both languages were always held in high regard, but at the same time there always seemed to be a closer and more personal connection with Spanish.

5.5 Limitations of the study and improvements for future bilingual research

There were some issues with the study that deserve special mention. Although not statistically significant, the participants from Edinburg evaluated all varieties a bit more favorably than the Laredo participants. This outcome could have been due to the

different environmental factors in the Laredo and Edinburg classrooms used in the experiment, which may have affected the sound of the recordings. The same audio speakers were used in both locations, but there were differences in the classrooms employed in the study. In Edinburg, all of the classrooms where the experiment was conducted were small in size, with the capacity to hold about twenty-five students. This was the same case for the majority of the classrooms in Laredo, but one of the classrooms was much bigger than the rest, with the capacity to hold more than fifty students. This difference in the size of the classroom may have affected the acoustics of the room and thus the sound of the recordings. The fact that data of about fifty Laredo students was gathered from this classroom may have affected the overall evaluations of Laredo participants.

Also, in regards to the statistical analysis of the present study, both Edinburg and Laredo participants' ratings of the characteristic "religious" (included under solidarity) were not parallel to the evaluations of the other characteristics under this dimension. It may be necessary to eliminate "religious" from this dimension to see if the evaluation of solidarity changes.

Another factor and limitation to consider in the present study is the use of a slightly doctored code-switched text that was read aloud by the speakers. Since code-switching normally occurs spontaneously in a conversation, the slightly artificial delivery of the text may have affected their evaluations of this variety. This has been identified to be one of the disadvantages of the matched-guise, but it is difficult to acquire a code-switched text that is both spontaneous-sounding and neutral in content at

the same time. For this reason, a transcribed and modified code-switched conversation was used in the present study.

Speaker and rater gender have proved to be a significant factor in the way standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching are perceived in these two border cities. These differences have created more questions to be answered by future bilingual research in South Texas. The study by de la Zerda and Hopper (1975), conducted in San Antonio, Texas, is the closest study to South Texas that has employed a variation of the matched-guise, i.e., the verbal-guise technique. In other words, the possible variation in language attitudes in South Texas had not been thoroughly investigated before by using the matched-guise technique. The statistical results from both Laredo and Edinburg participants' evaluations indicate that the study on the differences in language attitudes is worth considering when comparing two different regions in South Texas, and indeed in other contexts. The fact that differences within and between locations were found when considering the speakers' and students' gender indicate that differing linguistic attitudes do exist among residents in the South Texas region.

Apart speaker/rater gender as an independent variable, there are many other variables that have yet to be considered for future analysis. Some of these variables, which may very well affect ratings, include the following: the frequency of use of code-switching, parents' occupation and their place of origin, and the language use preference with personal relationships.

Another factor to take into account is that in the present study, only university students were considered. Incorporating different participants from different age groups, social class, and/or level of education would allow for the analysis of other interesting variables. The influence of these additional variables is clear from the de la Zerda and Hopper study, where significant differences in interactions were found when considering the Spanish use, the income, and the level of education of the participants. For example, those who had an education lower than high school reacted favorably towards the standard varieties and negatively towards the non-standards, exhibiting more stereotyped attitudes towards the standards being “better,” while those with a higher level of education appeared to be more tolerant towards non-standards, and were not as prone to automatically react favorably towards a standard variety. Perhaps if a more diverse group of participants were to be used for a future matched guise experiment, different perceptions could be found.

As it was discussed in Chapter 2, there have been various investigators who have implemented both the indirect and direct approaches to the study of language attitudes. In the present study the results may also be supported by taking a multi-methodological approach. Even without explicit prompting, the participants make explicit comments during the experiment, such as frowning in disapproval upon listening to code-switching and say things such as the following, “I don’t like him” or “I talk like that, and I’m not rich, so this person must not be rich.” When comparing these comments with the statistical results, it is clear that their evaluations towards code-switching are the same explicitly as they are implicitly. So if a study were to implement not only the matched-

guise technique, but also an open-ended questionnaire asking them direct questions about what participants think about code-switching, the statistical findings might perhaps be reinforced.

5.6 Conclusions

The contribution of the present study lies in the fact that this indirect approach had not previously been applied in the South Texas area, and its findings indicate that it is worth carrying out bilingual research in areas of South Texas besides the Rio Grande Valley, such as Laredo. The reality is that the three language varieties observed in the present study are alive today in these communities, and regardless of how they are perceived they will have some social function. As someone from South Texas, as a child it was clear to see that English was always the preferred language in the classroom. If at any moment one were to speak Spanish or code-switch, a reminder that English was the only language to be used was sure to follow from the teacher. On the other hand, at home the importance of Spanish was reinforced, which may have been the driving force for maintaining my mother-tongue. Of course, these experiences vary from individual to individual, but it is important that communities such as Laredo and Edinburg are aware of the possible implications that language contact may have on the lives of their constituents. The differences in the evaluations that Laredo and Edinburg participants displayed towards standard Spanish, standard English, and code-switching then point to the possible effects that this may have in regards to the job market, the educational setting, the medical setting, and in legal situations (Howard 1983).

For example, in areas such as the numerous *colonias* in the Rio Grande Valley, which suffer lack of water resources, paved roads, unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions (Arispe & Acevedo 2009), as well as health and nutritional disparities, language barriers may be a contributing factor for the lack of resources. This is another reason why it would be very important to consider different groups of participants in the future, such as the residents that reside in these *colonias*, for example, to see their own perceptions of the languages that they use on a daily basis. Not only would it be important to see their perceptions, but also the perceptions that other groups of people may have towards the *colonias*' language use. If there are different perceptions between residents of the *colonias* and other groups of people in the Rio Grande Valley, this may create language barriers that prevent the *colonias* from receiving the resources they need.

Although not surprising, it is still interesting to see the negative reactions that were displayed towards code-switching. Code-switching is not only present in daily conversation but also heavily present in commercials, billboards, and advertisements in both Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley. One would think that since code-switching is displayed in the media in these two locations, participants' attitudes would not be negative, but this was not the case. Education may be a contributing factor towards this tendency to consider the non-standard as the least prestigious variety. Perhaps if more bilingual programs in schools were to teach students the relevance of code-switching in their communities, there would be a better understanding and more acceptance towards its existence. This variety is part of the culture of these border towns, and as such it is

essential that speakers learn to embrace their own local variety and realize that it is a common feature of all Spanish speaking communities in the U.S.

While code-switching received the lowest evaluations out of all of the three language varieties, the standard languages received the most favorable evaluations. However, in the case of Laredo and Edinburg, Spanish appears to be the most favored in solidarity. The role that Spanish plays in the lives of both Laredo and Edinburg participants appears to be positively correlated to the evaluations given to standard Spanish. This comes as no surprise, given the positive explicit attitudes maintained towards Spanish in Edinburg and their connection with continual maintenance of Spanish in the Rio Grande Valley from 1982 to 2000 (Mejías et al. 2003). Considering Laredo's own history of Spanish use and its presence in the press beginning in 1881 (Hickey Cavazos 2012), it is not surprising that the language should continue to play a role and be a major factor that would identify the culture of this border town. The positive attitudes that Laredo participants possess towards Spanish display this continual acceptance of Spanish in Laredo. In the case of RGV, where the Hispanic population suffered discrimination and dispossession, the use of Spanish proved to be essential due to the commerce that has been active between RGV and Mexico since the opening of the port in present day Brownsville in the early 1800s. Most importantly, it is clear that Spanish remains an important factor in maintaining that sense of solidarity among the community members of both Laredo and Edinburg, Texas.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Informational Questionnaire

Answer the following questions accordingly:

1. Sex: (Circle one) F or M
2. Age: _____
3. Where were you born? Laredo The Rio Grande Valley Other: _____
4. Where were your parents born?
 Mother: U.S.A. Mexico Other: _____
 Father: U.S.A. Mexico Other: _____
5. What is your father's occupation? _____
6. What is your mother's occupation? _____
7. How long have you been living in your current location (Laredo or Rio Grande Valley)?
 (Indicate in years) _____
8. At what age did you learn how to speak: English _____ Spanish _____
9. What language(s) do you use for the following relationships? (Check the corresponding box.)

Parents	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Siblings	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Grandparents	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Friends	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Neighbors	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>

10. Do you ever mix Spanish and English when speaking? (Circle one)
 No (0%) / Rarely (0-25%) / Sometimes (25-50%) / Frequently (>50%)
11. If yes, do you mix Spanish and English in conversations with the following relationships?
 (Circle either Yes or No)

Parents	Yes or No
Siblings	Yes or No
Grandparents	Yes or No
Friends	Yes or No

12. Do you write in Spanish, English, or both for the following: (Check the corresponding box.)

School/ Work	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Journal Entries	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Letters/E-mails	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Facebook and other social media	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>

13. Is there anything you can say in Spanish that you can't say in English? Yes or No

14. Is there anything you can say in English that you can't say in Spanish? Yes or No

15. Do you watch TV in Spanish, English, or both for the following: (Check the corresponding box.)

News	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Sitcoms	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Talk shows	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Movies	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>

16. Do you read in Spanish, English, or both for the following: (Check the corresponding box.)

Magazines	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
School textbooks	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Internet	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>
Recreational reading	Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Both <input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX B

MEASURES QUESTIONNAIRE

On a scale of 1 to 5, rate the speaker that you have just heard on the following characteristics.
1 being "Not at all" and 5 being "Very" :

Not at all [1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5] **Very**

(Circle only one number)

Solidarity	
Honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Kind	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Likeable	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Sincere	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Religious	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Status	
Rich	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Old-Fashioned	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
High Class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Urban	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Personal Appeal	
Intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Hard-working	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Good-Looking	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
Open-minded	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

APPENDIX C

MEAN RATINGS OF LAREDO AND EDINBURG RATERS

LAREDO

Dimension	Raters' gender	Speakers' gender	Standard Spanish	Standard English	Code-switching
Solidarity	Male	Male	3.54	3.16	3.18
	Male	Female	3.59	3.56	3.35
	Female	Male	3.92	3.61	3.38
	Female	Female	3.80	3.49	3.17
Status	Male	Male	2.92	2.77	2.50
	Male	Female	2.96	2.87	2.57
	Female	Male	3.18	2.99	2.50
	Female	Female	3.18	3.11	2.45
Personal Appeal	Male	Male	2.82	2.87	2.84
	Male	Female	3.11	2.89	2.97
	Female	Male	3.31	3.03	2.82
	Female	Female	3.44	3.28	2.60

EDINBURG

Dimension	Raters' gender	Speakers' gender	Standard Spanish	Standard English	Code-switching
Solidarity	Male	Male	3.75	3.76	3.35
	Male	Female	3.95	3.57	3.52
	Female	Male	4.12	3.79	3.47
	Female	Female	3.95	3.67	3.54
Status	Male	Male	3.24	3.25	2.33
	Male	Female	3.25	3.47	2.42
	Female	Male	3.05	3.11	2.41
	Female	Female	3.17	3.03	2.46
Personal Appeal	Male	Male	3.36	3.52	3.01
	Male	Female	3.56	3.40	2.85
	Female	Male	3.27	3.15	2.86
	Female	Female	3.46	3.29	2.94